

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. The Reason for Title Selection

African Union (AU) as the regional organization in Africa continent have to intervene and solve the problem in Libya as soon as possible because it is related with the problem of humanity (Shaban, 2016). That statement strengthens the writer to choose this topic as the main topic of this undergraduate thesis. As the biggest continent in the world and the second biggest population after Asia, Africa has the total area 30.224.050 km² (Jatmika, Hubungan Internasional di Kawasan Afrika, 2016). Libya is one of state in Africa Continent that has a conflict in 2011. The conflict that happens in Libya crisis 2011 makes the African Union as the regional organization has the responsibility to involve in the crisis and tries to seek the solution for the crisis in Libya. Perhaps the intervention of African Union could give the significant impact in order to solve the crisis in Libya.

African Union has some programs and programs that related to the discussion is peacekeeping mission that conducted by African Union to solve the conflict in countries of Africa continent. Peacekeeping mission in Africa has substantial responsibility includes partnerships operations between African Union and United Nations,

anti-terror protections, counterinsurgency operations, and civilian protection, and responsible with increasingly larger mandates. Peacekeeping mission in African Union becomes the crucial tools to protect the stability in the democratic transition. However, the African Union as the external organization has to face the challenge of doing the peacekeeping mission related to deal with the host governments, in the term of Libya.

In the Muammar Qadhafi's era, Libya came into power for over 40 years, and Muammar Qadhafi saw as an International man and will brutally kill the civilians who threaten his positions. Thus, Non-Africa countries such as Arab world, Europe, and the United States assume that Libya under Muammar Qaddafi's era become a threat in the International arena. Saharan-African leaders saw the unstable, offensive, and selfish character of Qaddafi could be a trigger of the worst condition in Sahara and Africa. That statement s stated by African Union and security council on March 2011 (Dewaal, 2012). Thus, the first discussion of African Union about Libya crisis began in Peace and security council 23rd February. The discussions are focused on the authorities of Libya government toward demonstration and threats that was said by Qaddafi to his opposition side.

Some facts above is the reason for me to choose the topic about interventions of African Union toward Libya crisis 2011 to become my undergraduate thesis. There are some interesting points that writer would like to discuss in this thesis, such as the historical background of the crisis that happened in Libya 2011, Muammar Qaddafi's authority that becomes the root of the crisis, intervention of African Union as the regional and external organization in solving this crisis. Moreover, the

intervention does not only came from the African Union but also came from the United Nations as the integrated organization in the world.

B. Background of the problem

The popular uprising that known as Arab Spring became the long journey of conflict that happened in the Arab world and some of the African countries. The Majority comes up and against corruptions and an authoritarian political elite who control their life for a long time to achieve their goals, It happens in Tunisia and Egypt. Some elements of those popular uprisings are known such as peacefulness of the demonstrators, determinations, and resilience. The condition become worst, and it added by the role of mass media in shaping the public opinion, the effect of that trendsetter and non-direct interference of the external actors makes the trend of uprising spread in the middle east and some of the African countries including Libya (Pereira, 2013).

The revolution in Libya seems to be the domino effect that came from revolutions that happened in the Arab world or known as Arab Spring. This crisis is long things that happened to the Arab Spring. Since this crisis happened and getting worst, an international military was the solution, and it is necessary to stop the brutal action that conducted by the Libyan government to their civilians. Within the International Intervention mandated by United Nations (UN), perhaps all of the organizations including African Union as the regional organizations in Africa has a mandate from UN in the decision of security council which is responsible for protecting.

African Union was founded in 2002, and they represent fifty-three countries all over the African continent. In 1963 there was a former name of African Union which is Organization of African Unity (OAU), OAU brought the African nation together to achieve their independence from the European imperialism that had controlled them. While the Organization African Unity against apartheid, imperialism, and strengthen the African countries independence, the African Union emphasizes human rights, democracy, politics, and economic development (Badejo, 2008). Moreover, several factors become more important in motivating African nations to form the local block in Africa including the continuity of peace and security (Kimenyi & Kuhlmann, 2012).

In the African Union, There is an African Union Peace and Security Council that existed in 2004 in a protocol of peace and security council of 2002. In this African Union peace and security council, There was some responsibility that mandated by the African Union such as Peacebuilding, peacekeeping, and peacemaking in the area of Africa. It initiates any peace operations by analyzing an existing or potential conflict or crisis that might be happened in the African nation. There are some procedures for these missions. First, analyzing the crisis in African Continent, then, holding the missions to get the spot of trouble, the third is making a decision or recommendation to authorize the African Union's intervention in this crisis.

African Union has been conducted the peacekeeping mission in several countries in African continent such as AU peace operations in Burundi. It happened in 1962. The African Union had the peacekeeping operations in Somalia in 1991. In February

20013, AU had the peacekeeping missions in Darfur region, and one of the peacekeeping operations that held by African Union was operated in Libya in 2011 (Murithi, 2009).

Libya becomes the target of Africa Union to do their peacekeeping operations because of the unstable condition that occurred in Libya 2011. It began in February 2011, chaos condition that happened in



PICTURE 1. 1: the map of Africa (world-atlas)

Benghazi was triggered by the arrest of the activist of human rights, Fethi Tarbel by the Qaddafi's troops, In that month the conflict between Qaddafi's opposition and forces loyal to Qaddafi was become worst and triggered UN security council

implement the sanctions for Qaddafi and his family, and refers on Libya' coercive action to the International Criminal Court. The reaction did not only come from United Nations but also the European Union which approve that sanctions for Qaddafi in term of bans on travel and arms embargo.

Therefore, it can be concluded, The condition of Libya in 2011 triggered the International actors to get involved in at least minimize the crisis. United Nation has a mandate to the regional organization to conduct the peacekeeping mission in the existing and potential crisis. In the case of Libya, African Union as the regional

organization in Africa has a responsibility to conduct the peacekeeping operations in Libya.

C. Research Question

Based on the background that mentioned above, This thesis has one research question

“How did the African Union interference the crisis of Libya in 2011-2015?”.

D. Theoretical Framework

1. International Organization as a part of Complex Interdependence and Transnationalism theory

The theory of complex interdependence was developed by Robert O Keohane and Joseph Nye in 1970s. This theory was emphasized on the mutual connectedness and dependency of states and non-states actors. Complex Interdependence tried to explain that the state is not the only actors in international relations. It was emphasizing the critical role of Multinational Corporations (MNCs) and International Organizations (IOs). All actors seem to be interconnected to each other in term of politics, security, trade, finance, travel and communications (Rana, 2015).

"Concept of Dependence has the meaning a state of being determined or significantly affected by external forces. Interdependence, most simply defined, means mutual dependence.

Meanwhile, Interdependence in world politics refers to situations characterized by reciprocal effects among countries or actors in different countries." (Keohane & Nye, 1977)

One of the essential elements in interdependence theory is international organizations — International Organization approach by Ian Hurd and Conflict resolution Theory as the theoretical framework to examine the thesis with the title the intervention of African Union by using peacekeeping mission toward Libya crisis in 2011. Ian Hurd is a scholar who was experienced in the international organization. According to Hurd, the international organization has become the central part of international relations. When interdependence increases, then the role of international organizations also in line with it. International organizations become the heart of international relations that covered all of the aspects of international relations such as, politics, economic challenges in the 21st century (Hurd, 2011). Even though the existence of international organizations in international relations relative new, the existence of international relations have shaped the way of the relations between many actors, not only between state and state, but also the relations between state, and non-state actors.

International organization was based on international law as an independent entity. International organizations have legal standing, with individual rights and responsibility. Based on how International organizations work,

international organizations play a specific role, for example, they advocate power and security, international organizations may be seen with a particular function based on what they focus on. Historically, the international organization was shaped by a state as the actors. It was begun and growing fastly since a Westphalian treaty in 1648 when the international system becomes state-center. However, time by time the role of international organizations become bigger not only for state-center but also for nonstate-center (Peace, 2012).

International Organizations	Functions	Membership	Contracting parties	Scope
	Politics Administrative	Global Regional/ based on the purposes	Treaty between state Treaty between government	Intergovernmental INGO

TABLE 1. 1: Theory of International Organization

The theory of international organizations causes classified into four categories. As Brownlie has pointed out, the international organization has been classified based on its functions, membership, contracting parties, and scope.

Thus, based on the table above, international organizations are classified by some categories. Classification based on the function, the functions of international organizations that consists of political and administrative, in politics, international organizations has the functions to protect their members in term of international peace and security. Different from politics as the function of international organizations, international organizations with administrative functions have more limited aims.

Global membership in international organizations means that international organizations were inviting the principle of all states to join. The example of global organizations is the United Nations, which open to all states as long as they suit with the stands. Other organizations did not have the same requirement of membership. International organizations which have limited membership have their requirement such as based on regional and purposes. Thus many regional organizations inviting the states based on the same of geographical region, for example, European Union that only open for European countries, no non-European countries could join European union; it also happened in ASEAN, African Union, and many more regional organizations. However, the limitation is not only based on environmental aspect but also from their main purposes such as the organizations of petroleum exporting countries which have a specific purpose

and focuses on countries which have petroleum exporting activities.

In this contracting parties, there was a distinction for the classification, whether between the organization which founded based on the treaty between state and the treaty between government. The basic idea of the contracting parties was the form of the treaty must be including all of the aspects such as the state's institution, legislative and it is judicial as well as their administration. However, the treaty between government only focuses on its administration.

The last classification of an international organization is based on its scope — that distinguished between the intergovernmental organization and non-governmental organization. The intergovernmental organization is the organization that runs by the state as the actors, such as united nation, regional organizations, IMF, and others. Then, non-governmental organization is the organization that established in order to concern about the particular issues and run by non-state actors.

2. Conflict Resolutions

Conflict analysis model that proposed by Johan Galtung 1969 defines the conflict into symmetric and asymmetric conflicts. Symmetric conflict is the conditions when there are two actors with an equal position or has equal power, and they have a conflict thus these situations called as symmetric conflict. Different with

symmetric conflict, asymmetric conflict is the situation when two actors have conflicts, and one of them has superior standing compared to others, means that it has a clear situation of inequality position between two conflictual actors for example when there is a conflict between government and rebels. Based on Ramsbotham asymmetric conflict happens between majority and minority (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall, 2011).

The theory of conflict by Galtung can be



viewed with ABC conflict triangle models that proposed by Johan Galtung, and every side is represented by A means (attitude), B

PICTURE 1. 2: ABC Conflict Triangle by Galtung (Academy, 2010)

means (behaviors)

and C means (contradictions). A conflict that proposed by Galtung would like to examine **attitude + behavior + contradiction**, where C or contradiction is the root of the conflict and attitude and behaviors is the following action of the conflict. ABC conflict triangle is the possible model of a conflict that starting with the inequality situation and objectively with an attitude manner and shows by physical or verbal actions. This definition can guide us to examine the conflict theory as a phase of conflict to

approach a suitable solution for a conflict (Galtung, 2007).

Attitude is the conflict where the perspective and non-perspective of the parties about themselves and each other. The perspective can be a positive perspective or a negative perspective. Attitude could be the emotive and active component, and people can easily say whether they like or they do not like. Some of the attitude components that can be a conflict are, racism, discrimination attitudes, sexism, victimhood, trauma.

Meanwhile, behaviors involve coercion, hostility, and cooperations, behaviors are the physical actions of the conflict in case of violent conflict that can be destructive attacks, or coercion and threat for example violence, genocide, insurgency attacks, discriminatory acts. The third is Contradictive, contradictive is the core of the problem, the beginning situation that can lead to a problem, the inequality that happens in a particular area, or dispute over territory or resources.

Examining the ABC conflict triangle also giving the conflict solutions to reduce the problem, based on Galtung, conflicts can be reduced through peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding missions. Peacekeeping is the lowest level of conflict resolutions, and it is the situation when there are a third side or external actors that come to the conflict in order to reduce the conflict. The higher level of peacekeeping is peacemaking. It is the situation that there is a diplomatic meeting or negotiations between

actors of conflict and lead by mediator or external factors in order to end the conflict. Moreover, the highest level is peacebuilding. Peacebuilding is the situation when there is an agreement or treaty between the actors in order to prevent the conflict that happens again in the future.

African countries have several issues in the form of several causes such as politics, military, social, culture and even religion. As it has been mentioned above, the role of international organizations is crucial to prevent the regional issues and also as a place for countries to do their negotiations. African Union as one of the international organization and as the highest organization in Africa has their authority by its classification in order to maintain the stability of the condition in Africa. This theory could examine the factors and actions on how the African Union was doing an intervention in Libya crisis through peacekeeping mission (Bischoff, Paul-Henri, aning, & Acharya, 2015).

Based on those theories, Africa Union as the regional organizations in Africa has a politics functions which means Africa Union has mandatories to protect its members' term of international peace and security. As it has been mentioned, Africa Union was doing an intervention using peacekeeping missions or known as a humanitarian intervention. This theory can examine the factors and actions how did Africa Union interference crisis of Libya by

using peacekeeping mission. In Politics functions, Africa Union as regional organizations have a responsibility to protect members in term of international peace and security. In the conflict resolutions, peacekeeping missions are one of the actions of African Union as the external actors to do an intervention in Libya crisis in order to reduce the problem.

E. Hypothesis

The hypothesis is the little logic answer to answer the research questions (Jatmika, Skripsi, Metodologi dan Romantikanya, 2016). Based on the condition in Libya during 2011-2015 and the theoretical framework of conflict causes, the intervention of African Union as an international organization in Libya crisis 2011-2015 with these missions :

1. Peacekeeping Mission by Building a Consensus for a Comprehensive Solutions in Libya Crisis.
2. Peacemaking Mission by The Implementation of The AU Roadmap And Creating New Momentum In Peace Efforts.
3. Peacebuilding Mission by Rebuild the Nation, Adress the Implication of Crisis, and Deepening Democracy in Libya.

F. Purpose of Writing

The aim of this thesis will explain the actions of African Union intervention in Libya crisis 2011-2015. In February 2011 demonstrations against 42 years of authoritarian Qaddafi's power occurred. People in Libya

protests for the basic regulations about healthcare and other services that can not be reached because of poverty. That protest occurred in some region in Libya Challenging Qaddafi to leave his power because of the brutal and authoritarian ways of his government. In order to reduce the demonstrations and arrest the protests, the force was used caused hundreds of people died. This conditions triggering International community such as the African Union as the African organizations have to involve.

Other goals of this thesis are to implement the studies from International Relations Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta in order to achieve the Bachelor degree in International Relations department, faculty of social and political science Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

G. Research Methodology

This thesis will use the qualitative method of research. To complete the data for this research the writer will collect the sources and information from journal, books, article, and library research in the form of an electronic and printed source to find out the data that related to this thesis.

The sources will be divided into two which means primary sources and secondary sources. The sources that were used as the primary sources are the sources that related to the condition in Libya and data about the intervention of African Union in Libya crisis. The writer also used secondary sources which means the data that support the research are additional information. The writer used the time series to minimize the scope of

research and to describe the phenomena that occurred in each year.

The sources need to be edited and simplify in order to manage the data that had been collected and the data. In order to make it simple and easy to understand the writer will coding the data by giving bullets, symbol, and number.

H. The Scope of Research

This research will only focus on analyzing conflicts within the timeline 2011 to 2015. 2011 is the triggering time when Anti-Qaddafi uprising in Libya, Libyan rebels capture the territory but forced by pro-Qaddafi which have better armed. in 2012 Islamic militants storm the consulate in Benghazi and US ambassadors killed. Moreover, from 2014 to 2015, there was a civil war in Libya, protests occurred to response General National Congress. Although this issue of Libya crisis started a long time ago, however, this research will only focus on analyzing conflicts within the timeline of 2011 until 2015; however, the other year will become as references of the discussion.

I. Organization of writing

This thesis consist of five chapters, the following are the descriptions of the framework of the outline from five chapters. The first chapter explains the background of the issue, research questions, theoretical framework, the hypothesis, the research method, the purpose of the research and outline of the paper. The second chapter describe the African Union as the Regional organizations. This chapter also discusses the political functions of African Union and the history of

peacekeeping mission program in some countries in African Union.

The third chapter explain the timeline of Libya crisis during 2011 to 2015 in the form of actions and the response from people in Libya and the international world. This chapter also explains how is the urgency of the condition in Libya at that time that resulting the attention of third sides in here international organization. The fourth chapter describe the African Union's role about the responsibility of international community to protect and examine the Intervention actions of African Union through the establishment of consensus, the implementation of the roadmap, the creation of momentum to peace efforts, rebuilding the nations and maintaining Africa's leadership and democracy. The fifth chapter which is the last chapter of this thesis conclude and summarizes the research that has been explained and analyzed in the previous chapter.