Original Article

The Collapse of Gaddafi Regime; The Outcome of Infirmity in Efficient Governance

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ABSTRACT

The political changes can be analyzed through different theoretical approaches and hereby measured their applicability when the research questions are being scrutinized. This paper mainly concerns on the fact why the Gaddafi Regime collapsed. In order to answer the question, we are inevitable required to apply an analytical framework. The theory of good governance is the analytical framework applied. The writers in this paper mainly emphasize on the fact the Libyan community was the one in which the critical changes weren't inevitable before the revolution happened in February 2011.the policy of good and efficient governance, either in national or above the national level, could have changed the movements in a different way. The research hypothesis is based on the belief that there would have been no revolution or even such rough violence in this African country if he had made a series of reforms in the country based on the factors needed for good governance, especially in distribution area, cooperation, legitimation and interaction above the national levels. So, it seems the changes seen in Libya are due to the infirmity in good governance.

Keywords: February revolution, Good and efficient governance, Libya, Gaddafi Regime, violence.

Introduction

A series of revolution began to happen when a Tunisian citizen named Mohammad Boazizi burnt himself and hereby some states collapsed and their legislation exposed to great challenges onwards. Besides, there had been serious conflicts between the government and the public. Following the collapse of Zeinolabedin Ben Ali and Hosni Mubarak, the 42-year- Gaddafi regime experienced the third revolution. They were so severe that civil in obedience followed by the arrest of Fathi Terble as Libyan law activist in Bengasi distributed all rounds the Libya in a short period of time. As a result, the Gaddafi regime collapsed.

This paper concerns on studying the opportunities that Gaddafi regime could have used to bring about good and efficient governance to Libyan people to avoid challenges in national and above the national levels. The theoretical aspects of the good governance will be discussed in the beginning of the paper. Then we will go through the advent and consequent collapse of Colonel Gaddafi. The factors needed for good governance will then be discussed in

four different areas including distribution, quality, cooperation, legitimation and interaction as well as the challenges and lost opportunities.

The Definition of Good Governance

The international organization development plan defined good governance as the operation of political, economic and official power to better manage the public affairs in all levels rounds the country in 1997. It includes the approaches, processes and institutions, through which the citizens and other parties can express their benefits, look for their legal rights, accomplish the commitments and peacefully settle down the conflicts (Shoraka *et al.,* 1386).

In 2002, UNESCO defined it as techniques and processes through which the citizens, civil groups and institutions can plead for their civil rights and accomplish their commitments. It also defined it as a decision-making process and the ways to implement them based on the focus on official and unofficial players (Gholipour, 1384).

Good governance is a process to manage the economic, political and social issues and the ways to develop and use financial and natural sources to the good of all people. Such a sort of management should be established based on the principles of cooperation, equality, efficiency, clarity and legitimating.

The Advent of Good Governance

The position of the government and market and the relationship in between is a concept many economists and politicians are concerned on. Such a relationship has experienced a variety of ups and downs since last century. In fact in the first three quarters of 20th century we most faced with the failure of the markets and investment economy to provide social welfare and a state-based development model as the main policy most economists, ideologies and government-driven systems apply to pave the way for welfare governments in liberal democracies. As the government exposed to the failure, the last quarter of the 20th century changed into a neoliberal atmosphere in which the socialistic opponent was absent in the fight field. Market-based development was a goal followed by structural adjustment policies. Such a structural adjustment was a political package recommended by international organizations aiming at moving towards a normal situation through getting the market rid of non-market-based system. It is mainly recommended to developing countries but somehow failed in most parts. The main cause these policies failed to be accomplished is due to its neoclassic approach in economic knowledge which views the economic agent's as models and is quite ignorant about the mutual relations among community, history, international culture, climate situation and with philosophy of economy (Shoraka *et al.,* 1386). Market-friendly state is a new approach issued following performing trials and errors on both market-based development and state-based development approaches. This new approach is not only paying careful attention to the position of the state and market but also considers them as interdependent. It considers the government as a social institute which can provide the people in the society with a safe and suitable environment in a simple and not expensive way. The facilities these institutions provide are often known as good governance. Good governance is to create, support and accomplish the ownership right without the limitation of market exchanges. Such governance includes a legal system which cooperates with the market to develop competition. It also means a society without corruption, because corruption can damage the political goals and also the legitimacy of all public institutions supporting the market (Habibi, 1385). In fact, good governance was rarely used in years before the Second World War but appeared in a new concept during

1980 with reference to above the government. This world's equivalent to the government in oxford dictionary but the political scientists differentiated it from the state during 1980. The World Bank was the first institution announced a report in this area in 1989 as known as efficient public services and trustable judicial system as well as responsible official system (Sameti *et al.*, 1390).

Factors of Good Governance

There have been many theories on the features of good governance. However some features are common. For example, the following are considered as characteristics of good governance:

Cooperation: the experts see men and women as the basis of good governance and hereby consider their cooperation through institutions and agencies as being required for legitimacy to be accomplished. Although leaders in most third world countries always concern democracy in their speech, the public cooperation level is lower than that of developed country and somehow limited. Such limitations can lead to developing non-democratic groups against the government.

Rule of law: good governance needs a fair and legal framework with no discrimination. Such a rule is required to support the public and their rights. In order for such a comprehensive rule to be fairly implemented, an independent and efficient judiciary is essentially needed.

Clarity: the main goal hereby is to make people informed about the decisions and approached made by the government. In other hand, the public will be informed about the policies and functions of the government and they also know how and where to go when a problem occurs. The clarity is making decision and implements it based on the rules involved. It also means making the information related thoroughly accessible to the public. Besides, it is to provide the public

with comprehensible and required information in given forms or through public media. Generally, it is simply freely access to the information by the public. In fact, such a desirable relationship between the government and the public essentially requires the principle of "the right to be informed" and "information freedom".

Accountability: it generally means responsibility and reporting what is happening around such the duties ignored. Accountability is to accept the responsibility for the duties accomplished or not accomplished. Good governance requires all organizations and institutions to provide the stakeholders with information needed.

Collective consent: there are many designers and actors in a society. A good governance requires applying the ideas of all those involved.

The equality and justice: a good and safe society is the one ensures the public' right equally and there will be no discrimination among them. All the public should use the opportunities equally, especially the lower social class.

The efficiency and productivity: good governance is to produce processes and outcomes meeting the society needs in best ways. The efficiency hereby means applying best of natural sources and protecting the environment.

Legitimating: a government is recognized as legitimated when people under the governance are to be involved in tasks satisfactorily. Such a government applies cooperative processes and tasks and pays attention to the public's consent. The legitimacy of a political system is usually tested based on the principles of the public freedom and keeping the public's rights.

Responsibility: one of the main characteristics of good governance is that it must be responsible to the stakeholders in due time and provide them with explanations required. A minister is responsible for

observing what his staffs are doing in the ministry.

The Advent and Collapse of Gaddafi Regime

Libya was excluded from the Ottoman Empire by Italy in 1911 and 1912 and hereby was known as a colony of Italy. It was one of the main squares in the Second World War battle between allied and Axis powers on the other side.

After the war in 1947, Italy took Libya's sovereignty and after four years, established the rule of King Idris, Libya became independent. In 1969, when King Idris of Libya spent for treatment abroad, a group of officers called the Free Officers led by Colonel Gaddafi could coup and overthrew the government bloodlessly and establish the Soviet Socialist public system in Libya. A Hybrid system based on Islam, Arabic socialism and nationalism was designed. Following eight years after the coup, he introduced himself as the leader and could seize the power by himself. Based on his political and national philosophy described in green book in 1977, he hereby changed the Arabic Libyan system into Arabic Soviet Socialist Republic. Libya is a country that is divided into 140 tribes and clans, among which 30 ones are most considerable. The country's economy is dependent on oil and gas revenues. Relative autonomy of the state from the social classes was the important indicator of Renter State that is significant in the case of Libya under Gaddafi.

Rantyrysm primarily refers to the style of behavior and governance of Renter State. It has two main features: first, such a rent is in favor of the ruling elite and second, these groups use these rents to attract cooperation and control the society in order to maintain the political stability. Distribution of petro-dollars in Libya like many Renter states took among the pro-Gadhafi regime.

Shortly after the distribution, an economically and politically disadvantaged sector against a powerful unit, either economically or politically, formed. It seems that the opposition between East and West is the most important key to understanding the puzzle of the Libyan uprising in February 2011. Dictatorship of the Gaddafi regime and the lack of equitable distribution of power and wealth alongside widespread corruption and gap between tribal and local communities created large protests against Gaddafi, especially in eastern regions (Niakoee, 1390). The main momentum against the Gaddafi regime in Libya before the uprising in February 2011 was emphasized. In time of Tunisian uprising and the collapse of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, Colonel Gaddafi appeared on national television with distraught face to introduce Zine El Abidine Ben Ali as worthy leader of Tunisia and subsequently it led to Intimidation among Libyan people. However, due to the crisis that occurred once on Gadhafi regime, Colonel Qaddafi failed to suppress the uprising. Following the arrest of Fathi Treble, a legal activist, in Benghazi and protest against Gaddafi's regime, the violence led by Gaddafi forces were applied to control Gaddafi forces out of the city and the short time East Libya expelled. It seems one of the main reasons for political stability is related to such issues. After the third wave of democracy and enhancing the credibility of democracy in the contemporary world, many authoritarian regimes found their powers deriving from the will of the public in order to establish political legitimacy of the regime, For example, the Soviets saw their true democracy in this way (Ounil, 1386). Libya wasn't exceptional in such case following coup in 1969. Based on the Green Book of Colonel Gaddafi which was mainly concerned on his political philosophy, the cooperation was nationally established by the presence of the public. These committees formed a

national congress responsible for running the country and making political decisions. During 42 years Colonel Gaddafi governance, he was the leader of this congress. The showing aspect of such political cooperation among the citizen was the integral part of his governance. In accordance to such rules, the establishment of any sorts of political party is banned and the offender will be prosecuted and exposed to execution (Resalat newspaper, No, 7344, p8). So, the lack of political cooperation, the main factor of good governance, was considered being as a serious defect for Colonel Gaddafi Regime. As mentioned earlier, Libya' tribal structure was in a way just limited tribes were politically important and the political cooperation was limited to these groups. During the rule of Colonel Gaddafi, the Libyan tribes east of the circle of political and economic participation- which will be referred to as distributed crisis, were marginalized. The east Libyan tribes hereby didn't recognize his governance as legitimated and so conflicts started. Starting with Arabic Spring developments, Libyan east tribes took advantage of the opportunity arose with regard to the issue of political participation in society to launch protests in Benghazi. Libyan forces loyal to Gaddafi were quickly cleared and the battle between the East and the tribes loyal to Gaddafi and his regime began. But this time, due to the limited space that is loosely called upon the international consensus to remove Gaddafi, military intervention of NATO protesters were able to rise up to the collapse of Gadhafi's death.

Distribution Crisis

Fair and equitable distribution of national wealth among the people of different regions of a country, is another indicator of good governance. As mentioned, the crisis of participation like the crisis of the distribution of political power in the collapse of the Gaddafi regime was important, but alone is

not sufficient to promote Uprising. According to the authors of this article, the most important factor that caused regions of east Libya to uprising against the Gaddafi regime was the crisis of distribution through which more than forty years of great economic threats against the people of the eastern regions of Libya was obvious. Under Colonel Qaddafi, Libya, despite the economically privileged location, the petrodollars generally were flowing into the West of Libya and the Libyan tribes of East had little interest of national oil revenues. The national capital from the sale of Libyan oil was mainly spent for the adventures and ideological support of Libyan leader even outside the country. So, the exclusion of East Libya is an important consideration. Libya was among the countries due to oil revenues would have the right to distribute petrodollars among Libyan citizens and so prevent severe discontent among people in the eastern areas. But the policies adopted by Colonel Gaddafi changed the country into a country in war despite of great oil revenues that could be a platform for the development of African countries. Now, nearly three years after the start of the popular uprising, still one of the main concerns is the lack of security. East Libya due to economic discrimination taken by the Gaddafi regime was beginning to turn into the opposite rule looking for an opportunity for a social explosion that had frustrated the years. The economic situation of East Libya before the uprising in February 2011 had become unbearable for many Libyan citizens. It can be seen in the number of citizens who were brought miserable subsistence on a hunger strike (Tarnama, Afaran research institute). Based on Maslow's pyramid of needs, needs that are focused on human livelihoods are considered being as basic needs that must be remedied. But the fact that, especially in the East of Libya during Gaddafi's rule was showing the economic constraints and lack of supplies. What

happened in Libya and decreased the maneuver of Colonel Gaddafi against protesters in East Libya was the crisis of distribution which led to, after 42 years of deprivation, severe and irreversible deep hatred against the regime. The crisis affected the distribution of the Gaddafi regime against external attacks was also very evident. That is, in terms of external threats, the political system can take the nation to mobilize public in order to keep the system safe (Ghavam, 1390). But the opposite happened in Libya. With the introduction of a military attack on Libya in the Security Council, along with his son Saif al-Islam Gaddafi, the Libyan leader appeared on Libyan television to defend the Libyan territory and looking to animate people sought. But the people of East Libya, as most domestic pressure on the government in the fight, did more endurance and strength. Maybe the hatred due to the long economic inequality in the East of Libya could be compensated or at least Gaddafi could recover it at the end of his rule. People defend the territory of Libya against foreign aggression. But such assumptions did not occur and the reaction of the Libyan people, particularly in the East of the country indicated something different. Starting with the NATO attacks, the people of East Libya alongside NATO forces started fighting to overthrow the Gaddafi regime and showed that long-term economic inequalities could drive patriotic and national challenges.

The Crisis of Legitimacy

The legitimacy is meant the acceptation of the righteousness of the rule of a political system which is considered being as another indicator of good governance. There are several types of legitimacy that Max Weber as a theorist in this area has been referred to. Weber's three types of legitimacy are rational, traditional and charismatic ones (Naghibzadeh, 1388). Intellectual legitimacy is a kind of legitimacy that derives from law

and rationalist management of society. Therefore, democracy is a rational mechanism of political power with preset flows. Another form of legitimacy of charismatic legitimacy is based on the individual strength of character and charisma that has attracted the divine. It is generally accepted among the public. Charisma is usually a temporary condition, meaning that eventually circles around the center of emotion and passion go towards his charismatic personality and ultimately primary loop is remained along with charisma. Therefore, to survive in such a system we must measure a sense of legitimacy and replace the lost legitimacy. The third type of legitimacy is traditional legitimacy flowing from the adoption of this type of act based on cultural traditions, political and social conventions. Intellectual legitimacy is generally observed in developed countries, while traditional and charismatic legitimacy is seen in less developed societies. Colonel Qaddafi's bloodless coup in 1969 and the ideas and personality patterns derived from combining socialism, nationalism, Arabic and Islamic claims recognized him as a charismatic leader for the Libyan people (Rash, 1388, p59). Early in his rule, Gaddafi expelled the Italian forces and the America's military bases out Libya and hereby nightclubs were closed. As noted above, the continuing legitimacy is not so high and so charismatic legitimacy needs to be replaced. Alternative explanation for the charismatic legality of the Gaddafi regime was reliant on Libya's tribal social traditions by which people accepted and tolerated the sovereignty of the rule over forty years. Gaddafi, during his rule, relied upon as symbols of primitive life, tried to give gifts such as camel to more political figures or wearing Libyan traditional clothes in order to keep the traditional legitimacy, except for the East of Libya, that seems to be the most challenging areas of economic discrimination

rather than political legitimacy. However, Colonel Gaddafi could govern in a primitive state for a prolonged time with relying on tribal traditions. But the traditional pattern of Libyan society, especially the youth and urban areas have seen dramatic changes recent years and hereby the social balance exposed to change. The main cause of this shift can be many different things, such as higher levels of education and promoting social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter. New situations brought about new requirements in which the traditional legitimacy didn't have a good place. The knowledge about the political system somehow drove people to attempt on changing the situation. So, if Gaddafi wanted to stay in power and not undermine his legitimacy, he, like the North Korea, was required to either close the doors to everyone or change the regime legitimacy into rational one through changes to limit the power.

Interaction Crisis

It appears that interaction as an indicator of good governance is absent at the transnational level. Interaction is a concept which refers to the ability to accommodate, cooperate as well as flexibility in settling down the conflicts in regional and international levels. In other hand, countries with considerable adventures in foreign policy areas or those looking for conflicts are mainly facing with interaction crisis. So, good governance in these countries has not been established. Having considered the distribution crisis as the main reason for uprising in Libya, The crisis in international and regional cooperation can be an important factor in the collapse and death of Colonel Gaddafi. Interaction in the sense mentioned in the Gadhafi regime's foreign policy would make no sense. Basically, the Libyan leader, during his reign, was always looking to create tension and adventures. For

a better understanding of the current issue, Libya's foreign policies should be taken into account. Libya's foreign policies are divided into two periods.

Revolutionary Period

Gaddafi thoughts during this period were greatly influenced by Marxism and anti-imperialism. We mainly see Gaddafi's aggression against west camp and approach the east camp. We also see he spent all support seeking liberation struggles around the world. In this era, Libya became a hoping point for many revolutionary fighters and many people round the world come to this country to be supported by Gaddafi revolutionary fighters. In the same period of time, Gaddafi gets to grips with the West Block and headed several terrorist operations against the United States. On 21 December 1988 Pan American airliner explodes over the Scottish village of Lockerbie, An event that was meant confronting the United States because 189 victims were American citizens. It was after this event that Libya was sanctioned by the international community. Another event was the conflict happened in the Libyan embassy in Britain and led to the killing of a British police and consequently the diplomatic relations with Libya were down to darkness. In addition to the West, Libyan relations in this period, except for a few cases like Syria, Egypt and Palestine with the Arabic and Islamic countries weren't good. One other factor caused the Iranian Revolutionary relations with Gaddafi's regime after the Islamic Revolution to be dark that is Imam Moussa Sadr abduction by the Gaddafi regime in Libya. Gaddafi with the help of several countries including Syria had formed a common front against Israel in this period. The most significant foreign policy was his foreign policy ideology in this revolutionary period.

The Pragmatics

The onset of the second round of Gaddafi's foreign policy coincides with Soviet Union Collapse. Although Gaddafi best expressed the desirable actions of the West, after the Soviet Union collapse, his revolutionary ardor and ideological postures gradually deteriorated. It seems several factors have roles in this area.

Soviet Union collapse: Until 1991, the Golan ideological supporters of Muammar Gaddafi and anti-imperialist views were observable and he, with the support of countries like the Soviet Union, had the ability to flaunt in political areas. After the Soviet Union exposed to collapse in ideological conflict with the West Block, Gaddafi tried to change his behavior, although it remains committed to the Green Book itself did not violate its fundamental principles.

International sanctions and America's military attack on Gaddafi's headquarters. These sanctions were imposed to Gaddafi Regime due to Lockerbie bombing in 1988. Before this incident, America's military forces had limited attacks on Gaddafi's headquarters in April 1986 during which Gaddafi's step-daughter was killed (Sholzinger, 1379). This event, as well as pressure from sanctions, had led Gaddafi to the negotiation table.

America's attack to Iraq. It Seems the American invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the execution of Saddam Hussein to be the most important factor. It is said Gaddafi was deeply affected by the execution and watched the video many times (interview with Mohammad Shalgham, Iranian diplomacy website). So, he was somehow forced to stop protesting against the West and the USA. He also summited the mentioned issue to Arabian leaders' conference and warned them that a similar fate like Saddam is waiting for them in immediate future. It was said after the 2003 invasion of Iraq, Gaddafi turned to the West. For this problem, there are several indicators which are as follow:

Gaddafi Regime accepted the responsibility for Lockerbie bombing, during which Abdolghaset Almaghrehi as the first accused was condemned to life sentence.

Gaddafi allowed the international organizations to observe the Libya. He also conceded all weapons of mass destruction and nuclear facilities.

In this period, there were some conflicts between Arabian states and Gaddafi, such as His encounters with Saudi King Abdullah in an angry confrontation with the Emir of Qatar in Doha, Qatar. Following these affairs, the West welcomed Gaddafi in turn. For example, it was after this event that Tony Blair - former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom - met with Gaddafi in Libya. Gadhafi also provided the West with extensive financial assistance. However, in this period Gaddafi had some conflicts with the West. His tension with Switzerland which led to the arrest of his son named Hannibal Gaddafi and his wife by the police due to harassment to her servant was another issue to be mentioned. He had been so angry that in an amazing speech announced if I had an atomic bomb, Switzerland can be removed from the planet Earth (Saber, 1391). Although he improved cross-sectional interaction with some western countries, his different ideological thoughts were evident in foreign policy. So, many international players could find out his uncertain nature and considered him as an unreasonable player. It was the issue he had with himself from the coup to the time of overthrow. Example is the problem of dealing with Libya and the countries of America, France and England in 1991. In this case, despite the importance of Libya in Arabic countries, Libya is not supported by these countries (Elsid Yasin, 1992). The recent uprising put Gaddafi's regime into the abyss. In uprising 2011 which led to the death and collapse of

Gaddafi, no country or international organizations supported him (Niakoee, 1390). Meanwhile, states backed by a strong rule will never rapidly turn to collapse.

Conclusion

Inference**:** As mentioned, the collapse of Gaddafi Regime can be analyzed in terms of weakness in good governance. Gaddafi regime, due to the type of policies in national, transactional and international levels, the so-called Arabic Spring, tended to decline. As mentioned earlier, the crises and their synergy decreased Gaddafi's maneuverability and caused every tactics to be adopted by Gaddafi Regime, either reasonable or unreasonable. The collapse was delayed some moments. Therefore, he insisted on the way till collapse and his death, mainly due to his personality indexes for which illusion was the main one. The long and the synergies that result from poor indicators of good governance in Libya had crucial roles in Gaddafi collapse. According to the authors of this paper, if Gaddafi regime wasn't caught in interaction crisis and foreign aids, especially Arabic countries', weren't provided with Gaddafi's opponents, his decision to kill their opponents unto genocide was determined. As the former Libyan uprising led to failure, it seems this one will fail too. Therefore, while analyzing the uprising in February 2011, it is highly important to take synergistic crises, particularly two distribution and interaction ones.

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