



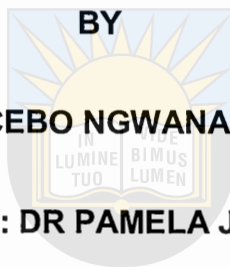
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UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES: DEPARTMENT OF

POLITICAL SCIENCE

**Comparative theoretical analyses of the underlying causes of post-Cold War
conflict in Africa: A case study of Libya**



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Abstract

In order for society to progress intellectually, there should be a constant knowledge production fostered by rigorous research that is conducted with the aim of contributing to understanding and developing explanations, or even assisting in the prediction of possible future outcomes. A comparative theoretical analysis is employed in the study to gain insights into the treatment by mainstream International Relations (IR) theories about the underlying causes of post-cold war conflict in Africa, through an examination of the post-colonial State of Libya. Realism, liberalism, hegemonic stability theory, critical theory, constructivism and post-structuralism are IR theories which are used in analysing the trajectory of the post-colonial African State, the underlying causes of the North Atlantic Treaty military (NATO) invasion of Libya in 2011, and its consequences in terms of its political impact on Libya. IR theories, as unique conceptual models which provide ideas about what constitutes social reality, propose a systematic way of understanding the complexity of the Libyan situation.

The assumptions of the historically oppositional ideologies of liberalism and realism, together with its sub-theory of hegemonic stability theory, are tested in the Libyan context, followed by the contestation offered by critical theory. Finally, the relatively new theories of constructivism and post-structuralism are also utilised in attempting to establish whether they offer a satisfactory alternative that can accommodate the uniqueness of a non-Western frame of reference.

Declaration

I declare that the study, on “Comparative theoretical analyses of the underlying cause of post-Cold War conflict in Africa: A case study of Libya”, is entirely my own work and that original work from other sources has been acknowledged through referencing. This work is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the Bachelor of Masters of Social Science in Political Science degree at the University of Fort Hare.

Signature 

Date 01/12/2016



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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my late grandmothers. May their souls rest in peace. I would also like to dedicate this work to my father, my mother, my brother, my sister, my friend Vusi Lusiti, Tendai Tichagwa and, lastly, to Sandiso Bazana for always encouraging me to think and write critically about our scientific academic disciplines.

I am very grateful to my supervisor and the Department of Political Science and International Relations for allowing me to pursue my master's degree under their guidance. Hence the production of this work was made possible by Dr. Pamela Johnson's excellent supervision. Her intellectual background and generosity helped to reflect much deeper on International Relations (IR) as a scientific field of knowledge.

Lastly, this research is dedicated in memory of the following African scholars:

Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, who argued that there is a need for an African ideology;

Dr. Walter Rodney, whose conceptual understanding of African contemporary society advanced the quality of this research, backed by his intellectual background and critical reflection and intellectual understanding of African history and its role in the contemporary discipline of IR; and

Frantz Fanon, who offered an intellectual analysis of how post-colonial Africa would emerge from colonialism by offering numerous insightful intellectual comments on decolonization and the future of the capitalist market society, as well as argued that there is a need for an African "ideology".

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Who funded this current research? It was made possible through the funding made available by Govan Mbeki Research and Development Centre in the University of Fort Hare Community. Hence it allowed me to think innovatively about my research and stop stressing about funds, and stress only by discovering the intellectual process and the nature of the foundation of IR and its social relevance in complex African societies.

Lastly, I also like to thank two academic societies, Political Science Student Association (POSSA) and African Renaissance who are currently facing financial challenges of low funding from the office of the Student Developer at University of Fort Hare. These academic societies help in organizing symposium that questions the social relevance of our research to the needs of African societies. Hence these debates are theoretically grounded in order for an African hypothesis to emerge within the continent to address African complex social phenomenon.

List of Abbreviations

BP	British Petroleum
DESO	Defence Export Services Organization
EU	European Union
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GNC	General National Council
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IR	International Relations
LNOC	Libyan National Oil Company
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NTC	National Transitional Council
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Corporation

OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PFLP-GC	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nation Security Council
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization
IS	Islamic State
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and Levant



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Chapter One: Introduction

Background

Africa is the second largest continent in the world after Asia, with 800 million people, of whom 70% are Africans, in the sense that their historic origins are in Africa (Mwakikagile, 2006: 9). However, it is North Africa, not the Middle East, which has the largest Arab population in the world (Udeze, 2009: 663), due to migration over the centuries. Africa today is thus inhabited primarily by peoples of African and Arab descent, though this is not evident in the Western forms of government which were established in Sub-Saharan Africa in the aftermath of colonialism. However, today the northern hemisphere of the continent is characterised by conflict and instability, despite the fact that in the centuries preceding colonialism, the conflict and warfare that had characterised Europe and Asia was largely absent. The rich historical legacy of African empires whose centralised power was based on their economic and political strength has been largely supplanted in North Africa by regimes whose existence, faced with contestation from various sources, is fragile. In the past twenty-five years, despite the acclaim of the “third wave” of democracy (Huntington, 1991), the African continent has experienced ongoing conflict, while peace and security remain evasive.

The reasons presented for this are varied, but this thesis holds that the primary context for an investigation requires contextual location in the historical development of the global political economy. Viewed from this perspective, foremost among the causes of contemporary instability is the weakness of the African post-colonial State as the outcome of a historical process. Firstly, the artificial geographical expression of States in Africa is

one of the major factors behind political instability in many of the nations affected by conflict (Udeze, 2009: 78). Secondly, the inadequacy of the State when faced with the “tyranny of global corporations” in a globalized world of democratic norms and institutions (Kukoc, 2008: 77-78) means that transnational institutions such as the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) “play a central role in the *de facto* governance and administration of the continent even today” (Hanlon, cited in Ferguson, 2006: 87). Global financial markets have often forced specific choices among options for democratization, where small, poor States cannot counter the prescriptions from global governance bodies like the WB and World Trade Organization (WTO) in relation to their citizens and governance (Kukoc, 2008: 78).

Thirdly, global democratization and the opening up of trade has created a powerful arms industry, fostered by private companies that lobbied new African governments and encouraged them to purchase weapons to defend their territory from external aggression. It is no coincidence that in Africa more than 40% of the continent’s population are affected by internal conflicts (Udeze, 2009: 661).

In investigating the impact of arms and the limitations brought by democratic change in the agenda of world politics, it is difficult to ignore the financial and cultural supremacy of transnational capitalism (Teivainen, 2012: 181). The fact that arms industry consists of privately owned corporations has nudged the relationships between government and industry towards increasing interdependence (Skons & Dunne, 2006: 1). Nevertheless, private companies have made the greater effort to win large contracts awarded by their own or by foreign governments (Skons & Dunne, 2006: 2). This suggests that the democratization of African States was a business-oriented process, rather than one of

gaining independence, as many people believe. The sovereignty of the African State is frequently disproved, in the context of the presence of powerful transnational institutions and corporations, which effectively rule large domains of African economy and society (Ferguson, 2006: 87).

These factors, namely the influence of transnational institutions and global financial markets, the artificial geographical expression of post-colonial African States, and the prevailing tensions in relations within and among States, have highlighted the challenges of democratisation in the transition from an authoritarian colonial regime to a democratic post-colonial form of government.

In order to adequately address the issues of instability, conflict and security, social science theories can contribute to a deeper understanding of society by analysing events and phenomena with the appropriate tools, or interrogating conclusions that have been previously established. A re-examination of the history of African society and its present can provide new explanations that opposed the earlier predictions and generalisations that were made about how the world operates. The preliminary overview above of the causes of African conflict will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. In Chapter Two, the role of theory in relation to this research will be examined and discussed in greater detail. Various elements of the Libyan case study presents concerns, some of which have been formulated as a research problem that informs this study. It is a deliberate investigation targeting aspects that need to be further deliberated in terms of interrogating dominant ideas.

The research problem

Post-independent African States have experienced almost endless conflict. Military spending and investment in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century points to ongoing insecurity, against which States seek to protect themselves through establishing military defence. As a result, the postcolonial democratization process has increased interdependence between States and at the same time, involvement in the arms trade. Democratization in Africa was a period of transition from authoritarian to democratic political systems. However, this by no means heralded peace and stability, and instead, since the end of the Cold War, the new phenomenon of civil wars has caused more deaths in Africa (Kotze & Solomon, 2008: 144). This was due to the escalation of the volumes of trade in arms and weapons, which, paradoxically, accompanied the “third wave of democracy”.

In the 1990s, nearly \$6.5 billion worth of military equipment was exported to Africa (Stohl & Gillot, 2009: 33). This in turn was due to the commercialization of security, heavily influenced by the now dominant global policies of neoliberalism, promoted by the Bretton Woods institutions that dated back to the emergence of the United States (US) as a dominant economic power after World War Two (Taylor, 2010:113). The large imports of arms fostered the formation of networks of trade in small-arms in Africa, which has created a base for international terrorism, encouraged by international criminal networks involved in the illegal arms and diamond trade, human trafficking and prostitution among other things (Kotze & Solomon, 2008: 144).

In many cases, resources that should be spent on development have deviated to the funding of conflicts, with some African governments spending US\$ 1 million a day or even more on the prosecution of war (Kotze & Solomon, 2008: 144).

This relationship means that the goal of securing peace and security remains evasive in Africa, as illustrated particularly strikingly during the Libyan conflict of 2011. This problem has not been adequately convincingly dealt with by other scholars in explaining it further, as will be done in this study.

Scope

The study traces the historical development of the process that led to the recent Libyan conflict and the subsequent North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) invasion in 2011. The scope extends from the post-World War Two period until the present and includes the structures and the nature of trade that lies behind the conflict, more specifically, the arms and oil trade.

For decades after the end of World War Two, Arab rulers, whose power was boosted by the exceptional longevity of their own regimes, tended to develop a patriarchal status. Omnipotence in this case was grounded on two essential pillars: one, a partisan State designed to serve primarily the interest of the leaders, not of citizens, where subordination was reinforced; and two, aggressive security services that were always directed towards protection of the “untouchables” (Filiu, 2011: 58).

The year 2011 is significant in that political revolution spread across North Africa and parts of the Middle East, causing the overthrow of dictatorial regimes, while in Libya debates were boiling in January and early February 2011 (Chipaike, 2012: 43). After late

2011, there were sporadic outbreaks of violence among firstly, rival militia groups, secondly, criminals, and lastly, armed citizens (Blanchard, 2012: 19). Tunisia saw the overthrow of Ben Ali and Egypt of Mubarak, while Morocco, Yemen, Syria and Bahrain witnessed mass protests (Chipaike, 2012: 43). However, instead of calling on Qadhafi to step down, which was the case in other Arab countries, the revolution turned into a civil war between the government and the rebels, backed by the international non-state actor NATO. This complicated the Libyan uprising through the application of an external military solution to an internal crisis, albeit that it had been sanctioned by the United Nations Security Council.

Nganje (2011: 2) observes that the international response to the Libyan crisis is controversial, and Chipaike claims that “what differentiates Libya and the other affected countries is that the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) overwhelmingly approved a resolution that eventually led to the imposition of a no-fly zone over Libya, giving NATO the responsibility to bomb strategic government military installations and arsenals” (Chipaike, 2012: 43). Wezeman (2012: 1) added that the UNSC response to the Libyan crisis was attended to with remarkable speed and determination by imposing sanctions and an arms embargo within two weeks of the uprising. This suggests that commercial interests tended to bind states and that Libya’s non-return as an arms buyer lost it the patronage of nations that were formerly arms providers (Wezeman, 2012: 2). The complexity of the context of the Arab Spring was exacerbated by UNSC and NATO military interference, which obviously boosted resistance to Qadhafi and ultimately led to his downfall.

This supports the point that the origin of the instability extends far further back than the internal resistance that developed, and that it can be traced back to the emergence of powerful non-state actors after the post-Second World War, in the establishment of a “new order” in the global political economy, as discussed in Chapter Two. Campbell (2013: 136-137) alludes to the hidden forces behind the 2011 NATO military invasion of Libya by referring to South Africa’s involvement, in that, for example, the African Union (AU) had been urging a negotiated settlement, and that in June, Zuma had met NATO Secretary-General Rasmussen in Russia and argued for an AU road map, calling for a cease-fire. By this time, Gaddafi had agreed to step aside in order to facilitate negotiations, but NATO overrode the AU role in mediation and *“for the backers of the war, when Tripoli was overrun by troops from Qatar and special forces from France and Britain, and the United States the objective became clear: the execution of Gaddafi”* (Campbell, 2013: 143).

The Libyan case is therefore riddled with intrigue and offers the potential for scrutiny from a variety of theoretical perspectives, as well as the prospects for these being challenged, along with the foundations of those mainstream International Relations (IR) theories.

Research questions

The study will be guided by these questions:

- How did changes in the nature of global post-World War Two democracy undermine the power of the post-independent African State? In order to answer the question, it is necessary to locate the origins of the Cold War situation in its

underlying historical roots. The word “underlying” in the title indicates that the analysis goes deeper than the Cold War itself.

- What was the role of the international arms trade in fuelling the Libyan conflict of 2010 to 2011 and the ensuing instability?
- To what extent are mainstream Western IR theoretical approaches entirely applicable in an analysis of the Libyan conflict?

Research aims and objectives

- To investigate the extent to which changes in the post-World War Two global political economy were institutionalised to the advantage of dominant Western societies in trade and finance.
- To illustrate the manifestation of post- World War Two globalisation in Africa, more specifically, the continued relations of power and domination in relation to the post-colonial African State.
- To investigate the role of the international oil and arms trade in de-stabilising the African post-colonial state, as illustrated through a case study of Libya.
- To establish the applicability of and limitations to mainstream theory in explaining the post-Qadhafi Libyan State.

Libya is an oil rich post-colonial African State that has been integrated into the global political economy of the inter-linked trade in oil and arms. As will be seen, vast amounts of Libyan revenue were spent on the acquisition of arms.

Hypothesis

Paradoxically, post-World War Two democratisation and 'free trade' appear to have contributed to increasing conflict, insecurity and political stability in African States, which has made peace an evasive goal. It is hypothesised that the current Libyan conflict is at least partially influenced by the activities of transnational oil and arms trade companies in their dealings with armed militias, which undermine the sovereignty of the Libyan State.

Contemporary mainstream IR theories are only partially able to explain the complexities of African post-colonial States like Libya, and further theoretical development from an African perspective is necessary. Whilst substantial and prolific critique of Western theoretical models has been offered by countless scholars, no substantive theoretical approach with its own "truth claims" as a foundation for knowledge creation has to date been put forward.

Many African scholars have challenged the domination of Western paradigms in the creation of knowledge, and, in the field of international relations, Western knowledge frameworks have been criticised in that "theory acts as a tool that legitimizes Anglo-American imperialism" (Faleye, 2014: 154). The central conceptual tools of IR are drawn from disciplines originating in Western contexts, and the intellectual imperialism of the Westphalian narrative universally supports Western-centric structures.

Whilst scholars such as Smith (2008), Nkiwane (2001) and Faleye (2014) echo this criticism and point to the critical approach to African studies of IR, nonetheless, no theoretical progress has been made beyond an oppositional stance that is reactive to

Western theory. An Africa paradigm with its own conceptual model, indigenous assumptions and truth claims has not emerged.

Limitations

The research focused specifically on the de-stabilising, disruptive role of international trade on Africa, using the modern Libyan State as a case study. It also aimed at evaluating the adequacy of Western theoretical models in the African context.

The major limitation in this research proved to be the limited data available in the public domain about the arms business, because it is highly secretive and, whether legal or illegal, governments do not disclose the exact details of what is considered as a strategic issue. Arms manufacturers make vast profits from war and they, too, do not disclose details of their activities.

Sources of Information about particular events or contemporary issues tend to be written documents (Hofstee, 2006: 125). In this research, it was essential to utilize non-academic sources of information, namely, online newspaper articles and websites, in order to include information that would otherwise not have been available, such as clandestine arms deals, which contributed to answering the research questions. In a few instances, such information was only available from one source and could not be triangulated.

There is a need to understand the process the research followed in conducting the literature review of the study that will be discussed in detail in the following chapter two which is also theoretically grounded. The following section provide a context for a critic of the nature and character of IR as a scientific discipline derived from the Western canons writings of Enlightenment philosophers, as an academic scientific discipline. The field of

IR draws on political theory which will be discussed in detail in chapter two, global political economy that will be discussed in the following chapters, international law in chapter five and scientific theoretical disagreement in the discipline presented in Chapter Two that will be utilised in the process of data analysis. Hence the topic is the “Comparative theoretical analyses of the underlying causes of post-Cold War conflict in Africa: A case study of Libya”.

The dominant methodological paradigms of a specific Western history are embedded on IR, a product of Enlightenment that informs empirical theories that will be discussed in Chapter Two, creating a context for theory and debate. It is more logical that a problem should or must be specified before the plan for its investigation is laid out. Hence, the methodological approaches are laid out before the investigations, because they produce an epistemology which is a body of knowledge, of Africa, that is of European in origin. However, the three issues discussed in the preceding section will be the subject of investigation of this study, and further attention will be paid to them shortly.

This can be borne in mind when reflecting on contemporary methodological approaches in the field of IR, to which we now proceed.

Methodological approaches to research

The research design incorporates two levels of investigation, namely, an investigation into the effect of the transnational arms and oil trade in relation to Libya, at one level, and an exploration of western theoretical frameworks in relation to their analyses of transnational trade and the involvement of Libya as well as its effects. Prior to presenting the methodology applicable to this research, it is necessary to examine the historical

origins of the methodological approaches that have shaped the development of mainstream IR theory, and as a result, our understanding of political events.

Scientific methodology emerged as a technique constructed by human intellect and gave rise to “scientific reasoning” during the “age of discovery” that accompanied the development of Enlightenment ideas in the seventeenth century in Europe. The authority of religion was challenged by this intellectual movement, which claimed that science provided “the truth” in understanding the world, as opposed to traditional ways, driven by dogma, superstition and religion. The Enlightenment gave rise to an empirical approach, based on observation and collection of data in the natural world, which led to reasoning and understanding. This new approach of collecting ‘neutral’ empirical data produced “truth” in the form of scientific ‘knowledge’. Such principles of reasoning, which characterized the natural sciences, were then transferred to the social sciences, which emerged a century later (Bless, Higson-Smith & Sithole, 2013: 12).

The epistemological contribution of positivist methodology

The idea that ‘knowledge’ and ‘facts’ are neutral and indisputable which emerged from the natural sciences, was carried through to positivist methodology in the social sciences. This methodology illustrates the continuation and adaptation of principles of natural science in testing hypotheses, making predictions and generalizing the results. Such claims later provoked a reaction from several post-positivist methodologies, among those, critical theory, which repudiated the scientific methods of positivism (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 286).

The historical construction of social sciences based on a positivist methodology and production of knowledge and “truth” ensured the dominance of knowledge of European origin. As a result, researchers who apply positivist principles accept the ‘truth claims’ of knowledge of European origin as ‘common sense’. Most IR research emanating from the US employs methodologies that are based on positivist principles (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 284).

The embedded statism in positivist methodology that was taken to IR reproduced the Western frameworks that had shaped the production of social scientific knowledge. It emphasized the importance of empirical data and relied heavily on experiment and manipulation of data, forming the base of quantitative techniques (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 285). The State-centric emphasis of ‘positivist’ methodology in IR naturalized the existence of the Western form of State which then became the dominant global model for twentieth century forms of government. The organization of knowledge according to European positivist paradigms played a significant historical role in reinforcing political developments that justified colonialism, and later, post-colonial forms of government based on a European model of liberal democracy.

Interpretivist methodology

As a reaction to the dominance of ‘positivism’, interpretivism developed as a critique of positivism in social science. The rationale behind interpretivism is to understand rather than to prove the ‘generalization’ of knowledge and scientific theory. To interpretivists, each situation must be explained and understood in itself, without the aim of generalizing. Therefore, there is a need to explore, explain and understand reality, because the researcher and reality are inseparable.

Critical methodological approach

The approach of interpretivism in a deep analysis of a social phenomenon, without producing any outcome other than an understanding of the situation in question, is in turn rejected by a critical approach. This argues that knowledge cannot be neutral; it is either political or ideological. The critical methodological approach emerged as a reaction to the two dominant approaches at the time, positivism and interpretivism. Marx Horkheimer (1895-1973), a leading member of the 'Frankfurt School of Critical Theory', rejected the prevailing practices which empirically orientated sociologists applied in studying social matters by employing quantitative techniques that claimed to separate facts from values (Seiler, n/d). He developed an epistemological and methodological approach that synthesised philosophy and social science in exposing the historical nature of social domination. It aimed at stripping the grandeur of 'science' by allowing society to understand the nature and workings of domination and subordination, in order to achieve for human emancipation (Seiler, n/d).

The critical approach shares the ideas and the methodologies of some interpretivist theories, but it differs from interpretive scholarship, because it interprets the acts and the symbols of society in order for the researcher to understand the ways that various groups are oppressed (Seiler, n/d). Thus, critical theory is normative in its orientation, that is, it seeks change in the conditions that affect human beings (Seiler, n/d). Hence, critical approach rejects positivist claims that real knowledge is universally true, based on the assumption of the reliability of observation of facts, regardless of their socio-historical origins (Savigny & Marsden, 2011: 194).

This study is rooted in critical theory research methodology, because it is centred on the existence of a global political economy dominated by financial capitalism. As a theory of IR, it looks at the historical roots of domination and subordination and strives for emancipation through exposure of the “truth”. The study also offers a comparative theoretical analysis of mainstream theories of IR because of the complexity of the Libyan context.

Its critique of mainstream IR theories is that they fail to locate the fundamental nature of power inherent in a global capitalist system and thus fail to locate the cause of conflict in the scale of the arms trade and the manner in which it is promoted under the guise of “free market trade”. By drawing attention to the relationship between knowledge and society, an aspect frequently excluded from mainstream theories, critical theory recognises the political nature of knowledge claims (Devetak, 2009: 161).

As a theory of IR, it focuses on power relations among States, non-state actors, and powerful multinational companies operating in regions within the broader global context. This theory analyses the growing asymmetry in power relations between the north and the south, established along with the neoliberal alliances which are between African political elite and the north powerful trading partners that creates auspicious condition for conflict. The study explains the historical roots of conflict, using the 2011 Libyan conflict as a case study. For example, in Libya, the revenue generated from oil has been used in purchasing weapons at the expense of citizen’s social welfare, as discussed in Chapter Four.

The fundamental data categories cannot be located outside the context of relationships of power, thereby necessitating an investigation into the exercise of power, resistance and counter-resistance in the specific case of Libya. Therefore, categories include a historical aspect that displays the trajectory of the exercise of power. Data categories are as follows: transnational trade (oil and arms), financial hegemony (including institutions), military hegemony, counter-hegemonic struggles, hegemonic reprisal.

The influence of methodological approaches in developing an African epistemology

The critical approach argues that the popularity of the doctrine of 'positivism' owes its success to modern science (Rengger & Thirkell-White, 2007: 17), and yet the dominance of Western paradigms in Africa has not gone unchallenged, with dominant paradigms scrutinizing the myth of what were presumed by Europeans to be homogenous colonial entities in African territory.

However, generally, research has been conducted according to the dominant Western methodological approaches, neglecting the African culture and context. In the field of IR, Western approaches have marginalized alternative approaches to understanding the fundamental reasons for conflict in Africa. The scientific knowledge produced by European scholars studying Africa has overshadowed indigenous African intellectual thought, and maintained the presence of European intellectual hegemony. Therefore, there is a call among African scholars for a more robust African methodological approach in IR, and the development of African theories that could be applied as models of instruction (Mamdani, 1996: 10).

Libya has been integrated in the global political economy of oil and arms through the expansion of the international capitalist system, which occurred in the aftermath of World War Two. The post-Second War framework of Bretton Woods institutions provided the economic infrastructure required to promote open markets for the global political economy and also for regulation of financial policy and the dissemination of related liberal norms. The economic institutions established thus regulate trade as well as fostering values. The IMF, the WB and the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT) have provided guidelines relating to political systems in promoting democratic norms; and provided an international infrastructure heavily financed by the US, responsible for economic formulation and dissemination of a global policy along the neoliberal principles of free trade. It is the latter aspect, namely the dissemination of Western values and norms, that has prompted the call among non-Western intellectuals for the development of indigenous policies based on indigenous values and priorities. These two aspects form the thread that links the chapters in this research.

Research design

Mount (2001: 55) defines a research design as a plan of how a researcher intends to conduct research. The objective of research design is specifically to identify the whole strategy that the researcher chooses to put together, including different techniques and components of the study in a coherent and a logical manner. Adams, Khan, Raeside and White (2007: 25) emphasise that research methodology is constituted by the science and philosophy behind the research, and it is informed by the theoretical approach that guides the data collection.

It is clear that the theoretical and methodological approaches are embedded in the research design, and they aim to achieve the research aims and answer the research questions. This research throws into question Western bias, which must be recognised, because research designs inevitably reflect dominant Western frameworks and paradigms. The strategies adopted of comparing different approaches enable the researcher to allow different interpretations to emerge, rather than seeking for reinforcement of one in particular. Each theory provides its own theoretical perspective; there are also disagreements among them in explaining and analysis conflict and co-operation.



Method of data collection

Qualitative research is the method of inquiry which is predominantly employed in the social sciences to explore many dimensions of social life, as its objective is to gather in-depth understanding of the phenomenon (Mason, 2002: 2). There are number of instruments that are used to gather data, but for this study, documents in the form of published journal and newspaper articles, books, reports, websites and other relevant sources of information have been used. The method of data collection was desktop and library research and secondary sources provided the historical background and the data that forms the focus of the research. According to George (2008: 1), library research is “an interplay of ideas between the researcher and the sources about the nature and discoveries found by those sources”. The sources should first provide information about the research problem or research questions, and then enable analysis and interpretation according to the researcher’s conceptual framework. In this research, the aim was not to

establish the applicability of one approach, but instead to question the applicability of various Western approaches to the construction of knowledge and meaning.

Method of data analysis

De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport (2005: 333) explain that data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data for the research. The purpose is to analyze information within a theoretical framework, because concepts are deliberately formulated to answer research questions. Coherent interpretation of data is achieved because the researcher is guided by concepts and developing a clear understanding, modifies them as the researcher collects and analyses the data (Marshall & Rossman, 1999: 151). As described above, this is not exactly the approach used in this research, as the applicability of specific IR theoretical approaches to the case of Libya is being held to question. Instead, the overarching setting and the broad themes are discussed in Chapters Two and Four.

Much of International Relations research focuses its analysis on the State, assuming a realist approach. In this research, an attempt has been made to incorporate other perspectives by examining various other IR theories, namely, realism, liberalism, hegemonic stability theory, critical theory, constructivism and post-structuralism, all of which have diverse methodological approaches. This examination will be conducted in the data analysis according to these different theories in Chapter Five.

Having presented an overview of issues around methodology and how these impact on epistemological and ontological approaches to the development of knowledge, we will now proceed to focus on the research problem and the related questions and hypotheses.

Ethical considerations

Since the research relied on an investigation into available literature and on secondary sources that are in the public domain, the primary ethical concern is that all sources are correctly referenced, to avoid the risk of involuntary plagiarism. The study has utilised a variety of contemporary IR theories to avoid bias towards any one theoretical framework in particular. The mainstream methodological approaches that have dominated the debate in IR, namely, realism, liberalism, hegemonic stability, critical theory, constructivism and post-structuralism, were treated without specific favour towards any.

Organization of the final report

The outline of the thesis is as follows:

Chapter 1 consists of an introduction containing the background to the study, a discussion of diverse methodological approaches to research, the research design, research problem and questions, as well as the methodology and research instruments.

Chapter 2 consists of an overview of the literature review and of the theories under examination that are applied to the research.

Chapter 3 presents the data collected that is relevant to the first question stated above. This relates to how the historical context and the nature of post-World War Two democracy undermined the power of the post-independent African State.

Chapter 4 presents the data collected that is relevant to the question posed concerning the extent to which the international oil and arms trade played a role in fuelling the Libyan conflict of 2010 to 2011, and the instability in Libya following the death of Qadhafi.

Chapter 5 analyses the data collected according to diverse theoretical perspectives that include realism, liberalism, hegemonic stability theory, critical theory, constructivism and post-structuralism, with the aim of establishing the nature of the interpretation and the extent to which they offer an explanation that adequately deals with the complexity of the Libyan case study.

Chapter 6 presents the conclusions drawn from the findings of this study, with recommendations for future research.



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Chapter Two

Theoretical Overview

In the last chapter, the challenges of International Relations (IR) as a discipline were outlined, showing the diverse approaches to gathering and analysing data, which are informed by the researcher's ontology and epistemology.

This chapter will present a theoretical review of the main IR theories widely recognised and taught in universities, namely, realism, liberalism, hegemonic stability theory and critical theory, constructivism and post-structuralism, the usefulness of which will be examined in Chapter Five. For clarity, before discussing main stream IR theories. The post-colonial paradigm is not utilized in the study, as it does not have a theoretical foundation other than its reaction or opposition to the hegemony of Western theory. It is not one of the mainstream theories of IR, meaning, it still has to provide its own epistemology and methodology in order to form a framework for explaining conflict and co-operation between States and other non-states actors in IR. Also its limitations will be discussed, only for reviling to the reader why it was not utilised in this current study.

Literature review in a global context

The use of literature in qualitative studies varies: however, in a theoretically oriented qualitative study, such as this one, the literature is introduced by researchers early in a study as an orientating framework (Creswell, 2003: 30). The literature review offers insights that sharpens and deepen the studies theoretical framework of the research (Bless, Higson-Smith & Sithole, 2013: 49). Most African scholars have been sceptical of

theoretically grounded works in which this research will demonstrate its value to the academic community. The aim is to treat this phenomenon with intellectual dignity and challenge the scientific discipline of IR and its intellectual paradigms that will be used in the process of data analysis in Chapter Five.

An overview of the development of the discipline of IR

As a relatively recently established sub-field of Political Science, the way that IR has justified itself in relation to its existence has attracted a lot of criticism as a legitimate scientific discipline. European critics of the solution-oriented development of IR after the First World War consider the development of the field and the history of the discipline to be more complicated and less well known than portrayed in the mainstream IR literature (Schmidt, 2012: 4). Although historians, including international lawyers and political philosophers, have written and debated about international politics for many centuries, the formal recognition of the discipline occurred with the establishment of a Chair of the discipline at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth (Burchill & Linklater, 2009: 6). Before 1919, there was no discipline as such, but its subject matter was shared by a variety of older disciplines such as law, philosophy, economics, politics and diplomatic history, but the First World War produced a great sense urgency, to prevent the recurrence of conflict on such a widespread scale (Burchill & Linklater, 2009: 6). The first scholars in the field, those working within universities in various countries, especially in Britain and the United States (US), studied the causes of the First World War so that future generations might be spared a similar tragedy (Burchill & Linklater, 2009: 7-8).

IR is a scientific discipline, rooted in European knowledge system, whose origins can be traced back to the positivist history and intellectual heritage of European Enlightenment

which inspired the discipline. The legitimacy of IR as a discipline is questionable. For example, Ziauddin Sardar argues, that “the real power of the West is not located in its economic muscle and technological might. Rather, it resides in its power to define” (Sardar, 1999: 44). The West, and European scholars raised the nature of the subject matter, and theories of their own world outlook. Despite the ideological nature of IR as an academic scientific discipline, the debate on IR and its intellectual paradigms is unlikely to end in the twenty first century. Underlying Sardar’s observations, and the contemporary societal development in Africa challenges IR interpretation of non-Western world.

However, the debate that IR started in the early twentieth century has been accused by many scholars as having the legitimacy it lacks (Schmidt, 2012: 3), due to the fact that its analysis of complex transnational relations is based on the history of the development of the modern European State, which dates back to the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The relevance of IR methodology has also been thrown into question, because it leaves some doubts due to its historical construction and its ontological and epistemological base (Schmidt, 2012: 4).

Contemporary IR, in both theory and practice, is firmly rooted in the European historical experience, which has led to hegemonic methodological approaches becoming legitimised universally. IR has therefore been criticised of not presenting a sufficient understanding of the problems in the field and how they have evolved, so that there is a constant danger of starting from the same premises and continually reinventing the wheel in the same format (Schmidt, 2012: 4). There have been calls for African scholars to dig deeper and consider asking questions outside the paradigms of mainstream IR, to

criticise and to reject the current practices of supporting the supremacy of hegemonic scientific knowledge (Bless, Higson-Smith & Sithole, 2013: 48).

The outcome of the historical development of IR is that it has tended to neglect the history of dominated societies and misrepresented subjugated territories over time. In his book titled *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Walter Rodney (1942 – 1980) made a significant observation on the nature, relevance and inappropriateness of IR to Africa. He stated that the history of Africa is misunderstood and misinterpreted because it has been presented from the narrow lenses of colonialism that rejected the indigenous organised political power of African empires. IR fails to theorise these, because most books and scholarly works about indigenous social structures misinterpret their significance (Rodney cited in Matunhu, 2011: 66).

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Rodney examined the misinterpretation of international trade in the fifteenth century when Europeans went to other parts of the world, and concluded that international trade is nothing but organised extension overseas of European interests (Rodney, 1972: 85). During the historical organization of international trade, Africans had little knowledge in relation to the tri-continental links between Africa, Europe and America (Rodney, 1972: 85) and Europe had a monopoly over the formation of knowledge about the international exchange system as a whole (Rodney, 1972: 85). Recent African literature has challenged the historical and intellectual development of IR and radical African scholarship has rejected situating the history of Africa within systematic epistemological and methodological approaches to IR, asserting that they are part of the ideological superstructure which maintain the monopoly of knowledge that support transnational hegemony (Rodney, 1972: 92-94).

Because all history is ideologically informed, that is, history reflects the concerns of individuals and societies who produce it, it has been argued that Africans need to reconnect to their history so that an African methodology can emerge, with a historically informed foundation that will help to build knowledge and encourage theoretical thinking about political events.

Other non-African cultures have connected to their civilizations theoretically, which helps them to interpret the world from their own lens (Isichei, 1997: 7). Islamic ideology, for example, had significant achievements in persuading others to accept the world view it presented and played a major ideological role in the period of the expansion of the Islamic empire across the Maghreb in Africa within a few years after the death of Prophet Muhammad in the seventh century (Rodney, 1972: 62). Muslim scholars have not contributed greatly to the mainstream Western debate in IR, because according to Islamic faith, the Quran, as a documentation of the revelations from Allah, presents the “truth” and have been referenced by Muslim scholars and leaders over the centuries, so there is no need for arguing beyond this framework.

Ibn Khaldun (1332 CE – 1406 CE), a fourteenth century historian, explained Islam as an important force for Arab expansion and advancement of the empire. Khaldun covered one aspect of Arab imperial expansion, which he viewed as being crucial, namely, the essential role of ideology in the process (Rodney, 1972: 62- 63). Although Muslims were the first people to establish relationships across societies through the African slave trade (Mwakikagile, 2006: 44), the Muslims who invaded North African nonetheless persuaded those among whom they settled to adopt their religion, and Muslims contributed to the dynamics of African societies (Rodney, 1972: 63-64). Championing their ideology and

putting it into practice was essential for its successful infusion into social and intellectual life (Clarke, 2012: 8).

According to radical African scholars, these historical ideological developments leave gaps in mainstream IR that are not acknowledged and cause significant misinterpretation of the history of thinking about world politics and the nature of IR (Rodney, 1972: 101).

For this reason, the literature review consists of an overview of the primary theoretical perspectives in IR that have informed and guided this research. Foremost among these is the perspective of critical theorist Robert Cox, whose contribution enables an understanding of the reasons for difference among States, and the need for them to be treated differently in research, according to global relations of power and domination.

A 'new world order'

The concept of a 'new world order' was incorporated by Cox into IR in describing the global political economy after the Second World War. He presents the historical perspective as a context for understanding global change (Cox & Sinclair, 1996: 3). Cox's criticism of mainstream methodological approaches and IR theories is that their focus is misplaced and deals with relations between States, failing to develop an account of transnational linkages, or of their origin (Hoogvelt, 2001: 10).

By the end of the nineteenth century, the project of a single capitalist world economy that covered all the geographical areas of the world had been completed through mercantilism and then the colonial expansion which formed the basis for capitalist industrialisation in Europe (Hoogvelt, 2001: 14). The spread of the ideas that accompanied capitalist expansion was significant in changing the beliefs of societies affected by capitalism.

However, the 'new world order' refers to a later stage of capitalism dominated by powerful hegemons and based on financial power. It is business-driven and it undermines the independent capacity of States, as its national political economy is penetrated by transnational financial and production networks (Langley, 2002: 166) in a system of relationships now known as globalisation (Duncan, Jancar-Webster & Switky, 2002: 492). The significant feature of this globalisation is the liberalisation of global trade, which has increased the power of transnational corporations. Globalisation has increased the power of international oil companies, the "Seven Sisters" and Libya integration to the global political economy which will be seen in Chapter Four. This is a cartel of a wealthy and powerful oligarchy of oil companies that dominated the world oil industry, including oil producing States such as Libya.

The predominance of the financial element of globalisation in IR can be traced back to the establishment of the so-called "Bretton Woods" institutions, namely, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), later known as the World Bank (WB) (Leysens & Thompson, 1999: 34). This announced the beginning of a global economy based on financial capitalism and a 'new world order' in which the institutions and ideology of one powerful nation – the United States (US) – were to dominate (Duncan, Jancar-Webster & Switky, 2002: 492). Cox argues that a US-led hegemonic world order, maintained through the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates and institutions, dominated until the early 1970s (Morton, 2007: 123). Subsequently, global financial markets disciplined independent States to the extent that they had to follow free market arrangements defined by US-based corporation and banks (Patomaki, 2008: 169). The Bretton Woods era introduced the capitalist market

economy to the world through the process of neo-liberalisation, characterised by the emergence of private market economies and non-territorial economic expansion (Patomaki, 2008: 169).

Libya integration to a 'new world order' of Bretton Woods system which advanced the autonomy of the US international economic foreign policy of neoliberalism globally. The American oil and arms trade companies made a fortune globally in oil producing countries such as Libya. The Bretton Woods promoted neoliberal policies that promotes the liberations of international trade. Libya become a potential site of international arms trade, as it will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

The rise of G77 and BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) is another indication of symbolic rhetoric in the form of calls for solidarity among non-Western States. The combined capital of the newly established BRICS Bank is not even 10% of that made available by the World Bank and is insufficient to finance national development projects (Chin, 2014: 366-372). Though critical of the IMF and the WB, emerging international economic cooperation among developing countries in the global political economy does not change either the authority or the objectives of International Financial Institution (IFIs), or the lingering power of the original Bretton Woods signatories.

This is how Cox brings a critical element that other theories do not offer, namely, insights into the development of historical structures in examining how they came about through ideas, institutions and material forces (Hoogvelt, 2001: 12). Therefore, Cox's presentation is important to this research in explaining changes in the international system through the recognition of ideas and values that have become deep-rooted and institutionalised as

part of a historically determined global structure. However, as a historical materialist, Cox also notes that ideas are always fundamentally linked to the political economy, which is of primary importance.

Changes brought about by the Cold War

“Humanity was lucky to survive the Cold War era”, observes Patomaki (2008: 124). The end of the Cold War marked the end of the era of bi-polarity and the ideological battle between communism and capitalism (Hogan, 1992: 3). The conjectural change at the end of the Cold War was a critical period in the context of global economy of the 1990s (Cox & Sinclair, 1996: 6). The change to a unipolar system dominated by one ideology of neo-liberalism and the impact of financial capitalism gave substance to transnational organisations, that is, those operating across national boundaries, with little regard to State sovereignty.

The end of the Cold War, and the fall of the Berlin Wall, the dissolution of the communist power led to the collapse of the Soviet Union as a counter hegemonic power to the US capitalist ideology of neoliberalism. Libya, one of Africa’s oil producing State under the rule of Qadhafi battle over the global oil currency after the post-Cold War and the dissolution of communism as a counter hegemonic ideology. Qadhafi suggested to African and Muslim countries should implement an international economic plan, introducing a gold dinar or Euro for oil trade. By introducing the gold dinar will challenge the hegemony of the West and the financial domination of the dollar as a global currency in the neoliberal world order, it will be further discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

Institutional and ideological elements fell into place as the next phase occurred, that is, stable international capital accumulation, and the beginning of the incorporation of Africa into global financial capitalism (Hoogvelt, 2001: 13). This period is significant because the end of Cold War in the 1990s meant that there was no further competition between the East and the West in Africa. Developing countries had no alternative from which to choose and instead they were aggressively driven into the neoliberal policies by developed countries (Chang, 2011: 57).

The Bretton Woods institutions gave substance to the power of the US dollar, driven according to neoliberal principles of global trade and investment, which inspired, *inter alia*, military spending on the part of US transnational corporations, which fuelled conflict and instability. This will be discussed in Chapters Three and Four. Recent literature makes it clear that most African States today are unable to perform the tasks they are tasked with of ruling and resource distribution, due to the levels of instability, insecurity and violence or civil war (Ferguson, 2006: 8). Although on a global level the wars between States are rarer than in previous eras, the decrease of armed conflict to 5% has shown that violent armed conflicts are concentrated in Africa (Patomaki, 2008: 2).

For this reason, post-colonial African States have experienced political instability and conflict. The process of democratization in Africa has created a condition of ongoing conflict influenced by transnational arms corporations. After African States gained independence in the 1960s, international trade in the global political economy was characterised by an ideological confrontation between capitalist and communist states. During the period of 1980-1984, at the time when global arms transfers were at the highest, international arms trade benefited the Soviet Union, the US, France, the United

Kingdom (UK) and Germany, accounting for 84 percent arms exports (Bromley, Holtom, Perlo-Freeman & Wezeman, 2009: 2). From 1980-1984, the five largest recipients of military equipment were in Asia and Africa, namely, Iraq, India, Libya, Syria and Egypt, who accounted for 26% of total imports (Bromley, Holtom, Perlo-Freeman & Wezeman, 2009: 4).

It is widely recognised that the international arms trade is used as tool for foreign policy (Stohl & Grillot, 2009: 47) and that agreements made to support incoming regimes are based on the provision of "security". Arms deals have underpinned the transition to democracy throughout Africa, as highlighted by the scandals involving South African President Jacob Zuma, allegedly a beneficiary of lucrative transactions. The adjustment by African states to economic liberation has thus been led by high-value agreements relating to the provision of arms. This leads to the unavoidable situation in which the arms need to be utilised and replaced in order to maintain trade.

Since the 1990s, there has been increased attention to tools of violence, not only violence itself (Stohl & Grillot, 2009: 2). The military industry is complex and corrupt, and, based on the volume of finance, implicates financial institutions, supported by governments (Gregory, 2011: vii). US and UK governments pursue military operations in the Middle East and Africa not only to secure control over strategic resources, but also to foster the arms trade, which remains a big business in which the "high street banks" support arms companies (Hilary, 2008: 17).

Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman and Boeing, all US companies, are the three largest defence companies in the world, with combined revues that account for 1% of the United

States \$10 trillion Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

(<http://web.stanford.edu/class/e297a/U.S.%20Defense%20Industry%20and%20Arms%20Sales.htm>). These defence contractors depend on arms sales and these sales are executed independently of the consequences in terms of promoting internal conflict and fostering war between states. This is amply illustrated by the observation that “In 2009 and 2010, we sold Libya \$63 million in arms that could have been used against us when we attacked Libya in 2011. And at that time, we were in the middle of negotiating another \$77 million arms deal Muammar Kaddafi” (Faure-Brac, 2012: 58).

In summary, arms trade companies influence foreign policy in securing their business interests by persuading foreign governments to approve arms deals.

The case of the twenty-first century Libyan State is one of the most striking examples of how Western interference has disrupted and de-stabilised a vast region in North Africa, following the 2011 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) invasion. Western interference pre-dated the Arab Spring, and more details will be provided in Chapter Three, Four and Five. Scholars such as Osaghae and Suberu (2005) argue that the politics of ethnic identity undermined the prospects for the post-colonial State as a coherent and unified entity, linking the weakness of the post-colonial State with the problem of fragmented identity and unsuccessful nation-building. They argue that identity politics was the basis for conflict in Nigeria, which became institutionalised along these lines and prevented the development of a strong state based on national unity (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005: 14).

Such an analysis does not form part of this study, which, as implied in the title, foregrounds the role of transnational trade and the existence of external factors such as western interests as primary causes of Libyan instability. Nevertheless, the study approaches the multiple factors at play as a complex phenomenon, simultaneously focusing on transnational trade and the existence of a global political system as the basis for theorisation (Mamdani, 2011: 3)

The year 2011 is significant in that political revolution spread across North Africa and parts of the Middle East, causing the overthrow of dictatorial regimes, while in Libya debates were boiling in January and early February 2011 (Chipaike, 2012: 43). Since late 2011, there have been sporadic outbreaks of violence among firstly, rival militia groups, secondly, criminals, and lastly armed citizens (Blanchard, 2012: 19). Tunisia saw the overthrow of Ben Ali and Egypt of Mubarak, while Morocco, Yemen, Syria and Bahrain witnessed mass protests (Chipaike, 2012: 43). However, instead of calling on Qadhafi to step down, which was the case in other Arab countries, the revolution turned into a civil war between the government and the rebels, backed by the international non-state actor NATO, which complicated the uprising in Libya by applying a military solution to the crisis.

Nganje (2011: 2) observes that the international response to the Libyan crisis is controversial, and Chipaike claims that “what differentiates Libya and the other affected countries is that the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) overwhelmingly approved a resolution that eventually led to the imposition of a no-fly zone over Libya, giving NATO the responsibility to bomb strategic government military installations and arsenals” (Chipaike, 2012: 43). Wezeman (2012: 1) added that the UNSC response to the Libyan crisis was attended to with remarkable speed and determination by imposing sanctions

and an arms embargo within two weeks of the uprising. This suggests that commercial interests tended to bind states and that Libya's non-return as an arms buyer lost it the patronage of nations that were formerly arms providers (Wezeman, 2012: 2).

These complexity will be analyses in Chapter Five. By using theoretical tools, a deep understanding will be gained of how this was the culmination of an almost solitary battle waged by Libyan President Muammar Qadhafi against a global economic order controlled by Western IFIs. These political events influenced by the monopoly over the global political economy were now examined by contemporary IR theories, constructivism and post-structuralism.

The theoretical debates emerge in IR at the end of the Cold War and the advancement of methodological debate concerning stable political concept such as the State, and sovereignty to be further researched. As a result, at the end of the Cold War, there has been a great deal of intellectual debate in IR presented by constructivism and post-structuralism. Thus, the literature review is related to the problem at hand and has been carefully studied to help to clarify the questions under investigation which are crucial in showing how it is embedded on already existing theories (Bless, Higson & Sithole, 2013: 48). Hence the theories of IR are also under investigation in the study to see whether they have social relevance to the African society.

International Relations theories

In International Relations, as in all the social sciences, there are opposing views of the purpose of theory and these are related to the methodological approach. Positivism sees the need to develop generalizable theory that can be used to test a hypothesis, whilst

relativism or interpretivism seeks only to explain so that a deeper understanding is gained. A critical approach aims ultimately at revealing the potential for emancipatory change, and the need for theory is related to this. In IR, the behaviourist approach of the Americans after the 1960s challenged the “traditional” Western European-based approach that examined relations between nations according to their deeply rooted ideological conviction and morals concerning what was “good” and “bad”. As it will be seen in the following chapters, other States including Libya are labeled as “rogue” States in an international system. Rogue States emerged out of American foreign policy in a global economic capitalist system, a neoliberal world order that consolidated the American power to engage in War.

McGowan and Nel (1999: 9) define IR as a subject that studies the global order its historical development, how it is maintained and how it transformed to a global system within a structure that manages the relations between actors. The reason for studying a wide range of IR theories helps to make international politics more intelligible, whether the purpose is to hypothesise or simply to propose an explanation, with the view of identifying the main trends and patterns in IR (Burchill & Linklater, 2009: 16). IR is a complex field that sometimes appears more complex because of the variety of theoretical approaches and their different emphases. At the centre of realism is the role of the State and, more recently, non-state actors. However, the context is of vital importance and critical theory emphasizes the historical development of the global capitalist economy as being of primary significance. Liberalism looks at the role of trade in cementing relationships, but downplays the role of international institutions involved. Non-governmental organizations are free from government intervention, but operate legally

within the State as independent organizations, complicating the notion of where power lies (Reinalda, 2011: 3). Intergovernmental organizations are made out of different member States, but these organizations have independent policies which sometimes contradict one another (Vincent, 1999: 122).

Finally, transnational organizations and corporations do not have geographic restrictions, because these organizations operate outside the borders of the country of origin in various other sovereign territories, and, in the case of corporations, they do so with the objective of making profit. Libya is one of the largest oil exporter in Africa, which also enjoyed the membership of being among the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), an organization that emerge to counter the hegemonic power of the “seven sisters” over oil producing countries such as Libya. Powerful companies such as oil companies, banks and private arms manufactures also have also gone under academic scrutiny and research. The significance of these entities will be at the core of this current research.

The above has provided a hint at what can be expected of different theories and the discussion now proceeds to a more in-depth investigation.

Realism in international relations

Classical political realism, often referred to as Realpolitik, is one of the oldest and most frequently adopted theories of IR (Donnelly, 2009: 31), prioritizing national interest and security over ideology. The emphasis of realist theory has been traced to the writing of the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588 – 1679), whose book *Leviathan*, proposed that the impossibility of order without a strong central government responsible for law and

order, for “without the restraint of law every person had total freedom and the right to do everything” (Ratnapala, 2009: 147). However, he confirmed that there is a thin line between absolute sovereignty and the authority of the rule of law, because of the legally binding relationship between the State and citizen that does not permit deviance.

The nature of State and the process of contemporary State formation in Africa, developed in a stateless society contradicts the dominant understanding of Western conception of a social contract in Africa which remain prominent in many academic in Western academic fields of study such IR. In Africa, Libya emerged as a result of colonialism, a modern State, like any other African States, developed in Europe and transplanted in Africa, contradicts the Western conception of a political social contract – including the relationship between citizens and the State. However, the dominant explanation of State formation in Africa depends largely from the Western intellectual heritage of Enlightenment, and remain prominent in the Western academic fields of study which reinforces Western understanding of the colonial State in Africa. In modern African States, sovereignty is assigned by colonial powers, and NATO multi-State military invasion of Libya in 2011 reveal the insufficient sovereignty of an African State.

Hobbes indicated that in the State of nature that preceded society, “to live in the absence of government would, in a word, be inconvenient because there would be no reliable and public means of resolving disputes, arriving at just and uniform outcomes, and making punishments fit crime” (Dyson, 2007: 50). So, according to Hobbes the State was needed, this was the origin of a political order and government. As a prominent Western philosopher among the seventeenth and eighteenth century theorists, he developed a

social contract theory where he explained the necessary relationship between an individual and the State for the sake of order and stability.

Realism as a theory emphasizes self-interest and explains conflict in the world based on observation of human nature and greed in a Western context. The strength of a State is derived from foreign policy, and there is endless conflict for resources in an “anarchic” system (Donnelly, 2000: 7). Drawing from Hobbes, sovereign States, regardless of their form of government, will clash with one another, so there is a need for the authority of sovereign government to enforce agreements and punish those who break the law (Dewitt, Haglund & Kirton, 1993: 172). The system of States emerged out of a social contract and laid a foundation for the realist assumptions of State behavior in an anarchic system (without leadership). The realist perspective is closely associated with the desire of States to gain control over, or access to resources that will maximize their power. Resources are primarily the cause of the conflict and States sovereignty and national self-interest are paramount, with boundaries and interests protected or promoted by military means. In short, the quest to maximize power is the underlying force in relations between States. This resonates with the mercantilism which sees States compete in pursuit of self-interests leading to war. As a result many wars were fought by States in the international system to achieve mercantilist goals (Burchill, 2009: 64).

According to realist thinking, the “security dilemma” is the major cause of conflict, especially in competition over scarce resources in an unstable international system, where the military capacity of the State is critical for survival (Dougherty & Pfaltzgraff, 2001: 64). The realist tradition has also influenced “just war” ontology, based on moral

doctrines of Christianity, emphasising that violence is defensible in cases where the final aim is “justice”, according to the central norms and features of Western civilisation.

“Just war” theory is embedded in Christian philosophy, developed by theologians to defend the moral values and norms of Christianity communities emanating from the West. A “just war” would then be one which is defensible through recourse to these values. The values of liberalism, namely, individual rights, have similarly provided grounds for war, which is considered “just” if it involves the protection of democratic norms and principles. However, the changing nature of international politics, especially since the end of the Second World War, has witnessed war not just between nations, but against non-state actors such as Al-Qaeda, which has no defined geographical basis.

The military confrontation between NATO and Libya, which resulted in NATO military intervention in 2011, illustrated a case of war against a non-state entity. Contemporary warfare is thus more complex than allowed for in classical realist theory.

The relevance of “just war” theory needs to be re-examined because of its emphasis on Western norms and moral criteria and its applicability to non-liberal States, such as Libya, as will be seen. Scholars such as Samuel P. Huntington acknowledge this as a “clash of civilizations” (Huntington, 1996: 13). However, he foregrounds a cultural and religious division, neglecting what is central to critical theory, namely, the global political economy.

Donnelly (2009: 31) argues that he rejects political realism which is a prescriptive theory of foreign policy. The theory acknowledges sovereign States as the only primary actors in an ‘anarchic’ international system, ignoring the many other “actors”. Aimed at bolstering its claims to scientific status, the behaviorist approach of realism assigns a human identity

and nature to the State, basing all explanations on these premises and focusing exclusively on the ambitions of State power so as not to permit alternative explanations to undermine it (Brown & Ainley, 2009: 33). However, in the 1960s and the early 1970s realism experienced challenges that were not driven by developments in the academy, but by the events in the real world, which challenged the foundations of realism (Brown & Ainley, 2009: 33). The oil crises of the 1960s had a significant impact on the global political economy when OPEC advocating for a greater political control over oil production.

Scholars inspired by the realist tradition in IR include Kenneth Waltz, who inspired the neo-realism that departs sharply from the classical realism and its focus on Statecraft. He recognised the significance of non-State actors and how States behave in an international arena. This view is also strongly evident in the writing of Morgenthau (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 44). Implicitly or explicitly, Waltz established the problem of anarchy that sets the agenda for most contemporary IR research (Brown & Ainley, 2009: 47-48) in acknowledging the role of transnational corporations in an international system. In methodological terms, both neorealism and neoliberalism share the same common ground, as they are no longer diametrically opposed, and both accept the shift in ontology away from State-based interpretations of IR (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 45). The criticism emerging from the liberal and realist camp is that constructivism is primarily theoretical, lacks a methodology and needs to develop "a coherent constructivist methodological base that suggests a practical alternative to imitating the physical science" (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 178). Both realism and liberalism shared the same critique, which constructivism, to be discussed shortly, tried to address.

Liberalism in International Relations

Classical liberalism as a theory can be traced back to another British philosopher, John Locke (1632-1704), who is viewed by many scholars as the father of liberalism. Locke's conception of a social contract emphasises that people will form a State and establish a constitutional form of government that will protect their lives, liberty and property.

In Africa, modern colonial States had been subjected economically and politically as colonies, these States did not emerge through natural process of self-knowledge, self-determination, self-control and self-emancipation. Classical political liberalism emphasises that no individual can be forced into a political contract without his own consent, these principles are misplaced in modern colonial African States, in particular in Libya. Democracy in Libya is a foreign political ideology of classical political liberalism, which is transplanted in Libya as a form of government and representative of the Libyan people. The recognition of the Libyan National Transitional Council (NTC), which became the representative of the Libyan people, as a democratic government in Libya is failing to install political stability as legitimate government.

The theory of classical liberalism was also influenced by Locke, a classical writer of European Enlightenment and social contract theorists, who is viewed as being the father of liberalism, human rights and democracy embedded on the United Nations (UN). His writing formed a basic foundation for the establishment of the fundamental principles of democracy, namely, individual freedom and property rights that served as the ideological base for the development of the capitalist class (Grant, 1987: 7-8). Locke's writings are evident in the modern principles of the UN, particularly insofar as human rights, the right

to self-determination and the notion of democracy as constituted by a government freely elected by the people, are concerned.

The classical social contract theory of John Locke emanates from the classical tradition of liberalism associated with the limited power of government. The creation of democracies or democratic forms of government has ousted all other forms of government in the non-Western world where lacked shared societal values around basic principles that foregrounded equality, liberty and individual rights. The pact between State and citizens, oriented towards protection of individual rights, is evident in IR in the “Responsibility to Protect” clause that allows the UN to override State sovereignty in order to protect the citizens from the State itself, or from the failure on the part of the State to protect its own citizens.



The rights-based discourse forms part of a globalized policy that criticizes non-democratic regimes, including those in North Africa, according to the indigenous globalized liberal criteria of “good governance”. The UN, heavily financed by the US, promotes liberal democracy as an end in itself, whilst advancing market oriented ideology that fosters the arms trade, and as a consequence, war.

The European bourgeoisie rose to social dominance, through mercantilist expansion of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, followed by the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, which led to the decline of the old feudal social order (Lawrence, 2007: 120). Free trade was seen as a more peaceful means of achieving national wealth, the economic model claiming that “each economy would be materially better off than if it had been pursuing nationalism and self-sufficiency” (Burchill, 2009: 64). Liberalism acted

as an ideology of the government, which acted as a mode of regulating society that facilitated the process of expansion and consolidation of capitalism (Lawrence, 2007: 120). Artificial barriers to commerce were distorted by free trade that encouraged international friendship and understanding (Burchill, 2009: 64-65). During this period, European States were advancing and become more dependent on the expertise of positivist social sciences, which helped to engineer social integration and to exercise colonial rule (Rose in Lawrence, 2007: 120).

Classical Liberalism, rooted in the European Enlightenment, championed scientific rationality, freedom and human progress (Burchill, 2009: 57). Liberalism emphasizes the bases of social hierarchy, the distinction between the State as a public institution that is separate from civil society, and the formation of a political society under a supreme government that makes public laws. In IR, liberalism is connected with the emergence of the modern liberal State and the extension of this form of State as the “modern State” throughout the world in the twentieth century, as various colonies gained independence (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 96).

Another British philosopher, John Stuart Mill (1806 - 1873), foregrounded the rights of the individual in his thinking about the role of the State in relation to the individual. He believed that the State should exist to prevent people from causing harm to others and being able to punish those causing harm and backed the notion of a limited role for the State. One of the primary obligations of the State was to defend private ownership, and this was to become embedded in colonial practices. He also argued for liberty in the form of the right to self-development, which is prominent in his theories around ethics and justice (Donner, 1991: 188).

The thinking of Adam Smith (1723 – 1790) has been more linked to economics than philosophy, and he is famous for having advanced the idea that a “laissez-faire” economy and free trade should take precedence over the State’s political decisions. Adam Smith’s book of classical economics, *The Wealth of Nations*, is based on the idea that free trade and economic liberty will result in economic progress for nations. He criticised the basis for mercantilism of State-backed expeditions and rejected the idea of State intervention in the market, arguing that nations would not grow wealthy from tariffs. He argued that the less influential the government in economy, the more the nation would prosper (Donner, 1991: 36). He has been credited with developing or reviving the classic liberal thought with the basic principles of capitalist philosophy embedded on free trade and private ownership, advocating for individual freedom in the market (De Deugd & Hoen, 2010: 36). Importantly, the intellectual history of the nineteenth century was marked by both the disciplinarisation and professionalization of knowledge, meaning the creation of permanent institutional structures designed to produce and reproduce knowledge (Bilgin & Morton, 2002: 57).

The liberal philosophy gained the solid political endorsement of the powerful State after the victory of the alliance of democratic forms of government, the United States, Britain and France, over the autocratic central powers (Germany, Austria, Turkey) in the First World War (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 31-32). During this time, Woodrow Wilson was the US President, and as a university professor of political science, his main mission was to install liberal democratic values throughout Europe and later throughout the world (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 31).

In this way, liberalism was carried through changes in the global political economy to emerge in the mid-twentieth century as neoliberalism. This ideology is linked to the most recent phase of capitalism, financial capitalism, which emerged after the Second World War and will be discussed in depth in Chapter Three. Neo-liberalism became globally dominant after communism was removed as an oppositional force to capitalism at the end of the Cold War in 1989. It views self-interest in the market as taking place in trading relations and negotiations, rather than in confrontation and conflict.

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of a global ideological confrontation between communism and capitalism motivated Francis Fukuyama to write this period as "End of History". Fukuyama's analysis in his book titled: "The End of History and the Last Man", conforms to the wide spread of the dominant ideology of universalization of Western liberal democracies as the last form of government. However, the universalization of capitalist liberal democracies after the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, never signal the sociocultural evolution and became the last form of government. Rather, we have seen the rise of the Islamic State as a global ideology that rejects universalization of Western democracies in other parts of the world as a final form of government. Fukuyama analysis never made any progress beyond the hegemony of a capitalist ideology of free market capitalism of the West. The globalization of Westphalian nation-States and organization of human society of sovereign States is being challenged by the global Islamic State with religious identity (Bielat, n/d). Such an analysis is misleading and incorrect, because of the ideological advent of Western liberal democracies in the post-Cold War era did not signal an end point of humanity sociocultural evolution of Western liberal democracies as a final form of government. Western liberal form of

government failed to materialise in Libya as it will be seen in Chapter Four, instead, the Islamic State is claiming territory in a post-Qadhafi chaotic situation.

The post-World War Two institutionalisation of social sciences in the university system led to the emergence of disciplines centred on the academic fields of political science, economic, sociology and history. These allowed for the search for rationality of liberal ideology to separate the State from the market and civil society (Bilgin & Morton, 2002: 57). Free trade is at the core of this liberal perspective and is advocated by the UN and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Under the UN, all States have to follow democratic principles of governance in their sovereign states, with the aim of facilitating free trade effectively among states. Free trade permits an unrestricted flow of goods in the international system across national borders (Kennedy, 2005: 182). The establishment of the WTO in 1995, with the aim of enforcing rules of conduct of international trade according to international law, enhanced the mechanisms of globalization, enabling the subordination to international law of the so-called “developing” economies (Perdikis & Read, 2005: 2). Many privately owned multinational or transnational companies benefit from the conditions set by the WTO, which limited the power of the emerging post-colonial State. This will be further investigated in Chapter Four, in examining the contestation by Libya of these global structures designed to subordinate newly independent nations to the needs of dominant societies and powerful transnational corporations.

Hegemonic stability theory

The theoretical shift from both classical political realism and classical political liberalism has dramatic implications. Hegemonic stability theory is a theory of IR which is dominated by the two dominant schools of thought, that is, neorealism and neoliberalism that

sustains the liberal global political economy as a natural order. It takes global capitalism as natural phenomena which developing societies should support, not reject. Both theories are rooted in the positivist ideology, enforcing the democracy through an intellectual paradigm of hegemonic stability theory to a non-Western world and in places that rejected democracy as a governing system. This will be further elaborated in Chapter Three, the emergence of the post-World war Two global political economy.

The emergence of hegemonic stability theory is heavily influenced by the positivist behaviorist ideology of classical realism and classical liberalism. Neoliberalism and neorealism borrow their epistemologies from the eighteenth century philosophical principle of capitalist system of nation-States that succeeded the feudal system in Europe. Both theories maintain the intellectual hegemony of the principles of a Western world order, where States and non-State actors are “players” in a “game” in which control over trade and access to resources is the primary aim, with the ultimate goal of national prosperity and power. This approach characterizes the formulation and determination of the global policy of the US, whilst its recourse to the notion of “defending democracy” has been utilised to justify its intervention in sovereign States where it has material interests.

Hegemonic stability theory emerged in support of the global financial project of the post-1945 international political and financial order laid on the foundation of the Bretton Woods institutions, into which Libya was inextricably drawn through the oil industry, directed by Western “players”.

Sub-theories of economics embedded on liberal thought, such as hegemonic stability theory, have been applied by some scholars in examining and explaining the cause NATO

military invasion of Libya in 2011. This theory claims that the State is an integral part of the global political economy which is dominated by one globally dominant hegemon that emerges as the most powerful at a particular point in time and which formulates the 'rules' according to which all States conduct their activities. Hegemonic stability theory is a sub-theory that shares both realist and liberal perspectives. The debate arising from hegemonic stability theory is whether the hegemon should enforce these rules, as this goes against liberal norms. In other words, is enforcement necessary to create an international economy and is there a need for it to be backed by military power, as in the absence of such organization, the liberal rules cannot be enforced around the world (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 199). This will be further explored when examining the case of the NATO invasion of Libya in 2011.

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This theory promotes the positivist assumption that dominated States should follow the 'rules' corresponding to the global hegemon in order to advance economically (Bilgin & Morton, 2002: 58). This notion has contributed to statism, primarily focusing on economical and political development, and marginalising other aspects of society and social development. However, this theory is irrelevant to societies that reject market capitalism and parliamentary democracy (Burchill, 2009: 58), such as communist or fundamentalist Islamic States that dispute the liberal idiom in which democracy "removes the economic sphere from political control" (Bilgin & Morton, 2002: 64).

The relationship between politics and economics in hegemonic stability theory is critical in maintaining the current neoliberal world economy. To be applicable requires the hegemon to control world economic resources, namely, raw material, capital, markets, and the hegemon should hold a competitive advantage in production of goods with a high

value (Keohane 1984: 33). In keeping with this theory, this is why, after World War Two, the US set up the institutions for a reformed liberal world economy, namely, the IMF, the WB, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), replaced now by the World Trade Organization, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 200).

The theory justifies US access to foreign markets and control over resource production of other countries. Significantly, Middle East oil has been vitally important in effecting the changes to the international economic regime since the First World War (Keohane, 1984: 41). Through hegemonic power, international cooperation in critical areas such as finance, trade and oil was established (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 203).

The problem to the hegemon arises if its opponents, usually dominated states, make nationalism their weapon and also seek to develop State-centred ideologies that counter the hegemon (Keohane, 1984: 46). It will be shown that this was the case in Libya, as will be seen in Chapter Four.

The theory is now being defied by the Islamic State movement, which rejects the sociological and intellectual hegemony of the Westphalian political world order, a territorial boundary based on religious identity, through the formation of a borderless transnational religious civil society in the form of the Islamic State.

Critical theory in international relations

Critical methodological approach in the scientific discipline of IR has continued in pursuing its objective of emancipatory project, and its critique of mainstream IR theories in the discipline in analysing the global political economy and cause of conflict in particular in

Africa. By drawing attention in particular to the relationship between knowledge and society is essential, which is so frequently excluded especially from the mainstream theoretical analysis, in which critical theory recognises the political nature of knowledge claims (Devetak, 2009: 161).

The study is rooted on the research methodology of critical theory in explaining the historical roots of the incident of conflict, and using the 2011 Libyan conflict as a case study. As a theory of IR, it focuses on power relations among States, non-state actors, and powerful multinational companies and regions within the broader global context. The theory analyses the growing asymmetry in power relations between the north and the south, established along with the neoliberal alliances which are between African political elite and the north powerful trading partners that creates auspicious condition for conflict. For example in Libya, the revenues generated from oil has been used in purchasing of weapons at the expense of citizen's social welfare. The work cannot close a gap with critical theory, in particular the current post-Qadhafi chaotic situation.

The history of critical theory, this theory borrows from philosophers of the Enlightenment era, in particular Georg Hegel (1770-1831) and is a derivative of Marxism (Devetak, 2009: 160). Kant and Marx demonstrated in their time the significance of emancipation, in which critical theory can or has been accepted as a sequel of this (Ypi, 2014: 1-3). There is an imprint of classical Greek thought in this theory on autonomy and democracy is considered, as well thinking of Nietzsche and Weber (Devetak, 2009: 160). In the twentieth century, critical theory founded on a critique that became closely associate with a distinct body of thought known as the Frankfurt School (Jay cited in Devetak, 2009: 160). It is the writings of Western philosophers Immanuel Kant (1724 – 1804) and Karl

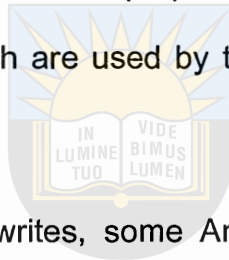
Marx (1818 – 1883), in particular, have demonstrated in their time that what happens at the international level is of immense significance in particular to the achievement of universal human emancipation (Devetak, 2009: 162). This is a project that had significance especially in the academic work of the Frankfurt school and critical theory as its epistemological approach.

The authority of religion was heavily criticised and challenged in an intellectual movement known as Enlightenment. Enlightenment is a period characterised by social empirical thought that gave rise to the notion of scientific understanding of the world as opposed to the earlier religious traditional ways of understanding the world and Enlightenment thinkers challenged the authority of religion through asserting that science provided the 'truth'. The historical impact of these ideas signified the break-up of the Middle Ages and developed national-unity under artificial sovereign States.

Many academics in the politically changing atmosphere of the 1960s adopted critical theory, frustrated by the form of domination emerging from the post-World War Two domination of the US culture, nurtured by capitalism. The objective of critical theory is essentially emancipatory and it strives to liberate society from the constraints to thinking that emanate from a capitalist form of power (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002: 88). The academic influence of Frankfurt school in critical theory offered an ability to critique, disrupt and challenge the status quo which indicates that critical theory still matters (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002: 87). Critical theorists reject the three basic propositions of positivism, namely, an objective external reality, the subject/object distinction, and "value-free", or neutral, social science (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 287). Hence it claims that

social science was in the first place a “creature” of States, which assisted or helped to serve them to achieve policy purposes (Bilgin & Morton, 2002: 58).

Critical theory differed from main stream IR theories such as realism and liberalism in both their epistemological and ontological premises (Gaan, 2005: 35). The proponents of this theory have used the term critical theory, as an emblem of a philosophy that questions modern social and political life, by using a method of immanent critique (Devetak, 2009: 160). Post-positivist critiques of positivist proposition include post-structuralism, constructivism and critical theory which are used by the Frankfurt School (Rengger & Thirkell-White, 2007: 5-9).



Since the Second World War, Cox writes, some American scholars such as Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Waltz that have transformed realism into a form of a problem-solving theory (Cox, 1981: 131). According to Cox; it takes the realist dictum to work with, rather against the prevailing international forces (Devetak, 2009: 164). Problem-solving theories can be represented in a broader perspective of critical theory that is, they serve a particular national, sectional, or class interests, because they are comfortable within the given order (Cox, 1981: 129). It is from this premise that problem-solving theory cannot led to human progress and emancipation, a knowledge that critical theory seeks to provide (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 287).

Critical theorists seek knowledge for political purposes of liberating humanity from the oppressive structures of world politics, and world economics which are heavily controlled by the hegemonic powers, in particular the capitalist US (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 287). Cox argues that the US-led hegemonic world order known as *pax Americana*, has

prevailed until the early 1970s (Bieler & Morton, 2004: 82). The US world order was sustained by its financial institutions known as the Bretton Woods institutions, such as the IMF and the WB. The US-led hegemony began to alter during the period of the world economic crisis of the 1970s, and followed by the collapse of the Bretton Woods system as a result of structural change in the world economy in the 1970s (Bieler & Morton, 2004: 82). Such changes are explained as a result of two tendencies: firstly, the internationalization of production, and secondly, the internationalization of the State through globalization (Bieler & Morton, 2004: 82). Internationalization of the State is another concept used by Cox in explaining the expansion of neoliberalism that transformed global values within a dominant ideological framework that emphasises the principles of a free market. We will return to this discussion in detail shortly.

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Therefore, critical theory looks at the State by tracing its historical formation to the current economic world order of global financial capitalism. The erosion of the State, a transformation which is connected to globalization, is characterised by the loss of territorial sovereignty and the monopoly of legitimate force, as argued by Max Weber (Weber, 2009: 334). Sovereignty is a political term assigned to a geographical area as a character of a legitimate political power of political communities that is associated with the development of the modern State as the outcome of an historical process. It is associated with the emergence of a particular form of capitalism which came into being in Europe as the result of the relationship between production, classes, political power and territory, as a "relatively fixed set of historical structures whose foundations were laid in the seventeenth century" (Robinson, cited in Morton, 2007: 145).

Therefore, Critical theory in IR looks at the relationships between States in the historical global context and does not separate the State from the global system in which all are essential to the development of relationships of power. According to German sociologist Jurgen Habermas (1929 -), with the arrival of modernity, the political left and the right agreed that through the development of capitalist democracies there has been a general loss of social stability (Braaten, 1991: 2). This is particularly relevant to “developing” societies that are dominated by developed societies.

This historical perspective offers the notion that the State emerged in Africa as a product of modernity and challenges the Weberian doctrine of a State, which is an “ideal” model that does not correspond to a particular epoch. Critical theory presents modern States in Africa as the vehicles of capitalism and domination, and, in doing so, avoids the tendency to abstract the post-colonial State from its socio-historical context, which can lead to an inability to account for historically specific ideologies and practices that sustain a social order (Bilgin & Morton, 2002: 63). The process of capitalist expansion destabilized the African traditional order, replacing it with the notion of modernity and the accompanying assignment of power to the State.

Critical theory as a theory of IR is not confined to an examination of States and the system, but focuses more widely on power and domination in the world, in which currently multinational and transnational corporations exercise the maximum influence (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 287). It criticizes the main concern of neoliberalism in making sure that the State-system and the liberal capitalist global economy function smoothly in their coexistence (Devetak, 2009: 164). Although critical theory is a Western theory, it is important in the African context because it does not consider State as isolated entities,

but as part of a system where other actors such as transnational organization operate independently from the State.

Hegemony is an essential element of critical theory, not only in the sense of exercising power, but of influencing global thinking. Robert Cox has become a political advocate for radical change (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 288) and uses the Gramscian concept of hegemony to explain a stable world order (Hoogvelt, 2001:10). The Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci understood that dominant power will not always be exercised simply by physical force, but via social-psychological attempts directed to win people's consent to domination through the use of cultural institutions such as the media, the schools, the firmly and the church (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002: 93). Gramsci acknowledges that winning people's consent is a very complex process that needs to be researched carefully, because we are all "hegemonized" and our knowledge and understanding is structured by limited exposure to the competing definitions of the sociopolitical world (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002: 93). In essence, Gramsci emphasis on the ideology is more significant than force.

Cox's main contribution lies in the development of a methodology in the field of IR for the study of historical change in international political economy (Hoogvelt, 2001: 10), giving a new method that breaks away from the main stream IR theories, realism and liberalism. He foregrounds the nature of knowledge and underscores the critical purpose of the development of knowledge, arguing against a historicist set of assumptions that must emanate from some form of agency (Cox, 1996: 6). In doing so, Cox famously argues that a "theory is for some and for some purpose": when any theory represents itself, it is critical to examine it as an ideology and lay bare its concealed perspective (Cox, 1981:

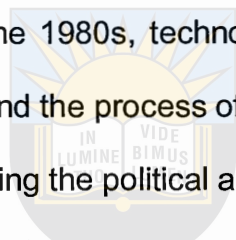
128). Critical theory does not only challenge and dismantle traditional forms of theorising by problematizing them; it seeks to emancipate (Devetak, 2009: 162).

Internationalization of the State occurred as a result of the growth of unofficial and official transnational and international networks of the State, which lead to the extension of the economic domain throughout society, so that corporate representatives and intellectuals worked towards the formulation of a policy that advanced consensus for global capitalism (Cox, 2002: 32). The global political economy therefore transcends the national economy that transformed societies and nudged them towards globalization. Cox argues that after the internationalization of the State, it can be viewed as an instrument for restructuring of national economies in a certain manner so that they are more responsive in particular to the demands and disciplines of the capitalist global economy (Devetak, 2009: 175). The State-oriented function has declined and it can no longer steer its development within its own borders.

Policy originating in the dominant society (US) was presented as the ideal for dominated societies, and as globalisation accelerated, business schools served to evolve the neoliberal ideology of capitalist expansion.

Furthermore, technological innovation in the field of communication soon provided a platform for instantaneous transformation of both data and ideas through Information Communication Technology (ICT), which enhanced the penetration of non-capitalist societies and accelerated financial investments and the absorption of these societies into what had become by 1990 a globally dominant capitalist system.

At the end of the last century, Manuel Castells (1996: 1) argued that the world has been in a process of structural transformation of what he called “the network society”, a phenomenon of a world-wide capitalist hegemony known as globalization. Globalization is characterized by the dominance of financial capital that ignores the nation-State and the role of the government in this new economy. The expansion of capitalism is characterized by the fundamentals of economic activities such as trade and productive investment. It is a fundamental activity of global financial capitalism that spread across the globe (Hoogvelt, 2001: 121). In the 1980s, technological innovation facilitated the global penetration of financial capital and the process of accumulation of wealth in global financial markets, in doing so engineering the political and economic subjugation of post-colonial States and undermining their political authority.



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The external economic intervention by the West hegemonic powers in post-colonial States undermine their political authority and economic sovereignty. For example, the economic infrastructure of the post-Second World War has created a new political economy for the post-colonial African States which promotes free market capitalism. The IMF, the WB assisted politically by the UN, financed heavily by the US have formulated and disseminated a global policy of liberal democracies and “good governance” in a transnational intervention on national political economies of postcolonial African States. It is clear that the subjugation of postcolonial African States has been played by the changes implemented by International Financial Institutions (IFIs), namely, the IMF, the Paris Club group of official creditors, the WB which have effectively defined and oversee the basic macro-economic policies of African governments in a number of African States in a process of globalization (Fearon, 1988: 113). These institutions pressurised

authoritarian regimes such as Libya to review their policies in favour of liberalization and 'opening up" to expand the operations of Western corporations.

Another critical theorist, Stephen Gill, suggested that the global financial and economic crises are the result of neoliberal alliances in the international system, allied with dictatorial forces, especially in developing countries (Gill, 2012: 1-2). This also points to the problem of the collaboration between the African political elite and powerful trading partners, which will be seen in this research to foster conflict in Africa. Gill suggests that we need today social and theoretical innovation that is required to rethink ontology and also to consider an 'ontological shift' (Gill, 1997: 5). Gill argues further that the post-World War Two period created conditions for the hegemony of transnational capital (Bieler & Morton, 2004: 82). According to Gill, to understand this process, it is important that our theorization must proceed historically (Gill, 2012: 16). The concept of supremacy in the ideological promotion of American liberalism, based on the principles of individualism and free trade, assured American supremacy through the 1970s in which was reconstructed in the 1980s (Bieler & Morton, 2004: 97).

The politics of knowledge in the Cold War

It was not until the 1980s that the so-called "third debate" and questions that relate to politics of knowledge was taken seriously in the field of IR (Devetak, 2009: 163). For critical theorists knowledge is not and cannot be neutral, that is, it is either morally or politically or ideological as it reflect the interest of the observer (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 287). Hence critical theory does not only challenge traditional forms of theory by problematizing them, it seeks to dismantle them, especially the entrenched forms of social life which constrain human freedom (Devetak, 2009: 162). Knowledge for critical theorists

is always biased, because knowledge is produced from the social perspective of the analyst (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 287). The important contributions of critical international theory was to widen the object domain of IR, with the objective of not just include epistemological and ontological assumptions, but to explain their connection prior political commitments (Devetak, 2009: 163). The Cold War was popularised to refer to the historical tension between the US and the Soviet Union after the Second World War. For IR scholars it was characterised by intellectual disagreements and rivalry between positivist and critical theorists. For critical theory, conflict is at the centre, the theory looks at groups that are strong and weak as the result of their history of slavery and colonialism. The problem of international trade has caused conflict economic and political instability. The liberal global political economy and the development of capitalist democracies have removed the economic sphere from the political control what Muslim States rejected. Thus, dictatorial Muslim States rejected the liberal idiom of restructuring their economy according to the demands of the global capitalist global economy. As a result, these contemporary developments in international politics culminated in terrorist attacks, which challenged the Westphalian orientation and theoretical frameworks of IR.

Attacks by non-state actors on the State in the 2000s led to US rhetoric of the “civilized” and “non-civilized”, in doing so reproducing perceptions by those holding power. Critical theorists observe that whether we realise it or not, social scientists and social science are instruments of power (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 288). In this respect critical theory differs from problem-solving theories, which accept the world as it is and do not question the present order, but instead legitimize it through refining it (Devetak, 2009: 164). To

critical theory, these theories are part of a historical structure and thus part of the problem being researched (Hoogvelt, 2001: 12).

This study is rooted in critical theory research methodology, because it is centred on the existence of a global political economy dominated by financial capitalism. As a theory of IR, it looks at the historical roots of domination and subordination and strives for emancipation through exposure of the “truth”. The study also offers a comparative theoretical analysis of mainstream theories of IR because of the complexity of the Libyan context.

Its critique of mainstream IR theories is that they fail to locate the fundamental nature of power inherent in a global capitalist system and thus fail to locate the cause of conflict in the scale of the arms trade and the manner in which it is promoted under the guise of “free market trade”.

By drawing attention to the relationship between knowledge and society, an aspect frequently excluded from mainstream theories, critical theory recognises the political nature of knowledge claims (Devetak, 2009: 161).

As a theory of IR, it focuses on power relations among States, non-state actors, and powerful multinational companies operating in regions within the broader global context. This theory analyses the growing asymmetry in power relations between the north and the south, established along with the neoliberal alliances which are between African political elite and the north powerful trading partners that creates auspicious condition for conflict.

Constructivism in international relations

Though most see constructivism as originating from critical theory, Pompa (1982: 26) argues that constructivism has deeper roots than critical theory: that is, it is not entirely a new approach. Rather, it is an old methodology that dates back at least to the eighteenth century, to the writings of Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico (1668 – 1744), whose intellectual views of history influenced the methodological approach of the social sciences. Constructivism draws its insights from sociology in demonstrating that this approach does help IR theories to understand the role of ideas, identity and norms in international politics which affects the social interactions between States. Vico's analysis starts with different assumptions from those of Enlightenment liberalism (Cox & Schechter, 2002: 52), and he argued that though the natural world is made by God, the historical world is made by man, and that includes the creation of artificial States (Jackson & Sorensen, 2010: 161). This historical perspective was revived through the emergence of constructivism as an IR theory at the end of the Cold War. Constructivism emerged out of American discourse to what Richard Price and Chris Reus-Smit viewed as "outgrowth" of critical theory with the objective of illustrating diverse aspects of world politics (Reus-Smit, 2009: 218-219).

During of the Cold War, the intellectual space of existing theories was challenged by focussing attention on norms and States identities, invigorating aspects that traditional theories had neglected and giving rise to neorealism and neoliberalism. Constructivism argued that neither could explain the systemic transformation of the post-Cold War era (Reus-Smit, 2009: 219).

The issue of war involving non-state entities such as the Islamic State movement are indeed complex and are partially addressed by constructivism. For example, constructivism argues that the notion of a State is not necessarily territorially, but ideologically constructed (Lynch, 2006: 1). Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State movement have no territorial base, and in the globalised environment of international politics contention is shaped by ideas that are exchanged through new media and information technologies, channels which are used to spread fundamentalist Islamic ideas.

In the late twentieth century, the debate about sovereignty started to change and in the Islamic State in international politics there is a “strange meeting” of power of transnational jihadist ideology, promoting a global vision for a pre-Westphalian world in which religion is paramount, for a borderless new sovereign State (Bielat, n/d). Such a conception is essentially ideological and defies comprehension or explanation according to other mainstream IR theory. The global Jihad is an ideological vision of a ‘new world order’, a unique development in IR, which challenges the foundations of the global political economy of nation-States and the democratic political system of the West.

Constructivism looks at IR as a socially constructed system that defines and disseminates roles and core concepts such as discourses, norms and identities which form part of IR contemporary debates. For example, the democratic State, with its historical origins in Western society, has in place processes of voting for government, democratic institutions, and norms relating to minimum State intervention and protection of private property. According to constructivism, rationality, or the way reflective thought takes place, is mediated by social norms, so the issue here is whether Western liberal democratic States have the right to promote democratic principles in the Middle East and other parts of the

world with different norms, discourses and identities. The ideologically motivated intervention by the liberal State in other States has had outcomes which, according to constructivists, show the significance of ideas that have emerged in the history of civilization (Reus-Smit, 2009: 220-221).

However, there is sometimes a contradictory relationship between ideas and outcomes, such as between the political discourse of democracy, which is used to promote liberal norms, but which as a language that has given meaning, explanation and substance to aggressive US behaviour in its military invasions in international politics. For example, constructivism argued that liberal democracies challenges authoritarian regimes with the aim of establishing in those territories a liberal democratic State as it will be examined in Libya in a post-Qadhafi political transformation.

The neoliberal dominance in the global political economy of oil was rejected by some Muslim States, which, citing the Quran, supported the argument in "Bin Laden's letter to America" that the "Quran is the miracle until the Day of Judgment" (Laden, n/d). In this case Islam seems to be treated not as a religious belief or faith, but rather as the political discourse of an existing ideology in the form of a *jihad*, or war against non-believers (non-Muslims). For example, although in academic research we have seen scholars and practitioners vary in their own interpretations and evaluations, they concur in seeing Islam as a political discourse as a compelling and troubling critique that has arisen from the way modernity has been experienced by millions of Muslims in the so-called "Third World" (Buck-Morris, 2003: 2).

The 11 September 2001 attack on the “Twin Towers” in New York and on the Pentagon in Washington, carried out by supporters of the Islamic Al-Qaeda’s Osama Bin Laden, was prompted by the collective sense of subordination experienced by Muslims within the global political economy. After the September 11 attacks, those who the liberal Western world considered as terrorists were seen by many Muslims as heroes, playing a liberating social role (Leighton, n/d: 4). Importantly, this attack, carried out by a non-state actor on a State, challenged the nature of IR theories, showing that the nature of power is not exclusively within a State and Al-Qaeda had no restrictions in the form of geographical territory, operating anywhere it chose to as a movement.

This act questioned the concepts of legitimacy and sovereignty in IR theories, and the significant impact made by a transnational movement such as Al-Qaeda that forced the US into its self-proclaimed “war on terror”. However, not all Muslims in the Middle East shared these views and it has been counter-argued that most Muslims did not believe that these attacks were carried out by people of their faith (Farmer, 2007: 215). Nonetheless, it has been seen that the significance of the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad to Muslims is far more prominent than that of other religious ideologies to their societies, in the sense that the Quran is the basis for all human thought and action (Ali, 1999: 15). An inherited religious conviction has historically and presently been embraced by Muslims as grounds for collective identification with others, as they share the same values norms and ideas, and the role of ideas, norms and religion have united these communities in international affairs, so that the profound influence of the Islamic religion in international affairs must be acknowledged (Bielat, n/d).

The rise of Islamic radicalism is directly linked to the provision by Qadhafi of arms to various nomadic tribes, such as the Tuaregs. The extensive surplus of arms during Qadhafi's forty-two year reign was known to have sponsored the arming and training of the Tuareg, whom he used in carrying out his political agenda in neighboring States such as in Chad (Olomjobi, 2015: 38). In July 2013, the proliferation of Libyan arms after the fall of Qadhafi were used in the area of the Sahel in Mali and contiguous Niger to support the Islamist insurgencies in that area (Lobban & Dalton, 2014: 167-168). The inability of the new Libyan government, as well as those in neighbouring States, to control the arms trafficking in their territories, directly contributed to the rise of the Islamic State movement. In June, 2014, IS declared that the territory it controlled constituted a revived caliphate, or Islamic empire, and called on all jihadist organizations worldwide to swear loyalty to the new caliph, the head of IS (Perry, Chase, Jacob, Jacob, Daly & Laue, 2014: 872). The notion that the new Libyan government would re-consolidate control proved to be wishful thinking (Lobban & Dalton, 2014: 168). Instead, the external intervention of NATO, including the US, which provided air support to the rebels who killed Qaddafi, produced tribal conflicts and fostered the development of militias in Libya. Southern Libya became a haven for jihadists (Perry, Chase, Jacob, Jacob, Daly & Laue, 2014: 872).

Constructivism therefore emphasises the role of norms in world politics, and considers that international relations are "determined by an international distribution of ideas" (Youla, 2009: 27-28). However, apart from recognising the importance of ideas, constructivism also bases its investigation on the relative strengths of agency, acknowledging that actors are not slaves to structural constraints. Constructivism argues that the analysis of societal problems entails "heightening the salience of religion in the

aspects of political life, and the framing of world politics as a class of civilizations, and radical Islamists in international politics stand on the equal footing with the hegemonic power of the State system” (Lynch, 2006: 1). This resonates with the constructivist thinking that the meaning is socially constructed, and all social facts are constituted by human action, including States. In the US foreign policy that has witnessed a constructivist turn as the “war on ideas” (Lynch, 2006: 2).

Post-structuralism in international relations

Post-structuralism emerged from structuralism in the 1960s to question the findings and assumptions of structuralism concerned on understanding language work in the system of meaning production. Post-structuralism emerged as an approach to textual analysis as an ideological framework, offering a deconstructive approach as textual theory. In IR, its aim was to problematize widely accepted and stable political concepts such as the State. For post-structuralism, reality is not what it seems, because it has come out of a historical context that has been accompanied by violence in disseminating dominant ideas. Post-structuralism argues that within the orthodox social scientific accounts, knowledge ought to be immune from the influence of power (Devetak, 2009: 183), so its purpose is to denaturalise the assumptions about language of political discourses and challenged the written social order that comes as natural.

Post-structuralism as an interpretive approach question State sovereignty, and unpack the nature of post-colonial State in order to gain a deeper understanding of the Libyan State sovereignty. By looking to the central concept of the State, post-colonial State such as Libya that trained rebel movements across Africa. This reveals that post-colonial State are symbolic ideological boundaries are not a natural phenomenon.

Michel Foucault (1926 - 1984), French philosopher and founder of post-structuralism, argued against the ideas produced by the Enlightenment philosophers as being a “product” of a particular form of domination (Travers, 2010: 152). He pointed out that history, from a genealogical perspective, does not provide evidence of a gradual disclosure of truth and meaning (Devetak, 2009: 185). Instead, according to Foucault, the historical stages occur as an “endlessly repeated play of domination” (Devetak, 2009: 185). Through a series of books published in the 1960s, Foucault devoted his time to investigating the birth of the modern world, especially during the eighteenth century (Travers, 2010: 152). It is from this view that Foucault and post-structuralism generally are less optimistic and have begun to problematize the fields of knowledge and the power they have in knowledge production (Travers, 2010: 184). As an approach developed by the American academics, post-structuralism focusses on text, by arguing that the world is like a text, which is socially constructed and presented as reality. Hence it is essential for post-structuralism to deconstruction approach in reading the text in order to disclose that the world is moulded by use of language that give substance to abstract ideas.

According to Jacques Derrida (1930 – 2004), deconstruction is a way of reading a text, those who were primarily philosophical of texts of Western tradition and later incorporate the beliefs religious text (Bell, 2010: 63). For Derrida concern is exposing the “textual interplay behind power politics” (Devetak, 2009: 190). Since the 1960s, post-structuralism has interrogated a number of social, cultural and political phenomena, and “questions traditional forms of knowledge in seeking to provide critical explanations of various puzzles” (Howarth, 2013: 1). In post-structuralism, interpretation is necessary and fundamentally in particular to the constitution of the social world (Devetak, 2009: 190).

For post-structuralism, the production of knowledge should not be treated as a cognitive matter, because it is steeped in the values and norms of dominant societies; hence the theory treats it as a normative political matter (Shapiro, in Devetak, 2009: 184). It challenges structures that produce dominant knowledge and points out that all knowledge is a social product, which it therefore seeks to “de-construct” by taking structuralism as its theoretical object and interrogating the inherent nature of structures that gives rise to “knowledge” (Peters & Burbulse, 2004: 7). Agreeing with critical theorists in the notion that knowledge is the product of dominant societies, the emphasis of post-structuralism is on language and discourse, and so it is characterized as a mode of thinking and as a style of philosophizing that is based on diverse range of theories (Peters & Burbulse, 2004: 17).

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In International Relations, post-structuralism seeks to address the historical but a crucial issue regarding an interpretation and explanations of the sovereign State that the State-centric approaches have obscured (Devetak, 2009: 195). For post-structuralism, geography is about power, and although it has been assumed “innocent”, it is not a product of nature, but a product of a historical struggle between competing authorities over the power to organize, occupy and also administer space and territory (Devetak, 2009: 198). This interpretation corresponds to the establishment of the artificial political boundaries in Africa during colonial times that marked territories and administered the extraction of raw materials to the West. It was according to these constructs that the multiple identities and futures of the many artificial African post-colonial States were shaped, compelling them to exist according to the conceptualisation of a globally dominant Western tradition (Orford, 2012: 272).

The post-colonial paradigm limitation

The post-colonial theory is the most inspiring African paradigm with limitations, in that it lacks its own “truth claims” and sufficient grounds to provide a compelling analytical framework as started earlier in the introduction in this chapter. Indeed, as indicated above, despite the fact that the call for counter-hegemonic paradigms has been made since Fanon’s appeal in 1960 for an African ideology, this has still not transpired. Scores of scholars, including Basil Davidson and Paulo Freire, have repeated the call for an indigenous African scholarship, fueled by a foundation of African ideas.

There is no African model in IR that seeks an understanding of IR from the vantage point of the local, it is something that critical African social scientists still have to create, going beyond the stage of analysis which rejects the dominant Western paradigms and ideologies. “The impact of the post-colonial paradigm, beneath all the theoretical babble, has been, and still is a theoretical intent than one of an actual practice, a critique of discourses in Africa” (Zezeza, 2010: 75). Nonetheless, there are many other African scholars who engage with the paradigm, however, there is no theoretical progress has been made even today beyond its oppositional stance to scientific methodology of Western theories. Such a model has not been developed which has its conceptual framework, with indigenous assumptions of evidence and truth claims.

Western interference in Libyan affairs took place before the Arab Spring, not only in relation to trade, but also in relation to various covert and overt activities that were unrelated to trade. For example, the US was actively sponsoring the training of various military units in the Libyan desert, in the expectation that these would support anti-Qadhafi resistance. The US also took an operation called EL Dorado Canyon, a name given to

the an offensive air strikes that was ordered by the US President Ronald Reagan against Libya on 14 April 1986 (Conley, 2009: 121). The US also sponsored anti-Qadhafi pro-democracy civic movements, which later were to form part of the post-Qadhafi transition government.

The empirical study will follow after the literature, there is a need to examine the historical roots of Western interference in post-colonial African States and locate the NATO military invasion in Libya in its historical roots of Western external interference in post-colonial African States. The following Chapters will follow from this build with contrite empirical data of the Libyan case study.



Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to present an overview of contemporary IR theories that will be revisited in Chapter Five in the process of data analysis. The complexities of international politics in examining the fundamental causes of and the events preceding the 2011 NATO invasion of Libya require rigorous analysis; however, the extent to which the theoretical approaches discussed prove to be of value will be seen in Chapter Five.

Chapter Three

The post-World War Two global political economy

The previous chapter provided an overview of diverse International Relations (IR) theories, offering theoretical alternatives, including realism, liberalism, critical theory, constructivism and post-structuralism, that could be applied in relation to the research. This chapter is important because it points to the relationship between theory and reality and the various purposes of theory, namely, to explain, explore, predict or to clarify, and, in doing so, to contribute to the prospects for social change. The theories outlined will be re-visited as alternative analytical perspectives in Chapter Five, when analysing the data presented in Chapters Three and Four.

The aim of this chapter is to present the historical and contextual background of Africa's integration into the global political economy and the impact of the expansion of twentieth century capitalism on the continent. In doing so, it presents the setting for an investigation of the case study in Chapter Four, which presents data on events leading to and issues surrounding the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) invasion of Libya in 2011. The overarching context of this chapter is the post-World War Two emergence of a global political economy dominated by the market and based on authority derived from sources of financial capital. The objective is to investigate how global financial capitalism has impacted on the independence of post-colonial African States, exposing their future development dependent on the interests of private and foreign investors (Teeple, 2004: 86).

Architecture of the global political economy

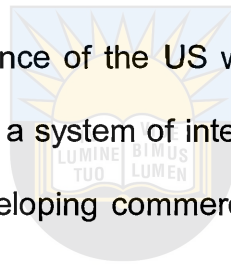
The emergence of a hegemonic global political economy in which the globally established ideas, policies and laws signify the dominance of the United States (US) as a model of modernity, is a relatively recent phase of the development and expansion of capitalism. This phase has given access to transnational corporations to political power by reducing the State's ability to control domestic policies. The process through which this took place had its origins towards the end of the Second World War, because the industrial power of Europe had been devastated, leaving the US dominant.

The emergence of a global economic government with established ideas, policies and laws was effected through the Bretton Woods institutions, and first applied in Germany after World War Two. The development of the economic infrastructure of global capitalism that signified the new US hegemony in the post-Second World War global political economy was first initiated through the Marshall Plan. This was a structural adjustment programme, financed by the US that reconstructed Western Europe economies and promoted world trade, implementing policies and practices that led to the establishment of liberal democracies in Western Europe.

From 1945 to 1954, the Marshall Plan provided financial aid of \$17 billion to sixteen Western European countries, whilst also providing \$4.4bn to Japan (O'Malley, 2015: 13). As a result, over time, the quantity of US dollars in circulation outside the US increased significantly, whilst US imports liquidated the international economy to foreign banks outside the US (O'Malley, 2015: 13). In many African countries, international institutions which included the IMF, the WB and the "Paris Club" were the main central forces motivating policy change (Fearon, 1988: 116) through structural adjustment policies in

the 1980s. The diplomatic efforts of the US after World War Two thereby ensured a US ideological victory for capitalism.

The so-called 'Bretton Woods' conference that took place in a US town of the same name in 1944 set the basis for a post-World War Two economic world order in which the US would take over international hegemony from Britain (Abrahamsson, 2008: 10). The conference was attended by the political leaders of the US, Britain and the Soviet Union, who were at that stage the most significant nations among the Allies. The mechanism that enabled the rise and the dominance of the US was the formation of the Bretton Woods institutions, which provided for a system of international economic and financial management, setting a stage for developing commercial rules that would apply to all participating nations.



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As a consequence of World War Two, European economies had been destroyed and the only source of large-scale finance was the US, which had the power to determine the conditions under which finance would be provided. At the Bretton Woods conference, several measures and proposals were established in this regard. It was agreed by the participating nations – excluding the Soviet Union – that national trade should be based on the free trade principles developed by David Ricardo, and that a fixed exchange rate between an international traded currency and the national currency was necessary. This led to the agreement that the US dollar would become the principal currency for international transactions, replacing the British pound sterling, and that the dollar would be based on a gold standard (Sheppard, Porter, Faust & Nagar, 2009: 380). From then on, the US dollar dominated international trade, giving it power over other currencies.

It took two years of careful planning for these plans to be brought into effect and for an economic world order based on particular financial aims to emerge in the form of what have since become known as the Bretton Woods institutions (Abrahamsson, 2008: 10). These include the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), later known as the World Bank (WB), which were established to maintain a global political economy based on capitalist principles and structures. This architecture regulated the global political economy and positioning the US dollar as a global reserve currency. As a result, the US and Western Europe, together with the United Kingdom (UK), led the European bloc when they decided to endorse a multilateral forum to emphasise free trade throughout the world (Gunewardene, 1991: 46), breaking down barriers to a capitalist model for economic prosperity.

The need on the part of the US in the post-World War II period was to obtain access to its own source of resources, previously controlled by former colonisers (primarily England, France, Germany, also Belgium) whose economies were devastated. Similarly, the coercive influence of Bretton Woods institutions established under the wardenship of the US was made evident in Europe in the form of Structural Adjustment Policies, introduced in Europe immediately after the War and imposed on African states in the 1980s. In addition, the clandestine involvement of the US in African politics through its Central Intelligence Agency was evident in the toppling regimes of which opposed US capitalism in favour of socialism, such as that of Thomas Sankara in Burkina Faso, and Patrice Lumumba in the Congo.

The political economy of capitalism excluded the Eastern bloc, which was aligned to communist ideology, and which positioned itself in opposition to the capitalist alliance

after the end of the Second World War. Although the Britain, the US and Russia had commenced talks prior to the end of the Second World War as allies, this partnership was to dissolve in the aftermath of the War, as will be discussed. During the war, the first conference between the three allies had taken place in 1943 in Tehran had focused on the need to destroy Nazi power, but had introduced plans for future cooperation. This conference was succeeded by the 1945 Yalta and Potsdam Conferences, which recognised the strategic power of the three participating nations, despite their ideological opposition, which was to emerge as two centres of power after the end of the War.

The US commitment to providing post-war relief to Europe in the form of financial aid was contained in the Truman Doctrine of 1946 and the 1948 Marshall Plan, for the reconstruction of Europe after the Second World War, clearly signalled the economic hegemony of the US. The Marshall Plan introduced by Secretary of State George Marshall was an economic programme designed to stimulate the US economy by establishing markets for American goods (Gimbel, 1976: 1). The fact that the financial aid was forthcoming from the US constituted an ideological victory for capital.

The Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) initially the Organisation for European Economic Corporation (OEEC), was established in 1947 for the implementation of the US-financed Marshall Plan (Castree, Kitchin & Rogers, 2013: 353). It enabled the institutionalisation of a particular set of ideological principles in relation to the political economy to acclimatize [its members] “to a world of their own making” (Woodward, 2009: 11). The US objective was to maintain the dominance of the global political economy of capitalism through the principles of free trade, and to contain the influence of communism. Powerful international financial institutions would maintain

the supremacy of American capitalism, and the availability for finance, subject to conditions of the lender, would strongly influence policy in less powerful nations, including the former colonies that were emerging to become independent after the late 1950s. This was to enable US hegemony over the Third World regions that included oil-producing countries (Gimbel, 1976: 1).

The US political hegemony was manifest in the 1949 establishment of NATO, a military alliance between Western European nations and the US, for the purpose of the military defence of Western Europe (Douglas, 2008: 122). The founders of NATO were the elite policymakers of North American and Western European allies in the Second World War that included Britain, Canada, the US and the Benelux states, namely, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg (Gheciu, 2005: 35). All these countries shared a common need for a defence system that would secure Western liberal democracy against the many challenges at the time (Gheciu, 2005: 35). The possible emergence of communist States in Western Europe that could challenge Western liberal democracy was worrisome, and would increase the danger of military confrontation with the Soviet Union (Lindley-French & Macfarlane, 2007: 3).

The Soviet Union and its allies responded with the 1955 Warsaw Pact, officially known as the Warsaw Treaty Organization (McKenzie, 2010: 84). The purpose of the Warsaw Pact was to serve as a defence alliance consisting of countries of Eastern Europe, namely, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Albania, jointly constituting the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), with its headquarters in Moscow (McKenzie, 2010: 84). The Warsaw Pact was under the control of the Soviet Union, which aimed at spreading communism to the rest of the world.

As a result, two oppositional 'blocs' were formed, the 'Western' and 'Eastern' blocs, which subsequently developed into an increasingly hostile relationship that assumed the form of the 'Cold War'. The historical perspective given above is significant in understanding the historical perspective of the development of the global political economy that presented a transformation to the world economic order by using the developing world's resources and keeping these States as 'satellites' of either power in their search for global dominance. The competition between the capitalist and communist blocs respectively for the hegemony was highly influenced by an essential global commodity, namely, oil, to which we will now turn our attention.



The political economy of the oil and arms trade

The significance of oil as an essential global commodity has shaped the history of the past one hundred years in the shape of a struggle to secure and control the world's oil reserves. It was the discovery of oil throughout the Middle East that caught the world's attention from the period of the early 1920s until well into the 1970s, with subsequent relentless and violent struggles taking place for control of the oil industry (Gilbar, 1997: 17). During the 1940s and 1950s, oil-producing countries in the Middle East, along with Venezuela (South America) and Indonesia (Asia), were 'carved up' by an oligarchic cartel of oil companies which were referred to as the "Seven Sisters" (Franks & Nunnally, 2011: 100-101). This cartel was formed in 1928 after a secret meeting in Achnacarry, Scotland, by the American and British corporations Esso, Gulf, Texaco, Mobil, Chevron, British Petroleum (BP) and Shell, which monopolised the oil industry (Smith, 2007: 1). The seven large multinational oil companies originated in Europe, but were based in both the US and in Britain and held a monopoly over the deliveries of oil to the industrialized world

(Kelly, 2007: 25). It was significant that the Achnacarry agreement was not between nations, but between corporations, with the objective of controlling prices, transportation and production, excluding other competitors in this market.

The subsequent hegemony of these international companies over the global oil industry made it difficult for other societies to build a sustainable productive base for themselves in the global capitalist market. Aburish (2012: 276) summarises the “Seven Sisters” as being a cartel of oil companies that exercised control over the destinies of oil-producing countries. The “Seven Sisters” were actively supported by the British administration under Harold Wilson, who backed the agreements that were reached by the oil companies with the leaders of oil-producing countries. It was one of the largest cartels that operated internationally, with arrangements that gave the oil companies full control of production, supply, markets, and how much to allocate to the national government or ruler in regions where these companies operated (Gilbar, 1997: 17). As a result, these companies managed to control 92% of reserves and 88% of oil production until the 1950s (Kelly, 2007: 25).

When they entered the Middle East, American and European oil companies had the knowledge and the capital necessary to produce and transport oil to the consumer market (Gilbar, 1997: 17), something that oil-producing nations in the Middle East could not do. Local government benefits were obtained from the countries in which they operated, through the concessions extended to these foreign companies (Gilbar, 1997: 17). This was seen as oil-based colonialism, because these companies had an enormous political and financial influence on foreign governments and supported elite groups in civil society who were amenable to their approaches, thereafter setting oil prices and deciding how

much was to be extracted from the various regions such as East Africa, North Africa and West Africa as an alternative to the Middle East (Franks & Nunnally, 2011: 101). By the end of the 1950s, BP had additional ventures in its global oil dominance, including East Africa (Kenya, Madagascar, Somalia, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar), West Africa (Gambia, Senegal, the Cameroons), North Africa (Algeria, Libya, Tunisia), Australasia (Australia, New Zealand), Europe (France, Germany, Malta, Italy, Switzerland) and America (the US, Canada, Colombia) (Bamberg, 2000: 109). The company networks rapidly penetrated non-capitalist societies with no restriction on the physical locality of a particular State, which resulted in a global network. The economic activities of the States in which powerful corporations such as BP operated were then informed by the economic operations of international business, rather than by domestic priorities of the State, independently decided by the national government.

The dominance of the “Seven Sisters” over the world oil reserves had a significant influence on the emergence of Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), an organization that sought to counter the cartel in the oil market.

OPEC in the oil market

As stated above, the OPEC was founded in reaction to domination of the global political economy of oil by multinational oil companies. It was planned as an organization of oil-producing countries that would standardize the amount of oil exported by its members, and thus regulating the price of oil (Kelly, 2007: 26). These changes had a heavy blow on the “Seven Sisters” because, over the two decades between 1953 and 1972, the share of the “Seven Sisters” in the oil industry outside the US fell significantly from 64% to 24% of all concession areas; from 92% to 67% of proven reserves; from 87% to 71% of

production; from 73% to 49% of refining capacity; from 29% to 19% of tanker capacity; and from 72% to 54% in product marketing (Jacoby cited in Nitzan & Bichler, 1995: 475). The oil crises on the part of the large petroleum companies since the 1960s was due to the rise of OPEC and the growth of smaller firms undermined the position of Seven Sisters that had previously dominated world oil production and distribution (Nitzan & Bichler, 1995: 457). An OPEC-engineered initiative that had a significant impact on the US economy was the Arab Oil Embargo of 1973-74, which shook the foundation of the nation's forming part of the NATO alliance (Halabi, 2009: 63). The motive of OPEC was to seize control of the world oil market in an attempt to implement a collective strategy to retain oil profits made by international oil companies.

Another significant series of events was prompted by the USSR supporting Iraq in 1972 to nationalise its oil industry (Smolansky & Smolansky, 1991: 53), as a result of which controlling shares were passed from foreign to national companies (Gilbar, 1997: 27). Oil producing States such as Libya followed to obtain more control and more revenue from the production of oil. Qadhafi's government pressured the US and other foreign oil companies to renegotiate their oil production contracts, and they were also nationalised; he also extended the Libyan Support to revolutionaries who were anti-Western and anti-Israel across the African continent, Europe, Asia and in the Middle East (Blanchard, 2012: 15). We will come back to this in Chapter Four.

OPEC was an instigator of these events of the 1970s, which represented an assertion of power by producer States against the dominant US companies, thereby opposing the hegemony of the US in an international system (Bromley, 1991: 138). Since the host government needs the oil industry which they cannot develop on their own, and because

oil companies cannot simply pack up and go, as they need to remain where the natural resources are, the host government gains an advantage (Kelly, 2007: 26).

Oil and arms are inseparable, the connection between arms and crude oil is also not a new phenomenon (Khanna & Chapman, 2005: 3). The massive armaments connects to the commercialization of arms exports, meaning there is a requirement that the buyers had money to pay for what they purchase, arms (Nitzan & Bichler, 2002: 26). Arms export in particular from the US and its allies to the region of the Persian Gulf countries, they “were a key part of the pay-offs that resulted in this equilibrium” (Khanna & Chapman, 2005: 2). The main reason that the Middle East countries managed to pay these weapons was the politicisation of oil, increasing oil prices, and at the same time, massively boosting their revenues (Nitzan & Bichler, 2002: 26). Thus, this is essential, because historically OPEC oil revenues during the period of 1970s and 1980s, provide an alternative important sources of finance and much of these petrodollars were both used and spent on importing arms (Khanna & Chapman, 2005: 3).

Arms trade is a global market, for much of the post-Second World War period internationally, the five suppliers of arms have been these countries, namely, the Soviet Union/Russia, the US, France, Britain and lastly, Germany, which accounted for 75-85 percent over the past thirty years (Bromley & Wezeman, 2013: 4). Again, given the global significance of both oil and arms, and tying the Middle East conflicts and the oil crises which cannot be separated from the process of capital accumulation may provide the needed insight into other aspects of the international political economy (Nitzan & Bichler, 1995: 450).

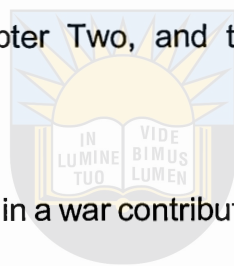
In the period of 1980-84, there were five recipients of military equipment, these countries include, Iraq, India, Libya, Syria and Egypt – which accounted for 26 percent of the total imports (Bromley & Wezeman, 2013: 5). The global political economy, the political realignment of oil as an essential global commodity requires more intellectual interpretation as highlighted in Chapter Two, and IR theories from the scientific discipline of IR will be utilized in Chapter Five in the process of data analysis. These theories need to assist in understanding these complexities in the process of data analysis in Chapter Five, and acknowledge the intellectual dissatisfaction with existing approaches of IR theories. International policies have an impact that cannot be ignored and assisted international oligopoly of both arms and oil globally.

The emergence of the “war industry” from the oil trade

Following the rise of nationalism and the intensification of industry competition that manifested during the 1950s and 1960s, as described above, major international oil companies lost their autonomy in the Middle East (Nitzan & Bichler, 1995: 457). The struggle for dominance within oil-producing regions of the Middle East and North Africa became entangled in wars and conflict. The relationship between the oil and arms industries is shaped by world politics that has created interdependence between the local government of oil-producing countries and the arms industry, as oil-producing countries rely on arms to protect their oil reserves.

During the period of 1980-1984, at the time when global arms transfers were at the highest, international arms trade benefited the Soviet Union, the US, France, the United Kingdom and Germany, accounting for 84 percent arms exports (Bromley, Holtom, Perlo-Freeman & Wezeman, 2009: 2). From 1980-1984, the five largest recipients of military

equipment were in Asia and Africa, namely, Iraq, India, Libya, Syria and Egypt, who accounted for 26% of total imports (Bromley, Holtom, Perlo-Freeman & Wezeman, 2009: 4). The point was to illustrate that, once the oil trade had become established as a lucrative source of revenue to Libya, and to Qadhafi in particular, as the primary beneficiary, every attempt was made by arms suppliers to engage in arms deals by means of which the oil revenue would be directed to the arms trade. The political alignment of oil production and the provision of arms in the global political economy requires intellectual interpretation, as highlighted in Chapter Two, and the two cannot be conceptually separated.



The need for oil and military equipment in a war contributed to the global political economy of oil and arms in the contestation between the two ideologically oppositional hegemons. This was evident in the US and USSR involvement in the Vietnam War in 1965 (Nitzan & Bichler, 1995: 208) fought between the Communist North Vietnam, supported by the USSR, and South Vietnam, supported by the US. The Korean War 1950 is another example of a war fought against the backdrop of the Cold War (Miller, 2007: 4). The continued involvement of the US in Vietnam increased military budgets and hugely benefited arms producing companies, which obtained extraordinary profits (Kalecki, cited in Nitzan & Bichler, 1995: 458). The US began to finance wars (Pigou, cited in Miller, 2007), and subsequently the US macro-economy has shifted away from civilian to military oriented corporations (Nitzan & Bichler, 1995: 459), in what Melman refers to as the “permanent war economy” (Melman, cited in Nitzan & Bichler, 1995: 458).

The USSR and the US also backed opposing sides in liberation struggles that were fought in Latin America and Africa, and the world became a platform for the struggle between

the hegemons, whilst also stimulating arms production. After the Vietnam War, the Middle East oil producing States became potential clients for arms. The nature of the stimulus to arms production that was provided by the Cold War from the 1960s to the 1980s was to change, however, due to the relatively sudden demise of Communism in the late 1980s and the end of the Cold War, as will be discussed below.

The end of the Cold War

The Cold War was characterised by a struggle for technological and political domination that was between the capitalist US and the communist States in the USSR. The two power blocs had different political systems and ideologies, namely, capitalism and communism. The two power blocs competed for world domination in politics, economy and ideology. The ideological struggle between communism and capitalism affected other continents for global and technological superiority. The former colonies aligned themselves with either NATO the West of the Warsaw Pact the East. Democratization of the Soviet Union after the end of the Cold War there was no longer a global ideological competitor for capitalism in international politics.

Democratization after the end of the Cold War

The democratization of the Soviet Union hitherto embodied with an array of ideas and images that had set the Soviet Union as an enemy of the US, of communism against capitalism, began in the late 1980s. The subsequent absence of military rivalry became a guarantee of European security and a triumph of the West and NATO alliance over the Warsaw Pact. The late 1980s marked another phase, this time at the global level, because communism was no longer an ideological force in Europe, its influence over the rest of the world and in oil producing satellite States was abolished (Tordo, Tracy & Arfaa,

2011: 20). This heralded the hegemony of a global capitalism that was ideologically supported by neoliberal policies and which opened the way for capitalism expansion (Tordo, Tracy & Arfaa, 2001: 391). Skons and Dunne (2006: 11) explained that after the Cold War, most state-owned arms-producing industries in Europe were privatized.

After the Korean and Vietnam Wars had ended and the 'Cold War' was over, arms-producing companies had to look for an alternative market and a buyer other than their host State to whom they could sell their merchandise. Not only was another market necessary, but there was a business re-alignment as arms producers became increasingly involved as independent agents in transnational trade with other States. This was part of a broader worldwide transformation that affected the relationship between States and transnational corporations (Nitzan & Bichler, 2002: 210). Given the global significance of oil and arms, the basic unit analysis is not the State, but the transnational corporation (Nitzan & Bichler, 1995: 450). As a result of the increasing role of US corporations, at the close of the century they dominated the global economy (Guyatt, 2003: 1).

During the 1990s, after the Cold War, the Gulf region provided the market that arms-producers were looking for and the market escalated, with demand for weapons in many Arab States around the region. For example, over the decade between 1974 and 1984, the Middle East countries accounted for 36.3% of the global arms trade, which increased by 136%, that is, an average of annual level of \$45.6 billion, and there was a significant rise in the same share in African countries, primarily to oil-exporting Libya (Nitzan & Bichler, 1995: 472).

Stohl and Grillot (2009) claim that the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) are responsible for nearly 80% of the entire international arms trade, which destabilizes peace and security and affects the major arms purchasers' economies (Stohl & Grillot, 2009: 3). In addition, 80% of the world's 20 poorest countries have suffered a major war fueled by the arms trade, which contributes to instability, poverty and the suffering of millions (Hilary, 2008: 1). Oil-producing regions in the Middle East and North Africa experience almost ongoing conflict and are fraught with political instability. The global political economy of arms is facilitated by the hegemony of neoliberalism within an international framework promoting trade of any nature, maintained through global governance.

As soon as the Cold War and democratization of the Soviet Union was over, the US identified Arab States around the Gulf as new threat, and they maintained a large military presence in these foreign lands. At the level of the State, the continued interest of the US was for a supply of oil from a cooperative source. The US started intervening, manipulating and taking sides in Arab States such as Iran (Cordesman & Rodhan, 2007: 8). The Gulf had been the focal point of the 'Cold War', representing most of the oil supply for Western Europe and Japan (Schwab, 2009: 23). Notwithstanding these economic priorities, US policymakers attempted to present their own interventions as a selfless pursuit of the universal principles of democracy, which continues to characterize US foreign policy (Guyatt, 2003: 57).

The war on terrorism by the US against the people in the Middle East was understood as a war on Islam, with the objective of ensuring the American way of life, based fundamentally on oil and mass production (Abrahamsson, 2008: 22). Such a historical

confrontation opened up a new debate after the defeat of communism, as Islamic movements challenged Western hegemonic norms and values, criticizing the US-led invasion in Arab States and its hegemonic claim in foreign oil industries.

The Gulf War set the scene for Arab unity in international affairs after the invasion of Iraq by the US. This produced the confrontation between the US and Arab states over the global political economy. The apparent democratization process in Muslim States supported by the US was however not persuasive in delegitimizing the dictatorial regimes (Laden, n/d). Former President George W. Bush's "War on Terror" did little to erode the dominance of radical Islamist ideology, but he opened up more battlefields in the Middle East in the struggle against Islamism than anywhere else (Farmer, 2007: 215). This led to global violence and the transnational strength of Islam has returned to global politics in a reaction against Western norms. Violent political developments in global politics such as acts of terrorism by Muslims against Western societies are the fundamental result of an Islamic political ideology challenging the hegemonic economic liberal world order.

The battle waged by Bush was however not ideologically sound and was aimed at protecting the neoliberal global political economy more than liberal democratic norms. Buck-Morss (2003: 5) observes that prior to 2001, the US Cold War strategy supported Osama Bin Laden's Afghan-based freedom fighters against the Soviet Union. This signifies the mercenary intentions behind the US aim of monopoly over the global political economy, despite the ideology of those serving as strategic allies.

In summary, oil as an essential global commodity created political instability in the political economy of oil-producing countries. Their reliance on military equipment to protect their

oil reserves maintained the global economy of arms production for decades. The global political economy of oil and arms is the outcome of the reconstruction of the world economy in the twentieth century. The integration of market-oriented democracies in the former USSR satellite States after the democratization of the Soviet Union, and Arab States amplified the scope of this global political economy.

Conclusion

This chapter has offered an outline of the development of the global political economy that emerged as an historical outcome of capital accumulation by multinational corporations. This offers insights into the emergence of global hegemony that is helpful in an attempt to answer the question relating to the extent to which changes in the nature of global post-World War Two democracy undermined the post-independent African State. Addressing such a question required a historical in-depth analysis of the global political economy of oil that created political instability and made peace and security evasive through its stimulation of the arms economy. The next chapter will examine the influence of the international oil and arms trade in relation to Libya, and with a specific emphasis on the events that preceded the Libyan 2011 military invasion.

Chapter Four

Libya in the Global Political Economy

Chapter Three examined the historical development of the global political economy of oil as an essential commodity in industrial production and the contemporary lifestyle based on industrial mechanization and mass production. In doing so, the subordination of post-colonial oil-producing countries to the interests of foreign multinational oil companies was foregrounded. The nature of the global political economy of oil caused post-colonial sovereign States to develop strategies to defend and promote their own rights in the oil industry, thereby challenging the dominance of multinational oil companies. The military expenditure by oil-producing countries was highly motivated by the need to protect oil fields from competitors who would be inclined to attempt to seize the oil fields and thereafter challenge state power, as indicated in Chapter Three. The military expenditure in oil-producing countries increased, in general, not for civilian protection, but for the survival of the regime in power.

In the case of Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi, who ruled from 1969 until his death in 2011, the massive State expenditure on arms was driven by his personal interest and his awareness of the need to secure stability (note that to avoid confusion, the spelling “Qadhafi”, rather than Gaddafi, will be used throughout). His interest, it will be shown, was used opportunistically by arms producers, who were aware of the vast amounts of revenue generated from the oil sector in Libya. Chapter Four presents the Libyan political economy, and Libya's integration into the global political economy of the arms trade. The

significance of Critical Theory in relation to an analysis of the global political economy of oil is now foregrounded.

The aim of this chapter is to explain issues surrounding the military invasion of Libya by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 2011, in order to answer the second research question posed in Chapter One, namely, to investigate to what extent did the international arms trade played a role in fuelling conflict and NATO's military invasion in 2011. To achieve this aim, data will be presented on the background to the Libyan State, the oil industry in Libya and the escalation of the arms trade under the rule of the former president Muammar Qadhafi.

A brief historical background of the Libyan state

The region today known as Libya experienced rule by Phoenician, Roman, Carthagian, Greek, Berber and Arab civilisations (Blanchard, 2012: 15). Autocratic rule can be traced back to the seventh century B.C., when Phoenicians – “those fearless travellers and traders who were the first of Africa's colonizers” (Borowiec, 2003: 41) – colonised the eastern part of Libya. The Romans followed six centuries later with the aim of colonizing the Mediterranean coast and constructed cities such as Oea (today known as Tripoli), Sabratha, and Leptis Magna (Borowiec, 2003: 42). The provinces that were established during the early period of colonialism served as a major route for the shipment of the olive oil, wine and slaves (Borowiec, 2003: 42).

The historical background of the Libyan State cannot be separated from the historical ideological clash between the Islamic faith that, once introduced, challenged Christianity in a militant to advance and implant its ideology. This division between the West and the

Islamic world is expected to continue, but some argue that Islamism will eventually fade as a force in the same way that Christian theocracy failed in the seventeenth century after centuries of bloodshed (Farmer, 2007: 216).

The Arab migration to the continent of Africa in the seventh century A.D. was the result of military conquest, but for centuries afterwards, Libya was subject to rule by various lineages. Because the Arabs had managed to claim North Africa as their own territory, this resulted in the dominance of the Islamic culture in North Africa. Commercial ties that were established during the early slave trade networks established by Arabs in the seventh century and later used by Europeans, served as an early example of the commercial exploitation of Africa by non-Africans.

Because Libyan history has been characterized by subjugation to the control of groups and societies of non-African origin, leading to various forms of political domination and subordination, the passage of Libyan history has been described as “from Ottoman backwater to Italian colony; from conservative monarchy to revolutionary regime; from rags to riches; and from brinkmanship to a grudging and still unfolding statesmanship” (Vandewalle, 2012: 1).

The modern history of Libya

The history of the Libya as a modern State in the twentieth century starts with the three provinces of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and Fazzan, still under rule of the Ottoman Empire (Blanchard, 2012: 15). The brief period in the twentieth century when Libya was an Italian colony was characterized by a struggle between Italians and native Muslims. It was in 1951, after the end of the Second World War and the defeat of Italy, that the three

provinces were incorporated into the United Kingdom of Libya. On December, 24 1951 the United Kingdom of Libya was established as the first independent African State (Blanchard, 2012: 15).

There was a monarchic form of government and the rule of King Idris (1951-1969) was absolute, as there was no legal mechanism for opposing or removing him from power. The Libyan king was head of State and his powers were not limited by the constitution (Blanchard, 2012: 15). However, what was viewed from a Western lens as a non-democratic system of government did not affect its relationship with Western nations and King Idris established close relationships with the United States (US) and Britain, who occupied a military base in the post-War period. Britain subsequently developed engineering projects in the country (Koko & Bakwesegha-Osula, 2012: 6), while the US maintained a large Wheelus Air Base outside Tripoli. As a result, Tripoli became a strategic base for US military intelligence operations during the 1950s and the 1960s, pointing to the future military significance of Libya to the US and Britain (Blanchard, 2012: 15). Libya became a strategic location for the US military operations in Africa.

In 1953 Libya joined the Arab League, and the Libyan government under King Idris permitted both British and US military bases on its territory (Roumani, 2008: 188). The Arab League was originally founded in 1945, and the pan-Arab pressures were too strong to be ignored by Libyan government (Otman & Karlberg, 2007: 33). On March 22, 1953 Libya agreed to participate in the Arab boycott of Israel (Roumani, 2008: 187). In 1965 Libya stated in a radio broadcast that the creation of Israel constituted a gross injustice and violation of human rights and Palestinians were entitled to return to their land and decide their destiny (Otman & Karlberg, 2007: 33). Libya stated that the solution to the

Palestine problem must be based on the resolution made by the Arab States (Otman & Karlberg, 2007: 33) and the first two decades of Libyan independence was characterised by the events of Libyan nationalism which were expressed through xenophobic, anti-Jewish and anti-Israel policies (Roumani, 2008: 188). The discovery of oil in Libya

The discovery of oil in Libya

The significance of Libya's deserts is that they concealed the largest underground oil reserves in Africa, the eighth largest in the world, amounting to about 30 billion barrels of oil (Malcolm & Losleben, 2004: 44). The discovery of oil in 1959 transformed the kingdom of Libya into an oil-rich monarchy (Cyr, 2001: 297), changing Libya's future and drawing it into the global political economy of oil (Malcolm & Losleben, 2004: 43).

There are two significant central features of Libya after its independence in 1951, namely, oil, and the revenue generated from oil (Vandewalle, 2012: 2). The Libyan government collaborated with foreign companies that operated the oil industry, which employed 50,000 Libyans. In 1961 King Idris opened up a 104-mile pipeline linking the country's oil fields in the interior to the ports situated in the Mediterranean for export (Cyr, 2001: 297). The King followed a pro-Western policy and became the pre-eminent supplier of oil in several NATO countries (Cyr, 2001: 297). Libya quickly became one of the wealthiest countries in Africa because of revenues generated from oil.

The change in the Libyan regime

On the African continent, from the late 1950s onwards, the post-World War Two independence achieved by sub-Saharan states had resulted in the establishment of modern democracies, emulating the form of government of their former colonisers. In this

respect, North African monarchies like Libya defied the trends towards democratization and rule by elected representatives of the people (Koko & Bakwesegha-Osula, 2012: 5). Arab countries such as Libya were ruled by monarchies, authoritarian regimes that rejected a democratic form of government.

Libya under Qadhafi

The rule by the monarchy in Libya ended dramatically when Muammar Qadhafi came to power as the result of a coup he led in 1 September, 1960 (Takeyh, 2001: 63). From the outset, however, he opposed liberal democracy as a form of government, as he was suspicious of the intentions of the West (Takeyh, 2001: 63). His main aim was to use Libya to liberate the Third World and reshape its political institutions (Takeyh, 2001: 63). It is significant that since achieving their independence, most African leaders have lacked transparency, centralizing the economic wealth of the country around the regime in power. In this respect, the 42-year rule of Qadhafi cannot be considered in isolation, and the endurance of his autocratic form of rule must be seen in the light of the similarly authoritarian forms of government over the centuries. The fact that non-democratic North African regimes outlasted the advent of democracy must be understood in the context that their citizens were not demanding the forms of governance that had developed over centuries in Western Europe (Sithole, 2012: 115).

The US believed that the Qadhafi-led-revolution in Libya presented “an anti-Soviet and reformist platform” (Blanchard, 2012: 15) and there was no fear of the communist influence in Libya. Qadhafi's regime was not a threat to US hegemony because it was not aligned with the Soviet Union that was contesting the values and beliefs of capitalism as a way of life.

Contestation for control over oil production

Not all North African States were able to attain the giant oil-producing status of Libya. Algeria and Egypt, as well as smaller States like Tunisia, Mauritania and Morocco, lagged behind by comparison in the development of the oil industry (Clarke, 2010: 246). Libya became a member of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1962 and hosted the Ninth conference in Tripoli, Libya's capital, in July 1965 (Wagner, 2009: 28). The plan of the meeting was to discuss or allow only limited increases for each member nations of OPEC: both Venezuela and Indonesia were granted the right to increase their production by 4%, Qatar by 6%, Saudi Arabia and Iraq by 9%, Iran by 16% and Libya by 33% (Wagner, 2009: 28). Libya never accepted its limitation to 33%, and Saudi Arabia and Iran followed Libya rejection of its percentage allocation by OPEC (Wagner, 2009: 28). OPEC had no authority, as member States established policies that served their national interests over OPEC's goals (Wagner, 2009: 28-29).

Nationalization of oil in Iraq was critical, because Iraq took control over its oil industry, which was dominated by multinational oil companies, and increased State profits. Libya was also moving towards oil nationalization following Iraq in an attempt to increase State profit and gaining control over oil production and private property. This was critical for Libya because it allowed the State to consolidate its power by gaining control over oil production and private property that it lost to multinational oil companies. While Qadhafi remained unchallenged and controlled nearly all policy decisions for Libya, realizing the significance of oil and the revenue that it generates (Malcolm & Losleben, 2004: 44). He rejected the prevailing oil royalty rates and launched a campaign for a better deal within two years: he forced oil companies to re-negotiate contracts and raised Libya's royalties

by 120%. This deal resulted in the price of oil more than doubling from \$1.00 a barrel in 1969 to \$2.20 a barrel in 1971 (Cyr, 2001: 298). Eventually the new government nationalized both the British and US oil operations, which changed the relationship between the US, Britain and Libya significantly (Blanchard, 2012: 15).

By 1970, Qadhafi was focusing his efforts on the full withdrawal of both the US and Britain from military bases in Libya. After this, Qadhafi systematically attack the West especially the US interests (Takeyh, 2001: 63). He had no office and he ruled as a military dictator, controlling almost all the entire sectors of the economy (Cyr, 2001: 297-298). Under his government, all banks were nationalized and foreign-owned businesses were placed under the State control (Cyr, 2001: 298). In the early 1970s, the oil resources were nationalized and the broadcast media was government owned, with the press strictly controlled (Cyr, 2001: 298). The Qadhafi government eliminated private business operations, gaining Libyan government control over oil resources and property. The State consolidates its power and authority which it has lost to transnational companies within its territory. Moving on, Qadhafi joined the OPEC with the objective of obtaining higher price for crude oil of Libya.

Qadhafi invested heavily in the country's refineries and pipelines in which petroleum made up 97% of exports (Malcolm & Losleben, 2004: 44). He was aware that NATO countries dependence on external markets for their energy needs, oil had been established as an essential commodity in the global political economy, and the industrial base was in the Middle East and in North Africa. The dependence of NATO countries such as the US on external markets to sustain their energy needs had also grown to more than 40%, 80% of Western European and the Japanese oil imports, in which 15% of those

of the US came from the Middle East and North Africa (Braveboy-Wagner 2009: 44). As oil had by then been firmly established as the commodity that underpinned the global economy, Qadhafi then planned to introduce a new currency through which oil would be traded. International oil companies had developed a pricing system for the host government to apply according to a format that enhanced the profits of the oil companies. Now Qadhafi was moving beyond the productive industrial nature of capitalism to financial capitalism, and he wanted this currency to oust the dollar, which dominated global trade.

Libya in the battle over the global oil currency

Qadhafi was aware of the large capital benefits resulting from oil revenues and how oil-producing countries had been exploited by the private oil companies in a hostile world market. He therefore planned to introduce gold “dinar” to underpin global trade as a single African currency, made from gold.

Qadhafi suggested in 1994 that by the year 2000 a number of African countries should implement the gold dinar as their currency and that either the dinar or the Euro would be used for the oil trade (Wood, 2012: 236). Qadhafi encouraged the African and Muslim countries to work together on this plan, a plan that would shift the world economic balance in their favour and dismantle the economic hegemony of the West in the global capitalist system. Many African and Arab countries expressed their interest in this idea as they further discussed, planned and prepared for its implementation (Wood, 2012: 236). The country's wealth would then depend on how much gold it had, and Libya had 143.5 metric tons of gold in its reserves (Wood, 2012: 237). The gold dinar would challenge the financial domination of the dollar and the neoliberal world order, and in doing so, those Western countries backing the dollar as a global currency. Instead, it would promote the

use of gold, thereby elevating the economic power of non-Western gold-producing countries, primarily in Africa, Russia and Asia.

Libya's African and Arab diplomatic initiatives were centred on the gold dinar, shifting international attention to Africa and the Middle East. However, Qadhafi failed to develop financial institutions in order to sustain this currency as an international currency. Instead, he channelled the economic wealth of the State derived from oil production on himself and his family relatives. Despite his initiatives have yet to produce substantial practical results as an outspoken leader, and the tremendous increase in oil revenues. Qadhafi military expenditure was motivated by oil revenue. The revenue generated from oil did not rich all of the Libyan population, instead, it was spent on military equipment, with devastating socio-economic results (Stohl & Grillot, 2009: 1).

However, a substantial amount of Qadhafi's support, ideological and material, was devoted to those groups which shared his objectives of liberating Africa from Western imperial domination, which was to implicate him in acts of terrorism, as will be seen.

Qadhafi and acts of terrorism

Libya, historically, had not had a good relationship with the West (Chipaike, 2012: 45). This historical legacy was to be accentuated by Qadhafi's support for acts of terror that targeted the West. In North Africa, because of the existence of the arms trade and of the diversion of arms to rebel groups, Libya was viewed by the West, in particular the US, as a sponsor of acts of terrorism. Stohl and Grillot (2009: 2) point out that free trade allows the flow of arms within State borders to government armies, rebel groups and terrorists. The country was involved in planning and financing liberation movements widely

perceived as terrorist groups throughout the world. Qadhafi's support for these acts challenged the US, Britain and other Western powers (Chaurasia, 2005: 211).

For example, in the 1970s and 1980s, US officials cited the existence of training camps in Libya and the support the of government of terrorist groups that included the Abu Nidal organization, the Red Army Faction, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC), and the Irish Republic Army (Blanchard & Zanotti, 2011: 6).

In the early 1970s Qadhafi reported that he had made a pact with Pakistan that involved creating an "Islamic Bomb", funded by Libya's oil revenue, to be produced by Pakistan scientists (Ruble, 2009: 152). Qadhafi's son revealed that Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan, the "father" of the Islamic bomb, would develop the bomb for \$40million, with material from Malaysia and other Asian countries (Hagger, 2009: 131). Qadhafi objective to militarised Libya has led to military confrontation with other African States.

Apart from causing death and destruction, the use of revenue for arms diverts from social spending, depriving the populations of resources that are needed (Hilary 2008: 5). Qadhafi's focus on the development of a nuclear bomb and the acquisition of vast amounts of arms created tensions and military confrontations with marginalised groups in Libya and also neighbouring States.

One of the most infamous acts of terrorism under the Qadhafi regime was in 1986, when Qadhafi's order to bomb a West Berlin discotheque regularly used by the US military personnel caught international attention (Borowiec, 2003: 46). The Libyan regime of Qadhafi was startling to meet the international demands for its crimes (Takeyh, 2001: 62).

Washington as a reaction to the bombing of West Berlin discotheque sent warplanes to bomb Tripoli and Benghazi on April 14; they missed Qadhafi and killed his adopted daughter (Borowiec, 2003: 46).

The Libyan-sponsored bombings and assassinations increased international criticism, including the killings of Libyan dissidents and the bombing of the Pan Am Flight 103 and the UTA Flight 772 in the late 1980s (Blanchard & Zanotti, 2011). The attack, which occurred over Lockerbie, Scotland which killed 270 passengers, among those, 189 were Americans (Takeyh, 2001: 62). Tensions between the US and Libya escalated dramatically (Borowiec, 2003: 46).

In the 1990s, Libya trained individual personnel who led brutal rebel movements across Africa, such as FodaySankoh's Revolutionary United Front in Sierra Leone and Charles Taylor's movement the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (Blanchard & Zanotti, 2011: 6). As a result, the relationship between Libya and the West was destroyed and Libya was placed under the category of 'pariah' States of the world (Koko & Bakwesegha-Osula, 2012: 6-7). This refers to those States which are internationally isolated through the application of sanctions by the international community, namely, member states of the United Nations, as the actions of pariah States are unacceptable according to international norms.

In the 1990s, the term "rogue" dominated the US national security discourse and the US, under the Bush and later the Clinton administration, labeled Libya as a "rogue" nation, amongst which were Iran and Iraq, ruled by "unpredictable leaders who supported

terrorism" (Sullivan, 2009: 108). Rogue nations were those which the US military would be prepared to invade if their actions were seen as hostile

However, it must be emphasised that the origins of Qadhafi's involvement in acts of terrorism, and his participation in the arms trade, was in his support for those who shared his ideological beliefs and his commitment to an anti-Western agenda. This is clearly illustrated by his support for Palestine, as will be shown below.

Libya in the Arab-Israel conflict

The Libyan support for radical movements that are opposed to the US interests included its staunch opposition to Israel (Zoubir, 2002: 31). The tension between the US and Libya was exacerbated by the issue of Libya's support for Palestine and the US support for Israel (Blanchard & Zanotti, 2011: 47). Libya purchased arms to support the Palestine groups who were against Israeli occupation of their territory, again using the revenue generated from oil. Qadhafi also rejected negotiation with Israel throughout the Cold War, and promoted armed struggle as the only way to end Israel's occupation of the territory it had captured from the neighbouring Arab States in 1967 (Blanchard & Zanotti, 2011: 6). The obstacle in US-Libya relations has been Qadhafi's rejection of the efforts made to settle the conflict between Israel and its neighbours (Takeyh, 2001: 69). As a reaction to Libya's support of Palestine, the former US President Bush emphasised that "you are either with me or against me" and in the Israel issue, anyone who wanted to interfere was a terrorist (Carre, 2003: 437). Most of the Arab States who formed the Arab league and boycotted Israel in support of Palestine were pressed by Qadhafi in the post-Cold War period.

Libya in the Cold War

In the 1990s, certain events, more specifically, the collapse of the Soviet Union, which deprived Libya of its main counterweight to the US, exposed Qadhafi to unified international pressure (Takeyh, 2001: 63). The period from the Second World War to the Cold War was characterised by tensions between the Soviet Union and the US. The universally institutionalised hegemonic ideologies were communism and capitalism, competing for dominance in the global political economy. During this hegemonic struggle Africa was their hunting ground to extract essential resources such as oil, while supplying military hardware to regimes that are favourable to their economic interests.

Due to the changing nature in international politics, Libya's foreign policy after the 1990s shifted from Arab States to a greater focus on Africa. This move was also motivated by the destruction caused by the United Nations (UN) sanctions on Libya that deprived the country's economy of \$33 billion (Blanchard & Zanotti, 2011: 24). The World Bank estimated that damages were lower, but at the still daunting sum of \$18 billion (Takeyh, 2001: 64).

Qadhafi's foray into Africa for support was made explicit in an extraordinary meeting of the Organization of the African Unity (OAU) held in Libya in his thirtieth year of his rule, where he said he was not asking for a leadership role, because "I want to create a new Africa. My role is to become a soldier for Africa." He presented his view of a united, stateless Africa, because "Africa is not like Europe, which consists of nations. Africa consists of tribes, torn by colonial powers. A state has no chance of survival in Africa, it is a false concept." (Borowiec, 2003: 48).

The above emphasis on the artificial nature of modern African States illustrated Qadhafi's disregard for a Western conception of the state based on national identities, which, although complicated, is used to analyse governments in different societies, including Africa.

Qadhafi's analysis of the post-independent African States was influenced by events of the 1980s and 1990s, which was characterised by the transformation of the political landscape, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the collapse of the Soviet Union that brought an end to the Cold War. The latter event seemed to terminate fears of nuclear destruction, and free markets gained momentum. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 as a competitor to the US served as a major enabling condition of capitalist expansion and the take-off of globalization in its current form (Derluguian, 2011: 209). In order to retain his relevancy as a political leader, Qadhafi had to develop a counter-hegemonic and he accepted the arrival of the age of globalization (Takeyh, 2001: 64). From this point, Arab states were identified as new threats.

Libya in the Gulf War

In the case of the Gulf War (1990 - 1991), Libya went into the war which was not their own. Since "Libya's location provides a link between central Africa and the Middle East" (Anderson, 2000: 236), the war in the Middle East affected Libya. The wars switched to oil-producing States, where rebels were fighting against the government. Conflict in the Gulf region maintained the global political economy of arms throughout this period. Libya's support for other Arab States during the Gulf War made it a potential client for global arms trade. The effect of modern warfare and the demand for arms sustained the global political economy of arms after the end of the Cold War and the Gulf region

provided the market for international arms trade. In 1990, the former president of the US Bush announced a \$20 billion arms to Saudi Arabia (Stohl & Grillot, 2009: 33). As the volumes involved in the arms trade increased exponentially, the 1991 Gulf War had a particular effect on thinking about modern warfare and the global demand for advanced arms and related technologies (Kemp, 2007: 59).

Washington backed the increase sales of arms to the profitable gulf region of oil-producing countries in the Middle East and the Under-secretary of Defence, Paul Wolfowitz, ensured that the US Middle Eastern allies received the weapons they requested. Among these were Bahrain, Egypt, Israel, Kuwait, Oman, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (Stohl & Grillot, 2009: 33). Russia, China and Western Europe, including France, Germany, Italy and Britain, also maintained their clients in the Middle East during the same time, but with a smaller extent (Stohl & Grillot, 2009: 33). The attention switched to oil-producing countries in North Africa, precisely Libya, which will be at the centre of our following discussion about arms trade.

The arms trade and militarization of Libya

The massive scale of the arm trade in Libya was encouraged mostly by external factors, based on the purely economic interests of international arms suppliers. Sudden acts of terrorism were deliberately overlooked by arms producers and only business interests were considered in the multi-billion arms industry. For example, families of victims who died in the bombing of the French UTA Flight were compensated through payment by Libya of \$25.7 million in reparation (Takeyh, 2001: 71). A similar approach was taken to the bombing of the PanAm Flight 103, after which Libya issued tranches of payments of \$4 million per victim to the total value of over \$500 million, which led to the termination of

the US sanctions in September 2004 (Blanchard & Zanotti, 2011: 11). The argument they present is that due to the profitable arms trade, this business had a remarkable influence in the termination of sanctions against Libya, despite its past acts of terrorism.

Though the arms trade may seem morally indefensible, from a realist position, States need arms to protect their territory, while neoliberalism promotes the idea of the advantages in the liberalisation of trade. Because of the large volumes and the high costs involved in the arms trade, banks have become inextricably involved. For instance, Barclays and Lloyds TSB are viewed as the only high street banks which have stakes in UK arms companies, and high street banks also fund companies that sell arms across the world (Hilary, 2008: 17-10).

After the end of the Cold war, the US and British governments pursued their military quests in the Middle East and the arms trade remain big business (Hilary, 2008: 17). However, US objectives were not directed at toppling Qadhafi, who had not destabilized fundamental US interests (Takeyh, 2001: 68). The UN, US and European Union (EU) sanctions against Libya were lifted in 2004 after it dismantled its weapons of mass destruction program and opened itself to international inspections (Martin, 2013: 454). Libya regained its strategic importance as an oil supplier and potential site of investment, as well as a potential client for further arms deals. Qadhafi reportedly has expressed an interest to modernize his military equipment in procuring US, European and Russian weapons system (Blanchard & Zanotti, 2011: 28) and Libya became a battle ground where arms contractors competed in lobbying the government for sales.

France, Spain, Ukraine and Russia were among States that reportedly intended to secure contracts for refurbishing and replacing the stock of weapons, with Britain's Defence Export Services Organization (DESO) labelling Libya as their priority market for exporting British arms manufactures after 2004 (Blanchard & Zanotti, 2011: 28). This was despite the fact that the subject of the renewed arms sales to Libya remained a sensitive issue to the US and some European countries, and to those whose citizens were killed as a result of Libyan-sponsored terrorist attacks during the 1980s (Blanchard & Zanotti, 2011: 28).

The French arms deal with Libya was worth a total of \$405 million, consisting of anti-tank missiles worth \$230 million and communication equipment worth \$175 million (Stohl & Grillot, 2009: 1). A week after concluding this deal, Qadhafi visited France and announced a \$14.7 billion deal that include Rafale fighter aircraft, military and attack helicopters, air defence radars, patrol boats and armoured vehicles (Stohl & Grillot, 2009: 1). However, Qadhafi prioritised the acquisition of weapons and equipment over training the military forces on how to use them, or creating a high-quality military support infrastructure (Blanchard & Zanotti, 2011: 27).

As the source of finance for arms acquisitions, the oil trade cannot be separated from the arms trade. From 1991 – 2000, Condoleezza Rice, who later became the US Secretary of State under the Bush administration, was an executive of Chevron Oil Company, which was involved in the web of intelligence, planned finance and international politics that transcended Libya (Campbell, 2013: 52). As Secretary of State, Rice visited Libya and emphasised that the US had no "permanent friends in Libya, only permanent business interests" (Campbell, 2013: 52). Indeed, when a multibillion dollar exploration and

production deal was signed with BP, the company promised to spend \$50 million on education and training projects (Campbell, 2013: 53).

Western commercial interests in Libya were also associated with the proceedings of the second appeal for the release of Abd al Baset Ali al Magrahi from British imprisonment (Blanchard & Zanotti, 2011: 12). In May 2007, during British Prime Minister Tony Blair's visit to Qadhafi, British Petroleum (BP) and the Libyan National Oil Company (LNOC) announced a planned \$900 million energy exploration agreement, and both countries officials signed a memorandum of understanding. The transfer of the prisoner was made after the deal (Blanchard & Zanotti, 2011: 12) and private observers at that time linked the conclusion of this energy deal and the prisoner transfer agreement, though this was denied by British officials (Blanchard & Zanotti, 2011: 12).

Meanwhile, Libyan students who studied in Western universities came to dominate the bureaucracy, from where they promoted democracy and neoliberal reforms (Campbell, 2013: 53), encouraging the opening up of trading relations with the West to attract foreign investment (Campbell, 2013: 53-54), in doing so subordinating Libya's economy to the global political economy. The liberal influence among the youth expanded, taking root in Libyan civil society, and leading to the groundswell of pro-democracy movements against the leadership of Qadhafi. During the 2011 "Arab spring" in North Africa, this coalesced in the formation of the Libyan National Transitional Council (NTC), which rebelled against Qadhafi and gained recognition and support from the West in its struggle to secure power of the state. This is viewed as a civil society uprising against authoritarian regimes in North African Arab countries in a fight for democracy against authoritarian regimes! Egypt, Yemen, Tunisia were also drawn in this push for democratization and never experience

military invasion by NATO, the Persian Gulf monarchies were not affected by this movement, only Libya experience military invasion by NATO in 2011. In Libya, there was no consensus on the political and economic model that was proposed during the so-called Arab spring that should replace the existing system unlike the 1980s, the communist Eastern Europe countries.

The doctorial nature of Qadhafi's regime and rule including lucrative international arms deal using state revenue generated from oil. Libyans also experienced great hardships under his regime as his resource distribution was selective, like all leaders, and favoured specific groups, like the Arab Berbers. A striking example of those who did not benefit is African migrant workers in Libya who were – and still are- living in conditions that are almost slavery.



It is the prerogative of the writer to defend a particular perspective, for “knowledge is never innocent”, as famously stated by Michel Foucault. Indeed, the intention was not to foreground the (Western) perspective that views African leadership as deficient and which place the blame for Africa's condition on deviation from the Western model of democracy. However, the rejection of Qadhafi's form of rule by many citizens, particularly in the urban areas, must be acknowledged as follows. Qadhafi was Machiavellian in his tactics and was hated and feared by many citizens, especially in urban areas.

In Libya, there was dissidence and repression, as a result the major anti-government protest broke out in Libya on the 15 of February with eliciting violent government responses (Blanchard & Zanotti, 2011: 1). The ant-Qadhafi movements and the

demonstrations are in opposition to the Qadhafi who ruled the country with his regime for 42-years (Blanchard & Zanotti, 2011: 1).

As evidence of this claim is also provided in this chapter, and the chaos that the democratic government of the Libyan NTC which is failing to install political stability.

The Libyan National Transitional Council

Recognition of the Libyan NTC as representative of the Libyan people by Britain, France, Italy, Gambia, Jordan, Malta, Qatar, Senegal, Spain, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and the US was premature in terms of international law (Talmon, 2011), as no elections had been held and the NTC could not claim legitimacy. However, US Ambassador Stevens was dispatched to Libya in 2011 as the special US representative to the Libyan opposition at the time of the revolution, and his role was to oversee a range of programmes aimed at supporting Libya's transition to democracy (Blanchard, 2012: 5). Within a week of his arrival in Benghazi, the self-appointed NTC had been established, taking over responsibility of government shortly after the war (Sithole, 2012: 115). After the revolution, the NTC leaders went to Washington for diplomatic talks in June 2011, followed by the first shipment of oil from Libya to the US, re-establishing the trading relationship between the two (Chipaike 2012: 45).

The October 2011 assassination of Qadhafi did not surprise the West, where he was seen as an outspoken critic of the West who condemned the unequal relationship between developing and industrialized nations which concentrated wealth in the US, Canada and Western Europe (Gilbert, 1993: 1). He blamed Europe for the poverty of former colonies, demanding compensation of \$7.77 billion for the damage caused during imperialism and

through slavery, and he accused the UN of failing to prevent 65 wars by using false principles as a basis for conflict resolution (Pal, 2011: 60 - 61).

The NTC was no longer a rebel group as it became the accepted government of Libyan State, replacing the Qadhafi regime. National elections only took place in Libya in July 2012, when the General National Council (GNC) was elected as an interim government (Blanchard, 2012: 16-17). However, the authority of the post-Qaddafi State barely exists, as post-Qadhafi Libya has become characterised by political assassinations, military confrontations and ongoing violence between militias that effectively rule in the areas over which they preside outside the capital.

Challenges of the post-democratic Libyan State

Since the start of the 2011 anti-Qadhafi uprising, the situation in Libya has remained chaotic (Blanchard, 2014: 1). The self-appointed interim government in Libya, the NTC and its cabinet, tried to work towards improving security and reforming national institutions (Blanchard, 2012: 16). However, the insecurity in the capital of Benghazi that prevailed immediately after the 2011 conflict worsened, with a campaign of unsolvable assassinations. In September 2012 there were attacks on both the US facilities and its personnel in Benghazi, and in late 2013 Libyan security officers were targeted. Insurrection included the kidnapping of the Prime Minister Ali Zeidan by militias, as rival coalitions within the GNC clashed over the future of Zeidan's government and its term in office (Blanchard, 2014: 3). Protesting civilians in Tripoli and in Benghazi have been shot by State troops, and the overall situation is that political stability and peace are far from being within reach of the post-Qadhafi State. Instead, it appears that attempts by the West

to introduce democratic rule in the form of the NTC-led government have exacerbated conflict in Libya between conservative and pro-reform elements.

Libya remains a relatively conservative society, where many political figures make frequent references to Islam and the importance of its role in Libyan social and political life (Blanchard, 2012: 18). However, a new element has emerged in the form of the Islamic State (IS), formerly known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), and also the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL), which threatens US interests in the oil-rich region of the Middle East. The future stability of the entire region, including North Africa, is in jeopardy (Bielat, 2015). Backed by an extreme ideological determination, IS operates on the basis of militants who exploit local dynamics and the environment of instability to cause further disruption, to serve their ends of establishing and expanding a borderless Islamic State (Lister, 2014: 2). The IS claims that it controls a third of Syria and Iraq and there has been an escalation of attacks in North Africa, where it has exhibited increased strength (Bielat, 2015). In doing so, it aims to disrupt US interests through a counter-hegemonic attack and it has also challenged the traditional Western concepts, introduced in the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, of the territorial boundaries of sovereign States as a point of reference for the exercise of power.

Conclusion

The global political economy of arms and oil has been planned by private companies, but driven by the heads of States as State foreign policy in an international system. In an attempt to answer the question of examining to what extent the international arms trade played a role in fuelling the Libyan conflict of 2010 to 2011, we have moved beyond what the civilians know about arms, looking at how the arms trade operates. The collapse of

the Soviet Union shifted the attention of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries to the Arab-OPEC oil countries, including Libya. Qadhafi's support of terrorism contributed to the global political economy of arms purchased from the revenue generated from oil. Based on this data presented on this chapter and the information provided, we will proceed to Chapter Five data analysis.



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Chapter Five

Critical perspectives on IR Theories in analysing data

This chapter draws on the previous three chapters to analyse the complexity of African events by analysing the data presented according to various theories of International Relations (IR). This analysis gives a clearer picture of the role that IR theories have played in shaping general understanding within broader society at large. The propositions of these IR theories will also stand up to academic scrutiny in highlighting the role of theory in hermeneutics and their epistemological contribution. There has been little impact of the Libyan case on theoretical comparative analysis. The study of IR takes into account a wide range of highly contested theories, and it has been essential to bring all of them into the process of data analysis, because they do not only share competing conclusions, they expand the intellectual culture of theory and debate, as it will be seen in this chapter.

Chapter Two presented the mainstream theories with their basic assumptions, while Chapter Five is analysing the data within theoretical perspectives of IR. Many African scholars have challenged the domination of Western paradigms in the creation of knowledge, and, in the field of international relations, Western knowledge frameworks have been criticised in that “theory acts as a tool that legitimizes Anglo-American imperialism” (Faleye, 2014: 154). The central conceptual tools of IR are drawn from disciplines originating in Western contexts, and the intellectual imperialism of the Westphalian narrative universally supports Western-centric structures. Despite the discussion on the limitations of Western theoretical perspectives in a complex Libyan

situation, an Africa paradigm with its own conceptual model, indigenous assumptions and truth claims has not emerged.

A critical examination of International Relations theories in relation to data analysis

The purpose of this chapter is to offer a critical analysis of the data collected in the study according to the theoretical perspectives discussed in Chapter Two. Analytical and critical discussions of the data presented in Chapters Three and Four takes place within each of the Western paradigms previously overviewed; realism, liberalism, hegemonic stability theory, critical theory, constructivism and post-structuralism. In addition, the usefulness of these theories in fully explaining the African and Libyan situations will be discussed, with a view to establishing whether they are entirely appropriate, or whether there are conceptual and hermeneutical flaws or gaps.

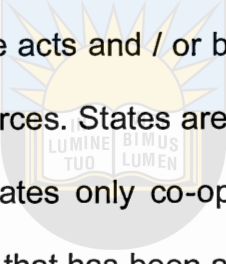
There will be two levels of analysis; namely, of data, and then also of data in relation to the different theories. In each of the sections of this chapter, the main principles of the various ideologies will be critically discussed insofar as they are able or not able to offer a convincing explanation of the research data.

The classical political realist perspective

Classical political realism proposes the creation of States, to which sovereignty is then assigned. The political concept of sovereignty can be traced back to social contract theory that accompanied the development of a new form of political community in the eighteenth century. State sovereignty has become the most prominent concept in classical political realism, and its theoretical significance is the assumption of States as independent role-

players. For classical political realism, sovereignty resides with the State and the State-centric paradigm is firmly rooted in its assumptions, which are based on empirical theoretical claims.

According to classical political realism, States are the main actors in international politics, and their aim is to maximize power, which is determined primarily in terms of their military strength. Classical political realism argues that States maximize their military power in an anarchic international system in order to survive. Classical political realism is also seen as a behavioral theory of IR; it sees the acts and / or behavior of States taking place in relation to competition for scarce resources. States are aggressive and use military use to maximize their national interest. States only co-operate when they see there are benefits that will be achieved and once that has been accomplished, there is no need to continue with that relationship.



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There are many dimensions of the realist approach that can be applied in analyzing the data obtained in this research, particularly in relation to State power, with the overriding national interest of the Libyan State being its national security and survival. A realist approach explains Libyan support for radical movements that were opposed to the US interests and also its staunch opposition to Israel (Zoubir, 2002: 31).

The main concept: State sovereignty

State sovereignty refers to the right of any type of a government to rule and exercise power within its boundaries, independently of foreign interference. The political community of people within a particular territory claim their right to self-determination, and the political concept sovereignty provides a formal base for State interaction in the

international system. Libya was the first African State which, after independence, maintained monarchy as a form of government, as discussed earlier in Chapter Four. In doing so, power was handed to the oil cartels that had effectively had decision-making power, thereby undermining the notion of sovereignty.

Later, under Qadhafi, a campaign was launched that forced oil companies to re-negotiate their oil contracts, and the oil industry was nationalized, affecting both the British and US oil operations in Libya. The continued accumulation of wealth was achieved because the price of oil increased dramatically, and oil-producing States such as Libya became extremely wealthy relative to other African States that lacked this resource.

However, because the United States (US) and Britain had military bases in Libya, this again defied the underlying principle of an "independent sovereign State", which is fixed and unchanging. According to classical political realism, States operate in an anarchic system, which encourages opportunistic behavior so as to maximize power. This principle can be applied to Libya, although in adopting its own strategies, it was labeled a "rogue" State. These political events have questioned the foundation of State sovereignty and opened the debate on sovereignty. The traditional Westphalian sovereignty which provides the foundation of State-centric approach has been defined, and rejected by the real events, the emergence of transnational corporations, powerful multinational oil companies, Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and a religious monarchical State of Libya. The existence of Britain and the US military base in Libya defines the significant construct of classical political realism as an IR theory of modernity.

Gaps within the realist perspective of the Libyan conflict

The historical element is absent from the classical political realist paradigm and this is of particular significance to Libya. The nature of the process of contemporary State-formation in Libya – and indeed Africa – as a result of colonialism, contradicts the Western conception of a political social contract between citizens and State. The imposition of this model, rather than the evolution of this form of State, denies the reality of the historical processes of State formation through conquest and colonialism in Africa. However, this inappropriate model is used by classical political realism in relation to post-colonial political entities deemed “States”. This has left a question of relevance of political post-colonial sovereign States within the modern international system. Classical political realism also neglected the importance of indigenous ideas, beliefs and values, including religion, and the historical role these have played. This is characterised by the historical exercise of hegemony that reduced African and Libyan societies to the status of post-colonial suppliers of raw materials to foreign multinational companies.

In Libya, the basic principle of State sovereignty ceased to exist in the wake of the 2011 Libyan revolution and the NATO invasion that ousted Qadhafi. The invasion by NATO overrides the classical political realism assumption of a Sovereign State of unifying people under a political identity, and excluding those residing outside the State. The basic assumptions of classical political realism as a theory of modernity have failed, presenting challenges to positivist views and understanding the world. The current anarchic situation has left hanging issues around the locus and nature of State power, as the situation presents challenges relating to prospects for political transition to a form of State in the classical realist tradition. Finally, the idea that Western “neutral” science provides

“universal truth” has been overruled by real events that are heavily influenced by the authority of religion.

Finally, a classical political realist perspective, with its focus on a State-based analysis of IR, does not provide enough depth to enable an analysis of the role of immensely powerful multinational oil companies, banks, arms manufacturers, or the role of transnational finance in an international system. It is also incapable of providing an analysis of a religious Caliphate State as a global vision of religious communities. These play a formidable role in the global political economy, but classical political realism maintains the dictum of European Enlightenment Statecraft.

The classical political liberal perspective

Classical political liberalism is a product of European Enlightenment; it offered a different type of society and the way we think about the world. It also rejected the world view as understood on the basis of religion and the will of God. According to classical political liberal thinking, individual freedom is paramount and no individual can be forced into a political contract without his own consent, that is, by surrendering his natural liberty and willing also to abide by the rules of society. Liberal theory was taken further to the conception of a global civil society, and followed by the establishment of the post-World War Two international institutions that superseded the authority of sovereign States through international law. Classical political liberalism, although it originated during the Enlightenment, still has a powerful influence on the political and economic institutions of the West. These in turn have a powerful global impact, through international law, that extends beyond Europe or the West.

This view has been projected into IR, in terms of which States interact freely with one another and have the right to self-determination. In IR theory, the focus is on, firstly, the limited role of government, particularly concerning free trade, and secondly, the homogeneity of the nature of the State, that is, a universal model of States co-operating with equal status and equanimity in a liberal international order. Classical political liberalism therefore sees peaceful and cooperative relations between States that are by and large modelled according to the United Nations (UN) norms in an international system. However, the reality is that post-colonial African States operates within a network of transnational corporations that deprive them of their sovereignty political and economically.

The principles of liberalism are therefore by and large misplaced in Africa, because post-colonial States emerged in the form in which they had been subjugated as colonies and not through natural processes of self-determination. Also, colonial institutions were carried through to facilitate the exercise of authority, as a result of which relations of political domination and subordination between State and citizens were achieved through modern political institutions. However, the theory still maintains that all people are free in this society, and has an inability to tolerate Muslim societies because it remains embedded in the original context of European modernity. The establishment of liberal civil societies never guaranteed any human rights, security, liberty and individual property rights constituted in a social contract in post-colonial State.

Therefore the origin of modern artificial States in Africa and the character of the political order created a division between civil society and political society, characterised by tensions. Thus, the liberal thinking that assumes that political communities are based

upon a social contract entered into by rulers and ruled is inappropriate to Africa and has been heavily criticised (Grant, 1987: 7-8). The development of post-colonial State was based on the private self-interest, a market mechanism of commercial liberty for exploitation and exclusion of civil society. The fundamental principles of liberal thinking are inapplicable in Libya, which was ruled by a leader intolerant of debate and dissent, as Qadhafi's aim was stability, not liberal democracy. Furthermore, the transnational religious idea of the Caliphate State has challenged fundamental principles of classical political liberalism, as a profound IR theory, and defied its vision of a peaceful liberal world order.

Contradictions in the notion of “free trade”

Contrary to the liberal principles of free trade, with minimal State intervention in the market, and a tendency towards peaceful coexistence through peaceful trading, Qadhafi spent billions of dollars and more than four decades building up massive stocks of arms, obtained through trade with Western governments as well as in international arms companies. Libya under Qadhafi's rule was an explicitly non-democratic State which collaborated with self-professedly democratic States such as Britain, the US, France and others in the lucrative and highly secretive arms trade.

The argument of open, free trade and minimum State intervention in the market gained solid political endorsement from European countries. However, democratic industrialized States in Europe were heavily involved in the international arms trade, a reality that requires scholars to confront these contradictions. Once Qadhafi had expressed an interest in acquiring military equipment; the main suppliers were the US, European and Russian arms-manufacturers, while France, Spain and Ukraine also showed an interest

(Blanchard, 2011: 28). The classical political liberalism on free trade is therefore misleading and throws into question the applicability of classical political liberalism. The classical economics book written by Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* has problematic assumptions that free trade results in economic progress for nations. Such a hypothesis has been spread worldwide, but has been defied by the data in Chapter Four, which shows the current chaotic situation relating to the oil trade in Libya.

Finally, the overarching liberal principle which emphasises that governments should act in peaceful co-operation to prevent harm to others, going about business without war, was over-ruled by the NATO invasion of Libya in 2011. Classical political liberalism argues for a non-interventionist foreign policy, however, Resolution 1973 mandated NATO to use military force in Libya, on the grounds that protection of civilians was necessary; however, the inconsistency in UN resolutions in this respect has been severely criticised, given non-intervention in situations of similar or greater risk in Syria, Bahrain and Yemen (Chipaike, 2012: 44). The central contradiction in classical political liberalism is that war is a 'tragic mistake' which is preventable by international organizations, and yet, in this case it was an international organization, namely the UN, which agreed to a no-fly zone and ultimately the NATO-led military invasion in Libya.

International law

The scope and applicability of international law is experiencing challenges emerging from the attempted reconfiguration of global power by the fundamentalist Islamic jihad, whose ideology of a Caliphate State rejects all existing structures and laws emanating from the contemporary international establishment. The origins of the Islamic jihad are to be seen in attempts to disrupt the liberal world order and the power configurations in the global

political economy of oil, but the current manifestation of the jihad undertaken by the Islamic State radically challenges the established Westphalian paradigm of authority. International law is faced with an oppositional movement that presents an entirely different world view under Sharia Law.

Gaps within liberal perspectives

Peace, security and democracy are the principles by which the UN professes to be guided, and, in accordance with these, classical political liberalism places institutional constraints on liberal democratic States, emphasizing human rights, public opinion, the rule of law and government accountability to its citizens. In relation to Libya, notwithstanding Qadafi's failure to respect the basic principles of liberal democracy, after the lifting of the arms embargo against Libya in 2004, the US and France traded prolifically with Libya, supplying Qadhafi with vast quantities of arms. The moral values of peaceful co-operation between States of classical political liberalism is hence highly questionable, as all States become involved in war when their interests are at stake. The data reveals that the governments of two leading liberal democracies, US and Britain, pursued their military operations in various parts of the world; resulting in the arms trade constituting a significant part of their economies (Hilary, 2008: 17).

The outcome of classical political liberalism is evident in postcolonial societies which were persuaded by liberal ideas attached to self-determination and freedom to attempt to establish governments based on the principles of liberal democracy. It was argued in Chapter Two that sovereignty and self-determination are problematic assumptions in relation to African States, which were not developed on the basis of nationality and gradual unification in the same way as Europe. Under the neoliberal world order, liberal

democracy has re-emerged as the “ideal” form of government and this discourages alternative approaches.

The main issue here is less a gap than a contradiction in the theory, which claims that IR is based on moral premises that ultimately promote global peace and development, whilst protecting the rights of all. The largest financial volumes of global trade are represented by trade in the commodity that most threatens peace, namely, arms. The data has shown clearly that in the case of Libya, involved States did not act to protect rights or promote peace and security, but to facilitate large-scale trade in arms that facilitated war. As Skons and Dunne (2006: 11) explained, after the Cold War, State-owned arms-producing industries in Europe were privatized and while these influential industries were controlled by private companies, the State role remained as broker and buyer, as well as facilitator of sales of arms.

This will be discussed in detail in the section on critical theory, as it unpacks the limitations of behavioral theories such as realism and liberalism in IR. However, the liberal claim that war is a “tragic mistake” is misguided and misleading.

Hegemonic stability theory

This theory is the product of the political intellectual atmosphere of the 1970s, influenced by real events such as the oil crises and subsequent events in the global political economy, which led to a revision of the classical political realism and classical political liberalism perspectives. The positivist approaches of neorealism and neoliberalism maintained the current international political order and within the paradigm of traditional theories. Hegemonic stability theory emerged in support of the global financial project

under the auspices of Western capital, justifying economic and political domination by the US over dominated societies, emphasizing the role of the US as a hegemon in the post-1945 international political and economic order (Keohane, 1984: 41).

The theory questioned the concept of State sovereignty in post-colonial dominated societies, which were considered from the perspective of the needs of hegemonic transnational capital. The erosion of State sovereignty of post-colonial States exposed their domestic political economy to the requirements of global capital, as determined by the hegemon. The theory is defied by the Islamic State that demands to be recognized as a sovereign State that seeks to create a pre-Westphalian world order in which the territorial lines should be based on religious identity (Bielat, 2015).

Gaps within hegemonic stability perspective of Libyan conflict

Hegemonic stability theory viewed developing nations as so-called “free riders”, those States that are dependent on the hegemonic State to establish the environment within which they operate. The theory presented a negative misleading view of post-colonial States, neglecting the influence of religion in the global political economy which is challenging the foundation of the Westphalian liberal political world order. According to the data presented in Chapter Three, the former president George W. Bush War on Terror has done little to erode the dominance of radical Islamist ideology it's a struggle against Islamism (Farmer, 2007: 215).

The theory explains US access to and domination over foreign markets and its control over foreign resources such as oil in terms of the hegemon's right in an international system and its obligation to establish rules and guidelines for interaction. However, it fails

to explain the resistance to hegemonic power generated in the international system. For example, the US dollar was a hegemonic standard that generated resistance in the form of the initiative of OPEC States that led to price increases and the oil crisis of the 1970s. Resistance to the hegemon through the establishment of a counter-hegemonic project was evident in Qadhafi's 1994 suggestion that by the year 2000 a number of African countries should implement the gold dinar as their currency, and that the dinar could be used to finance the oil trade (Wood, 2012: 236). This not only challenged the hegemon, but it also threatened US interests in Africa and in the Middle East.

The existence of the hegemon emphasizes the open nature of global trade and yet offers insufficient explanation of the causes of economic instability, unemployment, falling wages and political instability, all of which resonate with the situation in post-colonial African States, including the current situation in Libya of State collapse.

Finally, this approach cannot explain the failure of the US to reproduce democratic values that were able to counteract non-democratic conservative and fundamentalist Islamic values in post-colonial States such as Libya.

Critical theory

This theory traces the historical development of global capitalism, but is oriented towards critiquing society in a broad quest for social emancipation. The theory offers a critique of the behaviouralist approach and positivist methodologies in analyzing the world offered by mainstream IR theories of classical political realism and classical political liberalism. The theory reveals the complexity of the political world, and looks at its historical and global context without considering the State as an isolated entity, but as part of a larger

system in the global political economy of international institutions, transnational organizations, powerful multinational companies and financial institutions, all of which conduct their activities according to the dominant relations of production.

Critical theory is able to explain the role of powerful oligarchies, transnational corporations and financial institutions, as well as State involvement in the oil and arms trade, and the effect these have on subordinating the State to the action of global capital.

Within the historical context, critical theory offers an analysis of the development of modernity in relation to its global implications. Islamic fundamentalism has been viewed by Critical Theory as a modern response to the Enlightenment, which presents civilization as of a fixed essence of Western origin in relation to Islamism (Cox & Schechter, 2002: 143). Islamism defines its progress in terms of social cohesion and a universalized approach that embraces the philosophical tradition of all Arabs within their confined States (Bielat, 2005). The Islamic identity of sovereign power rests on religion, which is based on ethnicity within a State.

Gaps within a critical theory perspective of the Libyan conflict

Critical theory seeks to unmask the forms of domination and subordination that hinders human emancipation. However, the notion of human emancipation is presented in the context of a Western paradigm that aims at de-mystifying the capitalist system so as to enable the subjugated to liberate themselves. Critical theory seeks to “unmask” all sources of social deception emanating from economic domination so that the subjugated masses can understand the real nature of oppression. Criticism against critical theory is

that because it is so theoretical, it has not been able to achieve this, in the face of constantly evolving forms of deception wielded by those with power.

In terms of clarifying the nature of domination in Libya, the current State of affairs can only be described as chaotic, with militias pitting themselves against one another and opposing any attempts to install a central government, thus intensifying the pressure towards a fragmented anarchy. There is no place for reason or justice and the potential for emancipation of critical theory is severely constrained.

Furthermore, Arab States reject Western democracy, instead focusing on a unity based on Muslim identity. As a Western theory that seeks to transform contemporary society towards substantive democracy, critical theory cannot adequately explain the rise of fundamentalist Islamic movements in the aftermath of the Arab Spring and the anarchy since the removal of the Qadhafi dictatorship. Finally, critical theory does not take into account the African body of literature of self-ownership that has subsequently developed, as discussed in Chapter Two (Rodney, cited in Matunhu, 2011: 66). Contemporary African critical scholars have pointed to the failure of critical theory to accept the existence of African premises in relation to the nature of history or of society.

Nonetheless, in relation to this study, which foregrounds the role of transnational trade as a causal factor in the ongoing conflict in Libya and surrounding areas, critical theory is the most relevant in terms of its historical context and fundamental assumptions.

The constructivist perspective

It was during the 1990s that constructivism offered an alternative IR theory, challenging critical theory to move beyond its theoretical critique of positivist theories. It is a theory

concerned with learning and the nature of knowledge. Constructivism is an interpretive approach, a critique of both natural science and IR theories. Constructivism theory rejects mechanical positivist conceptions in its ontology, by arguing that anarchy in the international system is socially constructed by human action and includes the norms, ideas and principles of sovereignty. The theory applies a qualitative research approach to research, seeking to explain how identity plays an important role in States or in a community of States. This theory is characterised by its emphasis on probing inside social phenomena in order to arrive at a deeper understanding of the complexity, rather than assuming a formulaic approach.

Events leading to the end of the Cold War set the stage for constructivism as an outgrowth of critical theory. At the core of social constructivism is the assertion that ideas vary and there is an interplay between structure and agency. So, for example, as sovereignty changes over time, it is reduced and transformed in post-colonial States such as Libya. Thus, the theory challenged the rational and positivist ideas of neorealism and neoliberalism, as well as their State-centric analysis (Reus-Smit, 2009: 212).

Constructivism argued that liberal democracies challenged authoritarian regimes with the aim of establishing free market capitalism and that the Qadhafi regime was challenged in this way to establish a liberal democratic State. The formation of OPEC by Arab States was a deliberate plan of using oil to advance Islamic ideas and to gain monopoly control over the global oil industry. It was the Muslim countries in the Middle East and in North Africa that were ruled by their theocratic religious beliefs that sought to transform the ideas and values of the liberal global political economy of oil. The proposal of introducing an Arab global currency, the gold dinar, on which the oil trade would be based, utilised

existing ideas that had been socially constructed. This strategy, intended to unite and promote an Islamic identity that would define both the political and economic interests of all Muslims, resulted in a confrontation with the West.

Constructivism therefore highlighted the expanding of Islamic ideology in the post-World War Two period with the objective of transforming the liberal international agenda, and how sovereignty is changing over time. In response, the cultural crusade against Islam and the social creation of the new economic order designed according to the West interests, orchestrated by it's the US as the dominant power, was directed in order to discipline the Muslim world to present itself and to operate according to Western standards of humanity that Islamism rejects.

Gaps within the constructivist perspective of Libyan conflict

This theory has neglected the universal misinterpretation of African history in IR literature, by overlooking the social function of African history in revealing and reporting neglected facts. Constructivism as a theory of IR instead begins with a modern European history that forms its ontological and epistemological frame of reference. The theory looks at groups which are strong and weak as an outcome of colonialism, but provides little substantive knowledge about their realities. In the case of Africa, before the socially constructed political system of colonialism, there were ancient organised African societies which produced systems of knowledge that have not been dealt with by constructivism.

From the perspective of critical theory, constructivism has failed to acknowledge the significance of the global political economy in general, and underplays the significance of powerful economic forces, such as those that exist in the global political economy of oil.

However, constructivism does take into account the significance of religion and the role of identity that shapes post-colonial States such as Libya. In this respect, it is the most successful of the Western IR theories in explaining the phenomenon of the Islamic jihad, even though it underplays the role of the economy.

The post-structuralist perspective

Post-structuralism is a theoretical tradition which is rooted in interpretivism. This approach rejects and opposes positivist methodology as a method of investigation. For post-structuralism, history does not disclose truth, but it is situated in a process of domination and interpretive analysis is required. The theory emphasises the need for deconstruction of stable concepts, such as, in the case of IR theory, State sovereignty. It also rejects the universality, or generalizability, of concepts and seeks to understand through interpreting within a particular context. In IR, interpretivism emphasises the need to rethink the ontological structure of all concepts of Western origin, which are rooted in dominant discourses whose aim is to subject other societies.

In the field of International Relations, the argument therefore returns to the central concept of the State, whilst questioning it as an ontological construct. To interpretivists, Libya, as a post-colonial State, had continued to be a non-democratic, conservative Islamic State for decades, and these features need to be unpacked in order to understand the nature of Libyan “sovereignty”. As a post-colonial sovereign State, Libya in the 1990s trained individual personnel who led brutal rebel movements across Africa, such as FodaySankoh’s Revolutionary United Front in Sierra Leone and Charles Taylor’s National Patriotic Front of Liberia (Blanchard & Zanotti, 2011: 6). According to post-structuralism, in supporting these self-proclaimed liberation movements without heeding international

laws and norms in relation to sovereignty, Libya displayed clearly that post-colonial States are symbolic and ideological boundaries were not natural; they were a pre-political act among competing authorities who wanted to administer foreign lands. The unprecedented September 11 terrorist attacks has also become central in rethinking the concept of the sovereign State, because since al Qaeda is not a State, multinational or transnational organization, it challenges the fundamental methodological approaches of IR in international politics.

Gaps within post-structuralism

The theory emerged from discourse analysis in literature, but fails to understand the process and the nature of organised power that existed before the establishment of a colonial political system, the aftermath of which still exists in Africa today. This omission is significant, because the post-structuralist approach emphasizes the process of the deconstruction of stable political concepts of modernity, and stops there. However, according to the methodological approach of post-structuralism, an African literature needs to surface and be acknowledge before Africa can be examined by de-constructing this body of knowledge. Post-structuralism fails to reveal these controversies and give a proper historical analysis of Africa rather than deconstructing a written history about Africa which is misinterpreted in modern contemporary IR theories.

African literature should be the starting point for a post-structuralist approach to IR, because African literature not only allows for the deconstruction of the European modernity project and its stable political concepts, but it goes further to reveal the hidden social and discursive structures that constitute part of African civilization and progress.

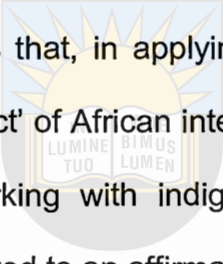
Limitations of Western Theoretical Perspectives

It has been shown that existing scientific theories of organised political knowledge of Western origin cannot be neutral: they are either political or ideological and hence they have their limitations in the African context. These theories rest on certain assumptions and their diverse epistemologies are constrained within the specific conditions of each pursuing its analytical objective. For centuries these theories have defined what knowledge and truth are and by embracing them Africa will always be in an unequal position in this intellectual hegemony. Their methodologies give authoritative reflections of the perception of the data to work with from within permanent and static categories of modernity, which foregrounds the problem. Despite this, these theories are now widely recognised as methods of social inquiry in African universities, and continue to legitimise the dominance frame of reference for thinking and conducting research.

Locating African history in colonial theoretical paradigms has encouraged the production of scientific knowledge about the continent, a type of knowledge that continues to encourage the State as a frame of reference, due to its emergence from the cultural project of Western paradigms. Therefore, scientific research is controlled through identifying appropriate hypotheses of Western paradigms – which are socially constructed – as a fixed reality. Scholars continue to make these mistakes in IR by locating the post-colonial State within the same paradigms of Western sovereign States. Consequently, the political organization of scientific knowledge in post-colonial States has emphasised an artificial sovereignty, discouraging critical reasoning of a concept that has become perceived as reality.

The intellectual hegemony of foreign IR paradigms over complex societies such as in Africa has resulted in IR in most parts of Africa being taught within the parameters of European intellectual political discourses. This re-enforces the supremacy and the organization of political scientific knowledge as a combination of political and ideological means of supporting transnational hegemony. Such a combination throws a narrow set of theoretical lenses determined by ideological beliefs in projecting how we see the world from the perspective of dominant societies.

Another problem with these theories is that, in applying their own perspectives, they marginalize a 'counter-hegemonic project' of African intellectuals attempting to establish an African ideology. Rather than working with indigenous knowledge in providing alternative analyses, they have contributed to an affirmation of IR paradigms of scientific knowledge among most African intellectuals.



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The post-Qadhafi anarchy, and the rise of the ideology of the global Caliphate State, has challenged and displaced traditional IR theory. Traditional IR theory focuses on the State as its key subject, and in post-Qadhafi Libya, this unit of analysis is of limited use in terms of its helpfulness in understanding contemporary events. Those IR paradigms that seek to predict outcomes are no longer capable of doing so after the emergence of the Islamic State movement; while those which seek to understand are confronted by what is frequently beyond their frame of reference. If there is any value in the situation in Libya today, it is the intellectual potential that it offers for the emergence of a body of knowledge underpinned by alternative theory emanating from an African context.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

The purpose of this Chapter is to conclude by revisiting the three research questions posed in Chapter One and to establish whether, in answering them, the research aims and objectives of the study have been achieved. The research questions were posed as follows: firstly, how changes in the nature of global post-World War Two democracy undermined the power of the post-independent African State; secondly, the role of the international arms trade in fueling the Libyan conflict of 2010 to 2011 and the ensuing instability; and finally, to what extent mainstream Western International Relations (IR) theoretical approaches are entirely applicable in an analysis of the post-Qadhafi Libyan situation.

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Findings

The research findings, discussed in Chapters Three to Five, will now be summarised.

Question One: Changes in post-World War Two democracy and the post-independent African State

It was established that changes in post-World War Two liberal democracy were institutionalised in an international system in an ongoing process of globalization that undermined the prospects for independent decision-making of the post-colonial African States. Post-colonial African States were reduced to the status of instruments within the global political economy and were particularly susceptible to changes in the international system, and subject to the conditions of international law. The economic power of

dominant States that was channelled through the Bretton Woods institutions was intensified after the end of the Cold War.

In relation to Libya, post-World War Two transnational relations advanced the hegemonic power of multinational oil companies that undermined the ability of post-colonial States such as Libya to make independent decisions relating to their economies. The global political economy of oil subjected the Libyan State's national economy to the imperatives of global powers in the form of foreign multi-national companies, backed by their respective governments in hegemonic States. The process of global capital accumulation promoted the international arms trade as a corollary of the oil economy and had the effect of de-stabilising the African State, as the economic and political imperatives of dominant societies manipulated situations to their advantage.

In conclusion, in answer to the first question, the potential for independence in a meaningful and substantive sense for post-independent African States, specifically Libya, was undermined by the global political economy.

Question Two: The role of the international arms trade in fuelling Libyan conflict and the ensuing instability

It had been shown in the previous Chapter that post-colonial States had little independent sovereignty over their territories and resources. In the chapter dealing with this question, it was demonstrated that the arms trade conducted by international regimes fostered and perpetuated violent conflict in Libya. Nominally liberal States supplied non-liberal States with weapons as the notion of 'free trade' backed the lucrative global arms industry. The data collected on the international arms trade in the Libyan case study overturns the

widespread assumption that free trade results in economic progress and development. Instead, it resulted in a post-Qadhafi situation of internal political and social disintegration, poverty, chaos and violence. It was established that despite the intentions of international institutions to entrench liberal norms in a post-Qaddafi Libyan State, the opposite has occurred and the stability of the Qadhafi regime gave way to economic and political anarchy. Indirectly, the transition from stability to chaos had the intellectual backing of the discipline of IR in the form of liberal theory supporting free trade, liberal democracy and citizens' rights that was used to justify NATO's military intervention that toppled Qadhafi.

Question Three: The applicability of Western paradigms

Data collected and presented in this research was drawn from sources which, in presenting the information, adopted a Western approach. Thinking theoretically comes from the study of knowledge which provides the foundation of understanding in a broader context in IR. The Western paradigms utilised in examining the data were shown to have misplaced assumptions and gaps, as a result of which there is some epistemological and ontological bias, and methodological errors in their analysis of the African and Libyan context. The applicability of classical liberalism, classical realism, hegemonic stability theory, critical theory, constructivism and post-structuralism were subjected to academic scrutiny and were found to be flawed, with the exception of critical theory and constructivism. In acknowledging the importance of non-hegemonic ways of thinking and how this can influence outcomes, constructivism, despite its under-emphasis of the role of dominant economic powers, was able to explain the disintegration in Libya and North Africa that has followed in the absence of the presence of Qadhafi as a unifying – albeit dictatorial – force.

Critical Theory in relation to the research topic and problem, as compared with other mainstream theoretical perspectives in International Relations, was best able to explain the Libyan case in the context of the global political economy. Although the limitations previously identified by the researcher have been retained, in relation to the emergence of the IS movement in post-Qaddafi Libya, critical theory nonetheless remains the most convincing overall, due to the resonance of its fundamental assumptions in relation to the overarching significance of the transnational trade in oil and arms in the exercise of hegemony.

African literary sources consulted have challenged the historical and intellectual development of IR, without as yet developing a counter-hegemonic perspective based on indigenous theory. Classical and radical African scholarship has rejected situating the history of Africa within systematic epistemological approaches to IR, but has not produced an alternative intellectual discourse from which to depart in analysing IR.

Conclusion

It is evident that there is still an absence of an African ideology which can play a powerful intellectual role in the way that IR is conceptualised, which is currently within the confines of a Western tradition of knowledge. Within this, the discipline of IR has imprisoned African thinking so that African scholars are not able to see beyond the lens of Western epistemological approaches, or to conceptualise the ontology of IR in a different way.

Recommendations for further research

In the light of the findings that IR scholarship is restricted to Western paradigms, scholars should be able to avoid being compelled to think within “legitimate” scientific paradigms.

Scholars should be able to look for progressive alternatives that will advance African intellectual development for sustainable knowledge generation for an Africa ideology to emerge. The most immediate recommendation is that further research be undertaken by African scholars in African institutions of higher learning into the fundamental basis of African knowledge. This should be located in African history and in the literature that reveals the African past. Following from this, a further recommendation is that, in relation to the splitting of disciplines that occurred as a result of the development of the Western scientific tradition, African universities should re-think the compartmentalisation of knowledge. The historical stereotype of Africa needs to be dismantled through developing oppositional epistemological and methodological paradigms that counter the effects of Western thinking on African societies.

The logo of the University of Fort Hare is a circular emblem. It features a central sun with rays extending outwards. Below the sun, the Latin motto "IN LUMINE VIDE" is inscribed. The entire emblem is set against a light blue background.

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Appendix One: International trade and bank investment in arms production

Barclays:

- Holds, by far, the largest amount of shares in the global arms sector, with £7.3 billion invested in total.
- Ranks amongst the top 10 largest investors in US arms companies.
- Serves as a principal banker for three arms companies: VT Group, Cobham and Meggitt.
- Has been part of 50 syndicated loans to the arms sector over the last 10 years and has invested in and gives loans to companies that produce cluster munitions and depleted uranium munitions.

HSBC:

- Holds shares in the global arms industry totalling £450.6 million.
- Serves as principal banker to two arms companies: BAE System and Meggitt.
- Has been part of 43 syndicated loans to the arms sector over the last 10 years worth £27. 1 billion and has invested in and gives loans to companies that produce cluster munitions and depleted uranium munitions.

Royal Bank of Scotland:

- Holds shares in the UK arms sector totalling £36. 4 million.

- Severs as principal banker to four arms companies: BAE Systems, Rolls Royce, Babcock and Ultra Electronic.
- Ranks as the world's leading creditor to the arms sector, having participated in 52 deals over the last 10 years worth £44.6 billion, including loans to producers of cluster munitions and depleted uranium munitions.

Lloyd TSB:

- Holds shares in the UK arms sector totalling £717.5 million.
- Serves as a principal banker to BAE Systems and QinetiQ.
- Has been part of 40 syndicate loans to the arms sector over the last 10 years worth £33.3 billion, including loans to producers of cluster munitions and depleted uranium munitions.

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Halifax Bank of Scotland:

- Holds shares in the UK arms sector totalling £483.4 million.
- Serves as principal banker to two arms companies: Babcock and Chemring.
- Has been part of six syndicated loans to the arms sector over the last 10 years worth £1.2 billion

(Hilary 2008: 3).

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