

## GADDAFI'S POLITICAL SYSTEM BETWEEN PHILOSOPHICAL THEORY AND PRACTICAL APPLICATION

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### Abstract

Gaddafi invented a political system different from all known systems in the world, under the name of Jamahiriya's system. Gaddafi wrote the Green Book in 1975 to be the guide for implementing this system. Gaddafi presented his thoughts as the "Third Universal Theory", an alternative to communism and capitalism. As Gaddafi's position at the top of the pyramid of power in Libya for more than four decades, he applied the "Third Universal Theory" in Libya. Thus, the Green Book that Gaddafi composed became the real constitution of the state. Since Libya has great importance in the region, as it is a country rich in resources and has an important strategic location, in addition to its unique political system. All these points make Libya gains attention and importance in the region. On the other hand, the fall of Libya into chaos and civil wars after the fall of the Gaddafi regime raises the question about the political system that was ruling Libya, and how it lasted for 42 years under the leadership of one person? Therefore, studying Gaddafi's regime will help to understand the political history of Libya and the reason after Libyans' demanded to overthrow Gaddafi's regime in 2011. The researcher used primary sources and secondary sources, academic books, articles, additional reports, Journals, analysis. Gaddafi invented the "Third Universal Theory" to enable people to rule themselves to be liberated from oppression and exploitation. However, the application of this theory did not provide the Libyans with what Gaddafi promised. This paper will analyse Gaddafi's regime and its findings.

**Keywords:** Gaddafi, Libya, Green Book, Jamahiriya, Third Universal Theory.

### INTRODUCTION

Libya passed through many historical stages with different regimes. The last authority that ruled Libya before independence was the Italian occupation that began in 1911 and continued until the end of World War II. Italy was defeated and expelled from Libya. Since then, the Libyans have been striving to gain their independence away from any foreign interference. Indeed, the Libyans gained independence on December 24, 1951. With the help of the United Nations (UN), the Libyans were able to draw up a constitution in which they agreed on the political system. It was a constitutional hereditary monarchy. Idris Al-Senussi was the King of Libya, he was one of the most prominent leaders in Cyrenaica who contributed to the independence of the country (Oyenyi, 2019, pp. 42-75). According to some writers, the king of Libya was not democratic. Rather, the constitution made him the supreme president and gave him exclusive power to veto any parliamentary legislation and other crucial powers (Oji, Adibe, Ejiolor, Nwoke & Ezugworie, 2018).

However, the monarchy did not continue in Libya. The regime was overthrown in 1969 with a white coup (bloodless), which was implemented by officers in the Libyan National Army. They created the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC). Gaddafi's first action on September 1, 1969, was to take control of the Benghazi radio broadcasting station, to announce the overthrow of King Eris' rule and the start of the era of the masses (Ghejam, 1990). Gaddafi had a distinguished

role in the success of the coup. Therefore he was appointed head of RCC. This council gained power in Libya after the fall of the king's rule. Until 1977, Gaddafi continued to lead this council side by side with his comrades in the coup. Then, Gaddafi took over the position of Secretary-General of the People's Congresses between 1977-1979. Afterwards from 1979 to 2011, he remained in power under the name "Brotherly Leader" or "The Guide" of the Libyan Revolution (Erdağ, R, 2017, p. 24).

Thus, in 1969, Gaddafi came to power at the head of the RCC. This event entirely changed the shape of the Libyan state at all levels. To understand these changes, the researcher will analyze the rise of Gaddafi and how he invented his unique political system based on the "Third World Theory"? Is this theory applicable? How was the practical application of this system? Why did the Libyans decide to overthrow the regime within the events of the 2011 Arab Spring?

### **RISING OF GADDAFI**

By considering the monarchy was corrupt and pro-colonial. In 1970, RCC has made it one of its top priorities to exclude the political, economic and social elites who were at the forefront during the monarchy era. The bureaucrats, businessmen and prominent personalities were aimed to be removed from the scene. Furthermore, the fundamentals of the regular Libyan army were changed. RCC decided to abolish all military ranks above the rank of major. Afterwards, recruits were included in large numbers. RCC led by Gaddafi was able to reach a high-power influence in the country by the end of 1970 (Vandewalle, 2012, p. 81).

The (RCC) has done a remarkable job within that time, it managed to improve the status of education, health and other sectors. Education, including higher education, and the medical care system became free for all Libyans with high standards. In addition, huge economic reforms were achieved, especially with oil, which resulted in additional revenues for the state, that were used in building support programs and social reforms. Furthermore, Gaddafi and his comrades in (RCC) achieved a significant victory for the Libyan people in 1973 when they were able to nationalize the oil industry. This made a huge difference in the country's economy, raising the gross domestic product to \$13.7 billion, rather than \$3.8 billion in 1969 (Totman & Hardy, 2015).

Gaddafi had always been looking for a way to mobilize the public to present his ideology "Third Universal Theory". After many attempts, he succeeded to launch a popular movement, called it "popular revolution", starting from the city of Zuwara in 1973. The aim was to remove the whole political structures in the country and replacing them with popular bodies or committees, from the public, in addition, to remove opponents and suspending the laws in force. Thus, all professional cadres have been replaced by popular committees represented by common people. About 2,400 committees have been approved, the popular committees appointed by RCC to undertake their new duties (Vandewalle, 2012, P. 83).

Gaddafi was always considered as a unique figure who has a passion for political philosophy, and distinguished thoughts. A few years after the coup, the new regime, led by Gaddafi, demonstrated to rise the approach of Arab nationalism that the people aspired to, especially the new generation, affected by the revolution that took place in Egypt led by the revolutionary figure Gamal Abdel Nasser. RCC made many promises to reform the Libyan social structure and establish a modern state (Hweio, 2012).

However, until 1973, Gaddafi's idea was met with political indifference from many people of the society. To solve this problem, the Revolutionary Committee (RC) was formed to publish the ideological instructions of Gaddafi, which will become clearer later (Vandewalle, 2012, p. 96).

After a lull in the Libyan political scene, Gaddafi was able to write a book in 1975 called *The Green Book*. It consisted of three parts in which Gaddafi discussed the political, economic and social dimensions of the state, explaining how to achieve real democracy directly through the people, without relying on electoral parliaments and traditional councils. Gaddafi displayed his unique ideology as the third universal theory, the alternative to capitalism and communism. It was a combination of socialism, Islam, Arab nationalism with a new mechanism for practicing direct democracy. Gaddafi put the term *Jamahiriya* to describe his unique vision of how to build a political structure (Totman & Hardy, 2015).

Afterwards, Gaddafi has continued taking measures to place normal people in the political scene in his distinctive way. Especially the uneducated and lower-class or middle class occasionally. This is what placed Gaddafi in the prominent position in the hearts of the people and made him a heroic figure, looking for Arab nationalism moreover a conservative Islamic, making the Quran the law of society. In addition, his Bedouin<sup>3</sup> background, which gave him an aspect of honesty, loyalty, and closeness to people. On the other hand, everyone who opposed him was considered either pro-colonial or corrupt royal followers seeking to restore family rule.

### **GADDAFI'S POLITICAL VISION THE (GREEN BOOK)**

The *Green Book* written by Gaddafi showed the basis of his unique ideology, which he called the *Third Universal Theory*. The book was divided into three parts, the first for solving problems of democracy, *The Power of People*, while the second for solving economic problems, and the last social part. For 42 years, Libya did not have an official constitution but rather built the structure of the state following the directions found in the *Green Book*. Thus, the *Green Book* has been considered the state constitution for decades. Therefore, to understand the political, economic and social structure in Libya, the most important points of the *Green Book* itself must be analysed.

### **THE GREEN BOOK**

Since the beginning of the book, Gaddafi directed sharp criticism of traditional democracy that relies on parliaments mostly. He was arguing that how a person or a small group of people could represent thousands or tens of thousands of citizens living in a certain region. Gaddafi believes that this is theft of the people's right to representation, whereby the representatives confiscate and monopolize the people's authority, then remains the only one controlling it. Consequently, traditional democracy of all kinds, in general, is nothing but the robbery of the sovereignty and will of the people. From this point of view, Gaddafi issues his most important principle, which is "no representation in instead of the people". On the other hand, the rule of a tribe, a certain class or a sect, leads to confiscate the will of the rest members of society. Therefore, they are not worthy of democratic rule (Al-Gaddafi, 1975, PP. 11-26). Thus, Gaddafi believes that the traditional tools of government are not appropriate, moreover, do not constitute a solution to contemporary political conflicts in the world.

Therefore, Gaddafi claimed that it is necessary to find a way for the people to govern themselves directly, not parliamentary assemblies, the tyranny of a class over all the people or other ways. Once this method is found, it will find a solution to the problems of the governance instrument. That would cross people from the darkness of dictatorship to the light of true democracy (Al-Gaddafi, 1975, PP. 40-41). This was the introduction of Gaddafi's *Green Book*, arguing that there is no true democracy in the world, suggesting a new solution for real democracy.

### **GADDAFI'S POLITICAL STRUCTURE (AL JAMAHIRIYA)**

Gaddafi claims that he had a unique vision to solve the problem of democratic governance in the world. According to him, all existing systems of government are not suitable to achieve the aspirations of the people, nor enable them to directly exercise power. Therefore, he suggested a tool to achieve popular democracy, which is the Popular Conferences and Popular Committees. He describes it as the only tool for the democratic rule of the people, and any other system without using this tool is a non-democratic system. Gaddafi explains how to use this popular tool, as follows:

The people are divided into Basic Popular Conferences, each Conference must choose a Popular Committee and a Popular Secretariat. The Popular Committees, as a whole, form the government, (they become executive power). The Basic People's Conferences determine the Popular Committees' policies and monitor their work (they become legislative power). By this mechanism, the definition of traditional democracy is changing from people's control of the government to the new definition of real democracy, which is people's self-supervision of themselves. Before implementation and actual work start, what was proposed is transferred between the Basic Conferences and the Popular Committees to a conference called the General People's Congress, in which the People's Secretariats and the People's Committees meet. To formulate the final formation of the discussions and return them to the Basic People's Conferences and the People's Committees, so that implementation by the People's Committee can begin. (Al-Gaddafi, 1975, PP. 48-50). According to Gaddafi, this organizational structure will have created a tool to enable people to govern themselves, to solve all the problems of democracy in the world.

### **OPPOSING A CONSTITUTION FOR THE STATE**

Gaddafi arguing that the existing constitutions in the world are undemocratic and void acts that cannot be decided as the law of society. It is just a positive law, developed by a group based on the vision of dictatorship's tools that force people to obey it. Even in the case of a referendum, it is nothing but cheat people by giving them only one word, yes or no, this is silencing people, they cannot explain why yes and why no. Gaddafi proves his argument that constitutions are different in the world, although human freedom is one, this is what restricts human freedom. Therefore, Gaddafi sees the true law of society as natural law, meaning "religion or custom", thus other forms of constitutions, are nothing but a dictatorial instrument of government to restrict the freedom of peoples. While, if the people lost their religion or custom law, as happens in contemporary systems. There is just one way to correct the direction, which is through revolution or violence. However, if people lost from the society's law in the Jamahiriya's system. The treatment is through democratic review, not with violence or force. This is a sure result of the Jamahiriya's system because its organizational structure does not place separate institutions from another to holds it responsible for deviation or directs acts of violence to it (Al-Gaddafi, 1975, PP. 55-64). Therefore, Gaddafi did not allow any attempt to create a constitution in Libya, consider it as a restriction of people's freedom.

Gaddafi writes under the heading of the press that everyone has the freedom to express himself, whether it is a person or a group of people in a profession or field. However, all of them represent nothing but themselves. The press is the means of expressing the opinion of society as a whole. Therefore, it is not permissible for the press, or any tools of publishing in public, to be

the property of a person or group of people. Because what comes from them is an expression of their opinion, not the opinion of society. Thus, the democratic press is published by a Popular Committee formed from all sectors of society. This is the only way for the press to express the general opinion of society. After the political chapter in Gaddafi's book, he wrote, from a theoretical aspect, this is true democracy, but in reality, the powerful always rule (Al-Gaddafi, 1975, PP. 67-71). That was the political party of the Green Book, while next will explain the main points in an economic and social aspect.

### **GADDAFI'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECT**

The economic aspect of the Third Universal Theory was built on a socialist background. It discusses the wages that are given to the workers in exchange for their work, which makes the workers slaves of the employer, they are exploited for the wages, this is slavery. Therefore, Gaddafi believes that the workers should be a partner in the profits from the production in which they participated. Thus, the owners and the workers are equal. On the other hand, in terms of housing, Gaddafi considers it a necessary need for the family and the individual. There is no freedom for a person to live in someone else's house, with or without paying rent. Consequently, no one has the right to build a house more than the one in which he lives, nor a house inherited to rent. This also applies to the vehicle, such as cars, for example, no one may own another car to rent. As for the land, it is not owned by anyone. However, the individual can exploit it in agriculture with his efforts without workers. Economic activity that aspires to profit and save above the individual's need is not permitted in the new socialist society. According to Gaddafi's vision, the workers' demands will shift from increasing wages to partnership in production. This will begin with the socialist revolution by the method of the workers take over their share of the total production. That will be done sooner or later after tracking the Green Book (Al-Gaddafi, 1975, PP 75-113). Therefore, the new economic system suggesting by the Green Book is leading to share everything in the society, and preventing any tries to exploit workers.

While the social aspect of Gaddafi's book discussed some public matters, such as family, tribe and nation. It is worth noting that Gaddafi spoke of human equality between men and women. In addition to defining women that their formation needs compassion with them in terms of workloads, moreover, considering that they might be a mother. Therefore, it is imperative not to involve women in jobs with harsh conditions or lead to exhaustion and distort their beauty. Furthermore, she must have the opportunity to raise her children, as it is a right, natural role for her, and duty to society (Al-Gaddafi, 1975, PP. 147-169).

Therefore, Gaddafi composed his Green Book consisting of three parts. The first part discusses democracy and socialism is discussed in the second part, while the third part is devoted to nationalism. This is the starting point of a Cultural Revolution, as Mao did in his Red Book (Wells, 2001, p 190). This was Gaddafi's theory "Third Universal Theory" which was explained on its basis in the Green Book. Thus, this theory will be analysed and discussed, trying to find answers for the followed questions: Is this theory has been applied in the reality? What is the outcome of applying Gaddafi's theory? Did it enable the Libyan people to achieve direct democracy and lead them to the bliss that Gaddafi preached? How has the political situation been in Libya since Gaddafi took power?

## THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF GADDAFI'S THEORY

### Internal policy

The terminology used by Gaddafi in his Green Book was about the happiness of society, ability to achieve its dreams and aspirations. Far from exploiting any person, tribe, class, or party.

From Gaddafi's narration, he was treasuring democracy and the freedom of people. Moreover, he will work hard to present a successful model to the world, how direct democracy could be practicing. Although, Gaddafi's ideology is unique when analysing the Green Book, noticing that the theory surrounded by ambiguity in terms of application on the reality, especially after it was personally acknowledged at the end of the political chapter in the Green Book that, this ideology is direct democracy, in theory, In reality, the powerful always rule. Despite all this ambiguity and the lack of details, the Libyan people have blind confidence in the saviour leader, which led to a revolution that toppled the king's rule, bourgeois families and exploited traders. They saw nothing but progress, prosperity, a sense of nationalism. However, analysing the events mentioned above, Gaddafi began intending to tightening his security grip and imposition his ideology. This was obvious from the 1973 speech of Zuwara in which he declared his intention to implement a democratic political ideology, to enable the people to govern directly without representation. Gaddafi's political success began to be achieved gradually after that speech because the goal behind it was to change the state's institutions and replace bureaucrats with committees of the common people.

The Jamahiriya regime was seeking to build permanent institutions that would maintain the system, RCC was established according to Nasser's approach. However, Gaddafi does not see that enough. Therefore, the transition to a culture of revolution took place, as Mao did, in addition to ending the previous regime completely (Roumani, 1983).

This led to confusion in specializations in the state structure, especially as the Popular Committees that were formed did not clearly define their specializations. That made some members of (RCC) did not accept that chaos, which led to disagreement with Gaddafi's direction. Consequently, the council split into two parts, first part wants more organizing measures for the state structure based on a study of the country's economic development. Rather than seeking Arab unity and a certain political ideology, which cost the state budget with little success. While another part was Gaddafi and his supporters in (RCC), insisting on the establishment of Arab unity and impose Gaddafi's ideology. This division became clear in 1974, and in this struggle, the part that supported Gaddafi succeeded in the end. Afterwards, there was a coup attempt led by Omar Al-Muhaishi, Minister of Planning at that time. He tried to make a coup because he was not satisfied that the ministry loses the financial budget allocated for development inside the country. But the coup attempt failed, so Gaddafi became at the end of 1975 became the most powerful leader in Libya. Then, he made many adjustments to ensure loyalty and launched his Green Book in the same year, which will be considered the only constitution of the country without advice, referendum, or opposition. Before that, he was already gradually changing all political, economic and social elites and replacing them with Popular Committees (Vandewalle, 2012, pp. 96-100).

At the end of the seventies, (RCC) was dissolved, Gaddafi rapidly changes his approach from a loyal, humble leader to a brutal, oppressive dictator. By following different ways, under the

name “Brother Leader of the Revolution” and similar names, meaning that he has no official position in the state that which can put him in the responsible position. All of this is under the allegations that all Libyan citizens have a voice in the government, and what is happening on the ground is the rule of the people. Complex structures of governance have been formed, no one can know its true path and direction. These structures have placed Gaddafi in a position that no one can challenge him at all. All personalities in various fields were obliterated, and the leader reduced all the elites in his personality. There was no political identity or national figures

Libyans could see, only one person, which is Muammar Gaddafi. This was by relying on the network of (RC) that were formed from revolutionary fanatics. These committees were deployed in all state institutions, their role was to spread and impose the public ideology of the only leader, and to write accurate reports on the country's conditions to be handed over to the leadership to preserve the regime's control. In addition, they invented detention powers and extra-legal trials for continuing the revolution, in short, these committees removed everything that constituted a challenge or an obstacle to Gaddafi's authority (Totman & Hardy, 2015). On the other hand, the practical implementation of Gaddafi's vision began to be clear, such as the appointment of regular citizens in the country's foreign embassies, based on the idea that the Libyan state is ruled by regular citizens. This is what observers see as unusual work, almost insane (Hajjar, 1980).

Until 1977, Gaddafi has done many of his ideas written in his Green Book, after his increasingly tight control under the appearance of the name of the people. As his plans were implemented systematically by the method of the RC, even if they were above the state law. The General People's Congress, launched a new policy under the name “the home is for its inhabitant,” meaning that everyone who lives in a house directly becomes his property. Suddenly, renters of homes became owners. All housing that was not rented or owned by anyone without inhabiting, was confiscated, then distributed to the poor and low-income people. Therefore, they were able to get free houses, but their ownership belonged to other people. By 1978, a campaign to implement popular socialism, as the leader wrote in his Green Book. So groups of farmers and other simple groups set out to invade factories and private businesses and were completely spoiled. Traders and businessmen were removed from the country's economic life and became worthless. Utilizing the (RC), Gaddafi closed down the rest of the private companies, while government shops appeared to replace private businesses. As for land ownership, Gaddafi made it the property of the state, except the ones who benefits from the land themselves. This policy was implemented in 1977, Under the policy of “land does not belong to anyone”, found in the Green Book. The intervention of the RC was strong, and they were present almost everywhere. Even in education, RC took control of the university and others, imposing the ideological intervention of the Green Book that interfered in the educational system and the curriculum. It was one of the disastrous results for the country is the end of 1979 about 100,000 Libyan citizens left, most of them highly educated and holders of postgraduate degrees from Western universities (Vandewalle, 2012, pp. 106-111). Thus, after Gaddafi gained power in Libya, he controlled all school curricula by imposing his unique ideology and a distorted design for history, which formed the core of the educational system in Libya under Jamahiriya's system (GILLIS, 2012).

By analysing the previous events, it noted that, Gaddafi used his political ideology, which is

hidden for direct democracy by people, It was just a plan, to trick people than force the implementation of the leader's ideas. This has been evident since the emergence of the dictatorship tendency of Gaddafi's personality after he had gained power and removed most of his comrades in the coup from the (RCC). On the other hand, he removed all the educated, political, economic and social elites from the scene. Gaddafi made the Libyan elite the enemy of the people, accusing them as bourgeois, exploiters and monopolize economic activity or the efforts of the people. Other accusations could be launched such as opposed to the rule of the people, traitors, and agents of the West follow the king's corrupt policy. None of these elites was spared, Gaddafi intentionally caused their departure from the country, this policy makes him the master, the educated and the only thinker.

Moreover, if someone else is found, he will only be loyal, thus all free political identities or personalities were obliterated, no one else remains. Gaddafi promoted the loyal and unqualified classes to sensitive positions and was given everything as homes or guarantee basic needs. This is what brought them to the fore, were always ready to remove anything that stands in the way of the leader, surely, they agree to all his policies. But this was not a stroke of luck, Gaddafi had a profound understanding in terms of the composition of the Libyan society. All the success and securing of his position was passed through his private dealings with the Libyan tribes and family management, as he gave them a big role within the political structure. Because of the importance of that role, it will be explained in detail by the following context.

#### **THE ROLE OF TRIBES AND FAMILY**

The Libyans are closely related to their tribe. The number of tribes in Libya is about 140 tribes that extend beyond the geographical borders of the state (Ladjal, 2016). The tribes had a pivotal role in Libya before its independence, the king tried to reduce their influence. However, he was removed in 1969 by the RCC. As a principle, one of the priorities of RCC was to eliminate the major role of tribes and their influence in Libyan society. However, ten years after the date of the coup as Gaddafi's rise to power, the state's treatments towards tribes changed. The regime began using them to stabilize its rule, in complete contradiction to the discourse of nationalism, socialism and revolutionary change. Therefore, he exploited the tribal situation in his favour by involving them in political life in a precise and codified manner so that he would be the strongest in power without challenges. Gaddafi controlled all members of the tribes by obtaining the loyalty of their tribal chiefs, this has already achieved remarkable success. However, the biggest guarantor of this success was that Gaddafi gave the greatest powers and influence to his tribe and family. They were entrusted with sensitive positions related to the joints of the state, such as intelligence, security, special envoys for foreign countries and others (Hweio, 2012).

As an example of that approach of Gaddafi, he allowed his sons to play important political roles in the state, despite the lack of any official status for them. The most important was Saif al-Islam, Gaddafi's second son, who worked as the head of an international charitable organization working on human rights. Through this organization, Saif became enjoying a respectful role in the international arena, gaining general acceptance from the international community, moreover he had many important roles internally and externally in Libya. Moreover, the fourth son, Mutasim Billah, had an effective role in leading Libya as he was considered the national security advisor. According to the expectations at that time, the succession will be for one of



them after the leader, it would be Saif or Mutasim Billah. On the other hand, two of the family members held other positions, such as Khamis was general for the most powerful army troop with a bad reputation. Furthermore, Gaddafi's daughter Aisha worked as a public figure in the areas of women's issues in Libya. In addition, Gaddafi's cousins have important political roles, Those who prove their absolute loyalty to Gaddafi became the chosen advisors to the leader and were known as (the men of the tent). Thus, the political reality became closely linked with the family and tribal relations of Gaddafi's close circle (Paoletti, 2011). Moreover, to provide further protection for his position, Gaddafi made tribal obligations such as the Code of Honor in 1997.

According to this charter, the Libyan tribes undertake to suppress any attempt to challenge the regime, whereas if any tribe does not abide by that, it will be excluded from any government services (Schnelzer, 2016, p. 38).

On the other hand, the Popular Committees were created by Gaddafi to establish direct people's authority. It became largely formed by tribes so that nominations to have a leadership in these committees relied on a primitive voting system, that depended on the size and strength of each tribe. These nominations often end in violence and conflict between tribes over these positions. In total, that explained Libyan political structure made up of a group of large and powerful tribes, within the continuous struggle with each other to gain influence and power. Gaddafi used to allocate political and bureaucratic positions to these tribes as a tool to reward specific tribes, while ignoring others, in a well-calculated and accurate manner. Therefore, With the huge political role that Gaddafi granted to the tribes, it became difficult to understand Libyan political reality and Libyan society without knowing this role and the position of these tribes (Hweio, 2012).

Therefore, the political situation was messy as it was relying on the public ideology that Gaddafi established in his Green Book. It was so complicated that it required many committees, endless conferences, dozens of popular regulatory and oversight bodies. Which makes them all dispersed without gaining stability or power, rather in a state of complete chaos without any goals or real impact on the political reality. This chaos was arranged, so that Gaddafi would preserve his rule without any accountability or challenge from any party, institution, or others (Paoletti, 2011). Consequently, Gaddafi succeeded in creating a society without establishing a state, via following the strategies of chaos and replacing the governmental institutions that existed during the era of King Idris, with other temporary and experimental institutions to preserve his power (Hweio, 2012). In fact, throughout his reign, Gaddafi was using Libya as a private laboratory, trying to apply his unique theory (Van Genugten, 2011).

### **GADDAFI'S FOREIGN POLICY**

According to Green Book, all political systems must be changed by force or revolution. Thus, Gaddafi tended to support separatist and revolutionary movements in the world. In addition, he committed terrorist acts that exposed Libya to international sanctions and isolation for many years.

Libya reached the point of a military confrontation with the United States of America (Totman & Hardy, 2015). The USA tried to kill Gaddafi many times for many years, but that did not materialize. The most prominent attempt was in 1983 when President Reagan ordered a specific air attack on Libya to eliminate Gaddafi, but this attempt failed. Gaddafi's reckless foreign policy was marked by several events, such as the deliberate shooting from the Libyan Embassy in Britain of a British police officer in London in 1984. The bombing of US civilian

aircraft No. 103 over Lockerbie in 1988. The bombing of UT plane over the Sahara in 1989, the arrest of international hostages on several occasions. Intervention in the Philippines supporting the Abu Sayyaf Group (Pashakhanlou, 2017).

In addition, setting up animosity with almost all neighbours, although Gaddafi's propaganda was based on Arab nationalism and Arab unity, he did not spare his neighbours from his political recklessness. Animosity in relations with Algeria began in the early 1990s when he was accused of supporting armed groups and delivering weapons to them against the Algerian state. Gaddafi's relations with Morocco were tense due to his interference in the issue of the Western Sahara conflict and other political differences. Tunisia also complained about support directed from Libya to overthrow the Tunisian government. Furthermore, in the seventies, Gaddafi invaded the neighbouring country, Chad, on the backdrop of his ambitions to seize uranium reserves in the region (Erdağ. 2017, p. 25-28). In addition, Gaddafi interfered in the Sudan-Ethiopia conflict, Gaddafi chose to support Ethiopia against Sudan even though Ethiopia is a Christian African country and Sudan is an Arab country with a Muslim majority (Solomon, 2005).

However, through his previous policies, Gaddafi exposed Libya to many crises, including the 16-year sanctions' regime that cost the Libyan state \$900 million as a result of reducing the oil trade. Compensation was paid to the victims of the Lockerbie bombing, 2.7 billion dollars. Furthermore, the United Nations sanctions paralyzed the Libyan state and isolated it from the international community politically, economically and diplomatically. The decline in oil income and international isolation have greatly worsened public services for Libyan citizens. On the other hand, the regime's repression of Libyans is increasing at home, so that no one can oppose this random and reckless foreign policy (Totman & Hardy. 2015). For instance, in 1996 more the 1200 prisoners were executed without any legal process or trials, this incident was known as the Abu Salim prison massacre. The regime did not acknowledge the crime, and anyone who spoke publicly about this incident was killed or imprisoned (Elmangoush, 2015).

Furthermore, in the context of continuing to waste the Libyan state's money behind Gaddafi's dreams of Arab unity, after fail he went to the African unity dream. The organization was announced in the Libyan city Sirte in 1999, and Gaddafi pumped the money of the Libyans into this project. Some estimates indicate that the Libyan money that was delivered to African countries as aids and investments reached 97 billion USD (Sangmpam, 2018).

## CONCLUSION

Since 1969, Gaddafi within (RCC) had a successful and inspirational start, achieving remarkable gains for Libyan people, such as the nationalization of oil. However, after appearing in "Third Universal Theory" he was changing his approach gradually, increasing his influence through the country. The leader issued his green book in 1975, creating an ideology which he used throughout his ruling, claiming that he would enable people to practice direct rule. After the previous analysis it was an illogical idea because even in the parliaments of modern countries, many differences could happen that may end up by physical abuse. Although the members of parliaments are considered as educated and elite who elected via people to represent their interests. Therefore, gathering all people together to make sovereign decisions within popular committees as Gaddafi claimed cannot be a political practical tool. All people are not on the same degree of awareness, education or qualifying, which would produce nothing but chaos, families, and tribes conflicts.

Moreover, Gaddafi's political structure did not mention the separation of powers, he intended to collect all powers of the state in his hand, hidden under name of "people's govern". Furthermore, the Third Universal Theory of Gaddafi ignored any role of the judiciary power, instead of that, he relied on the revolutionary trials organized by the fanatic committees (RC) ignoring the state's laws. In a similar strategy, Gaddafi made an endless number of various Popular Conferences and Popular Committees, to replace legislative and executive powers, without any clear procedures that arrange the work of these conferences and committees. The only person who could see or hear is the leader. Therefore this political structure enabled Gaddafi to stay in power for 42 years.

In addition, Gaddafi's rejected any constitutions for the state, he believed that they were sent by the rulers to control people. However, Gaddafi forgot himself as the writer of Green Book, which via force became the actual constitution of Libya, which he destroyed the state structure in all fields to apply it. Furthermore, (RC) was fully prepared to kill or hide anyone who opposed the leader. By this mechanism, Gaddafi made the constitution himself and imposed it on people.

That was against his allegations, however, it could not be considered as a contradiction, rather it is a precise plan from Gaddafi to reach full power. Consequently, he successfully tricked large categories of the public, both inside or outside Libya.

Moreover, Gaddafi imposed his ideology on different fields such as the press, he put his hand on the press, seized the right of free expression, making his opinion the only one that could be heard in the country. It was forbidden for any groups of people to establish media channels, on the pretext that they do not have the right to speak in public opinion. Thus, ending any hope of establishing a free press, therefore all the media fall under what he calls the Popular Committees and other unrealistic fictitious, as result the media has one voice, which is the voice of the leader. Gaddafi did not neglect the economy as well. He aimed at the private sector as a whole, confiscating and fought them under the pretext that they were exploiters and not suitable for Jamahirya's economic system. He made all the basic needs of the people only given by the state that already has set himself as the only leader of it. Consequently, Gaddafi exploited people to show their obedience in exchange for providing necessities such as cheap fuel or basic foodstuffs. Furthermore, to ensure his higher authority, he aimed to create renewal conflicts between people, such as the primitive nomination system to choose the executive power

"Popular Committees" that he invented. In addition, he launched reckless internal policies such as, "the home is for the one who lives in it" suddenly, the renters became owners, such policies enabled criminals to steal people's real estates which rented or uninhabited under the protection of the leader, without legal accountability, in contradiction with the rule of natural law as Gaddafi explained in the Green Book (religion or custom).

As a result, the heroic commander turned into a dictator leader. As the only person who took every single decision internally or externally as he is following his dreams. Gaddafi badly caused the waste of Libyan wealth, and he introduced Libya in many conflicts with either neighbouring countries or the international community. Those reckless policies subjected Libya to international sanctions tired the Libyans for many years. All previous analyses point to the failure of the "Third Universal Theory" and the inability to apply it practically. Therefore, it was a new method of governance devised by Gaddafi to control the government under the name of "people's rule".

This injustice and suffering with the Libyan people continued in this unfortunate way until the opportunity of the Arab Spring appeared in 2011. The popular protests began in Libya to remove this regime after 42 years, in which known that Libyans lost a lot. Many ask why the Libyans protested to overthrow Muammar Gaddafi's regime? But after the previous analysis was made, the logical question would be, why Libyans delayed so long until they overthrew Gaddafi's regime? Because this regime had to be brought down early when it participated in terrorist operations that terrified the world wasted the wealth of the Libyans and suppressed them. Therefore, the question of why the Libyans overthrew the regime? Is not valid to be a question after the analysis that has been presented.

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