CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to the Study

Right from the history and the emergence of states, there have been various forms of conflicts ranging from boundary disputes, dominations and conquering of weaker states by the stronger ones for reasons of expansions, exploitation for economic advantage, claim of territories, colonialism and neo-colonialism. It has manifested itself in various forms that human lives are confined in fears and deprivations by extension. Today, the same practice continues to rear its head where power superiority by the stronger states is contested against the sovereignty of weaker states. Some states within the globe are made victims of circumstance owing to the fact that their territories are considered germane for some international and national interests by hegemonic states who profiteer from her natural resources. This has resulted in various forms of invasions of weaker states by the stronger ones in a bid to maintain and sustain superiority within the global community.

At the peripheral states, there has been extreme domination of subjects by their rulers which explains the extent of protracted leadership obtainable in the third world states, especially African states. A recall on the style of leadership in Africa in the past twenty years (20), underscored most African states as a space fettered in the web of autocratic and protracted leadership occasioned by militarism and extreme obstinacy. Some of the affected states include Nigeria, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Egypt, Tunisia, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Libya, etc. This attitude of extreme power domination finds clear expression in the socio-

cultural values of Africa which laud traditional hegemony that is sustained over time by replacement through hereditary, nomination or (s)election factor.

Consequently, there was crisis in Libya which elicited unusual global concern to the extent that the application of gimmicks remained covert, while the sovereignty of the states was consigned to jeopardy. Some factors were linked to the crisis which ranged from the stone aged feud because of the overthrow of King Idris, protracted cold war between Gaddafi and America cum the West. Recent inferno that resulted from Arab spring, lack of political space and Benghazi saga, all amounted to the immediate attack in Libyan sovereignty by NATO. Again, for the fact that Muammar Gaddafi's administration was spelt in the letters and spirit of highhandedness and despotism, limiting the chances of the populace to breathe the air of freedom, it generated a desire for political change and social realization longed for. A change longed for in order to promote humanitarianism, equity and equality in the system. It provided an accelerated platform for external intervention which was stretched over the years.

The external intervention was an issue longed for by some western states and United States of America. Thus, the use of North Atlantic treaty Organization (NATO) to intervene in states perceived to be potential enemies to the western agenda became apt. Afghanistan was invaded in the search of Osama Bin Laden after the September eleven (9/11) attack on World Trade Centre and Pentagon. It announced the actual war against terrorism. The NATO body invaded Iraq citing issues of illegal possession of weapons of mass destruction which has not been substantiated till date while the execution of the man for genocide was rather considered optimum (Brzezinski, 2011). The Libyan situation elicited much criticism than expected for it bothers more on the internal dynamics of the state. The Libyan situation got the state torn for it suffered both internal and

external conspiracy that stemmed from Gaddafi's style of leadership that got so many interpretations: as autocratic and maintaining anti-western stance.

As a result of that, Gaddafi was attacked in the early eighties by Ronald Regan, the cowboy, former President of the United States of America, who rained several bombs on his residence (house) killing his adopted daughter, with properties running into millions of dollars destroyed. Later it was President Bush (Snr), still United Nations kept mute in a most despicable manner (Timeline, 2011). With a call for humanitarian intervention, the way and manner supports were garnered globally against him (Gaddafi) left nothing but to query the swiftness of the action (intervention) and its motive. America championed it with dual military presence of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and African Command (AFRICOM) participating fully in the exercise. They went as far as aiding rebel groups with ammunitions, various war equipments and logistics to oust Gaddafi out of office. That saw to his exit and disgraceful slaughter that has no historical and contemporary similarity (Tapper, 2011).

It is imperative to note that the major objectives of NATO which include: to promote the common values of its members and unite their efforts for collective defence have continued to be their guiding principles. Even their 14 point articles focused on protecting their members and enforcing collective security across the globe. Unfortunately, all these have no connection to the status of Libya as a sovereign state which has continued to elicit series of questions on the essence of their intervention. It queries more on the import of sovereignty which has hitherto remained contentious among the comity of nations viz-a-viz stronger and weaker nations.

To that extent, this study seeks to examine the causes of Libyan crisis and the NATO's intervention in the crisis. This research further highlights the peculiarity of the Libyan crisis with a view to ascertaining why and whether they were the first state UN had sanctioned over imperative issues of such nature. Israel was sanctioned by UN against Palestine (over land dispute) long ago, but nothing was done (Kamal, 2011). Thus, at the point Libya was sanctioned with resolution 1970 and 1973 passed by UN respectively, with every sense of urgency, NATO mobilised support and invaded the sovereign state of Libya. The essence was possibly to avoid the woeful outing America (with NATO) embarked in Iraq and ousted the government of Saddam Hussein without establishing any meaningful evidence and essence of the attack, thus, making peace building and enforcement farfetched in Iraq (Crane and Terrill, 2003). They anchored the attack on their desire to promote democracy which they claimed remains primus in their foreign policy agenda (Horsley, February 28, 2011).

Finally, the later part of this research explored its hypothetical demands focusing on the impact of the intervention on the sovereignty of Libya. Recommendations on how to manage global emergencies in the form of Libyan experience were posited.

1.2   Statement of the Problem

One can hardly imagine the extent of invasions experienced by some states within the globe by the big powers championed by United States of America with other Western States like Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, etc. housed in a body called NATO. This has provoked lots of concern and arguments across the globe and the spate at which it thrives. Years back, it was global terrorism, and in search for Osama Bin Laden, Afghanistan was invaded

for a crime of collaborating, conspiring and harbouring terrorists as a result of the attack unleashed on Pentagon and World Trade Centre on September 11th, 2001. From there, it shifted to Iraq with several allegations of possessing weapons of mass destruction. Through that, the same big powers (NATO) frustrated the government of Saddam Hussein, chased him into oblivion, later got him and tried him for war crime. He was later executed, and the allegation of illegal possession of weapons of mass destruction that led to the invasion of his territory is yet to be proven, (while the sapping of their oil in a most despicable manner goes on). They refused to quit in haste in what they claimed to be in line with peace building and enforcement as the people grope in utmost dismay of the illegal occupation of their land (Horsley, 2012).

There are numerous problems confronting the sovereignty of states especially the weaker states. They include: Globalisation, national interest, internationalism, neo-colonial interest, ideological bias, among others. One thought that with the end of the cold war which saw the end of ideological war (between NATO and WARSAW PACT), that the essence of NATO has come to an end. Instead, the dimension and direction of NATO's programme was refocused by the body to aid in combating terrorism and the promotion of world peace through democracy (Judah, 2012, Brzezinski, 2010 and Gordon, 2006). Recently, there was a UN resolution on Libya on the spate of killing of civilians in under Gaddafi's administration and a claim to eliminate the inhabitants of Benghazi. It was speedily accompanied with NATO's military force to aid in protecting the civilians under Responsibility to Protect (R2P) but ended up in regime change.

The implication of the above raises serious concern on the fact that too many were left to be questioned. For the fact that UNSC failed to send her soldiers to Libya and allowed NATO left much to be questioned. There are more competent regional bodies that have the legal standing to intervene which

include; African Union and Arab League. Accordingly, United Nations Charter Chapter VIII, states the competencies of regional arrangements and the bodies that possess legal competency for humanitarian intervention, but NATO was missing as regards to Libyan situation because Libya does not in any way share anything with NATO. In spite of global clamour against the use of NATO by relevant agencies, UN went on to approve of it. In the course of the execution, the various international conventions and regulations guiding international behaviour were jettisoned making Libya most vulnerable for external attacks. The likelihood of allowing the wild spread of the evil wind from NATO poses serious danger to the existence of United Nations.

Upon the attack, some basic factors were not considered: just cause, proportionality, right intention, last resort, probability of success, right authority. MacMahan (2005:11) and Ibeh (2013: 13) state that there is a just cause for war when those attacked have made themselves liable to be warred upon. This implies that those attacked have done grave wrong against those attacking them. The question is what offence would make a people liable to external attack. In the past, aggression into a nation's territory was regarded as the only permissible reason to resort to war. This is to avoid incessant fighting of wars out of unjust reasons. It therefore, interrogates why an internal issue that has not been offered first hand mediatory hand will amount to a just cause of a war. The proportionality and right intention hold that the universal benefit of a war must be weighed against the bad effects that may occur from that war. When there is no just cause for war, proportionality could not be calculated as there is no need for war in the first place. Whatever may be considered as a relevant good in a proportionality calculation must be genuine and relate very well to the just cause for the war. This implies that factors such as economic greed, religious imposition, the need to exert vengeance for wrongs inflicted on your state by the unjust side in the past, and all other motives that are not part of

your current just cause for war should not suffice in a proportionality calculation (Ibeh, 2013: 18).

On the right intention, it showed some latent interest which was predicated on economic greed of the western states that manifested in the manner the invasion was conducted. Again, the use of humanitarian intervention as the last resort was another area strong arguments were raised. Why was A.U. and Arab league sidelined in the intervention? Was the use of mediation and negotiation well explored? Who and how was it explored? To what extent was it explored? The implication is that no meaningful answer was given outside on the grounds of morality which is not enough. On the probability of success and right authority for the intervention, NATO has also erred. What necessitated the use of NATO when the resolution says willing nations? After the mission of regime change, was there meaningful structure set by NATO as a post war platform to building confidence in the people as a proof that the later government will be better than that of Gaddafi? It is on the basis of the above statement that the essence of the study is predicated.

Thus, the study raises questions regarding the justification of NATO's intervention in the Libyan crisis which endangered the sovereignty of the state. The situation the intervention left in Libya has completely diminished the socio-political, legal and economic sovereignty of the state. Thus, vital research questions are posited for test.

1.3   Research Questions

From the foregoing, the following research questions will be posited to provide academic guide to this research:

1.   Why did NATO intervene in the Libyan crisis?
2.   How did the intervention of NATO impact on the sovereignty of Libya?

3.   Did the intervention of NATO enhance peaceful resolution of the crisis in Libya

1.4   Objectives of the Study

Broadly speaking, this study examines NATO and the violations of state sovereignty: An Analysis of Libyan crisis. The essence of this study is germane and critical in that various global puzzles that demand attention would be articulated. The study is challenged by the nature of attacks unleashed on weaker states of the globe like, Afghanistan, Iraq and subsequently Libya. The interest of the study focused on the expected roles of International Organizations (Military) and the impact of NATO's involvement in Libyan leadership crisis. To that extent, the specific objectives of this study seek to:

1. Examine why NATO intervened in the Libyan crisis;
2. Evaluate how the intervention of NATO impacted on the sovereignty of Libya;
3. Understand whether the intervention of NATO enhanced peaceful resolution of the crisis in Libya.

1.5   Significance of the Study

This study has theoretical and practical importance. Theoretically, it will provide reader and researchers with meaningful avenue to digest and evolve a sound framework that will aid the promotion of academics within the department of political Science. This will be appreciated when there is a concerted effort to advance the course of this study.

The findings, conclusion and suggestions are of immense importance to academics and also serve as a reference point to scholars, students and individuals who wish to advance their course on this study that seeks to comprehend the violation of the sovereignty of weaker states (Iraq, Afghanistan,

Libya etc.) by the big powers of the west. Finally, it is believed that an advance research on this study will aid the researcher with deep intellectual foundation, which can be sustained or reframed.

The practical significance anchors on aiding the global community to reassess the role of NATO in the Libyan crisis which is seen as an incursion on the sovereignty of Libya. This study exposes some of the unanswered questions and sceptical issues on the operations of NATO and their involvement in the Libyan leadership crisis. Despite the avalanche of literature on this study, it throws insight on why the sovereignty of many states continues to suffer abuses in the hands of big powers of the world.

In strong terms, this research is germane to the extent that it exposes the main reason (motive) why NATO/American attacked the Libyan state (to maintain their global dominance and national interest and enforce regime change) against the good reason (action) (Responsibility to Protect "R2P" and promotion of democracy) they project to the world through their un-compared diplomatic skills and strategies.

1.6   Scope of the Study

The study was conducted in accordance with the topic that seeks to understand the incursion of NATO in the Libyan crisis. It covered the essence of sovereignty of states and the state of Libya after the involvement of NATO.

It was delimited between the period from 2010 to 2014 in order to capture the essence of NATO's involvement and the consequences on state sovereignty.

1.7   Limitations of the Study

This research was however limited by some unavoidable factors which include the challenges of fully retrieving primary data from valid sources (methodology). However, data retrieved from books, related and relevant

journals, internet and authoritative articles with vital tables were properly presented and examined to arrive at factual results.

Furthermore, some vital materials written in foreign languages which include Arabic, French, etc. were not assessed due to our deficiencies in those languages and thus, we resorted to materials written in English which provided us with depth of knowledge on the events surrounding the crisis and the issue concerning the sovereignty of states, especially Libya.

Again, the demands of this study were so intense that the cost of gathering data was no doubt dear. It is against this background that we considered it capital intensive beyond our purse to take a voyage (visit) to the place of the incident (Libya) to have a view of the spate of destruction inflicted on the state. Nevertheless, the availability of materials about NATO's escapades abound in areas like, international groups and media groups, human rights groups and political documentations, internet materials of international repute and objective analysis were deduced to achieve the demands of this study.

On another note, the position of this research stands to be criticized by scholars who belong to different schools of thought that are purely on moral grounds (that is biased) against the spirit and letters of state sovereignty. Such criticism aided in boosting the horizon of this research which stands to be a focal point for future referencing.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This section of study combined both chronological and thematic approach in the review. In other words, it is eclectic in nature. The study was reviewed in different phases to provide us bases to establish our point of departure. In a bid to capture the major focus of this study, scholarly materials that were in line with contents of the study were explored to cover the vital areas under these subsections;

- International Organizations and International Military Organization
- The Nature of Military Alliances;
- The Nature of State Sovereignty
- Dynamics of Sovereignty of States;
- Motivation for NATO's intervention in Libyan Crisis
- NATO's Military Operations and Restoration of Peace in Libya
- Summary of the Review
- Gap in Literature
- History of Libya and the Crisis in Libya

2.1:1 International Organization and International Military Organization

Over the years, there has been various formations involving two or more states (coming together) to form a body otherwise called International Organization. These have been made manifest in form of alliances, unions, leagues, organizations, etc. The essence of these formations is reliant on the fact that nations seek to protect themselves against the invasion of unknown powers. This means that no nation in the world can claim to have monopoly of existence or have attained a state of autarky. It has necessitated the desire for co-operations among nations, while some attribute it to reasons beyond mere co-operation. This cuts across political, social, security, economic, technological and scientific imperatives.

As a result of the fact that nations of the world have unequal power disposition, economic endowment and social diversities, it has created a need for state interdependence and a larger body to coordinate its very essence and existence. In the past years, there was extreme domination and subjugation of kingdoms, thus, making wars and conflicts inevitable. In a bid to ameliorate the spate of massive killings, territorial and sovereign violations and expansions, servitude and crude imposition ruler-ship, rules and invasion for some covert or overt gains, international organization became optional. This explains why all the international organizations have their major aims and objectives articulated in line with maintaining balance of power between/among equal and unequal states. As Goldstein (2003: 3) puts it, states interact within a set of well-defined and long established "rules of the game" governing what is considered a state and how states treat each other. Together, these rules shape the international system as we know it.

To that extent, an international organisation is conceived to entail a body that integrates many (sovereign) nations of the world under an actor, government or group to pursue a common cause, goals and objective that will profit their members. From the above explanations, international organisation is a conglomeration of different states who want to share common belief and desire to coexist, have a defined course to defend, which in short and long run stand to profit its members. Such a state must of necessity be an independent and sovereign state of which its status must not be in contention. In accordance with the above submission by Gauba, it is of the need for nation-state to cooperate in order to bridge their areas of socio-political and economic needs. It is believed to aid provide a platform for global integration, cooperation and articulation of interests. It is in line with the above that Obiozor (2010: 43) captured International Organization as international alliance involving many different countries pursuing a common course. Just as we argued above, these alliances

or interactions could come in form of military, economic, political, social, technological, etc.

Also, Potter in Palmer and Perkins (2007:ix) presented a distinguished six forms of international organization – diplomacy, treaty negotiation, international law, conference, administration and adjudication – and one general form, international federation. This classification actually relates more to procedure in international intercourse than to varieties of international organizations. To that extent, international organization is defined as any cooperative arrangement, to perform some mutually advantageous functions implemented through periodic meetings and staff activities. In this well developed sense, few examples of international organization have existed in at least primitive form throughout most of recorded history like the concert of Europe, etc.

It goes to portray that international organizations are not conceived in isolation. They are formed to cater or address sub-regional, regional and global issues which might be pressing, remote or possibly an anticipatory occurrence. By the demands of this study, it has couched the major argument of this study in the letters that will reflect the major concern of this study. On a similar note, Mark (2012: 12) opined that

> International organization is an institution drawing membership from at least three states, and whose members are held together by a formal agreement...some are intergovernmental (for example, The UN), and some are nongovernment (for example, Amnesty International). Some have Multiple World Wide or regional purposes...one effect of their proliferation is a stronger sense of interdependence among states which in turn has stimulated recognition of the need for co-operation to address international and global problems.

He thus, provided us with a clearer understanding on the import of international organization in that it has demonstrated its numerical strength in terms of formation and to a large extent given the purpose of its formulation of which problem solving is considered part of it major objectives with its attendant

scope. The implication is that in forming international organization certain number of states is required for a start of which other might be constrained to join later on. Just like the formation of United Nations Organization (UNO) which was formed in 1945 to replace the weak League of Nations that was unable to provide a lasting solution to global quagmire that extended through the first World War 1914-1918 through the Second World War of 1939-1945. With its relative mark of success in bringing to an end the Second World War, many states started joining UN at independence especially, third world states of African origin. Today, its numerical strength cannot be quantified with any international organizations. In accordance with submission above,

> International organizations are entities established by formal political agreement between their members that have the status of international treaties; their existence is recognised by law in their member countries; they are not treated as resident institutional units of the countries in which they are located (http://stats.org/glossary/detail.asp?Id=1434).

From the above position, it could be deduced that the body called international organization is bound by statutory establishment with various treaties to aid moderate its operation and the law to determine those states that go contrary to international ordinance and law guiding states relations. The concept of international organization was conceived by Emmanuel Kant in 1648 when he was talking about world government. The essence was to create a forum where global issues will be addressed under a single power unit or body in order to ensure Perpetual Peace (Kant in Philosophy Bro, 2011). It later became the forerunner of League of Nations formed in 1918.

In accordance with the above, Oddih (2014:52-53) summarily posited a characteristic definition of international organization which according to him, must have name for identification; it must be formally registered and recognized by constituted authorities. It must have organs or officers who pilot its affairs. It must have aims and objectives clearly stated in its articles, charter, rules, covenant, laws or constitution. The laws or rules must embody provisions for

rights, obligations and sanctions. The rules must also specify the processes for electing or appointing its officers and the powers of each organ/officer. It must provide for tenure duration and conditions ad circumstances for amendment of the rules and processes for winding up the organization if need be. Its method, practices, procedures and modus for carrying out its activities must be clearly stated and pursued tacitly. To him, their membership cuts across national frontier and boundaries, their numerical strengths notwithstanding.

2.1:2 The Dynamics of International Law

In addition to cross-border trade and capital movements, globalization has prompted the rise of international organizations (IOs) as a key new actor in international relations. International organizations are legal entities established by more than one nation-state pursuant to an international agreement. They have a legal personality, which enables them to exercise rights and fulfil duties on the international plane independently (Chossudovsky, 2011). Recognition of this special status in the years after World War II represents a significant shift from Westphalian sovereignty. Interstate relations "are increasingly mediated through rationalized institutional processes" rather than the anarchy of the Westphalian system. The role of IOs can be overstated. Nation-states still make the basic decisions of international politics and possess the personnel, budgets, and will to pursue policies with real effects in world affairs.

Recently, Chossudovsky advanced his argument by focussing on the rise of a new kind of international law evolved by the United Nations and some other international organization. To him, they have used different terms, such as "world law," "supranational law," or "cosmopolitan law," to distinguish it from traditional international law. There are two noteworthy features of this new international law that raise serious issues under the U.S. Constitution. First, the new international law is openly concerned with the relationship between a

nation and its own citizens or between citizens of different nations (Divyer, 2011). The Restatement (Second) of the Foreign Relations Law of the United States (1965) did not take a position on whether international law was limited to state-to-state relations. Twenty-five years later, the *Restatement (Third)* unequivocally stated that international law includes rules and principles governing states' "relations with persons, whether natural or juridical." This represents a significant shift from the ICJ's assertion that individuals "have no remedy in international law." The most prominent example is human rights law, whose most important innovation is its insistence that human rights are universal. Under the traditional conception of international law, as we understand it, if a wrongdoing state was an injured person's own state, then the individual had no remedy under international law.

In sum, all three of these trends contribute to a growing system of "global governance." The subsequent subsection focused on International Military Organization and its diverse forms.

2.1:3 Understanding International Military Organizations

International Military Organization is an aspect of international organization that focuses on a combined military structure as a platform to advancing its course which could be inform of political, economic and social consequences. So many states are in alliance with other states with the aim of having dominion over others. This did not just start. It has been a socio-political practices among states of the world especially those in Europe and other ancient hegemonic states of the globe. Some of the notable alliances and organizations include; triple alliance, quadruple alliance, holy alliance, concert of Europe, triple entente, central powers and axis power, league of nations, U.N.O., NATO, WASRSAW Pact, ECOMOG, etc. were reviewed. To sum it up, Henry (2008) posited that international military organizations are mere structures of

humiliation generated to fore smaller and equal states to respond to pressure. In our voyage, the assertion continues to enjoy consistency as none has been able to debunk this claim.

Therefore, the composition and structures of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in recent time define it as a military organization. Going by NATO's numerous operations since the fall of socialism and demise of Warsaw pact in 1991 with the attendant collapse of the Berlin wall, its major focus metamorphosed into full military operations (Palmer and Perkins, 2007). As such, it has continued to direct its focus towards ensuring global peace and security with special interest in war against terrorism. The evolution of NATO after the end of the Second World War (WWII) was to provide the western bloc the necessary platform to surmount the growing powers of the eastern bloc. It was called an ideological war where each group tries to outwit the other in a contest of advancing their ideological supremacy. These ideologies are capitalism and socialism (communism). The ideological divide of the globe ended in 1991with NATO's renewed focus in protecting the interest of their member states and promoting global peace and security.

According to Judah (2012), North Atlantic Treaty Organization consists of a preamble and 14 articles. The preamble states the purpose of the treaty: to promote the common values of its members and to "unite their efforts for collective defence". These remain the cardinal objectives that have continued to drive the organization. On a similar note, article 1 calls for peaceful resolution of disputes. Article 2 pledges the parties to economic and political cooperation. Article 3 calls for development of the capacity for defence. Article 4 provides for joint consultations when a member is threatened. Article 5 promises the use of the members' armed forces for "collective self-defence." Article 6 defines the areas covered by the treaty. Article 7 affirms the precedence of members' obligations under the United Nations Charter. Article 8 safeguards against

conflict with any other treaties of the signatories. Article 9 creates a council to oversee implementation of the treaty. Article 10 describes admission procedures for other nations. Article 11 states the ratification procedure. Article 12 allows for reconsideration of the treaty. Article 13 outlines withdrawal procedures. Article 14 calls for the deposition of the official copies of the treaty in the U.S. Archives.

The above stated preamble and articles show that NATO is a military organization designed to protect its members and also provides global defence. In concrete terms, defence stands to be the major focus of the body. That she has portrayed over the years, especially the era of a renewed focus on a fight against terrorism. The various wars fought especially in areas like Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya had demonstrated that the extent of NATO's military might has remained un-compared and un-quantified across the globe as an International organization with strong military organization and base.

From the numerous alliances formed over the years which were informed by conflicts among nations, they had struggled to undo the others. Below captured a review on the various alliances formed with the view to ascertain the fact that global power dominance is not in doubt a major preoccupation and interactions among states in the world. It has in reasonable terms shown how the global metamorphosis in terms of power dominance which saw to the subsequent emergence of military organization under the umbrella of NATO became a possibility.

2.2   The Nature of Military Alliances

Under this study, it would be imperative to note that conflict, co-operation and competition have been the major forms of global relations and interactions. States tend to co-operate to form alliances upon which they can stand to compete with other nations within the conflict-prone world. The essence is to

provide the desiring nation the opportunity to expand its control and jurisdiction beyond and across states they are able to subdue. These alliances in military forms were as old as power dominance demonstrated in the desire to acquire immeasurable empires. Military alliance had an old practice which was very obvious in the Greek era, where two military alliances were formed along with various allies: the Delian league (5th century B.C.) and the Spartan Confederacy (Liska, 1962: 9-13; Potters, 2009 and Ash, n.d). It later resulted in Peloponnesian war. Potters (2009:1-2) in giving clear view on the above thus states that

> Peloponnesian War, military conflict from 431 to 404 B.C. in ancient Greece that pitted Athens and its allies against Sparta and its allies. The Spartans and many of their allies lived in the Pelopónnisos, the southern half of Greece, where Sparta's influence was paramount. The term Peloponnesian War therefore implies that it was an Athenian war against the Peloponnesians. But from a Spartan point of view it was the Attic War, that is, a war against Athens, whose territory was called Attica. The Spartans eventually won the war, but only with financial help from the Persians of the Achaemenid Empire.

From the above submission, allies were formed just as we have today to attract global relevance, thus treaties were violated. The situation was simply one of power and fear. It was observed that the growth of Athenian power instilled fear in the Spartans and compelled them to go to war. The war was fought in two regions: mainland Greece, in particular the Aegean seaboard; and Sicily (Potters, 2009).

Emerging from the collapse of Europe in the 4th century AD which threw it into dark ages (with its attendant feudal practice), the desire to develop technology and promote empire interest became apt. Fifteenth (15th) century witnessed the Renaissance and Reformations where two European powers, Portugal and Spain were seen as world power based on their colonialism and trading exploits across the Atlantic (Walker, 2011 and Stuchtey, 2011). As a result of the desire to exert global dominance by some other major European states, it thus plunged

the states into wars. This was not totally different from what was obtainable under the formation of empires where there is a demonstration of massive acquisition and conquering of minor states to build up stronger empires, just like from Roman Empire (Pax Romana), Ottoman Empire to British Empire (Pax Britannica) (Stuchtey, 2011). The desire to have world peace was very far from the operation of the various empires due to the fact that none of them has ever extended its authority over the entire world. No imperial peace has been permanent, because no empire has ever lasted forever. It became the dream of Emmanuel Kant that there would one day be a body that will maintain world peace in his 1795 essay on "Perpetual Peace: a philosophical sketch"

Owing to the above, domination of various states by the bigger states and waging of wars were unavoidably a way of life amongst many Euro-African states. Thus, in a bid to wage the excessive power influence by some of these states, more alliances were formed over time. They include;

- Triple Alliance of 1596- Britain, France and Dutch Republic of the United Provinces (now Netherlands)
- Triple Alliance of 1668- England, Sweden and United Provinces
- Quadruple Alliance of 1713- Great Britain, France, Netherlands and Austria
- Triple Alliance 1717- Great Britain, France and United Provinces
- Concert of Europe 1814- Russia, Austria, Prussia and Britain
- Holy Alliance 1815- Russia, Prussia and Austria. Championed by Tsar of Russia
- Triple Alliance 1882- Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy were enemy to Triple Entente
- Triple Entente 1890s- Great Britain, France and Russia
- League of Nations 1920- Central Powers (an expansion of Triple Alliance) and Allied Forces (an expansion of Triple Entente).
- United Nations 1945- 50 countries signed the charter.

- North Atlantic Treaty Organization: The North Atlantic Treaty was signed on April 4, 1949, at the beginning of the Cold War. The original purpose of NATO was to defend Western Europe against possible attack by Communist nations, led by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The original signatories (signers of treaty) were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Greece and Turkey were admitted to the alliance in 1952, West Germany in 1955, and Spain in 1982. In 1990 the newly unified Germany replaced West Germany as a NATO member.

- Warsaw Pact: The treaty was signed in Warsaw, Poland, on May 14, 1955, by Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia (now the Czech Republic and Slovakia), East Germany (now part of the United Federal Republic of Germany), Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The alliance was dominated by the USSR, which kept strict control over the other countries in the pact. In 1961 Albania broke off diplomatic relations with the USSR because of ideological differences and in 1968 withdrew from the pact. (Potter, 2009 and Liska, 1962).

  Others include where Third World States exert authority over their weaker states. The below listed military alliances just to mention a few include the following;

- Economic Community of West Africa States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) 1990

- United States Unified Combatant Commands

- Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence (2008)

At this point, we present the linkage that connects all these alliance, which shows how most of these European states have consistently remained a force to reckon with in terms of power acquisition and display. The alliances include the following;

Triple alliance of 1596

The formation of triple alliance of 1558 was propelled by the desire to form a stronger alliance involving Britain, France and Republic of Seven United Netherlands to enable it subdue Spain who which perceived as an enemy of the state. Aside from the military commitments, the alliance had another important meaning for the Republic. By the signing of the alliance, France and England became the first states to officially recognise the Dutch Republic as a sovereign territory. Hout (1998) summarily articulated the underlying influence of the alliance as thus;

> The three parties in the alliance were all at war with Spain. There had been attempts to convince magnates from the Holy Roman Empire to join the alliance, but they did not want to enter the war against Spain. The alliance, amongst other things, agreed to help maintain their respective armies…Notably France and the Republic made efforts to form an alliance. The problem was that an alliance between these two countries, without the addition of other states, was not powerful enough and would earn little respect. A third party was needed and England fit the profile perfectly. If England joined the alliance, several German princes could also be tempted to join.

It is against that backdrop that the Republic also tried to involve others, notably Germany and states in the alliance. Reasons for this were that the support of England was thought to be insecure, which created the possibility of the domination of the alliance by France. In addition, the German states had many troops at their disposal. The German princes were mainly focused on their own territories because of the struggle between Lutherans and Calvinists. It is in response to the above that Hout spoke extensively on the implication of the challenge between the two contesting powers. To Hout,

> In 1596 a combined Anglo-Dutch fleet was able to defeat the Spanish fleet in the Capture of Cadiz led by Robert Devereux and Van Duvenvoorde, which resulted in the sacking of Cádiz. The following year, however, the Anglo-Dutch fleet lost a battle against the Spanish fleet. Despite losing the battle, the Dutch Republic had shown through its assistance to the English that it was a naval power to be reckoned with.

The contest between these groups portends nothing other than a desire to promote states' interest above others. Thus, the alliance between the three states was in effect for only a few years. France signed a peace treaty with Spain in 1598, making its participation in the alliance meaningless. France had already started working on a peace treaty with Spain right after signing the alliance, without the Republic and England being aware of this.

The above provoked Henry IV asking the Spanish ambassador if a comprehensive peace between all warring parties was possible, but the Spanish envoy considered it unlikely that Philip II was willing to make peace with rebels who refused to allow the public practice of the Catholic faith (Langhorne, 1981). England was also negotiating for a peace with Spain in those years, but it took until 1604 before peace was made with Spain with the Treaty of London. This treaty also required England to take no further part in the war between Spain and the Republic. Finally, Spain also tried to arrange for a peace or a ceasefire with the Dutch Republic, especially after the Battle of Nieuwpoort in 1600, but it would take until 1609 for both states to agree to the Twelve Years' Truce.

Triple Alliance of 1668

On another note, the Triple Alliance of 1668 consisted of England, Sweden, and the United Provinces. This allied coalition fought France, during the War of Devolution. The alliance was formed in January and lasted until the war's end, marked by the first Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668) (http://www.fact-index.com/t/tr/treaty_of_aix_la_chapelle.html). The views of Lambert (2009) on Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle focused on two **Treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle**. The first was in 1668, ending the War of Devolution; the second was in 1748, ending the War of Austrian Succession. These are sometimes known as **Treaties of Aachen**, since; "Aix-la-Chapelle" is the French name for the city of Aachen. In the **First Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle** France gained

control of Lille, from Spain, and returned the Franche-Comte to Spain. A response to that made a congress assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle on April 24, 1748 with the intent to conclude the struggle known as the War of Austrian Succession. The resulting treaty, the **Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle**, signed on October 18, 1748, ended that war (Lambert, 2009).

The implication of the wars centres mainly on the essence of sovereignty, retain and control among states in their quest to dominate others. It could thus be seen that France and Britain mostly negotiated the treaty, and the other powers involved in the war following them. The terms of the treaty were:

1. a general restitution of conquests, including The Louisbourg fortress on Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia to France, Madras, India to England and the barrier towns to the Dutch.
2. The treaty also awarded Austrian lands to Habsburg heiress Maria Theresa, but she had to give up the duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla to Don Philip of Spain.
3. The restoration of the duke of Modena and the republic of Genoa to their former positions.
4. The renewal in favour of Great Britain of the Asiento contract of the March 16, 1713, and of the right to send an annual vessel to the Spanish colonies.
5. The guarantee to Kingdom of Prussia of the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz

   (http://www.fact-index.com/t/tr/treaty_of_aix_la_chapelle.html).

Summarily, they stretched their dominating desire beyond bounds and limits. Even in the commercial struggle between England and France in the West Indies, Africa, and India, nothing was settled; the treaty was thus no basis for a

lasting peace. Spain later raised objections to the Asiento clauses, and the later Treaty of Madrid supplemented the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle on October 5, 1750. The Treaty of Madrid stipulated that Great Britain surrendered her claims under the Asiento clauses in return for a sum of 100,000 (http://www.fact-index.com/t/tr/treaty_of_aix_la_chapelle.html)

Quadruple Alliance of 1713- Great Britain, France, Netherlands and Austria

Sequel to the events of the triple alliance and the Spanish continued struggle against the various global power alliances, a quadruple alliance involving Great Britain, France, Netherlands and Austria. The treaties of Utrecht were signed in 1713; put an end to the War of Spanish Succession (1701-13). The war resulted from a dispute over who should inherit Spain and its possessions after its Habsburg rulers became extinct in 1700. The last Habsburg king of Spain, Charles II (d. 1700) had left the throne to his closest relative in female line: Philippe de France, duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV (Felipe V of Spain. The closest relatives in male line, the Habsburgs of Austria, disputed this claim, and many European nations did not want to see French princes reigning over both kingdoms (www.heraldica.org/topics/france/utrecht.htm).

It thus posits that the Utrecht treaties recognized Felipe V of Spain, but transferred the Spanish possessions in the Netherlands and Italy to Austria and to Savoy. To reach the goal of separating the crowns of France and Spain, the treaties required Felipe V to relinquish all claims to the French throne, and the remaining French princes to relinquish all claims to the Spanish throne. The validity of the renunciation of Felipe V, which is ancillary to the treaties, became a constitutional issue in France. However, it would have become a practical issue only after the branch senior to Felipe V died in 1883, a time the French monarchy had been abolished and had lost most chances of a restoration. Still, the dispute over the renunciation continues among those interested in the

French monarchy and its present-day representatives (www.heraldica.org/topics/france/utrecht.htmv).

Triple Alliance 1717- Great Britain, France and United Provinces

The triple Alliance of 1717 only involved Britain, France and United Provinces. As a result of the unwelcomed stance faced by George 1 and his successor, it gave the Old Pretender the prospect of French military aid to launch an invasion against Britain itself. It affected British foreign policy and called for negotiation. Thus, in 1717, Stanhope negotiated a Triple Alliance with the French and the Dutch. This treaty was maintained by Walpole and Townshend throughout the 1720s. By 1730, however, it was attracting considerable criticism. At this point, several interests overtook the major essence and principles of the alliance thereby undermined its very essence. This led to review and refocus on the principles of the alliance. James (2009) noted that:

> Although he shared with Robert Walpole the leadership of the House of Commons, it was in foreign policy that Stanhope revealed his genius. He negotiated the triple Alliance between England, France and Holland in 1717, and in the following year he brought Austria into the pact. He then used this quadruple alliance to enforce upon Spain as settlement.

Quadruple Alliance (Europe 1718)

Quadruple alliance was an alliance formed Aug. 2, 1718, when Austria joined the Triple Alliance of Britain, the Dutch Republic (United Provinces), and France to prevent Spain from altering the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). Philip V of Spain, influenced by his wife, Elizabeth Farnese of Parma, and her adviser Giulio Alberoni, seized control of Sardinia and Sicily (assigned to Austria and Savoy, respectively. Notably stated according to James (2009) is that:

> Quadruple Alliance was alliance formed Aug. 2, 1718, when Austria joined the Triple Alliance of Britain, the Dutch Republic (United Provinces), and France to prevent Spain from altering the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht

(1713). Philip V of Spain, influenced by his wife, Elizabeth Farnese of Parma, and her adviser Giulio Alberoni, seized control of Sardinia and Sicily (assigned to Austria and Savoy, respectively, by the Utrecht treaty). With the backing of the Quadruple Alliance, the British fleet brought Austrian troops to Sicily, and the French sent troops to occupy northern Spain. By the Treaty of The Hague (Feb. 17, 1720), the allies forced Philip to renounce his claims in Italy; Victor Amadeus II of Savoy gave up Sicily to Austria in exchange for Sardinia. (James in http://www.britannica.com/topic/Quadruple-Alliance-Europe-1718#ref259848).

So far, it is obvious that the essence of the alliance was to ensure that a stronger body was formed to exert influence on weaker states or rising states. To a large extent Britain and France have been at the head fomenting and staging the whole crisis and struggle for superiority.

Triple Alliance (1788) – Great Britain, United Provinces and Prussia

As a result of the global political crisis and the consistent political rivalries existing among nations of the world and the desire for superiority, concerned nations pitched their focus on finding a union that will articulate the interest of all and synergise it to achieve global peace. To that extent, Farley (1787: 11) in Black (1994) aptly noted that

> If a lasting and honourable peace could be secured by the public measures of any minister, it undoubtedly would be the wish of every man of virtue, to see those measures enforced; but is the nature of man, that rivalry between states will always produce war; superiority (especially in commerce) will never be borne by any power for one moment, after it feels strong enough to enter into a new contest. (Farley, 1787 :11)

However, the position of Britain has assumed a different focus owing to the fact that they are out to pursue national interest against the global interest. Thus, any alliance with Britain would entail co-operation with a power that was not only interested in seeing territorial changes in Europe, but also be preoccupied with defending her own colonial and maritime position. In 1739, Portugal and the United Provinces had been unwilling to help their ally Britain in the war of JENKINS' EAR with Spain; in 1755 Austria and the United Provinces had been similarly uninterested in helping Britain in her developing North America

conflict with France, though not because British power was regarded as finished. In the 1780s, it seemed likely that any new Anglo-French conflict would again see Britain on the defensive. Though the causes were not identical, Britain appeared to be following Spain, Turkey, the United Provinces and Poland into the category of vulnerable, weak powers (Black, 1994: 17).

Part of the interest of British foreign policy in 1783-93 is provided by the attempt of the Pitt ministry in 1788-91 to widen these horizons and to adopt a more active approach to international problems. The chosen means was an alliance system, the Triple Alliance of 1788 of Britain, Prussia and the United Provinces, the desired goal a stable European system bound together by a guarantee for mutual protection. The last prefigured both what the British sought in late 1792 to restrain revolutionary France and again Pitt's objectives in 1805 (Black, 1994). To a large extent, the failure of the triple Alliance is one of the major themes of this book, a failure that throws much light both on the international relations of the period and on the potential role of Britain in European power politics. The failure to restrain Revolutionary France is another theme, although its domestic context was different to that of the Ochakov crisis.

Concert of Europe 1814- Russia, Austria, Prussia and Britain

The Concert of Europe, established in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, was the entity which fostered this century of relative peace and progress. Its goals were twofold: to suppress violent political revolution and to avoid general war. To a great extent, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 notwithstanding, it succeeded until 1914 when war burst forth to engulf Europe and bring down the very order the concert was established to preserve (Langhorne 1981).

According to Davis (2014), it was two hundred years ago that diplomats from the Great Powers of Europe were redrawing the map of Europe. In April, Napoleon Bonaparte had abdicated, the French Empire defeated. Now it

remained for Great Britain, Royalist France, Austria, Prussia and Russia to determine the fate of Europe. Napoleon's escape from his exile on the Mediterranean island of Elba, and the commencement of the Hundred Days Campaign ended the negotiations, as hostilities were renewed, and the old alliance that had defeated Napoleon in 1813-14 was reborn.

The implication remains that the new war culminated in Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo on 18 June 1815, and new negotiations commenced in Paris. For the British, the balance of power in Europe was paramount. The British Foreign Secretary, Viscount Castlereagh, and the Commander-in-Chief of British forces, the Duke of Wellington, worked hard to ensure that the Great Powers of Europe were evenly matched so as to prevent a new war breaking out on the continent.

Altruistic as this agenda might seem, Britain required a balance of power in Europe, so that she could turn her attention to imperial expansion. Every time war broke out in Europe, Britain was inevitably drawn into the conflict, and precious resources and energy was expended fighting, or more likely paying others to fight, to restore the precarious balance (Davis, 1994). The desire necessitated a need for a bigger body that will help integrate the powerful nations. In 1815, Castlereagh proposed a new and ambitious project, which would see the Great Powers come together to discuss issues that might otherwise spark a regional and eventually a European-wide war. 'Let the Allies then take this further chance of securing that repose which all the Powers of Europe so much require,' he wrote in a memorandum at the end of August, by 'renewing their meetings at fixed periods … for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests, and for the consideration of the measures … considered the most salutary for the repose and prosperity of nations and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe'. This became known as the **Concert of Europe** (Langhorne, 1981).

The system worked on moral rather than legal grounds, and any such system needed to demonstrate flexibility. The Concert proved inadequate at dealing with crises within (as opposed to between) Great Powers' sphere of interests. Thus, Great Britain acted with impunity in South Asia; Russia did so in Central Asia and the Far East; and latterly France and Britain did so in Africa. But in Europe, crises that in the eighteenth century might have produced regional conflicts that spiralled into general European War were resolved within the framework of the Concert (Davis, 2014).

Ostensibly, the Crimean War erupted between Russia on one hand, and Austria, France, the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain, on the other, because of Russian aggression against the slowly declining Ottoman Empire. The prospect of Russian control of Constantinople was too great a strategic threat to Austria, France and Great Britain. Yet, if this was the sole cause, a diplomatic solution would have been found through the mechanism of the Concert. The problem was that Russian encroachment into the Caucasus and Central Asia began directly to threaten British extra-European interests, namely those in South Asia. At that point, the Concert of Europe ceased to perform its central function, although it continued to exist until the outbreak of the First World War. Arguably, the transformation of European politics commenced in the 1840s, and culminating in the unification of Germany in the 1870s, had already undermined the Concert. Critically, one potential lesson is that the Concert ceased to be effective when two of the Great Powers believed that they could no longer utilise its mechanisms to resolve their differences. So long as the present incarnation of the Concert of Europe, the United Nations, can offer the nations of the world the opportunity to resolve their differences, then it is at least achieving part of what Castlereagh set out to create (Langhorne, 1981).

Holy Alliance 1815

Hertslet (1875) posited that their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, having, in consequence of the great events which have marked the course of the three last years in Europe, and especially of the blessings which it has pleased Divine Providence to shower down upon those States which place their confidence and their hope on it alone, acquired the intimate conviction of the necessity of settling the steps to be observed by the Powers, in their reciprocal relations, upon the sublime truths which the Holy Religion of our Saviour teaches. They solemnly declare that the present Act has no other object than to publish, in the face of the whole world, their fixed resolution, both in the administration of their respective States, and in their political relations with every other Government, to take for their sole guide the precepts of that Holy Religion, namely, the precepts of Justice, Christian Charity, and Peace, which, far from being applicable only to private concerns, must have an immediate influence on the councils of Princes, and guide all their steps, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions and remedying their imperfections. In consequence, their Majesties have agreed on the following Articles:

Principles of the Christian Religion

ART. I. Conformably to the words of the Holy Scriptures, which command all men to consider each other as brethren, the Three contracting Monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity, and considering each other as fellow countrymen, they will, on all occasions and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance; and, regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers of families, they will lead them, in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated, to protect Religion, Peace, and Justice.

Fraternity and Affection

ART. II. In consequence, the sole principle of force, whether between the said Governments or between their Subjects, shall be that of doing each other reciprocal service, and of testifying by unalterable good will the mutual affection with which they ought to be animated, to consider themselves all as members of one and the same Christian nation; the three allied Princes looking on themselves as merely designated by Providence to govern three branches of the One family, namely, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, thus confessing that the Christian world, of which they and their people form a part, has in reality no other Sovereign than Him to whom alone power really belongs, because in Him alone are found all the treasures of love, science, and infinite wisdom, that is to say, God, our Divine Saviour, the Word of the Most High, the Word of Life. Their Majesties consequently recommend to their people, with the most tender solicitude, as the sole means of enjoying that Peace, which arise from a good conscience, and which alone is more durable, to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercise of the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to mankind.

Accession of Foreign Powers

ART. III. All the powers who shall choose solemnly to avow the sacred principles which have dictated the present Act, and shall acknowledge how important it is for the happiness of nations, too long agitated, that these truths should henceforth exercise over the destinies of mankind all the influence which belongs to them, will be received with equal ardour and affection into this Holy Alliance. (http://www.napoleonseries.org/research/government/diplomatic/c_alliance.html)

Triple Alliance and Triple Entente

Triple Alliance and Triple Entente (äntänt´) were two international combinations of states that dominated the diplomatic history of Western Europe from 1882 until they came into armed conflict in World War I.

Triple Alliance

In 1871 two new major states of Europe had been formed—the German Empire and the kingdom of Italy. The new German Empire, under the hand of Otto von Bismarck, was steered carefully, always with an eye upon France, for the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71) had left France thirsting for revenge and for recovery of the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

Germany had allied itself with Russia and Austria-Hungary in the Three Emperors' League, but Austria-Hungary and Russia were not the best of friends, partly because they were at odds over the Balkans and partly because Russia represented the Pan-Slavic movement, whose program threatened the very existence of Austria-Hungary. The Treaty of San Stefano (1878), following the Russo-Turkish War, furthered the cause of Pan-Slavism through the creation of a large Bulgarian state and offended Austria-Hungary as well as Great Britain. European conference (1878), was called to revise the treaty, caused a sharp decline in the friendship between Russia on the one hand and Austria-Hungary and Germany on the other; Bismarck formed (1879) a secret defensive alliance—the Dual Alliance—with Austria-Hungary.

In 1882 Italy, angry at France chiefly because France had forestalled an Italian advance by occupying Tunis, signed another secret treaty, which bound it with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Thus, the Triple Alliance was formed. It was periodically renewed until 1913. In 1882 Serbia joined the alliance, in effect, through a treaty with Austria-Hungary. Romania joined the group in 1883, and a

powerful Central European bloc was created. Italy was from the first not so solidly bound to either of its allies as Germany and Austria-Hungary were to each other. Italy was in fact a rival of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans and particularly for control of the Adriatic; moreover, there remained unsettled territorial problems. The Triple Alliance, however, turned diplomatic history into new channels.

Triple Entente

The Three Emperors' League died a slow death, but in 1890 its day was over: Germany refused to renew its reinsurance treaty with Russia, and Russia in consequence sought a rapprochement with France. At the same time France, face to face with an increasingly powerful Germany and a hostile Central European combination, felt great need of an ally, and French diplomats began to make overtures to Russia for an agreement to counterbalance the Triple Alliance. French capital aided Russian projects, especially the Trans-Siberian RR, and friendly diplomatic visits were exchanged. In 1891 there was a definite understanding between the powers; this was strengthened by a military convention in 1893, and by 1894 the Dual Alliance between Russia and France was in existence. It was publicly acknowledged in 1895.

Meanwhile, the fall of Bismarck, after the accession of William II to the throne of the German Empire, was followed by the appearance of more adventurous foreign policies. Germany committed itself to colonial and commercial expansion. The German plan for a Baghdad Railway was viewed with alarm by the powers with interests in the Middle East. The German commercial rivalry with Great Britain not only brought direct trouble but nourished German desire for sea power and a large navy.

Great Britain, long in "splendid isolation" from the other European nations, was being propelled by its interests to make some move toward protective international alliance. There had been some efforts to achieve a Franco-German rapprochement, but these ultimately had no effect. In 1898 Théophile Delcassé took control of French foreign policy; he was opposed to Germany and hoped for a rapprochement with Great Britain, his object being the isolation of Germany. Friendship between Britain and France did not seem possible because of their traditional enmity and, more important, their colonial quarrels in Africa. Moreover, Great Britain and Germany were traditional friends, and the two countries were bound by dynastic and cultural ties. There had been and continued to be active expressions of Anglo-German amity, but Delcassé's diplomacy, aided by the accession (1901) of Francophile Edward VII to the British throne, ultimately bore fruit. Although Great Britain and France had been on the verge of war over the Fashoda Incident in 1898, the matter was settled and the way opened for further agreements between the two powers. Though there was no alliance, the Entente Cordiale—a friendly understanding—was arrived at in 1904.

Colonial rivalries between Russia and Britain had in the late 19th century made those powers hostile; the field of contest was Asia—Turkish affairs, Persia, Afghanistan, China, and India. But after the defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War, and particularly after Sir Edward Grey gained influence in the British foreign office, Britain came to favour a friendly settlement. This was finally achieved in the Anglo-Russian entente of 1907. That agreement created the international group opposing the Triple Alliance—France, Great Britain, and Russia had formed the Triple Entente.

The Rising Storm

The two principal problems that caused outright conflict involved Morocco and the Balkans. The militarism of the chief countries of Europe was prompted by a growing sense of international hysteria, which was, in turn, increased by military preparations. The crisis in Morocco in 1905 almost precipitated war. More serious still were the Balkan crises brought about by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary in 1908, the Italo-Turkish War (1911–12), and the Balkan Wars (1912–13). The trouble between Austria and Serbia reached a peak after the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand in 1914, and it resulted in World War I.

Italy's interests had long been more or less divorced from those of the Triple Alliance; as early as 1902 a Franco-Italian accord on North Africa had been reached in a secret treaty. With the outbreak of the war, both Italy and Romania refused to join the Central Powers. The Triple Alliance formally came to an end in 1914 when Italy issued a declaration of neutrality. After much secret negotiation, Italy in 1915 joined the Allies, and the next year Romania did likewise. Germany and Austria-Hungary gained new support in the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) and Bulgaria. The war ushered in a new diplomatic period, with new diplomatic alignments, and both the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente receded into history.

Warsaw Pact

Finally in this study are another groups; NATO and Warsaw Pact. NATO and Warsaw pact were two sides of a coin in understanding ideological war. They emerged at the end of Second World War (WWII) in 1949. Since then, both became instruments for advancing national interests and resolving differences between the then existing two blocs: the east and west respectively. Not until the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of USSR in 1991, they

remained a formidable group along with NATO fight ideological war through a process called cold war (Mclean, 1996). Thus, with the collapse of Warsaw Pact, NATO seeing that they have no other wars to fight against refocused on their objective which anchors on ensuring the spread of democracy, world peace and security.

Central Powers

The central powers consists of Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria – hence also known as the **Quadruple Alliance** (German: *Vierbund*) – was one of the two main factions during World War I (1914–18). It faced and was defeated by the Allied Powers that had formed around the Triple Entente, after which it was dissolved.

The Powers' origin was the alliance of Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1879. The Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria did not join until after World War I had begun. This alliance was used to attack nations like Russia, France and Serbia which provoked other European nations (Tucker, 2009:1555-6).

Again, a tripartite alliance was later form amongst Germany, Japan and Italy called the Rome-Berlin axis otherwise known as axis power but was defeated in the Second World War.

Allied Force

The Allies in World War I (also known as the Entente Powers) were initially the United Kingdom, France, the Russian Empire, Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro and Japan, joined later by Italy, Portugal, Romania, the United States, Greece and Brazil. Some, such as the Russian Empire, withdrew from the war before the armistice due to revolution or defeat by the Central Powers. The alliance was set up to put resistance against the inflaming power of the central powers in Europe (Larsen et al, 1975).

WARSAW PACT

The Prague Spring reforms were a strong attempt by Dubcek to grant additional rights to the citizens of Czechoslovakia in an act of partial decentralization of the economy and democratization. The freedoms granted included a loosening of restrictions on the media, speech and travel. After national discussion of dividing the country into a federation of three republics, Bohemia, Moravia-Silesia and Slovakia, Dubcek oversaw the decision to split into two, the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic. This was the only formal change that survived the end of Prague Spring, though the relative success of the nonviolent resistance undoubtedly prefigured and facilitated the peaceful transition to liberal democracy with the collapse of Soviet hegemony in 1989 (Drucker, 2010).

The reforms, especially the decentralization of administrative authority, were not received well by the Soviets, who, after failed negotiations, sent half a million Warsaw Pact troops and tanks to occupy the country. A large wave of emigration swept the nation. A spirited non-violent resistance was mounted throughout the country, involving attempted fraternization, painting over and turning street signs (on one occasion an entire invasion force from Poland was routed back out of the country after a day's wandering), defiance of various curfews, etc. While the Soviet military had predicted that it would take four days to subdue the country the resistance held out for eight months, and was only circumvented by diplomatic stratagems. There were sporadic acts of violence and several suicides by self-immolation (such as that of Jan Palach), but there was no military resistance. Czechoslovakia remained controlled until 1989, when the velvet revolution ended pro-Soviet rule peacefully, undoubtedly drawing upon the successes of the non-violent resistance twenty years earlier. The resistance also became an iconic example of civilian-based defence, which, along with unarmed civilian peacekeeping constitute the two ways that

nonviolence can be and occasionally has been applied directly to military or paramilitary threats.

After the invasion, Czechoslovakia entered a period of normalization: subsequent leaders attempted to restore the political and economic values that had prevailed before Dubcek gained control of the KSC. Gustav Husak, who replaced Dubcek and also became president, reversed almost all of Dubcek's reforms (Drucker, 2010).

In other words, the above, it was obvious that what prevailed over time was a practical demonstration of power superiority which the realists believed was part of the character of states. At a time, one state will rise to subdue other and alliance will be formed to check and contain their excesses. From 17th - 20th century, military alliances began to gather momentum as a result of the growing powers of some European states just as we have stated above. The major military alliances later formed included the central powers and the allied forces. The central power has Austria-Hungary, Germany and Ottoman Empire as the major powers owing to their economic and military strength. The essence of the formation of central power was to maintain global dominance over other states of the world and also to put under check the imperialistic stance of Britain and France (http://www.kidzworld.com/article/5701-overview-of-world-war-i). On the other side was the allied or forces which include; Britain, France, Russia and Serbia. The desire to maintain global dominion plunged the both military formations into war resulting in the First World War (WW1). Owing to the great military and material might which the allied forces possess due to their colonial escapades, they defeated the central power which forced them to withdraw from the fight. Russia, along the line, pulled out as a result of the fact that it united other states under the umbrella of USSR, and as a result of the Bolshevik revolution spearheaded by Lenin, Britain and France refused to acknowledge them (their status) (Mclean, 1996: 40). The implication was a

propagation of ideological difference, which finds expression in communism against capitalism which France and Britain preached. This became the harbinger of cold war between the imperialist states and communist states. The First World War ended with signing of the Treaty of Versailles in 1918 with the formation of the League of Nations to maintain world peace and prevent future occurrence of war.

Despite the formation of military alliance under the umbrella of the League of Nations, other military alliances were formed in reaction to the effects of the First World War. They include; Tokyo-Berlin-Rome otherwise known as the axis power that comprise of those from the Pacific Region and Europe, Allied forces (mainly Britain, France, etc.) and USSR group. Going by that power build up, the Tokyo Berlin which comprise of the Pacific with Japan as its leader was interested in the control of global economy, the Berlin under Hitler were agitating for the injustice meted them at Versailles treaty where most of the colonial states were taken away from them. Rome (Italy) wanted to be European power along side with Germany (Potter, 2009 and Transon, 1971). Subsequently, the power of Germany under Hitler grew so much that there was serious fear by other European power especially, those from the allied force, who were partly subdued by the enormous powers of Hitler. In a bid to deal with a common enemy, a marriage of convenience was formed among Joseph Stalin, Winston Churchill and Charles De Gaulle to fight their common enemy-Hitler. Thus, the allied powers had France and Britain as the dominant states. This time their desire was to promote imperialism which was top on their national interests.

On another note, you have the League of Nations which signified the emergence of modern international organization as a military alliance. It became an imperative alliance to quench the continuous spread of conflicts, crises and wars

across Europe. The league was established in 1919 in order to promote international cooperation and achieve international peace and security (Pick and Calitchley, 1974). Some Anglo-American thinkers and statesmen including Dickinson and President Woodrow in Chikendu (1998: 9) felt that the old system of balance of power politics and the concert of Europe had now become discredited and otiose, thus the need for a stronger alliance. The above statement is obvious to the extent that the emergence of one defines the exit of another. The fact that the League of Nations failed to prevent wars among nations and especially the more devastating Second World War has led to many people discrediting the league. Not only that the league seemed to be tied to vindictiveness, as a result, the Treaty of Versailles made many disadvantaged nations look at the league with suspicion. It also lacked coercive authority and military power of its own with which it could subdue recalcitrant nations or members. As a result of the failure of League of Nations to address its essence, both military alliances (allied forces and axis power) were at each other's throat once again.

In 1939, America got involved in the war due to the destruction of their vessel by Japan at Pearl Harbour. This led to the outbreak of Second World War. They came in and conquered the axis powers which include Japan, Italy and German (Coner, 2009). Thus, in 1945, the Atlantic Charter was signed by 50 nations to end the Second World War. The body has five permanent members which include; United States, Britain, Russia, China and France under the Security Council. The essence of the body was to provide a comprehensive view and strategy on how to end global conflicts and wars (Ojo, 1973: 277-278).

In sum, the various forces reviewed showed that at every point in time, alliances were/are formed by stronger states in pursuit of their interest. At some times, they tend to create a balance of power where their national interest and state

sovereignty are threatened. The implication is so immense that it Hs continued to shape the dynamics of global politics since the signing of treaty of Westphalia.

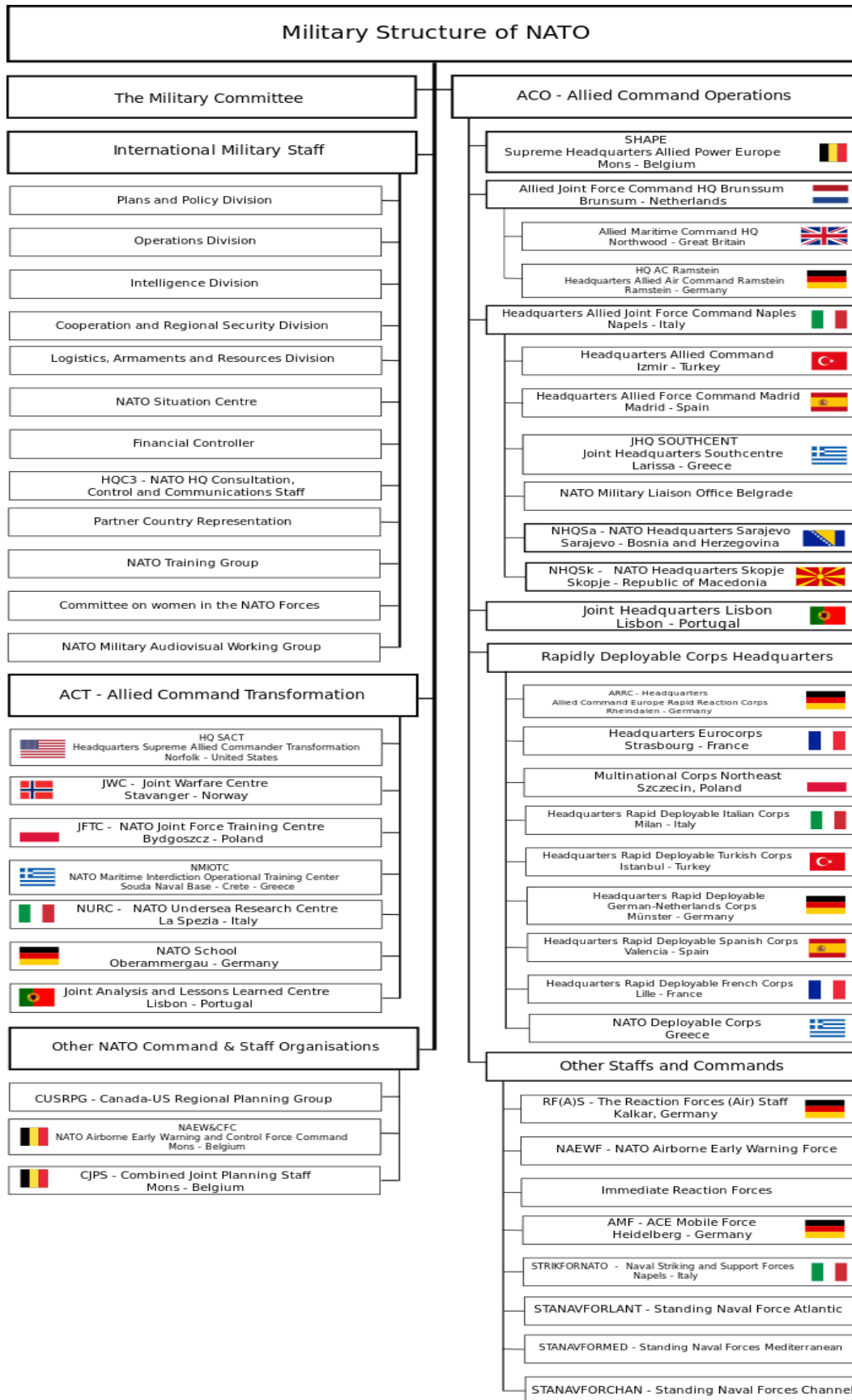## 2.2:2 NATO's Organogramme

It was at the end of Second World War (WWII) that stronger military alliances by stronger powers were formed along ideological lines. On the part of the West, you have NATO formed in 1949 (with US, Britain and France championing it), while on the part of the East; you have the Warsaw Pact in 1955 (with Russia as the head) in response to the formation of NATO -an ideological alliance.

US became the major dominant in the alliance to the extent that most of the decisions taken by the alliance require the consent of the United States. To that extent, virtually all the wars NATO embarked on were influenced by the United States of America who plays the role of a big brother in the alliance. The implication goes to show that the alliance provides a clear base for the promotion of American national interest. It is in line with above that Potter (2011) maintained that NATO, the number one position in the body, which is the supreme Allied Commander Europe, has always been filled by America since the time of Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The above chronology of various military alliances confirms that in every alliance formed, one or two nations become the lead actor and advance its national interest through such. The obvious remains that within the international community, stronger states strive to dominate other states. This has been demonstrated by many states that have strived to exert influence on the other over the years which finds expression in what is obtained in global history on wars.

Chart 1: The Military Structure of NATO.

Military Structure of NATO

The Military Committee

International Military Staff

- Plans and Policy Division
- Operations Division
- Intelligence Division
- Cooperation and Regional Security Division
- Logistics, Armaments and Resources Division
- NATO Situation Centre
- Financial Controller
- HQC3 - NATO HQ Consultation, Control and Communications Staff
- Partner Country Representation
- NATO Training Group
- Committee on women in the NATO Forces
- NATO Military Audiovisual Working Group

ACT - Allied Command Transformation

- HQ SACT
  Headquarters Supreme Allied Commander Transformation
  Norfolk - United States
- JWC - Joint Warfare Centre
  Stavanger - Norway
- JFTC - NATO Joint Force Training Centre
  Bydgoszcz - Poland
- NMIOTC
  NATO Maritime Interdiction Operational Training Center
  Souda Naval Base - Crete - Greece
- NURC - NATO Undersea Research Centre
  La Spezia - Italy
- NATO School
  Oberammergau - Germany
- Joint Analysis and Lessons Learned Centre
  Lisbon - Portugal

Other NATO Command & Staff Organisations

- CUSRPG - Canada-US Regional Planning Group
- NAEW&CFC
  NATO Airborne Early Warning and Control Force Command
  Mons - Belgium
- CJPS - Combined Joint Planning Staff
  Mons - Belgium

ACO - Allied Command Operations

- SHAPE
  Supreme Headquarters Allied Power Europe
  Mons - Belgium
- Allied Joint Force Command HQ Brunssum
  Brunsum - Netherlands
  - Allied Maritime Command HQ
    Northwood - Great Britain
  - HQ AC Ramstein
    Headquarters Allied Air Command Ramstein
    Ramstein - Germany
- Headquarters Allied Joint Force Command Naples
  Napels - Italy
  - Headquarters Allied Command
    Izmir - Turkey
  - Headquarters Allied Force Command Madrid
    Madrid - Spain
  - JHQ SOUTHCENT
    Joint Headquarters Southcentre
    Larissa - Greece
  - NATO Military Liaison Office Belgrade
  - NHQSa - NATO Headquarters Sarajevo
    Sarajevo - Bosnia and Herzegovina
  - NHQSk - NATO Headquarters Skopje
    Skopje - Republic of Macedonia
- Joint Headquarters Lisbon
  Lisbon - Portugal

Rapidly Deployable Corps Headquarters

- ARRC - Headquarters
  Allied Command Europe Rapid Reaction Corps
  Rheindalen - Germany
- Headquarters Eurocorps
  Strasbourg - France
- Multinational Corps Northeast
  Szczecin, Poland
- Headquarters Rapid Deployable Italian Corps
  Milan - Italy
- Headquarters Rapid Deployable Turkish Corps
  Istanbul - Turkey
- Headquarters Rapid Deployable
  German-Netherlands Corps
  Münster - Germany
- Headquarters Rapid Deployable Spanish Corps
  Valencia - Spain
- Headquarters Rapid Deployable French Corps
  Lille - France
- NATO Deployable Corps
  Greece

Other Staffs and Commands

- RF(A)S - The Reaction Forces (Air) Staff
  Kalkar, Germany
- NAEWF - NATO Airborne Early Warning Force
- Immediate Reaction Forces
- AMF - ACE Mobile Force
  Heidelberg - Germany
- STRIKFORNATO - Naval Striking and Support Forces
  Napels - Italy
- STANAVFORLANT - Standing Naval Force Atlantic
- STANAVFORMED - Standing Naval Forces Mediterranean
- STANAVFORCHAN - Standing Naval Forces Channel

Source: Military units and formations of NATO
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_units_and_formations_of_NATO (2014)

2.3   The Sovereignty of States

No concept has raised so many conflicting issues and involved nineteenth-century jurists and political theorists in so desperate a maze as the concept of Sovereignty. The reason is perhaps that the original, genuine and philosophical meaning of the concept had not been from the very start sufficiently examined and seriously tested by them. In the same measure as crucial and practical problems dealing with international law developed, the controversies about State Sovereignty (when considered in its external aspect - relations between states) grew deeper and more extended. A question was asked whether the international community as a whole is the true holder of Sovereignty, rather than the individual states. In some quarters, the very notion of Sovereignty was challenged. Such was the stand taken first by Triepel, then by several other international lawyers, including Willoughby and Foulke (Maritain, 1950:343). He analysed sovereignty from the view of political philosophy. Just as the words civitas are often translated by "state" (though the most appropriate name is "commonwealth" or "body politic," not "state"), so the words principatus and suprema potestas are often translated by "sovereignty" and the words princes ("ruler") by "sovereign. To him, this is a misleading translation, which muddles the issue from the start. Principatus ("principality") and suprema potestas ("supreme power") simply mean "highest ruling authority," not "sovereignty as has been conceived since the moment when this word made its first appearance in the vocabulary of political theory. Conversely, "sovereignty" was rendered at that moment by majestas in Latin, as was recognized at the time of Jean Bodin. According to Maritain (1950: 344), Jean Bodin who is considered as the father of the modern theory of Sovereignty rightly stated in his words:

> It is my contention that political philosophy must eliminate Sovereignty both as a word and as a concept not because it is an antiquated concept,' or by virtue of a sociological-juridical theory of "objective law"; and not because the concept of Sovereignty creates insuperable difficulties and theoretical entanglements in the field of international law; but because, considered in its genuine meaning, and in the perspective of the proper scientific realm to which it belongs (which is political philosophy). This concept is intrinsically wrong, and bound to mislead us if we continue using it (Maritain, 1950: 344).

In articulating the above, Maritain argues that we are confronted with that which is basically wrong with the concept of Sovereignty and the original error of the theorists of Sovereignty. They knew that the right to self government is naturally possessed by the people, but for the consideration of this right, they substituted that of the total power with that of the commonwealth. They knew that the "prince" receives from the people the authority with which he is invested.

Furthermore, within the International system, sovereignty is the claim by the independent state to attain full self-government, and the mutual recognition of claims to sovereignty is the basis of international society (Mclean, 1996). He also states that sovereignty should not be confused with freedom of action: sovereign actors may find themselves exercising freedom of decision within circumstances that are highly constrained by relations of unequal power.

At this point the understanding of sovereignty assumes a different turn. Sovereignty is the claim to be ultimate political authority, subject to no higher power as regards the making and enforcing of political decisions. In the International system, sovereignty is the claim by the independent state to attain full self-government, and the mutual recognition of claims to sovereignty is the basis of international society (Mclean, 1996: 464). He also states that sovereignty is the other side of the coin of international anarchy, for if states claim sovereignty, then the structure of the international system is by definition anarchic. Sovereignty should not be confused with freedom of action: sovereign

actors may find themselves exercising freedom of decision within circumstances that are highly constrained by relations of unequal power.

According to Mclean, the doctrine of sovereignty developed as part of the transformation of the medieval system in Europe into the modern state system, a process that culminated in the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 after the thirty years war...internationally, sovereignty served as the basis for exchanges of recognition on the basis of legal equality and therefore, as the basis of diplomacy and international law. In agreement to the above position taken by Mclean (1996:246) and Hobbes in Maritian (1950:345), Sovereignty means two things: First, a right to supreme independence and supreme power which is a natural and inalienable right and, second, a right to independence and a power which, in their proper sphere, are supreme, absolutely or transcendentally, not comparatively or as a topmost part in the whole.

To Hobbes, the only way to erect such a Common Power, as may be able to defend them from the invasion of Forraigners (foreign) and the injuries of one another…a contract should be agreed. This is the Generation of the great LEVIATHAN, or rather (to speak more reverently) of that MORTAL GOD, to which we owe under the Immortal God, our peace and defence (Hobbes quoted in Maritian 1950). The long and short of Hobbes argument provides a clue on how the concept of sovereignty was conceived by the people and handed over to the supreme authority (the Leviathan) to protect and administer the state.

This is the Generation of the great LEVIATHAN, or rather (to speak more reverently) of that MORTAL GOD, to which we owe under the Immortal God, our peace and defence. For by this Authoritie (Authority) given him by every particular man in the Common-Wealth, he hath the use of so much Power and Strength conferred on him, that by terror thereof, he is unable to form the wills of them all, to Peace at home, and mutually against their enemies abroad. And

in him consisteth (consists) the Essence of the Commonwealth; which (to define it) is One Person, of whose Acts a great Multitude, by natural Covenants one with another, have made themselves every one the Author, to the end he may use the strength and means of them all, as he shall think expedient, for their Peace and Common Defence (Hobbes quoted in Maritian 1950). The long and short of Hobbes argument provides a clue on how the concept of sovereignty was conceived by the people and handed over to the supreme authority (the Leviathan) to protect and administer the state. It is not a will exercised against an inferior will, merely as an exhibition of legal competence. It is a will exercised because those who urge the need for reform in the control of some delegated authority have been able to persuade the government either to undertake inquiry or to attempt deliberate change. Again, the will of government is very large to compromise between opposing views; and that compromise rarely involves the direct control of the given function by the government. It rather means that the social interests of the community are not held and adequately protected under some existing scheme; and the direction of change is towards a new experiment in which, as it thought, that social interest may be more fully realised (Laski, 2006). Laski presents philosophical, legal and political aspect of sovereignty.

Laski thus, presents divers angles which include philosophical, legal and political aspect of sovereignty. Laski (2006; 57-60) argues that in such a perspective as this, the theory of sovereignty in its political aspect begins to assume a very different shape from what its orthodox claims imply. It becomes clear that if the state is to be a moral entity, it must be built upon the organised acquiescence of its members. It must be powerless to touch certain fundamentals (of which freedom of speech is the supreme example) without which the benefits of social life will not, as a matter of history, be legally responsible for its mistakes. He is of the view that the people surrendered their

rights and sovereignty to the state (the Leviathan) to protect, provide coordinated and regulate the activities that revolves in the state (Hobbes in Tuck, 1991).

In support of Laski's position on political sovereignty, Maritain (1950: 348) presents sovereignty as a concept that has to do with the capacity of a ruling class to make and implement decision that are of interest to it. Therefore, it is a reflection of the power of the ruling class not only with respect to the classes within its borders, but also to the classes in other states within the international community. This typifies the situation with United Nations and the role of NATO within the international circles. If the relevant internal and external classes grow in power, this capacity for making and implementing decision will decline. The tendency is then for change in the power of various classes to occur over time. In a related way the relative power positions of the various classes affected this capacity. This is so because the power to act is relative to the power of the other parties in the power relation.

To him, sovereignty refers to the degree of autonomy possible in state decision processes. It reflects the ability to act. All the factors that undermine this ability to act constitute limitation on sovereignty. Such limitations come from both external and internal environment. Sovereignty is a concept that suggests extensive autonomy of a ruling class from the internal and external social environment. External limitations on sovereignty arise when a state is tied through various linkage groups and processes with much stronger states. It can be in areas of the market for land, labour, material and service, technology, capital and governmental activities and political interaction. Internal limitations on sovereignty arise from a low level of general economic development, particular industrial capacity and from low levels of national unity and morale, weak political will on the part of the national leadership, and a dependent and diffident government. These limitations encourage tensions that provide foreign

powers with the opportunity to align with internal forces and intervene in the domestic life of a state. A country consumed by conflicts and instability is too weak or unwilling to ward off the designs of outside powers. Linkage groups may serve the foreign powers as a means to gather intelligence, harass and weaken the government, influence or divide public opinion, seize political power, accede to power legally and paralyze or influence the domestic and foreign policies of a state.

Consequently, in Africa, a combination of these external and internal actors to several limits the sovereignty of the new states. Their colonial heritage of dependence on the advanced capitalist countries in both production and exchange, and the consequent linking of their various regions to the metropolitan countries rather than to one another weaken their resistance against undesirable foreign pressure. African states are thus forced to be dependent on the advanced capitalist nations for trade, aid, high-skilled labour and monetary transactions.

On a similar note, Laski (2006) and Hobbes in Tuck (1991) insist that no man can be a good citizen unless he personally expresses or shows interest in the affair of the state. That conception is important if we are to realise, in any organised way, the notion of an equal interest in the result of the political process. While it is too much to say that minority-action is always selfish action, it is beyond doubt, the unhampered enjoyment of power. That is why the conception that authority is not merely, but ought to be limited and fundamental to political philosophy. The implication is that if we once admit that a body of men can enjoy unlimited power, we are in geographical fact exalting the local divisions of mankind above all other aspects of the human fellowship. That is an illegitimate exaltation. Locally, there is no reason to suppose that any one set of men is likely to be right as against any other. The real constraining force upon

ourselves is not the legal obligation to obey government, but the moral obligation to follow what we regard as justice. There is no a priori conduct implied by such a moral obligation. All that can be said is that the individual is, ultimately, the supreme arbiter of his behaviour; and that he must fully realises the purpose of the state when he offers to it the substance, whatever that may be, of his judgement.

2.3:2 The Dynamics of sovereignty: Philosophical clarifications of Sovereignty

In an articulating form, Maritain (1950: 351-356) couched the various philosophical postulates of scholars of sovereignty which include, Plato, Augustine of Hippo, Ambrose, Aquinas, Gregory, Marsilius, Machiavelli, Bodin, Hobbes, Rousseau, Hegel and Marx. All attributed sovereignty as having its existence from the creator or the people but Hegel and Marx took a radical angle. To that extent, it would be germane to review their major positions.

1) In his book, the Republic, Plato argued that in the best state, final authority resides with the wisdom and virtue arising from the knowledge possessed by the philosopher king. In his second best state, as described in his book the laws he shared Aristotle's view that the law and not a person must be the ultimate sovereign.

2) Church fathers like St. Augustine, Ambrose, Aquinas and Gregory, the Great, their philosophical position implied a dual organization and control of human society in the interest of the two great categories of values, the spiritual and secular... for the secular realm, the church fathers subscribed to the idea that sovereignty arises from the collective power of the people and as such must be exercised as their corporate power.

3) Marsilius of Padua - In all temporary concerns the control of the clergy by the state is in principle exactly like the control of agriculture or trade by the state. He maintains that religion is a social phenomenon and as such is subject to social regulations like other human interests. The final authority in social regulations, the sovereign, is the legislation'. The legislation is the people or whole body of citizens, or prevailing part of it, commanding and deciding by its own choice or will a general assembly.

4) Machiavelli argued that sovereignty belonged in the early stage of a state's existence to the creator of the state, the Prince. At this stage, he argued, the priority was for the Prince to consolidate power and build a strong state and in order to achieve this end it did not matter if the prince resorted to despotic action – force and cunning.

5) Jean Jacques Bodin was the first political philosopher to devote a lot of his time explicitly to the question of sovereignty. His principle of sovereignty was the most important part of is political philosophy. The presence of sovereign power is taken by him to be the mark of distinction between a state and other forms of human organization. He defined sovereignty as "supreme power over citizen and subjects, unrestrained by law". It is unrestrained by the law because the sovereign is the source of law. The sovereign cannot bind himself or his successors and he cannot be made legally accountable to his subjects. He was only answerable to God and subject to natural law.

6)   Hobbes, as a result of his distaste for the anarchy of the civil war in England and his sympathies for the monarchy in the war, his theory of sovereignty tended to be a support and a justification for absolute monarchy. In his view society has only one voice with which it can speak and one will which it can enforce, and that is that of the sovereign who makes it a society.

Therefore, there can be no tangible government (individuals with power to enforce their will) there is neither a state nor a society but in Hobbes's words a 'headless multitude'. There are no perverted forms of government. People impute pervasion to a government with such terms as tyranny or oligarchy, only because they dislike the exercise of power, just as they use the terms of approval, such as monarchy or democracy if they like it. There is certain to be sovereign power somewhere in every government and the only question is who has it. For the same reason there can be no mixed government and no limited government, since sovereign power is indivisible. Someone must have the final decision and whoever has it and can make it good has sovereign power.

7) Jean Jacques Rousseau viewed sovereignty as belonging to the people as a corporate body. 'The social compact gives the body politic absolute power over all its members'. The government is merely an agent which has delegate power which can be withdrawn or modified as the 'general will' of the people dictates. Government has no vested right whatever, such as Locke's theory of the contract has left to it, but has mere the status of a committee.

To Hegel, the power of the state is absolute, representing the superior moral position and the monopolization of the ethical aspects of society. Though absolute, it must always exercise its power under the law. Thus, sovereignty inheres in the state, as an abstract, rational and legal entity. To that extent, Hegel's theory of sovereignty and constitutional government was similar to that of liberalism in distinguishing between legal authority and personal power. He preferred the exercise of sovereignty to be left in the hands of official governing class, 'the universal class' as he called it, which by birth and training is fitted to rule, having embodied a long tradition of hierarchical authority and orderly procedure. On a different note, Marx and Marxist view sovereignty not as an abstract idea but as the product of concrete material and historical struggles of

classes for domination of political power. It is an expression of the total domination of one class over the others in this struggle. In its abstract form it rests with the state, but since the state is concretely 'a committee for managing the affair of the dominant class, sovereignty is an attribute of the dominant class. It reflects the absolutism of the ruling class and its supreme exercise of power and authority. It is an expression of the supremacy of its power and of the dictatorship of the ruling class over the other classes in society.

Summarily, Agarwal (2008: 156) captures the submissions of sovereign apostles which include the following: Jellineck, Grotius, Bodin, Duguit, Pollock, Willoughby, Woodrow Wilson, Blackstone, that is believed to concentrate on the supreme will of the state which can emanate from the people or from a supreme being. In sum, their positions could be seen as thus,

- That characteristic of the state by virtue of which it cannot be legally bound except by its own or limited by any power other than itself. – Jellineck
- Sovereignty is the sovereign political power vested in him whose acts are not subject to any other and whose will cannot be over-ridden. –Grotius
- Sovereignty is the supreme power of the state over citizens and subjects unrestrained by law. -Bodin
- Sovereignty is "the common power of the state, it is the will of the nation organised in the state, it is right to give unconditional order to all individuals in the territory of state. –Duguit
- Burgess characterised sovereign is the "Original, absolute, unlimited power over the individual subjects and over all associations of subjects".
- Sovereignty is that power which is neither temporary nor delegated, nor subject to particular rules which it cannot alter, not answerable to any other power over earth. –Pollock

- Sovereignty is the supreme will of the state. –Willoughby
- Sovereignty is the daily operative power of framing and giving efficacy to the laws. – Woodrow Wilson
- Sovereignty is "the supreme, irresistible, absolute, uncontrolled authority in which the 'jurist summi imperi' reside". –Blackstone
- The sovereignty is "legally supreme over an individual or group, says Laski, he possesses "supreme coercive power".

Therefore, from the detailed study and careful examination on the meaning and nature of sovereignty as given above, we consider it germane to summarize that sovereignty is the supreme political power of the state. It is an unlimited power and subject to no other authority and cannot be challenged by any other authority. On a concluding note, Foulke, (1920), Duguit (1919), Ranney (1975) and Prince (1975) position on sovereignty entail the final, absolute, coercive power of the state over its citizens. At this point, Prince is of the view that sovereignty remains the engine of a nation's strength where the power of the state is perceived as the be all and end all in a state. This makes such state omnipotent when it comes to directing the affairs of the state and making the citizens abide by the dictates of the law that govern the state. The power to make us do this is sovereignty. Agreeing in principles with Ranney, Oriaku and Nwangwu (1989: 45) state that

> Sovereignty means the full and exclusive legal power to make and enforce laws for people within a definite territory and under a definite jurisdiction. When a nation is formally recognised as having the exclusive right to make policy for that nation, territory and people, such a nation is sovereign or formally independent.

The implication of the above assertion imports that in every political system there must be some absolute power of final decision exercised by some persons or body recognised both as competent to decide as well as able to enforce the decision.

Therefore, it is a reflection of the power of the ruling class not only with respect to the classes within its borders, but also to the classes in other states within the international community. This typifies the situation with United Nations and the role of NATO within the international circles. If the relevant internal and external classes grow in power, this capacity for making and implementing decision will decline. The tendency is then for change in the power of various classes to occur over time. In a related way the relative power positions of the various classes affected this capacity. This is so because the power to act is relative to the power of the other parties in the power relation (Maritain 1950 and Goldstein, 2003).

The implication is that limitations encourage tensions that provide foreign powers with the opportunity to align with internal forces and intervene in the domestic life of a state. A country consumed by conflicts and instability is too weak or unwilling to ward off the designs of outside powers. Linkage groups may serve the foreign powers as a means to gather intelligence, harass and weaken the government, influence or divide public opinion, seize political power, accede to power legally and paralyze or influence the domestic and foreign policies of a state.

The greater the need of a state for another, the more vulnerable it is to pressure from the benefactor. Today, these pressure are numerous and pervasive because of the character of the international political environment. To defend its sovereignty, its national honour and its material interests, each state organizes its coercive resources: it builds up its "national power". When peaceful persuasion is inadequate, it may use more forcible means, even to the extent of employing all of its strength to total war (Maritain; 1950). Conflicts of interest often do lead to war, and it is natural that they should do so when each state is

legally free to set its own course, or when in fact it is able to do so, regardless of legal entity

To that extent, Garner in Agarwal (2008: 156-158) summarily presents the following as the characteristics or attributes of sovereignty which include; permanence, exclusiveness, comprehensiveness, inalienability, unity, imprescriptibility, indivisibility, absoluteness, originality.

Permanence: Permanence is the chief characteristics of sovereignty. Sovereignty lasts as long as an independent state lasts. The death of the king, the overthrow of the government and the addiction of power does not lead to the destruction of sovereignty. We should keep in mind the basic fact that the king or the ruler exercises sovereign power on behalf of the state and, therefore, sovereignty lasts as long as the state lasts. The death of the king or the overthrow of the government does not affect sovereignty. This is the reason why people in England used to say "The King is dead, long live the King". "Sovereignty does not cease with the death or temporary dispossession of a particular bearer or the re-organisation of the state but shifts immediately to a new bearer, as the centre of gravity shifts from one part of physical body to another when it undergoes external change".

Exclusiveness: By exclusiveness we mean that there cannot be two sovereigns, in one independent state and if the two sovereigns exist in a state, the unity of that state will be destroyed. There cannot exist a sovereign state within the existing sovereign state.

All Comprehensiveness: The State is all comprehensive and the sovereign power is universally applicable. Every individual and every association of individual is subject to the sovereignty of the state. No association or group of individuals, however, rich or powerful it may be can resist or disobey the sovereign authority. Sovereignty makes no exception and grants no exemption to anyone. It grants exemptions only in the case of foreign embassies and diplomatic representatives of foreign countries on the reciprocal basis. This does not in any way restrict the sovereignty of the state in the legal sense. The state can abolish and withdraw the diplomatic privileges granted to foreigners.

Inalienability: Inalienability is another characteristic of sovereignty. Sovereignty is inalienable. By inalienability we mean that the State cannot part with its sovereignty. In other words, we can say that the sovereign does not remain the sovereign or the sovereign state, if he or the state transfers his or its sovereignty to any other person or any other state. Sovereignty is the life and soul of the state and it cannot be alienated without destroying the state itself. Lieber has very aptly remarked in this connection: "Sovereignty can no more be alienated than

a tree can alienate its right to sprout or a man can transfer his life or personality to another without self-destruction".

Unity: Unity is the very spirit of Sovereignty. The sovereign state is united just as we are united.

Imperscriptibility: By imprescriptibility, we mean that if the sovereign does not exercise his sovereignty for a certain period of time, it does not lead to the destruction of sovereignty. It lasts as long as the state lasts.

Indivisibility: Indivisibility is the life-blood of sovereignty. Sovereignty cannot be divided state, American statesman Calhoun has declared, "Sovereignty is an entire thing; to divide it is to destroy it. It is the supreme power in a state and we might just well divide it is to destroy it. It is the supreme power in a state and we might just well speak of half square or half a triangle as half a sovereignty". Gettell, has also very aptly remarked in this regard, "If sovereignty is not absolute, no state exists. If sovereignty is divided, more than one state exists".

Absoluteness: Sovereignty is absolute and unlimited. The sovereign is entitled to do whatsoever he likes. Sovereignty is subject to none.

Originality: By originality we mean that the sovereign wields power by virtue of his own right and not by virtue of anybody's mercy.

The position of the above is that sovereignty is supreme and remains the tonic that determines the strength of a state going by its basic indices. It is believed to reside in the people who by social contract surrender theirs to a supreme authority to defend and protect their cause. The position of sovereign according to the various scholars varies based on the system of government in operation, but one thing that is certain is that it gives nations the right to protect and guard themselves against external and internal aggression. Thus, where is the location of sovereignty?

2.3:3 Location and Limitations of Sovereignty

In every sovereign nation "sovereign power" is located somewhere in its political governmental structure. In a democracy, it must be vested in all members of the society. In a military regime, sovereign is located in the military (Laski, 2006).

But the location of sovereignty is today a very confusing practice because of the polarity of power and globalisation. Location of sovereignty in an era of globalization has excited a heated debate as to its location. There have been controversies over the absoluteness or finality of sovereignty. That is whether sovereignty can be divided and whether there are limitations to sovereignty which deprive it of its element of finality, while some scholars argue that sovereignty is absolute and is located in one organ of government, some of these people argue that initially it was located in the executive and later in parliament (Legal sovereignty). Others argue that sovereignty is a matter of collective responsibility shared between the executive judiciary and legislature (separation of power) (Laski, 2006 and Agarwal, 2008).

Sovereignty of states especially those of the third world suffer so many deficits as a result of their inability to articulate their interest and fight for a common agenda and interest. With the prevalence of globalisation, internationalism and law, sovereignty of states has been made to suffer more casualties in the hands of the developed interested states.

In spite of the absoluteness of sovereignty, it is not completely absolute. There are limitations to the capacity or ability of a government to exercise final decision – making power in a society. These according to Oriaku (2000: 59) include;

- ❖ Lack of popular support or co-operation can hinder the sovereignty of a government. Even military governments seek legitimacy or people's co-operation and recognition in order to sustain or justify its control of power.
- ❖ Sovereignty is also limited by international relations and treaties.
- ❖ The ideology and structure of a government can also limit the ability of a government to exercise sovereignty.

In spite of the above limitations of sovereignty, it is germane to note that every state has the supreme power in various forms to defend itself from any internal

and external aggression and that becomes the primary essence of nation-state. To that end, Goldstein (2003:2-3) posits that

> The interstate system is based on state sovereignty within their territories. In the 1990s, the astounding growth of the internet and World-Wide Web (WWW) created "cyberspace". It is a world of business relationship and communities with shared personal interests, in which geography is irrelevant (Goldstein, 2003:2-3).

It will be germane to articulate that above stated argument does in a way limit the political sovereignty of the state. Instead, it has created an extended framework of interdependence of states and the authorities of the state remains supreme and legal. To that end, we will examine sovereignty in an era of globalization.

According to Chossudovsky (2011), globalization represents the reality that we live in a time when the walls of sovereignty are no protection against the movements of capital, labour, information and ideas nor can they provide effective protection against harm and damage. This declaration by Judge Rosalyn Higgins, the former President of the International Court of Justice, represents the conventional wisdom about the future of global governance. Many view globalization as a reality that will erode or even eliminate the sovereignty of nation states. The typical account points to at least three ways that globalization has affected sovereignty. First, the rise of international trade and capital markets has interfered with the ability of nation states to control their domestic economies. Second, nation states have responded by delegating authority to international organizations. Third, a "new" international law, generated in part by these organizations, has placed limitations on the independent conduct of domestic policies.

2.3:4 Challenges of State Sovereignty

In this section, attempt will be made to evaluate sovereignty in its dynamic form owing to the changing global milieu. In the medieval times and beyond 20th

century, sovereignty of state was stated in hard letters of absoluteness and permanence. Today, the story has metamorphosed into a very unpredictable one through the movement of capital, trade and technology occasioned by the process of capitalism. This has given rise to the very question on the nature of sovereignty which is believed to have diminished in value, essence and practice, thus, calls for re-definition. The reason abound in various forms, part of it according to Haass (2006) is that states must be prepared to cede some sovereignty to world bodies if the international system is to function. Haass goes on to state that;

> There are many forces abound in the world that challenge established models and practices of state sovereignty. These include globalization and internationalism, the emergence of new polities such as European union, the reconfiguration of world trade into gigantic trading blocs, the rise of the communications global village, destatism and privatization, regionalism, the merger mania among mega corporations, global environmental problems and so forth. In addition, there are countries that exist but do not function, and those that function and strictly speaking, do not exist (Haass, 2006:3).

He clinically examined the causative influence and thus, added the existence of actors who dictate the flow of action within the international community. He talks about the states that exist but cannot affect global change and some who can affect global change but do not exist. This boils down to the various international organizations vested with much powers to define and redefine global pace. NATO, OAS etc are not left out in this group. In his articulation on the above stated argument, he summarily presents the following as critical factors affecting sovereignty in the next decade of which we are witnesses to, which include;

- Globalization and the weakening of the traditional sovereignty;
- New polities and ethnic and cultural resurgence;
- The issue of the viability of some states: residual post-colonial stress and the phenomenon of failed states and rogue state;
- The size and reach of multinational organizations;
- The information revolution and;
- Trade and economic reconfiguration.

In his analysis, he concerns himself with the actors in the international community without stating those major actors, but Palmer and Perkins (2007) and Pang in YaleGlobal (2005) give a clear indication of the nations that determine global movement. He maintained strongly that developing countries are short-changed in the international relations due to the extreme manipulation of the global system by the capitalist state. Pang points out that many countries, especially in the developing world suffer an "erosion of permanent and exclusive privilege over (their) economic activities, wealth and natural resources". In such an inequitable international system, accusations of neo-colonialism get thrown at its dominant players, particularly the United States. He says that developed countries apply their self-concocted theories like "human rights being superior to sovereignty" and economic integration outweighing sovereignty to force weak nations into conceding some of their inherent privileges. While countries inevitably cede some control over their economic sovereignty to external actors, Pang says, it is the "structural power" of sovereign states which still dictates the terms and tenets of globalization...underlying the economic sovereignty debate "is a hidden power struggle on world stage", contested by a number of prominent countries who use the language of globalization in the pursuit of their national agendas (YaleGlobal, 2005).

He goes on to state that the number of international organizations and the expansion of their functions have undeniably restricted an individual countries to certain extent. The most typical example is the increasing and extensive involvement of the world's three leading financial institutions the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) in domestic economic affairs of their members. In an expansive form, the development and massive growth of transnational corporations was brought to focus. Pang thus, states that the 600,000-plus

transnational corporations, which developed rapidly in the latter half of the last century, are now sharing or "encroaching upon" individual country's "sovereignty" in the economic domain (YaleGlobal, 2005). The above scenario is self explanatory in that it x-rays the foundational influence of global erosion of state sovereignty which stems from substructure of economic import.

However, while stressing the possibility of a nation's economic sovereignty being enfeebled in the course of economic globalization, many of these scholars have obviously forgotten that individual nations also have the ability to produce and mould international framework, rules, systems and orders, the ability that has been called a "structural power". This is in tandem with the belief of the late British international economist Susan Strange who stated that this kind of power is embodied in the four basic international structures which are the security, knowledge, production and financial, as well as in some sub-structure such as trade (Streeten, 1999).

On a similar note, Dixon (June 15, 2011) states that globalization has pulled and tugged at the local, social and economical moral fabrics of a nation-state which in turn causes unrest, financial meltdown, poverty, hunger, dissension and interstate war between ethnic, tribal and current structure of the nation-state to effectively harness its destructive elements. Likewise, Jessop (2003), Jayasuriya (1999:428) contend that changes in the nature of the relationship between domestic and international policy and law require a move beyond the conventional notion of the sovereignty of the nation-state. In other words, what needs to change, however, is the conventional view that a sovereign state has exclusive jurisdiction over its territory. In a globalizing world, sovereignty no longer originates from a single power source. It is on that note that the notion of sovereignty within the context of globalization regulation has a very different character which Jayasuriya calls "complex sovereignty".

To Bordino (2008), transnational mobility and hybridization of peoples and their identities and the erosion of sovereignty are three phenomena (territory, people and sovereignty) we are immersed in, which affect us personally and continuously and which, therefore, we have to be aware of and interpret. He furthers notes that the various manifestations of sovereign erosion include;

I.   The increasing functional autonomy of civil society – economic actors, intermediate social bodies, associations and so on...but professional association, representative of the so-called third sector, NGO etc. are more and more capable of negotiating with the state their role and normative domain, and give themselves potentially global horizon. They ignore frontiers and jump over them, create transnational networks link together between the 'local' and "global" much more than what state government can do. This could be likened to what prevailed in Libya where NATO systematically manipulated their political and international system and eroded the sovereignty of Libya.

II.   State sovereignty is changed and eroded by the growth of local and regional powers, which claim, negotiate and often conquer in the field of their own autonomy;

III. Sovereignty is eroded from above, both by the increasing number of international treaties and networks, which forces the state to explicitly recognise powers above themselves (as in the case of the states which are members of the EU, or of those that have ratified the international court).

According to him quoting Sabino Cassese in his book 'Beyond the State', there are today estimates of more than 2,000 international organizations against 123; we had in 1951 and more than 100 international courts of various nature and functions, as many quasi-jurisdictional bodies, a very large and growing number of universal norms addressed to both national administrations and individuals.

Thus, in articulating the problems of sovereignty of the nations-state in the era of globalization, Adeniyi (2005), states that states have lost a number of their attributes and are no longer particularly efficient. Although states are still the

primary actors in the international relations, they have lost some of their sovereign boundaries, functions and power. International institutions now usurp the right to appraise and restrict what states do on their own territories. He goes on to conclude that despite this, in the near future the state is to remain the dominant political form in international relations. It still maintains an army, conducts diplomacy, negotiates agreements, wages war, and supervises international organization and influences production and trade.

The position of the above stated arguments states that sovereign despite the various phases it has taken still retain its original context and content which is its supremacy above any order but the worrying situation is that its location is a function of era. Again, the developed states have through the instrumentality of international organization cast shadow over the developing states. The implication is that what happened in Libya was diplomatically crafted to avoid a repeat of Afghanistan and Iraqi situation but in actual sense, going by the position of various authorities consulted in this work, the obvious remains that there was a violation of state sovereignty which no one within the international community can question owing to the powers that were involved in the incursion. The U.S./NATO involvement in Libya violates the principles of international organizational purview, the sovereignty of the state of Libya and international law. The reason remains that NATO lacked the 'locus standi' as an organization to involve itself as a body in Libyan crisis. The manner and velocity of the attack and the wanton destruction of lives and properties in Libya leave analyst to ponder on the rationale behind the attack. To that end, we shall be looking at the extent of the involvement of the U.S./NATO in Libyan crisis which will aid in providing us a fertile ground to examine the rationale behind the involvement, call it intervention or incursion.

2.4   Motivation for NATOs Military Operation in Libya

For there to be a proper understanding of the dynamics of Libyan crisis, it will be imperative to have a comprehensive and detailed involvement of the western states so far. To that extent, it will be germane for us to articulate the various levels and extents of western involvement in Libyan crisis with some the reasons for their biased stance stated.   In other words, the current imperial warmongers leading the attack on Libya was not engaged in anything remotely resembling a humanitarian mission: they destroyed the fundamental basis of the civilian lives they claimed to be saving. The Western attack on Libya was motivated mainly by Arab spring involving the Egyptian and Tunisian revolutions taking those countries out of Washington's control. This created the need for a military base from which to contain those revolutions, which Libya was perfect for, since it borders both of two countries (Fahim, 2011).

Gaddafi ruled Libya as a dictator for 42 years, after he overthrew the U.S. puppet government of King Idris in 1969. It was observed that Washington under Idris was able to set up its biggest military air base in the Middle East in Libya. As a result of that Gaddafi closed the base and nationalized Libyan oil resources, ensured that his subjects benefited from the wealth the oil generated (Gates, 2010 and Jamoul, 2011). He redistributed this wealth widely, implemented progressive social welfare and employment policies that gave Libya the highest per capita income in Africa. He ended widespread illiteracy, made higher education free, created jobs and housing, and provided food subsidies. Under Gaddafi, Libya became the highest ranked among African countries in the United Nations Human Development Index, which assessed living conditions, life expectancy, and education (Abdelkrim et al., 2015).

However, since 2003, these social gains have been eroded as Gaddafi moved closer to the U.S., Britain, France, and Italy. Prior to that, Washington

considered Gaddafi an enemy and had labelled him a terrorist. They blamed him for the bombing of a disco in Berlin. U.S. bombed Gaddafi's residence in April 1986, killing Hanna, his adopted step daughter, and 100 other people, most of them civilians (Aljazeera, 2011 and Korotayev, 2011). In response to Gaddafi's adamant nature to the western states, the U.S. and the U.N. imposed economic sanctions on Libya. In exchange for removal of these sanctions and normalized relations with the West, Gaddafi shut down Libya's nuclear weapons program, joined the U.S. "War on Terror," opened up Libya's oil sector to foreign investment, implemented regressive neoliberal reforms, and paid compensation for the bombing of a Pan Am airliner over Lockerbie, Scotland (Kartas, 2013).

Against the backdrop, western companies thereupon rushed and invested in the Libyan oil sector on a huge scale, including companies from the U.S. such as Exxon Mobil, Occidental Petroleum, and Halliburton; but the biggest investor was British Petroleum, and also prominent were Italy's Eni Gas, Royal Dutch Shell (Britain and Holland), and Total (France). The Bush administration enjoyed good relations with Gaddafi, as did Tony Blair, Britain's former Prime Minister, Silvio Berlusconi, the Italian Prime Minister, and Nicolas Sarkozy, the French President. This shows the extent the western and United States of America can go ones they are determine to exploit and explore other country's resources (Chossudovsky, 2011 and woods, 2011).

According to The Guardian (2012), United Kingdom, Italy, Germany and France were Libya's leading arms suppliers in 2009, providing Gaddafi's armed forces with military planes, guns, ammunition, tear gas, and chemical weapons. Gaddafi's relations with Sarkozy were so close that the Libyan leader's son, Saif al-Islam, announced on March 16 that Libya had financed Sarkozy's 2007 election campaign and now wanted the money back. To further please the West, Gaddafi implemented neoliberal economic reforms, including launching a major

privatization program (The Guardian, 2012). In September 2003, the United Nations lifted all economic sanctions against Libya, in exchange for an economic package which included plans to privatize 360 state enterprises, and in 2006 Libya even requested entry to the World Trade Organization.

The neoliberal reforms also included cutting social programs and subsidies for the poor, which have increased poverty and inequality in Libya. Partly due to these regressive reforms, Libya's unemployment rate rose to 20% while the prices of rice, flour, and sugar have soared by 85% since 2008. At the same time, Libya's oil wealth was being given to foreign corporations. Gaddafi was thus moving away from the progressive aspects of his rule and towards becoming a client of the Western countries (Bramwich, 2011 and UNSMIL, 2014). There was one crucial concession; however, that he was not willing to grant the West and that was making Libya a military base for the U.S., as Iraq, Bahrain, and Qatar had become. Since a military base in Libya was considered vital by Washington once the Egyptian and Tunisian revolutions succeeded, Gaddafi therefore had to be removed, despite his extensive catering to the West since 2003 (Bromwich, 2011).

As another pro-Western dictator, Saddam Hussein, had earlier discovered, to maintain close relations with the West a local leader must comply with and support important Western objectives. Otherwise such an uncooperative leader can become a target for regime change. Unlike the largely peaceful revolutions in Egypt and Tunisia, the revolt against Gaddafi started as an armed uprising. Its disorganized participants were a mixture of Islamic fundamentalists, monarchists who supported King Idris centred in the city of Benghazi, tribal groups (Libya has about 140 tribes and clans), disaffected military officers, and neoliberal privatizers (ones even more ardent than Gaddafi himself). A few CIA agents were undoubtedly also involved in the insurrection. The rebels do not offer a progressive alternative to Gaddafi and would probably be even more

subservient to Western demands than he has been and centres more on turning Libya into a U.S. military base (Jamoul, 2011).

Again, in a bid to ensure an overthrow of Gaddafi's government, the rebels' calls for Western military intervention discredited them, for lack of public support from their fellow citizens. The rebels' links to the CIA and U.S. involvement in the Libyan "uprising" have also been noted by many including mainstream news sources. Pointing out the obvious on the extent of America's involvement, Bromwich (2011) noted that

> Discussing a March 30 New York Times article by reporters Mark Mazzetti and Eric Schmitt, Professor David Bromwich of Yale University pointed out on The Huffington Post website the next day that one thing is clear, thanks to Mazzetti and Schmitt [who state that] 'Several weeks ago, President Obama signed a secret finding authorizing the CIA to provide arms and other support to Libyan rebels.' "The timing is interesting,"

Bromwich (2011) commented that the order was signed just about the moment that President Obama was lauding the triumph of nonviolence in Egypt. The upshot is this: An event that we Americans were led to believe was an autonomous rising on the model of Egypt turns out to have been deeply compromised from the start, and compromised by American meddling.

Bromwich adds that "The meaning of the Times report can be fully grasped based on Chris Adams article." Adams's article presents the career of Khalifa Hifter, the former chief military officer of Gaddafi's army, who has been appointed to lead the rebel Libyan army now based in Benghazi. According to Adams, after leading Gaddafi's war against Chad in the late 1980s, General Hifter retired to Virginia, where he has lived for the last 20 years in the small town of Vienna, five minutes from CIA headquarters in Langley. So this close associate of Gaddafi's, whom U.S. officials regarded as a terrorist until eight years ago, was allowed into the U.S. two decades ago and, as Bromwich puts it, "his safe return to Libya was facilitated at a remarkably opportune moment."

Bromwich concludes from this that "It seems then that a long train of earlier commitments in Libya was set in motion as soon as the Egyptian uprising began."

Similarly, Manipulations Africaines, a book published by Le Monde Diplomatique in 2001, traces Hifter's CIA connection back to 1987, stating that he was then a colonel in Gaddafi's army and was captured fighting in Chad against the U.S.-backed government of Hissène Habré. Hifter defected to the Libyan National Salvation Front (LNSF), the main anti-Gaddafi group, which was CIA-backed. He organized his own militia, which stopped functioning once Habré was defeated by Idriss Déby (supported by France) in 1990. The book adds: "The Hifter force, created and financed by the CIA in Chad, vanished into thin air with the help of the CIA shortly after the government was overthrown by Idriss Déby." The book quotes a U.S. Congressional Research Service report dated December 19, 1996, to the effect that "the U.S. government was providing financial and military aid to the LNSF, and that a number of LNSF members were relocated to the United States". The result of such machinations was clear in Libya. A once fairly progressive country with a relatively high standard of living and education was destroyed by a Western coalition that has already laid waste to two other countries where it could not win wars, either (Iraq or Afghanistan). Not only were the purported "rebels" supported by the Western imperialist countries, but they were also amazingly incompetent and have proven themselves incapable of fighting Gaddafi's far more effective army, leading to a stalemate.

Still disunited and disorganized to such an extent that they are not even sure who is commanding them, the rebels have failed to take advantage of the U.S. and NATO bombings of Gaddafi's forces. This latest disastrous failure of Western imperialism should lead to NATO's withdrawal from Libya, but instead Barack Obama, Nicolas Sarkozy, and David Cameron recently

expressed their determination to overthrow Gaddafi, setting the stage for a Western ground invasion of Libya. They hope that the threat of such drastic action will make Gaddafi capitulate. But the Western leaders seem to be as incompetent as their rebel puppets on the ground (Chossudovsky, 2011). They should know that whatever happened in Libya was not going to stop or reverse the revolutions in Egypt and Tunisia. The people of those countries did not have (and did not need) military force to overthrow well-armed Western-backed regimes. These brave people are the real power in the Middle East today, and they have shown that they cannot be cowed by bombs and bullets.

Thus, for a clearer understanding of the various factors that caused the Libyan crisis, it would be germane to pontificate the argument in concrete terms. The essence is to aid provide us with the basic demand of this study. The points will be examined in line with the major ideas of this study. To a large extent, this study will anchor its argument based on the outlined points: the remote and the immediate causes.

Remote challenges / Motivation

This section of the study will critically explore the foundational causes of the protracted quagmire that rocked the Libyan state. The implication is that the crisis in Libya was a revolutionary one which was informed by a cumulative action that defined the style leadership in the state. It has ensured the build up of various grievances that rock the peace of the state which was spelt in the letters and spirits of highhandedness and monumental abuse of leadership ethics. In other words, our arguments concentrated on the following points listed below to aid us in substantiating the demands of this study. They include the following:

- The over throw of King Idris
- Autocratic and recalcitrant leadership style of Muamar Gaddafi

- Protracted cold war between Gaddafi and America/west

The Over Throw of King Idris

The political emergence of President Gaddafi is one of the most absurd when compared with democratic principles that govern our contemporary times. His political voyage in Libya stemmed from a military coup d'état stage against a reigning king (King Idris) whom Gaddafi deposed in 1949 (Famin, 2011). This we have articulated above. It remained a major tonic that was resurrected to fight the war against Gaddafi after so many years he built resistance on Libyan state and economy.

On another note is the autocratic and recalcitrant style of leadership exhibited by President Muammah Gaddafi who has stayed in power for more than four decades. The implication is that he arrogated to himself the power and position of a super power. To that end, he dominated political power for long against some people who has similar interest in leading the nation just as he did.

Again, it will be germane to note that Gaddafi was at a time pro America but the moment he separated himself from the west and America, he was made to face a serious battle of his life to save his position. The various attacks and threats he received from America's former leaders spoke at length on the kind of relationship existing between the two countries.

Immediate Challenges/Motivation

On the whole, the crisis in Libya which drowned the state took its immediate cause on the following grounds. Having seen the wave and magnitude of the crisis, one is not left in doubt on what really prevailed in the Libyan Political space. It is based on the above that we wish to pontificate the formative influence of the crisis as posited below.

- An extension of the Arab spring

- Lack of political space
- The Benghazi saga

The spate of the attack was provoked by the wave from the Arab world otherwise known as Arab Spring which called for a serious revolution. Here, two important points was noted in this brief synopsis. First, the Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council had shaken off their status quo orientation by calling for the removal of Gaddafi. Over time Gaddafi had alienated most potential allies. He had, in effect, given the Arab world a bad image. Arab League action, and other Arab and African decisions, made it politically difficult for various states – including China and Russia but also India and Brazil – to oppose all Council resolutions. Second, Western actions in Libya – which in reality were the pursuit of regime change and not just the blocking of war crimes and crimes against humanity – antagonised China and Russia and contributed to their subsequent policies regarding Syria.

On a similar note, Gaddafi was accused of shrinking the political space of Libya, thereby not giving the citizens equal opportunity to participate in the scheme of things. He held tight to the position of leadership for 42years trying to transforms himself into a life President of Libya. This got to the nerves of many whom he stepped on their toes and prevented them from growing. It was these aggrieved persons that mobilized themselves into a robust group that rebelled against the recalcitrant leadership of Col. Gaddafi. This situation did not go down well with some of the citizens of Libya who believe that their chances of ascending the throne of power. Not only did he shrinked the political space internally, he went as far as many too many international enemies especially those from the western world of which United States of America was in the lead. The combination of internal and external grievance resulted in the high stake conspiracy against his reign, which later saw to the termination of his

ruler-ship in Libya. All these contributed to the make-up of what beheld the strong of man and the people of Libya in 2011.

Finally, the Benghazi saga was what sealed everything as it signalled a refocus in attacking Gaddafi. In Libya, a rebellion against Gaddafi's 42 years of erratic and repressive rule led to prolonged instability. When Gaddafi threatened to exterminate his opponents, Western and Arab states introduced resolutions in the Security Council, ostensibly to protect civilians from attacks, but in reality intended to encourage the rebellion and hamper its repression. The rhetoric of R2P was much employed. A no-fly zone was finally approved in March by a vote of 10 in favour with 5 abstaining – the zone was implemented primarily by Western military forces. Fourteen NATO states plus four Arab partners took part in military operations (whereas another 14 NATO states declined to directly engage in force). When the Council authorises states to use all necessary means to implement a resolution, these general words do not implement themselves (Aljazeera, 2011 and Kartas, 2013). As events played out, it was clear that those Western states such as Britain and France, strongly supported by the United States, sought regime change and thus the removal of Gaddafi and the triumph of rebel forces.

The Benghazi saga sparked of the crisis as it attracted both internal and external influences. Just as we argued abinitio with some claims that western power which include America, Britain and France played a major role in ensuring the possibility of the crisis.

2.4:2 NATO and US National Interest in Libya

There is a symbiotic relation between NATO and US. According to Chossudovsky (2005), U.S. uses NATO to advance their foreign policy objective and national interest… The end of cold war does not mean an end to government subsidies for U.S. weapon export. Taxpayers-backed grants, loans,

and promotional activities on behalf of major arms trading corporations have actually increased during the Clinton's Administration, to more than $7.8 billion per year. These lavish outlays have been justified on strategic grounds, such as the need to foster military cooperation with potential allies, and for their alleged economic benefits, such as improving the balance of trade, creating jobs, and keeping arms production lines up and running (Hartung, 1998).

Unfortunately, far from reducing corporate welfare for weapons dealers, Clinton's Administration policy has been to increase it. And if the plan to expand NATO to include Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic is ratified by the senate this spring, the subsidies are likely to grow even more rapidly. Hartung went on to posit how America spent billions of dollar on NATO sustenance which explained its dominance over other members of NATO due to American's big budget on issues like; Pentagon grants, Pentagon loan programs, Pentagon leases of US Military Equipment, Military and Arms and Economic support fund etc.

In support of the above position, according to Chossudovsky (2005:7) under the new World Order, military planners in the state Department, Pentagon and the CIA call the shot on foreign policy. They are not only in liaison with NATO, they also maintain contact with NATO and they also maintain contacts with officials in the IMF, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO). In turn, the Washington-based international financial bureaucracy, responsible for imposing deadly "economic medicine" in the Third World and most of the countries of the former Soviet bloc, maintains a close working relationship with the Wall Street financial establishment. The power behind this system are those of the global banks and financial institutions, the military-industrial complex, the oil and energy giants, the biotech and pharmaceutical conglomerates and the powerful media and communications giants, which fabricate the news and overly influence the course of world events by blatantly distorting the facts.

With this, the position of America is no doubt one that is in charge of most NATO's involvement. Their heavy global involvement in United Nations and NATO places them on a vantage side when it comes to global execution of projects.

On a similar note, other than the anti-terrorism motive, commentators have raised the issue of oil. Oil industry analysts predict that by the year 2015, the United States will be getting 25 percent of its imported oil from African sources. The biggest oil producers in Africa are Libya, with 47 billion barrels in proved reserves (and maybe lots more yet undiscovered), Nigeria (37.5 billion barrels), Angola (13.5 billion barrels), Algeria (13.4 billion barrels) and the Sudan (6.8 billion barrels). Smaller African countries, including Gabon and Equatorial Guinea, have large-scale oil production proportional to their size (Juhasz in Schepers, 2011). Writing in 2008, Juhasz in Schepers (2011) posits an oil politics motive for the creation of AFRICOM. "The concern is that, as it has in Iraq, a larger US military presence in Africa will strain the overburdened military while increasing internal hostilities, regional instability and anger at the United States," he said, adding, "The ultimate objective of the two efforts is the same: securing big oil's access to the region's oil." In support of the above view, it will be germane to note that the involvement of U.S. in the Libyan leadership crisis is practically a demonstration of the advancement of American national interest. This explains why there is a consistent determination to oust Gaddafi out of office by any means (Cooper, 2011 and Burnett, 2011). This has result in the violation of the sovereignty of many states within the globe.

Thus, the various violation of state sovereignty remains primus in this study, as it tends to comprehend the wanton violation of state sovereignty as is obtainable in our contemporary societies. To that extent, this will take us far into understanding what sovereignty of states portend and its locations and

limitations stated. This will aid provide a viable ground for a holistic articulation of the argument of this study.

2.5 NATO's Intervention and state sovereignty /Military Operation in Libya

This section of the study will examine various shades of opinions as argued by different scholars on NATO's mission in Libya. It will articulate different positions of authorities within the international community on NATO's mission in Libya of which many argued in favour and others against the mission. In other words the position of this research work is conceived to critically address the right of NATO as a body to involve themselves in Libyan crisis knowing that Libya is/was not a member of NATO, instead United Nation where the resolution (1973) proceeded from. It will critically assess the various positions of arguments as posited by author of varying views and backgrounds.

According to those who are positive about the involvement of NATO in Libyan Leadership crisis, they claim that the mission of North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Libya was on humanitarian grounds maintaining that the regime of Gaddafi was long overdue. It was claimed that NATO's involvement in Libya was consequent on the resolution 1973 by United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in other to save the inhabitants of Benghazi from been bathed in blood by the regime of Gaddafi who promised to wipe the area for working against his government (Barry, 2011). It was in tandem with this that Obama ostensibly decided that protection of Libyan civilians was in America's "national interest". But it is not obvious whether that, in true form, represented the position of Americans national interest which got a repeated boast from the President of America (Burnett, 2011). In the same vein, while responding to the congress position in Libya. "I think Libya is in our interest". "We cannot engage everywhere, but I think it is in our interest there" (Douglas, 2011). This position is one put up by a member of the United States Congress who believes

that what Obama did in Libya concurs with American's national interest. So many other reasons in support of the move was posited to defend the involvement of NATO in Libyan crisis which include; the incident of Misurata – the city that had earlier made good on its vow to "purge Black skin" through the massacre and dispersal of 30,000 darker resident of near Tawurgha (Ford, 2011).

Again, that UN Security Council approves a no fly zone over Libya and calls for any necessary means to protect innocent civilians from being slaughtered (Gharib and Clifton, 2011). This position of argument was made valid to the extent that the regime of Gaddafi was known for notoriety, highhandedness and abuse of human rights which became his greatest undoing.

According to Obama while addressing 18 lawmakers in Whitehouse states that "Muammar Gaddafi has a choice. The UN resolution that was passed lays out very clear conditions that must be met. The United States, the United Kingdom, France and Arab States agree that a ceasefire must be implemented immediately. That means all attacks against civilian must stop...Humanitarian assistance must be allowed to reach the people of Libya. To him, these terms are not subject to negotiation (Tapper, 2011). He also reiterated that the potential conflict was international in form, saying that any action in Libya would be led by Europe and Arab forces and that no ground troops will be deployed...we are not going to use force to go beyond a well-defined goal, specifically the protection of civilian in Libya. The initial position of Obama was conceived not knowing the dimension the war will finally toe. In his usual manner, Cooper (2011: 3) posits the claim of Obama who defended the American-led military assault in Libya on Monday, saying it was in the national interest of the United States to stop a potential massacre that would have "stained the conscience of the world". It was in defence of his administration against these complaints that he set the warfare in motion without properly consulting with the Congress. He

repeatedly states that he was willing to act unilaterally to defend the nation and its core interest. He left little doubt that his decision to send the US military into action in Libya was the product of a confluence of particular circumstance and opportunities.

In the words of Ellison (2011), Obama's claim was like a rescue mission which was geared towards protecting protesters 'the house by house' threat in Benghazi, that Gaddafi would have killed the rebels and sought revenge against those who dared to question his rule. He further argues that 'a Gaddafi victory would have been tragic for the people of Libya, and it would have dimmed hope for greater freedom in the Middle East. The UN Security Council recommended the International Criminal Court (ICC) to issue an arrest warrant for Gaddafi and key members of his regime (Gharib & Clifton, 2011: 2).

On a different note, no sooner had the popular revolutions in Egypt and Tunisia overthrown corrupt and repressive U.S.-backed dictatorships than Washington and NATO (led by a Canadian general) attacked Libya on March 19 with jet fighters and hundreds of missiles and bombs. The reason given by this coalition of the U.S., Britain, France, Italy and Canada (among others) for the attack was that they were protecting civilians from Libya's leader, Muammar Gaddafi. Considering that the U.S. has killed two million civilians in Iraq, 70,000 in Afghanistan, and about 2,000 in Pakistan, it strains credulity to believe that this was the real reason for its intervention in Libya (Asad, 2011:20). In fact, if we look at the imperial records of the U.S., Britain, France, and Spain (another NATO member) and count the number of civilians they have slaughtered in the last 500 years (and continuing), we can conclude that these countries are the biggest killers of civilians in human history (Asad, 2011). The West's bombing of Libya has already led to the deaths of hundreds of civilians and destroyed crucial civilian infrastructure such as airports, roads, seaports, and

communication centres, along with military targets. The bombings have also caused economic disaster by displacing hundreds of thousands of foreign workers from Asia, Eastern Europe, and Sub-Saharan Africa (in an economy dependent on migrant labour) who are desperately scrambling to return home (Asad, 2011:20).

This questions the involvement of United States in Libya and the subsequent hand over to NATO to carry out the mission of Gaddafi removal against the UNSC resolution 1973 that calls for humanitarian mission. The position of Bull (1964) captures the administrative condition of Gaddafi, which many like while some do not. Despite whatever they claim was their reason for the involvement, it later became obvious that US and NATO want Gaddafi out dead or alive (The Middle East, 2011:12-15). Thus, Popock (2011) and Ellison (2011) rightly observe that NATO was determined that Gaddafi must go, no negotiation. The implication is that US and NATO on their own opted to embark on a mission in line with their own agenda. If not, what could explain the determination to use NATO against UNSC to salvage Libyans form the cold hand of Gaddafi, knowing full well that all are members of UN and can execute same under the umbrella of United Nations? What can explain the spate of bombing in Libya in pursuit of Gaddafi through the use of air craft and the spending billions of dollars and what makes the mission "a mission of the willing"? (Divyer, 2011:1-3). This phrase portends that lots of NATO members never supported the move and thus, only fifteen out of forty-four, Canada embarked on the mission with some Arab countries (three Arab nations) who in one way or the other have interest in Libya (Barry, 2011). He goes on to say that the scale of the unpublicised US role affirms hawks' argument: a divided NATO simply could not have waged the war it did without extensive American help. This explains the extent America was involved in the war which did not attract too many publicity so that the world would not have a deep knowledge of the extent

of destruction that was meted on the Libyan state. All was in a bid to affect regime change which they have stepped out to execute. This affirms the rationale behind the use of rebels to rescue the people of Libya. This may mean that the rebels have external support. That was why they had the courage to challenge a sitting government.

Also, the velocity with which the Resolution was passed raises another pointer to the attack which one cannot easily assume to have commenced by happenstance. On a similar note, the extent of American involvement in the crisis leaves nothing but, raises too many questions on what happens to be their interest in the region. The simple reason remains that Libya is not the only state that has in recent times received UN sanction that needs to be addressed with all seriousness it deserves. Israel could be said to be one of such states that refused to comply with the international law by refusing to vacate a portion of land as vetoed by the Security Council resolution to force Israel to comply (Kamal, 2011). Kamal goes further to present the position of ICJ as having made itself clear on Israel's obligation to international law, a stance similarly taken in Resolution 1973. Perhaps, the most famous of the court's proclamation is in its 2004 advisory opinion on the legality of Israel's West Bank Wall where the court stated: "Israel is bound to comply with its obligation to respect the right of the Palestine people to self-determination and its obligation under international humanitarian law and international human rights. Instead Obama chose to be emphasising America's Responsibility to Protect ("R2P") as being contingent upon her national interest. He subsequently discussed the importance of democracy in the Middle East. This appears to show that President Obama was asserting that democracy abroad is of national interest to the U.S., both in terms of ideology and security. This assertion works for now, to tie the loose ends with its allegiance to Israel, possibly because Israel happens to be the only democracy in the Middle East. Kamal thus, reiterate that President Obama has

not been so keen in respecting other federal and constitutional laws which includes that of Libya.

Arguably, American intervention in the recent NATO incursion in Libya was all but prohibited by the war Power Resolution 1973 and constitutional provisions restricting the executive power of the President. One wonders America's core interest in Libya and the Middle East, if not, how can we explain the visit of McCain to Libya – Benghazi assuring them of western powers doing more to facilitate the delivery of weapons and training for the rebels? (CNN Wire Staff, 2011). Though he spoke against US troops on the ground which was against the UN resolution where Obama failed to keep to his promise that he would not have American's troops on ground in Libya (Robinson, 2011). McCain in CNN Wire staff (2011) echoes in a bizarre tone when he opines that the United Nations has sanctioned military actions only to protect civilians and condemned the extent of its abuse. Both America and European leaders however have repeatedly stated that their political goal is the ouster of Gaddafi. He goes on question "what would Gaddafi's departure mean? To McCain, it means one of three things...he joins Chavez in Venezuela (exile) or he goes to International Criminal Court (faces judgement), which is my preference or he joins Hitler and Stalin (dies). If this statement from McCain should be subject to any form of evaluation such remains a disaster and potential threat to the sovereignty of weaker states.

Economically, it can find clear explanation in heavy resource deposits in Libya which Nwachukwu (2012:134) maintains that productive activities in the peripheral states were fundamentally directed to the satisfaction of the resource needs of the centre. Given the above, it is clearly seen that the industrialised North tries to extend capitalism to the south through liberal democracy in a manner that will generate local conditions and stifle the expansion of capitalism.

Such manner of incorporation has thrown up complex and multiple distortions in the economy of developing states which weakens their economic sovereignty. In a holistic form, what this section seeks to present is the internal dynamics of democracy which America and the west want to establish in Libya and the danger it portends where it is not well managed. Asked if any political settlement Libyan might arrive at, with Mr Gaddafi involved, would be a success from US perspective? The President said that Libyan leader "needs to go". The implication is that America whether in front or behind provided the lead and formula for the exit of Libyan Leader, Muammar Gaddafi. It is on that note that the argument against U.S. and NATO's involvement in Libya strongly affirms that such was an incursion and extreme violation on the sovereignty of Libya (AU Document and Report, 2012). Having gone through the import and purport of the concepts Sovereignty and International Organization, the several authors reviewed in this study provided a parameter on when a state's sovereignty is said to be breeched, even in the era of globalisation where there are claims that its essence has been eroded.

The United States employed diplomacy, working with its allies at the United Nations to pass UN Resolution 1973, which provided international consensus...instead of bearing the cost of the conflict, the U.S. smartly assumed an early leadership role and then transferred responsibilities to NATO (Ellison, 2011). He further stated the position of UN Resolution 1973 which prohibited the use of ground forces to mission creep...U.S. and NATO will continue to play a supportive role, but it is up to Libyans to build their future. Even at that, one begins to wonder the vagueness of UN Resolution to the extent that U.S. and NATO involvement and the determination to oust Gaddafi out of office became primal without UN checking their excesses. This becomes a very deep and critical situation that worries international scholars on the extent of destruction unleashed on Libya by NATO. What could explain the spate of bombing by

NATO in Libya which killed most of the civilians it claimed to be protecting? This finds expression in the view of Ford (2011) when he opines that

> nearly eight months of incessant bombing by the air forces of nations that account for 70% (percent) of the world's weapons spending, all culminating in the gang-bang slaughter of Muammar Gaddafi, his son Mustassin and his Chief of Staff, outside Sirte. The NATO – armed bands then displayed the battered corpses for days in Misurata (Ford, August 30, 2011:2).

Meanwhile, the oft-repeated U.S. demand that Gaddafi must leave power and leave Libya has left the Obama administration with little wiggle room for a creative diplomatic solution. American officials met with Gaddafi representatives earlier, but insisted that they did not hold a negotiation session, instead, official to see Libya's leader end his rule. This meeting apparently produced no concrete results and officials said they had no plans to meet with regime officials again (Ponomarev, 2011).

Obama suggested that U.S./NATO involvement in Libya was so limited that the congress's authority was not needed. He notified congress later in March 21 that he had ordered military action against Libya as part of a multinational coalition, which in essence, contradicted the 60-days War-Power Act deadline. In a similar note, Rand Paul, a first time Republican Senator and a favourite of the Conservative Tea Party moved to reaffirm the constitutional authority of the congress to declare war. He quoted Senator Obama's words in 2002, when he told the Boston Globe that "the president does not have power under the constitution to unilaterally authorize a military attack in a situation that does not involve stopping an actual or imminent threat to the U.S. nation. Obama who ruled out putting U.S. troops on the ground in Libya with promise to keep to UNSC resolution ended up doing so, saying it was inevitable that Gaddafi would have to leave power (Bull, 2011).

In April 22, Grand Old Party (GOP) presidential candidate Mitt Rommey criticised Obama for "mission creep and mission muddle" in Libya for

extending the NATO humanitarian mission in support for Libyan rebel aim of ousting Gaddafi , also echoed by John Bolton (a Senator in U.S.) that the move would incur a "massive strategic failure". (Gharib and Clifton, 2011). In the same vein, Sarah Palin also criticised Obama through her Facebook wall post. In her words "simply put, what are we doing there? You have put us in a no man's land". The implication of the above state argument is that the whole exercise in Libya became faulty right from its conception to the extent that both tax payers and congress members in America were extremely against the involvement which they argued was not in their national interest. It reminds us on the position of Obama when he criticised the use of the military by his predecessor as we stated earlier in this section of our review, which he conceived as illegality.

The UN Security Council recommended the International Criminal Court (ICC) to issue an arrest warrant for Gaddafi and key members of his regime (Gharib and Clifton, 2011). This sounds more or less like an international conspiracy. The same group of nations that sponsored the involvement of NATO through a resolution recommended another strategy to deal with a sovereign head on whose territory bombs were rained. That concurred with the views of Obama in his visit to Brazil when the war started, saying "…make no mistake," the president said, "today we are part of a broad coalition. We are answering the calls of a threatened people. And we are acting in the interest of the United States and the world (Horsley, 2011). What Obama fails to let U.S. know is this; under which platform are they answering, the call to save and what becomes American's interest in Libya that made them spend so much billions of dollars.

Bamba in Horsley (2011) rightly observes that "at one point, the government of America supported Saddam Hussein, Shah of Iran, Noriega...the list of U.S. backed despots goes on forever. When they serve our agenda (oil usually involved) they are ignored and funded by U.S., when they go astray from our

agenda, then they are publicly labelled tyrants, communists, etc and dealt with accordingly (Horsley, 2011). He further opines that "a two party system is one and the same serving only the wealthy, is comparable to Russia. Substitute the word 'organised crime' with the word 'corporation' and you have USA government comparable to the Russian government. Organised crime is to Russian government what corporations are to the American government. The media in both countries are also controlled by the government and both countries' peoples are propagandised (Horsley, 2011). What he is saying is that U.S. and Russia share similar behaviour and response to issues. It goes to show the extent the strong powers of the world can go in making the developing states to be subordinate to their dictates, in order to maintain their dominance in the world politics and promote economic advancement.

Provoked by the extent of power abuse as exhibited by U.S. who happens to be the backbone of NATO in the mission, Horsley critically stated that the President of the United States (POTUS) is authorised to commit military forces only under three conditions which include;

- Declaration of war from congress
- Statutory authority from congress
- A national emergency created by attack upon the limited states, its territories or possessions, or its armed forces.

The noticeable absent as legal authorities include;

- United Nations Resolution
- Arab League Statements
- NATO Decisions
- Help desk tickets submitted by Libyans fighting Libyans (Horsley, 2011).

The implication is that the POTUS remarkably embarked on an illegal mission and embarked on wrong application of military in pursuit of an interest that has no clear definition. This he often reiterate in his several utterances and addresses given across the globe to garner global support against the woeful outing they embarked on in Afghanistan and Iraq which generate unending

global catechism and tension unresolved. It is in this situation that there was a call for American soldiers to be withdrawn in 15days with Turner a Congress man expressing strong disapproval of the U.S. role in Libya. Rooney accuses Obama of violating the 1973 War Power Resolution and would require U.S. withdrawal unless congress authorises the action (Douglas, 2011). Speaking on the 1973 War Power Resolution, Turner says that "usually when you undertake a military action you know who you are against but we also usually know who we are for; we do not know the (Libyan) rebels, we do not know what they are for, we do not know what Libya will look like in post-Gaddafi era (Douglas, 2011).

To a large extent, the U.S./NATO intervention has been debated on four separate ground: some say NATO did not have the legal authority to launch the attack; others grumble that (NATO) involvement does not have clear timeline; many worry that the global political implication are murky; and at best...the most troublesome aspect of the action is its uncertain price tag. From the assertion, one can easily deduce that the mission in Libya does not in true sense reflect humanitarianism but rather conceived in ulterior motive. By extension, it signifies a mission design in a covert exploit of a resource (oil) monopolised over the years. Thus, the study concurs with the position of Petras in Asad (2011: 21) who says that, "The current imperial warmongers leading the attack on Libya…is not engaged in anything remotely resembling a humanitarian mission: they are destroying the fundamental basis of the civilian lives they claim to be saving." The Western attack on Libya is motivated mainly by the Egyptian and Tunisian revolutions taking those countries out of Washington's control. This created the need for a military base from which to contain those revolutions, which Libya is perfect for, since it borders both of these countries. (Asad, 2011:21).

Asad was right when he recalled what another pro-Western dictator, Saddam Hussein, had earlier discovered, to maintain close relations with the West; a local leader must comply with and support important Western objectives (Asad, 2011). Otherwise such an uncooperative leader can become a target for regime change. Unlike the largely peaceful revolutions in Egypt and Tunisia, the revolt against Gaddafi started as an armed uprising. Its disorganized participants were a mixture of Islamic fundamentalists, monarchists who supported King Idris centred in the city of Benghazi, tribal groups (Libya has about 140 tribes and clans), disaffected military officers, and neo-liberal privatizers (ones even more ardent than Gaddafi himself). A few CIA agents were undoubtedly also involved in the insurrection. The rebels do not offer a progressive alternative to Gaddafi and would probably be even more subservient to Western demands than he has been. They would certainly allow Libya to be turned into a U.S. military base. The rebels' calls for Western military intervention discredits them, as does the almost complete lack of public support from their fellow citizens. The rebels' links to the CIA and U.S. involvement in the Libyan "uprising" have been noted by several commentators, including mainstream news sources. Discussing more on that, Bromwich in Asad (2011:20) recalls Mazzetti and Schmitt comments on *The Huffington Post* website, where he stated that "One thing is clear… several weeks ago, President Obama signed a secret finding authorizing the CIA to provide arms and other support to Libyan rebels". "The timing is interesting". "The order was signed just about the moment that President Obama was lauding the triumph of nonviolence in Egypt… The upshot is this: An event that we Americans were led to believe was an autonomous rising on the model of Egypt turns out to have been deeply compromised from the start, and compromised by American meddling." In presenting a clearer view of the above, Bromwich adds that

> The meaning of the Times report can be fully grasped only if one augments its findings with a March 26 McClatchy story by Chris Adams." Adams's article presents the career of Khalifa Hifter, the former chief military officer of

Gaddafi's army, who has been appointed to lead the rebel Libyan army now based in Benghazi. This close associate of Gaddafi's, whom U.S. officials regarded as a terrorist until eight years ago, was allowed into the U.S. two decades ago and, as Bromwich puts it, "his safe return to Libya was facilitated at a remarkably opportune moment." This shows that in every awkward situation U.S. has a way of employing an old enemy to fight a new one after which such can be dropped. It tells the extent, US/NATO can go when a decision is made within. (Asad, 2011:21).

He further stated how he organized his own militia, which stopped functioning once Habré was defeated by Idriss Déby (supported by France) in 1990. The book adds: "The Hifter force, created and financed by the CIA in Chad, vanished into thin air with the help of the CIA shortly after the government was overthrown by Idriss Déby." The book quotes a U.S. Congressional Research Service report dated December 19, 1996, to the effect that "the U.S. government was providing financial and military aid to the LNSF, and that a number of LNSF members were relocated to the United States." (Asad, 2011: 20). The result of such machinations is clear in Libya today. A once fairly progressive country with a relatively high standard of living and education is being destroyed by a Western coalition that has already laid waste to two other countries where it could not win wars, either (Iraq or Afghanistan). Unlike the largely peaceful revolutions in Egypt and Tunisia, the revolt against Gaddafi started as an armed uprising by a disorganized mixture of Islamic fundamentalists, monarchists, and disaffected military officers.

The implication remained that Libya has been a target nation and that showed in the manner and speed the attack was done and the insistence that Gaddafi must go. If not, what could explain the large influx of foreign investors proceeding from those countries that called for the head of Gaddafi? Thus, according to Danvish (2011:16) posits,

As Libya's National Transition Council continues its work to expand basic services and stability to its people, foreign investors are lining up, once again, to participate in the country's economic recovery. International oil companies,

including BP, Shell, ConocoPhillips of the US, Italy's ENI and Total of France are in the forefront, followed by the likes of HSBC, Barclays, Standard Chartered and BNP Paribas; Pharmaceuticals giant GlaxoSmithKline and a host of Arab companies from Qatar, the UAE, Jordan, Egypt and Tunisia.

The implication is that the involvement leaves nothing but a continuous probe on the extent and manner the invasion was conducted. Thus in situations like this, as activists and Libyan rebels alike celebrate the indictment of Gaddafi *et al.* for the murder and persecution of civilians during the Libyan civil war, let history record that NATO's bombing of Libya was illegal and that lots of people also died in the attack.

It will also be important to note that under international law, the recognition of, or the lending of support to, a rebel force in one country by another, per se, is not unlawful. It would simply amount to an act of war. NATO member states could therefore openly give support to the Libyan rebels as an act of war against Libya. What is wrong is for NATO to wage a proxy war in Libya under the cover of a UN Security Council sanctioned humanitarian mission. NATO should not be allowed to try and legitimise its ill-fated regime change agenda under the guise of a humanitarian mission (Griffiths and Chekera, 2011:20). This situation painted the role of NATO in Libya in bad manner and also United Nations failure to monitor them in the rescue mission an albatross. To that extent, NATO's military support to the Libyan rebels as well as its sustained bombardment of Libya under the cover of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSC) 1973, ostensibly to protect the Libyan people from Gaddafi's wrath, is illegally and morally criminal in that NATO is yet again applying double standards and violating international law. As it condemns the excesses by the Libyan government, NATO is being complicit in the crimes also reportedly being committed by the favoured rebels. Meanwhile NATO is also trying to legitimize regime change in international law. Such conduct by the self-anointed purveyor of salvation and hope is most disturbing and deserves

condemnation in the strongest terms (Griffiths and Chekera, 2011:20). He further argues that concerning the regime change agenda, it is appalling that NATO is deliberately overstretching the ambit of UNSC Resolution 1973 in order to oust Gaddafi from power. Best described as a political gambit against the embattled Libyan leader, UNSC Resolution 1973 in part incorporated the international humanitarian law norm - *the responsibility to protect* — the emerging principle that where necessary and as a last resort, the international community could legitimately use force against another country in order to avoid gross human rights violations. The relevant part of the resolution authorised all UN member states to "take all necessary measures ...to protect civilians and civilian populated areas under threat of attack in the Libyan Arab famahiriya..."

NATO's publicly professed bid to remove Gaddafi from power through sophisticated sorties, and overt and covert military support to the Benghazi headquartered rebels is, therefore, clearly outside the letter and spirit of UNSC Resolution 1973. Rather, it is an act of aggression and an abuse of a humanitarian mission. NATO's conduct not only offends *the responsibility to protect*; it is also a blatant violation of the omnipotent principle of sovereignty and non-interference in domestic affairs, which underlines international relations as the bedrock of the UN Charter. The point must be made that under international law, the recognition of, or the lending of support to, a rebel force in one country by another, is not unlawful. That would simply amount to an act of war. (Griffiths and Chekera, 2011:21).

In addition to taking a backseat, the United States for the first time became a "caveat nation." This phrase refers to a decision by nations to restrict or "caveat" the missions their forces will execute in a military operation. Such caveats complicated and undercut military missions, and until now, have been

consistently condemned by Washington. By precluding its forces from undertaking strike missions in Libya, President Obama gave unprecedented legitimacy to a practice inimical to effective coalition operations. NATO decisions are made by consensus — that is agreement by every member of the alliance — a process that infers all or most allies with needed capabilities will contribute to the undertaking, as has been the case in NATO operations Afghanistan and the Balkans. Little more than a handful of NATO's 28 members proved willingness to fly strike missions in Libya. Unified Protector has been less of a NATO mission than a mission undertaken by a "coalition of the wiling" through NATO. (Brzezinski, 2011: 19).

Summarily, the study captured what really constitutes an international military organization which it stated involved those regional or social agencies designed to moderate the excesses of states within the international system. It reviewed the various forms of sovereignty ranging from philosophical, political, legal and economic; still the bottom line remained same which lauded state autonomy to a large extent. From the various submissions by different scholars on the involvement of NATO in the Libyan crisis, Western views supported it; others argued that it amounts to abuse of the sovereignty of Libya. This reveals at large, what is happening in the world today in terms of domination which is a strategic extension of what was obtainable in the past. The desire to capture and conquer territories for domination was conceived as an appetite to take advantage of what is bestowed on other territories. Continuously, the situation persists except that it involves a more subtle and diplomatic approach. The western worlds are so desirous of the resources of the weaker and developing states. In line with that, the study reviewed relevant literature on the conditions justifiable enough that will amount to the application of humanitarian intervention which include; just cause, proportionality, right intention, last

resort, probability of success and right authority. The application of UN charter created a worrisome situation due to the abuse associated with its interpretations. The intervention presents clear analogy on these principles guiding external interventions that placed NATO on the debit side. It further explained the continued flagrant abuse of sovereignty of weaker states against the strong states, who want to conquer and dominate the globe through economic ideology (capitalism and liberal democracy). Also, the impacts of the attack on the sovereignty of Libya were never considered while evaluating the involvement of NATO in the Libyan crisis. In other words, the position of this study going by the various reviews conducted showed that NATO involvement in the Libyan crisis does not adhere rationally, equitably and legally to the standard necessary for humanitarian intervention. It is based on the above that our gap is drawn.

2.6 Gap in Knowledge

From the above reviewed literature, the operation in Libya raised lots of questions that deeply impacted on the sovereignty and legal structure of the UN charter, the concerned regional organization and the structure of global collective security. While there is no doubt that great benefits are to be derived from the interaction of the UN and regional organizations, the lack of clarity about the legal basis, absence of policy precision, and trite rules of engagement considerably undermine such collaboration. The UN Resolutions on no fly zone and responsibility to protect (R2P) (1970 and 1973) are justifiable ground for NATO's intervention but the inability to address the position of chapter VIII, Article 52-54 that determines the appropriate bodies for regional action, provided that such arrangement or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations remains a major lacuna. Thus, from all intent and purpose, there is no section of the charter or resolution

backing the intervention of NATO in the Libyan crisis and it is upon this that the gap of the study is established.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Under this heading, the researcher examined the paradigm used in the framing of the study. The application of the paradigm as a basic instrument and framework of analysis was captured and examined. Again, the method of research was articulated to understand the dynamics of the research. The research method captured issues on design, sources of data, method of data collect and analysis. All are well captured to give credence to the research.

3.1   Theoretical Framework

Theories are employed to provide clearer picture on situations that seem hazy and guides researchers' actions in relation to the research objectives. Obasi (1999:43) and Nnabugwu (2005) are of the view that a theoretical framework has to do with describing, analyzing, interpreting and predicting phenomena. It provides a veritable tool for linking the problem under study to the assumptions, postulations and principles in the description and analysis of the research problem. It is a mechanism which integrates facts and generalization into a coherent unit.

Thus, the framework of this study is located within the purview of Realist approach to international relations.

3.1:1 Realist Paradigm

This study made use of paradigm theory of international relations. The proponents include; Hedley Bull, Henry Kissinger, Hans Morgenthau, etc.

The realist assumption is that international system is state centric and structurally anarchic. In the realist view, states (in pursuit of their own interests) are locked in a struggle for survival. Conflict is inevitable because states have differing interests and there is no external sovereign to constrain behaviour or mediate disputes. Morgenthau (1948) and Kissinger (1966) opine that the international society as a whole is caught in the web of absolutely basic conditions of conflict and struggle for power. There is no way to extricate the international society from that situation, because conflict is inevitable, unavoidable and desideratum.

To that end, realists believe that power politics especially imperialistic policies always resort to ideological disguise. Realism believes that actions taken in the quest for power are coated with legalistic, moralistic justification and rationalization. Burton (1942:46), Sponeck and Halliday (2001:34) and Schuman (1969:27) in their contributions to this argue that in a civilised life, power is consequent on the ability to move men in some desired fashion, through persuasion, purchase, barter and coercion.

The pursuit of global order has been the principal rationale for states to agree on international treaties. Key treaties such as the Treaties of Westphalia (1648) and Utrecht (1713) and the Charter of the United Nations (1949) have therefore progressively defined the nature of statehood, sovereignty, and the limits of legitimate state action. These principles regulate the interaction of states in the international system. Where no formal provisions for enforcement have been made, enforcement is normally carried out by reciprocity (the threat of retaliation in kind), collective action (such as UN sanctions), or shaming the guilty party (such as exposing human rights violations). International law and treaties therefore can be seen as the building blocks of global governance. Realists, however, point out that international law is only important when it

serves the interests of powerful states because they cannot be forced to comply by weaker states.

Realist paradigm international law is either a misnomer because there is no sovereign to enforce it, or it is irrelevant because powerful states can ignore it. (Bevir, 2007: 522). It emphasizes the concept of national interest; it is not the Machiavellian doctrine "that anything is justified by reason of state" (Bull, 1995: 189). Analytically, according to Klaus (1966:123), in international politics, power has appeared primarily as the instrument/force to do harm, to interdict the use of force, by the threat of force, to oppose force with force, to annex territory by force, to influence the polices of other states by the threat or application of force. Such use of force has always been present at least as possibilities in the relations of states. The threats to use military force and their occasional commitment to battle have helped the regulation of states. Besides, the preponderance of power in the hands of the major states has set them apart from others. Gauba (2006: 251) in supporting the above argument maintains that in the international sphere, organised groups of nations do exercise their influence on the "authoritative allocation of values". The constant pressure exercised by the "third world" countries on the superpowers to change their economic and foreign policies is a case in point.

In other words, the realists postulate that power is the basis of international relations and that state only act in national interest. On this basis the realists argue against intervention that is only justified for humanitarian purpose. The international system is portrayed as a brutal arena where states look for opportunities to take advantage of each other and therefore states are suspicious of each other. States are in constant struggle for power where each state strives not only to be the most powerful actor in the system but also to ensure that no other state achieves that of position (Mearsheimer 2006:571). Realists recognize

that states sometimes operate through institutions (Mearsheimer 2006:572); however they believe that rules governing humanitarian interaction and doctrine like the responsibility to protect are designed in self interest either to maintain or increase its power. The Realists assumptions denotes therefore that intervention in sovereign state is never entirely humanitarian but in the self interest of the intervening state in an attempt to either maintain or increase their power and sphere of influence.

They see the responsibility to protect as a justification used as a cover for selfish national interest of powerful states in seeking to maintain or increase their power base. They argue that this raises the matter of selectivity and arbitrary application, which affects legitimacy. They further view the UNSCs jurisdiction of where to and not to intervene as a conspiracy by an elite group of Western powers to sit in judgment of their own actions.

Realists argue that any intervention even when coated with humanitarianism directly breaches the UN charter and could lead to abuse. This is based on the realist assumption that all states even an intervening states(s) only pursue its national interest (Guraziu 2008:4). Brownlie argues that humanitarian intervention, on the bases of all available definitions, would be an instrument wide open to abuse a rule allowing humanitarian intervention is a general license to vigilantes and opportunists to resort to hegemonic intervention (Brownlie in Guraziu 2008:4). In the same vein, Bellamy and Wheeler (2005:560) in their essay "Humanitarian Intervention in World Politics" highlight some of the realist views. These are that states always have mixed motives for intervening and are rarely prepared to sacrifice their own soldiers overseas unless they have self interested reasons for doing so. Realists therefore believe that humanitarian intervention cannot be free from the national interest of the intervening state(s). They further argue that States should not shed the

blood of their citizens for foreigner in crisis on moral ground. Bellamy and Wheeler (2005:561) further points out that the national interest that guides states behaviour according to realism without doubt cause selective responses to humanitarian intervention as states will only intervene in crises that they have interest. Also, humanitarian intervention is prone to abuse as intervening states only use it as a means of achieving their national self-interest.

The implication of the above stated argument remains that power exercise within the international arena is purely a political struggle among nations for domination and maintenance of supremacy. It finds its expression within the purview of international politics, which defines the nature of relations nations maintain at international level. This explains the current role of NATO within the international system, considering the spate and flagrant violation and abuse of international rules and law of which they have answers to give at all times. This kind of military prowess demonstrated by United States and NATO in some other countries where their economic interest were limited or refused to flower by the leaders of such states like Afghanistan, Iraq, etc. cannot be quantified. It created a doubt on the import and essence of sovereignty of states in the contemporary era against the abuse and invasion experiences they underwent under the United States of America and NATO.

In sum, these theoretical explanations are believed to have provided the framework upon which the content and context of this research anchored on. Both exposed the level of power struggle within the international community. The interplay of power is very obvious to the extent that a rebel group were supported to overthrow a sitting government in an intervention role that turned out to be an incursion. The presence of NATO and America in Libya has presented a complex situation owing to the fact that Libya is not a member of NATO but U. N., still, NATO opted to embark on the peace mission. The situation also defines the powers that be at United Nations, who takes and

influences major decisions within the body. It goes to show how American foreign policy supersedes other states' sovereignty with its attendant advancement of US foreign policy through NATO.

3.2   Research Hypotheses

a. Gaddafi's threat on the inhabitants of Benghazi and Neo-colonialism are the major causes of NATO's intervention in the Libyan crisis

b. The intervention of NATO has significantly impacted on the sovereignty of Libya.

c. The intervention of NATO did not enhance peaceful resolution of the crisis in Libya.

3.3   Research Design

The study made use of ex post facto design. It explored archival and historical evidence on how stronger nations used military organizations to suppress weaker states focussing more on NATO's involvement in Libyan crisis to describe and test the hypotheses posited. It was basically analytical on one side and on the other hand it sought to find out the essence and impact of sovereignty on the contemporary Third World States. Thus, it stands to evaluate the interests of supra-nation (NATO) the unified allied protector and their role in Libyan crisis. Basically, the study was qualitative utilizing vital and related secondary materials to generate data for analysis. It established the relation between the X variable which is the independent variable (North Atlantic treaty Organization) representing International Military Organization and the Y variable which is the dependent variable (sovereignty of state). The material for the analysis focused deeply on the nature of the violation as was captured by the role played by NATO in the peace mission.

3.3:1 Sources of Data

This study was qualitative in nature and made use of secondary sources of data collection. A great deal of secondary material abound and we resorted to making use of qualitative data, which was drawn from UN Charter, related Journals, Periodicals, Government document, Textbooks, Conference paper, Articles, Unpublished materials, numerical tables and some internet materials, etc. Qualitatively, it made use of textual arguments emanating from the above listed sources in testing of our hypotheses. This gives value to the quality of argument posited to buttress the tentative statement of proof generated. We also had an interaction with two resource persons with Nigerian Air force and their opinions were noted. The application of qualitative approach is designed in order to give clearer understanding for valid arguments and properly address. In other words, an articulation of these materials was useful to the success of this study.

3.3:2 Instruments and Method of Data Collection

Historical and archival method of data collection was also employed which was drawn from University Libraries (Nnamdi Azikiwe University Library), Individual Libraries, State Libraries (Anambra State Library) and the related and relevant Internet Materials (PDF, Journals, UN Charter, International articles, African Union Documents, Reports cum help desk and eBooks). This hinged on the evaluation of available data and general information to establish facts, trends and draw conclusion from the inferences. We believed that for the fact that lots of findings and publications have been given from different perspectives on this issue, documentary materials become apt. So, it is of optimal concern to note that this study goes a long way in providing objective milieu for the actualization of this research.

Again, the method of data collection in the study is the documentary evidence which aided the articulation of the logic of the study. Here, existing information we utilized both in tabular and textual form to test the hypotheses of the study.

3.3:3 Method of Data Analysis

The method of data analysis in this research was deductive. Deductive logic was adopted to provide meaningful tool for the articulation of the major arguments of the study. It is from the necessary inferences derived from the available literature and scholarly arguments generated that reasonable conclusion was drawn. This focused on the various tables, opinion papers and statistical deductions posited on the losses incurred on the state of Libya as a result of NATO's incursion. Issues of NATO's involvement and the antecedents of NATO's actions on Developing States of the globe were also utilised. It explored the structures of powers and the major patterns of behaviour obtained among the supra-nations (NATO) and the influence of super-nations like US, UK, France, etc. over the weaker states.

CHAPTER FOUR

CAUSES OF NATO'S INTERVENTION IN THE LIBYAN CRISIS

Introduction

The humanitarian intervention carried out in Libya by NATO in 2011 under UNSC Resolution 1973 was lauded triumphantly as a resounding success for the R2P (Responsibility to Protect) doctrine, and a 'New Model' for military interventions. NATO and the UNSC were not however the only voices to pass comment on the conflict and NATO's generals and the UN's moral idealists were soon interrupted from their toasts by a fierce rebuke from Africa's academics, statesmen and regional organisations. This reaction questioned the involvement of NATO in the Libyan crisis considering the fact that by all standards, NATO lacked the *locus standi* as a rightful body to prosecute such intervention in Libya. Against this backdrop, the study looked at the indices and factors that accounted for NATO's involvement. Thus, they include the following;

- Gaddafi's act of Genocide and threat against the Inhabitants of Benghazi
- Advancement of America's foreign policy thrust
- Promotion of Western Agenda and Neo-Colonialism
- Fear of Gaddafi and Desire to institute a puppet regime
- Lack of Consensus among Western States
- Institution of democracy – fundamental democratic reform

4.1   Gaddafi's act of Genocide and threat against the inhabitants of Benghazi

Before 2011 intervention by NATO in Libya, there were uproars in 2010 arising from reaction from the people of Libya in protest of Gaddafi's style of leadership. This position of argument was made valid to the extent that the regime of Gaddafi was known for notoriety, highhandedness and abuse of human rights which became his greatest undoing.

In addition to this, so many other reasons in support of the move were posited to defend the involvement of NATO in Libyan crisis which include; the mass grave in Libya and the threat to decimate the in habitants of Benghazi, the incident of Misurata – the city that had earlier made good on its vow to "purge Black skin" through the massacre and dispersal of 30,000 darker resident of near Tawurgha (Ford, 2011). Against the background above, UN through its resolution 1970 demanded to step into the Libyan crisis by enforcing a no fly zone resolution. With enforcement of the resolution, another resolution was released to request willing nations to wield into the Libyan crisis and employ any means in ensuring that the inhabitant of Benghazi are saved through resolution 1973 – responsibility to protect (UN Report, 2011). Subsequently, western powers and United States moved into action to save the lives of the people living in Benghazi.

Unfortunately, CNN News Wire (2011) has it that both America and European leaders however have repeatedly stated that their political goal is the ouster of Gaddafi. He goes on to question "what would Gaddafi's departure mean? To McCain, it means one of three things...he joins Chavez in Venezuela (exile) or he goes to International Criminal Court (faces judgement), which is my preference or he joins Hitler and Stalin (dies). If this statement from McCain should be subjected to any form of evaluation such remains a disaster and potential threat to the sovereignty of weaker states.

To that extent, one is at lost on what really constitute the main reason for NATO's intervention in Libyan crisis against UNSC that has the statutory right to wield into the domestic affairs of the Libyan state. The intervention smeared conspiracy which metamorphosed into regime change that stretched into the termination of his regime and remained a thing of global controversies. Thus, having discussed this cause under the historical cause of NATO's intervention in Libyan crisis, it would be germane to look at some other vital factors that influence NATO's intervention in the Libyan crisis.

4.2   Advancement of American foreign policy thrust:

For so many years United Stated of America has continued to demonstrate and advance its foreign policy thrust across the globe. The implications are made visible from the way and manner all the administrations pursue their foreign policy objectives. One of the regimes that were notable for extreme defence of American foreign policy was Bush's administration. The main elements of the Bush Doctrine were delineated in a document called, "**National Security Strategy of the United States**", published on September 17, 2002. The tenets of this document formally endorsed pre-emptive strikes as part of its foreign policy. Out of the *National Security Strategy*, four main points are highlighted as the core to the Bush Doctrine:

- ➢ Pre-emption
- ➢ Military Primacy
- ➢ New Multilateralism
- ➢ The Spread of Democracy

The document emphasized pre-emption by stating that:

 America is now threatened less by conquering states than we are by failing ones. We are menaced less by fleets and armies than by catastrophic technologies in the hands of the embittered few, "and required" defending the

United States, the American people, and our interests at home and abroad by identifying and destroying the threat before it reaches our borders.

This case rests on three propositions, which include; vital, important and extreme important. Therefore, for us to understand them in clear terms, these indices were thus, present below

Vital

- That Israel survives as a free state.
- That there should be no major sustained curtailment in energy supplies to the world.
- That no state in the region hostile to the United States acquires new or additional weapons of mass destruction (WMD) capabilities.

Extremely Important

- That there should be no hostile regional hegemony in the Persian Gulf.
- That the Middle East peace process continues toward success.
- That the United States maintain good relations with the region's pro-Western Arab regimes and that these regimes survive domestically.
- That regional terrorism should be held in check.

Important

- That the states of the region adopt or maintain moderate forms of governance and show growing respect for fundamental human rights.
- That democratic value should be adopted by nations of the globe. (Bush, 2011)

Multiple US national interests are at stake in the Middle East, a region of the world that has always been complex and important but has grown increasingly

so over the past three decades. Five interrelated challenges to US national interests are critical: the fate of Israel and the peace process; the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; the complex geopolitics of the Persian Gulf, especially involving Iraq and Iran; access to Middle East petroleum for the US and world markets; and terrorism. The US has few unilateral options for dealing with each of these challenges. Perhaps more than in any other region of the world, achieving US objectives in the Middle East requires active cooperation with the governments of the major regional states as well as with the European allies (Ivo, 2012).

For almost fifty years it has been an article of faith for many Americans that Israel's survival is a vital American national interest. Although Israel is today more secure than at any other time in its history, the potential for conflict between Israel and its neighbours remains. A serious reversal in the Arab-Israeli peace process, for example, could lead to violence or even a renewed war, which would endanger vital US interests in the region. A renewed cycle of conflict and mistrust could also be triggered by a Syrian, Iranian, or Iraqi provocation, or by terrorism, or even by rising WMD threats in the region.

The greatest US concern in the Middle East is the continuing proliferation and build-up of WMD capabilities. Iran presents the most serious and complex WMD challenge in the region. Despite various arms control commitments, US intelligence agencies maintain that Iran is currently seeking to enhance its chemical and biological weapons capabilities, to extend the range and payload of its ballistic missile program, and to procure the necessary technologies and materials needed to produce nuclear weapons. A nuclear-armed Iran would fundamentally alter the balance of power in the region and would pose a major strategic challenge to the United States, particularly if hardline elements remain in power in Teheran.

The continuation of Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq, and the failure of the United Nations Security Council to return arms inspectors to that country following Operation Desert Fox in 1998, has led to a standoff that ensures sanctions on Iraq will continue. With no inspections, there continues to be great uncertainty about the state of Iraq's weapons programs. Sanctions are increasingly unpopular throughout the region, while Saddam Hussein's grip on power remains as firm as ever. The irony is that as long as Iraq remains stable but unable to attack its neighbours because of the formidable American presence, most countries in the region are willing to tolerate the situation, even though there are long-term risks. First, if Saddam Hussein were over-thrown and chaos resulted; neighbouring countries could be drawn into a wider Middle East conflict. Alternatively, if Saddam remains in power and reconstitutes his weapons of mass destruction, he could then threaten to use them directly or indirectly through surrogates or against American assets or Israel.

Several facts suggest that the role of the United States was not really marginal and that Europe was significantly divided over Libya. First, the United States provided critical military assistance, including 97% of the Tomahawk missiles used to attack Libyan air defences at the start of the operation and 75% of the aerial refuelling used throughout the operation as could be seen in the above table. It also intervened to sell NATO critical equipments after the latter ran out of precision-guided bombs, supplied NATO with key targeting and intelligence assets, such as unmanned drones, and offered it expertise when it became disappointingly clear that its European allies lacked the required know-how to provide their aircraft with proper targeting information and the US commanders in Europe dispatched around 100 military personnel to the NATO Targeting Centre (Ivo, 2012). It was indeed embarrassing for Europe when NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen declared that "the operation has

made visible that the Europeans lack a number of essential military capabilities." Second, the futile struggle for consensus among EU capitals on how to react to the situation in Libya greatly undermined the actual existence of a Common European Foreign and Security Policy.

The above stated arguments point to the fact America was at the forefront of the attack on the Libya. That could be confirmed by the extent of their commitment in the attack and resource commitment on Libya. Their foreign policy thrust is designed in such a way that any state that trails against the dictates of their national interest would be visited especially when such nation is on the rise and command meaning influence among the comity of nations.

Finally and most important to note was that Libya was targeted because it is one among several remaining countries outside America's sphere of influence, which fail to conform to US demands. Libya is a country which has been selected as part of a military "road map" which consists of "multiple simultaneous theatre wars". In the words of former NATO Commander Chief General Wesley Clark: "In the Pentagon in November 2001, one of the senior military staff officers had time for a chat. "Yes, we were still on track for going against Iraq, he said. But there was more. This was discussed as part of a five-year campaign plan, he said, and there were a total of seven countries, beginning with Iraq, then Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Iran, Somalia and Sudan" (Clark in Chossudovsky 2011: 2). This shows how US is using NATO to advance its national interest across the globe.

4.3   Promotion of western Agenda and Neo-Colonialism

The spread of capitalism has been the major concern of European states. It is a major index that characterizes the various European interventions in many developing economies. This started with imperialism under the umbrella of

mercantilism before the actual colonization of Africa, Asia and some North America by the Europeans. That was a clear manifestation of Berlin conference of 1884-85 where the major European powers negotiated and formalized claims to territories in Africa (Gates and Appiah, 2010).

Ford (2011) succinctly presented a major reason why some stronger European states joined in the attack to destroy Libya. He identified it as a Black Agenda Report programmed to be used in dominate and capture Libyan resources. To Ford;

> Western mercenaries are flocking to Libya, to protect the hordes of western businessmen that have descended on the country. An historic crime becomes a "gold rush" for those that destroyed the society's infrastructure and covet her resources. "Libya's nominal new rulers in the Transitional National Council are in a rush to sell off the nation's birthright before they've even got it in their hands.

The position of the above argument is that at the complete destruction of the Libyan state, Western security firms – a polite term for mercenary outfits – are cramming planes into Libya to make the country safe for an invasion of western capitalists, the real beneficiaries of NATO's war. He went on to state that the crush of war capitalists and their hired gunmen seeking to cash in on the Libyan catastrophe, the New York Times tell us a $5 cab ride from Tripoli's airport to downtown hotels **now costs $800** (Ford, 2011). The head of the U.S.-Arab Chamber of Commerce calls it a "gold rush," as officials of the government established by force of NATO airpower laid out the red carpet for the foreign hordes. Libya's nominal new rulers in the Transitional National Council are in a rush to sell off the nation's birthright before they've even got it in their hands.

The huge influx of big and burly western mercenaries is most ironic, since the so-called rebels' principal call to arms was that Muammar Gaddafi was maintained in power by paid gunmen from sub-Saharan Africa. They used the false spectre of a black mercenary presence to turn the rebellion into a 'race

war' that claimed the lives of untold thousands of black Libyans and immigrant workers – an ethnic cleansing that no doubt still unfolds and will forever mark the new regime as racist to its core. That same regime now embraces a real world invasion of Euro-American mercenaries. White and money, indeed, makes right, in the new Libya.

To confirm this claim, Struath (2013) submitted that there were struggles among the European state on who will first dominate the economy of Libya. He went to state that French were so eager to be first in aggressive, unprovoked war, made sure they were also first in line to get a piece of the spoils. A delegation of businessmen from 80 French companies arrived a whole week before their Libyan hosts' gunmen butchered Col. Gaddafi and scores of other prisoners. This presents a clear indication that the use of NATO to prosecute Libyan crisis was to get every European power involves so that at the end the spoils will be shared among them.

It clears the doubt before NATO's war on the fact that there was no question of western access to Libya – and certainly no threat of withholding oil. It is not access, but the terms of access, that makes the difference between war and peace with imperialism. For the Americans, the French and the British, the price of peace is one's national sovereignty and keeping out the Chinese, 30,000 of whom were forced to leave Libya when the bombs started falling (Ford, 2011). Based on the above, it was indubitable that they will not be back in such numbers, until after the regime Gaddafi is overthrown. It raised more question than answer consideration the way the intervention was monopolized against others with different intentions. Thus, Table 2 below shows the summary of what was contributed by each of the European states and United States in cushioning the Libyan crisis.

Table 1.

NATO'S Operations in Libya by Country

Country	no. of personnel	No. of air-craft	Est no. of sorties flown, from beg of war until 5 May 2011	no. of cruise missiles fired	Main air base
Belgium	170	6	60		Araxos base in south-western Greece
Bulgaria	160	0	0		
Canada	560	11	358		Trapani-Birgi and Sigonella
Denmark	120	4	161	0	Sigonella, Sicily
France	800	29	1,200		currently operating from French Air Bases of Avord, Nancy, St Dizier, Dijon and Istres, as well as Evreux and Orléans for planes engaged in logistics.
Greece		0	0	0	Aktion and Andravida military air fields in Crete
Italy		12	600		Gioia del Colle, Trapani, Sigonella, Decimomannu, Amendola, Aviano, Pantelleria
Jordan	30	12			Cerenecia, Libya
Netherlands	200	7			sardinian base, decimomannu
Norway	140	6	100		Souda Bay, Crete
Qatar	60	8			Souda Bay, Crete
Romania	205				
Spain	500	7			
Sweden	122	8	78	0	Sigonella
Turkey		6			Sigonella Air Base in Italy
UAE	35	12			Decimomannu, Sardinia
UK	1300	28	1,300	18	Gioia del Colle, Italy and RAF Akrotiri, Cyprus
US	8507	153	2,000	228	
TOTALS	12,909	309	5,857	246	

Source: The Guardian. NATO Operations in Libya: Data Journalism Breaks Down Which Country Does What.

In support of the above view, table 3 below also has it that so many were generated to prosecute European agenda in Libya where the world was deceived into believing that the mission was on humanitarian intervention under the umbrella of responsibility to Protect (R2P) which ended up in regime change.

Table 2

Funds spent by Foreign Power on war in Libya

S/N	Country	Funds Spend (US$)	Date
1.	United Kingdom	336 - 1,500	September 2011
2.	United States of America	896 – 1,100	October 2011
3.	Italy	700	October 2011
4.	France	450	September 2011
5.	Turkey	300	July 2011
6.	Denmark	120	November 2011
7.	Belgium	58	October 2011
8.	Spain	50	September 2011
9.	Sweden	50	October 2011
10.	Canada	26	June, 2011

Source: Compiled from Wikipedia, 2012

The table above shows that these nations were so interested in Libyan resources. This was attested to by Table 2 which shows how these countries benefitted from the booties in various percentages. If not what would amount to nations investing such amount in a war such would not profit from. This forms the bane of realist logic on the selfish nature of nation in pursuit of national interest against the interest of other weaker states.

4.4   Fear of Gaddafi and the Desire to institute a puppet regime

Here, Libya was seen as state with long history of misrule and repression under Muamah Gaddafi. Right from the time, Gaddafi took over from King Idris, his regime was plagued with sectional enmity coming from the People of Benghazi. With his emergence, he assumed a position that threatened not only the people of Libya but also world powers who are linked to have interest in their oil

deposits. The implication is that Libyan oil is rated as one of the best in the world. One thing is clear about his regime. His relations with the west were always dicey as their unity brings disunity tomorrow. To that extent, Asad (2011) recalled that a local leader must comply with and support important western objectives; otherwise such an uncooperative leader can become a target for regime change. This was an observation made by Saddam Hussein, who was at a time became a victim of western victimization. The same approach and similarity of event was visited on Libya under the administration of Gaddafi, unlike the largely peaceful revolutions in Egypt and Tunisia, the revolt against Gaddafi started as an armed uprising. Its disorganized participants were a mixture of Islamic fundamentalists, monarchists who supported King Idris centred in the city of Benghazi, tribal groups (Libya has about 140 tribes and clans), disaffected military officers, and neo-liberal privatizers (ones even more ardent than Gaddafi himself). A few CIA agents were undoubtedly also involved in the insurrection. The rebels do not offer a progressive alternative to Gaddafi and would probably be even more subservient to Western demands than he has been (Asad, 2011). They would certainly allow Libya to be turned into a U.S. military base. The rebels' calls for Western military intervention discredits them, as does the almost complete lack of public support from their fellow citizens.

US puppet regimes have been installed in several African countries which historically were in the sphere of influence of France (and Belgium), including The Republic of the Congo and Rwanda. Several countries in West Africa (including Côte d'Ivoire) are slated to become US proxy states. The European Union is heavily dependent on the flow of Libyan oil and 85 % of its oil is sold to European countries. In the case of a war with Libya, the supply of petroleum to Western Europe could be further disrupted, largely affecting Italy, France and

Germany. Thirty percent (30%) of Italy's oil and 10 % of its gas are imported from Libya. Libyan gas is fed through the Green stream pipeline in the Mediterranean (Asad, 2011). The implications of these potential disruptions are far-reaching. They also have a direct bearing on the relationship between the US and the European Union.

In summary, the whole exercise defines what fear is all about. The fear of Gaddafi became not just a sub-regional, regional, Arab league worries but also that of global concern. Not that he was not doing well as a leader but that his regime adopted anti-western stance that resulted in the subsequent attacks he has endured from the west. They came in form of sanctions, embargoes of all sorts, especially from America. The attack on his regime by NATO was on regime change to institute a puppet regime that will dance to their tune (Aljazeera, 2011). If not what could explain the rate and extent of financial and material conditions committed to fighting the regime of Gaddafi, where the world was fouled into believing that the west has gone to save the lives of people living in Benghazi, only to end up pursuing a regime change, even at a time when he called for negotiation and such was denied (Jamoul, 2011). It showed the extent the west can go in pursuit of their interests. This said more on the way and manner Gaddafi paraded himself as Libyan leader and dealt with the west especially, as it concerned their resources which, sent jittery and fear down the spine of the western states. Thus, the attack was a global conspiracy that left the state of Libya worse than it was against the principles guiding humanitarian interventions.

Chart 2.
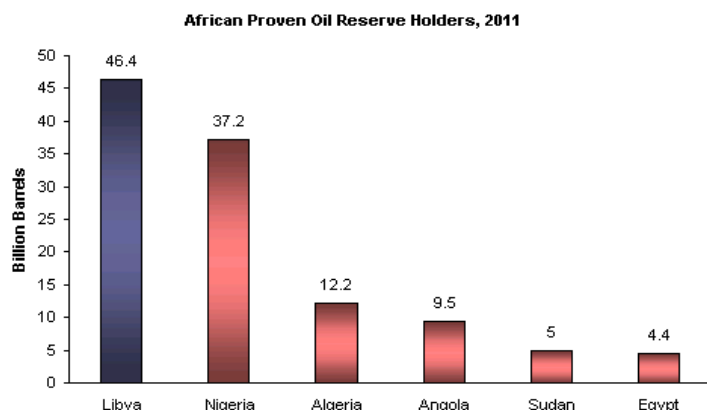
Source: Oil and Gas Journal, 2012

4.5   Redrawing the Map of Africa: Neo-colonialism

Libya has the largest oil reserve and deposits in Africa according to chart 2 above. It has the best and highest deposit of crude in Africa and one of the best in the world. This could explain why the objective of US-NATO interference is strategic: it consists in outright theft, in stealing the nation's oil wealth under the disguise of a humanitarian intervention. This military operation is intent upon establishing US hegemony in North Africa, a region historically dominated by France and to lesser extent by Italy and Spain (Chossudovsky, 2011).

With regard to Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, Washington's design is to weaken the political links of these countries to France and push for the installation of new political regimes which have a close rapport with the US. This weakening of France is part of a US imperial design. It is a historical process which goes back to the wars in Indochina.

Libya has borders with several countries which are within France's sphere of influence, including Algeria, Tunisia, Niger and Chad. Chad is potentially an oil rich economy. ExxonMobil and Chevron have interests in Southern Chad

including a pipeline project. Southern Chad is a gateway into the Darfur region of Sudan, which is also strategic in view of its oil wealth. China has oil interests in both Chad and Sudan. CNPC signed a far-reaching agreement with the Chad government in 2007. Chossudovsky went to argue that US-NATO intervention led to the eventual formation of a US puppet regime was intended upon excluding China from the region and edging out CNPC. The Anglo-American oil giants including British Petroleum which signed an exploration contract in 2007 with the Gaddafi government are among the potential "beneficiaries" of the proposed US-NATO military operation.

The US played a passive role at the 1884 Berlin Conference. This new 21st Century re-division of the African continent, predicated on the control over oil, natural gas and strategic minerals (cobalt, uranium, chromium, manganese, platinum and uranium) largely supports dominant Anglo-American corporate interests. US interference in North Africa redefines the geopolitics of an entire region. It undermines China and overshadows the influence of the European Union. This new re-division of Africa not only weakens the role of the former colonial powers (including France and Italy) in North Africa. It is also part of a broader process of displacing and weakening France (and Belgium) over a large part of the African continent.

More generally, what is at stake is the redrawing of the map of Africa, a process of neo-colonial re-division, the scrapping of the demarcations of the 1884 Berlin Conference, the conquest of Africa by the United States in alliance with Britain, in a US-NATO led operation. The sustenance of the agenda is their main concern as France is bent on extending its dominance. Thus, the pretence and use NATO was for the intervention was adopted.

4.6   Lack of Consensus among western states

Foreign oil companies operating prior to the insurrection in Libya include France's Total, Italy's ENI, the **China National Petroleum Corp** (CNPC), British Petroleum, the Spanish oil consortium REPSOL, ExxonMobil, Chevron, Occidental Petroleum, Hess and ConocoPhillips. Of significance, China plays a central role in the Libyan oil industry. CNPC had a workforce of some 400 employees. The total Chinese workforce in Libya was of the order of 30,000. Eleven percent (11%) of Libyan oil exports is channelled to China. While there are no figures on the size and importance of CNPC's production and exploration activities, there are indications that they are sizeable (Chengu, 2015). More generally, China's presence in North Africa is considered by Washington to constitute an intrusion. From a geopolitical standpoint, China is an encroachment. The military campaign directed against Libya is intent upon excluding China from North Africa (Chengu, 2015).

The financial stakes as well as "the spoils of war" were extremely high. The military operation was intent upon dismantling Libya's financial institutions as well as confiscating billions of dollars of Libyan financial assets deposited in Western banks. It should be emphasised that Libya's military capabilities, including its air defence system were weak.

The above necessitate the use of NATO to the exclusion of China and some other states by US and Britain in the fight for regime change which was clamped on Gaddafi's administration. Just like some other states, United States have demonstrated such interest especially, place with high deposit of natural resources and there are scramble for resource domination. Niger is strategic to the United States in view of its extensive reserves of uranium. At present, France dominates the uranium industry in Niger through the French nuclear

conglomerate Areva, formerly known as Cogema. China also has a stake in Niger's uranium industry. More generally, the Southern border of Libya is strategic for the United States in its quest to extend its sphere of influence in Francophone Africa, a vast territory extending from North Africa to Central and Western Africa. Historically this region was part of France and Belgium's colonial empires, the borders of which were established at the Berlin Conference of 1884. Chart 3 below states more on the scrambles that attended European rush on the resources of Libya and the percentage that went to all between 2010/2011 with US and France having the highest and Italy controlling a lower percentage.

Chart 3

Libya's crude oil export by destination in 2010/2011 represented in pie chart

Sales

- 1st Qtr
- 2nd Qtr
- 3rd Qtr
- 4th Qtr
- 5th Qtr
- 6th Qtr
- 7th Qtr
- 8th Qtr
- 9th Qtr
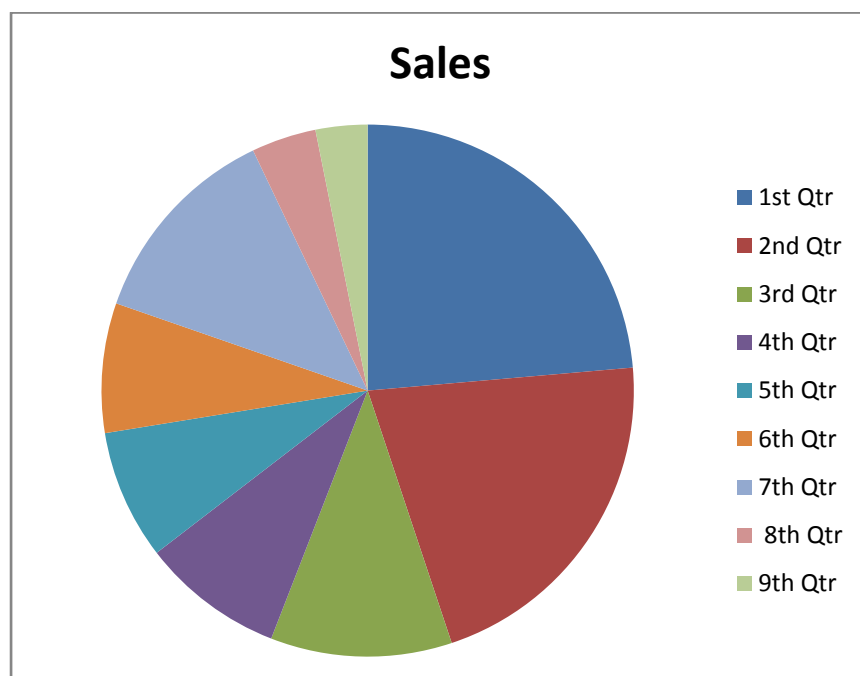
Source: Global Trade Atlas, US Energy Information Administration, 2011

4.7   Institutionalization of Democracy

NATO's involvement in Libyan crisis is a function of extending fundamental democratic reform. The institution of democracy across the global states became a major instrument of deceit for the advancement of capitalism. It is the melting pot for the projection of western ideology across the contemporary states of Africa, Arab and other weaker or struggling economies. Africa embraced the wave of democracy in the late 1900s through 2000 with a view of having a government that evolved from the people. Many states of Africa embraced it while some did not especially, in places like Tunisia, Egypt, Zimbabwe, Libya etc. Despite the fact that some states welcomed the democratic practice, still many states in Africa have witnessed series of democratic reversals provoked by both internal and external dynamics.

Chengu (2015: 1-2) presented a lengthy but summary of what was the original state of Libya before western intervention and the democratic promises which was later betrayed. To Chengu:

> In 1967 Colonel Gaddafi inherited one of the poorest nations in Africa; by the time he was assassinated, he had transformed Libya into Africa's richest nation. Prior to the US-led bombing campaign in 2011, Libya had the highest Human Development Index, the lowest infant mortality and the highest life expectancy in all of Africa.
>
> Today, Libya is a failed state. Western military intervention has caused all of the worst-scenarios: Western embassies have all left, the South of the country has become a haven for ISIS terrorists, and the Northern coast a centre of migrant trafficking. Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia have all closed their borders with Libya. This all occurs amidst a backdrop of widespread rape, assassinations and torture that complete the picture of a state that is failed to the bone.

He went further to state that Libya currently has two competing governments, two parliaments, two sets of rivalling claims to control over the central bank and the national oil company, no functioning national police or army, and the United States now believes that ISIS is running training camps across large swathes of the country.

On one side, in the West of the nation, Islamist-allied militias took over control of the capital Tripoli and other key cities and set up their own government, chasing away a parliament that was previously elected. On the other side, in the East of the nation, the "legitimate" government dominated by anti-Islamist politicians, exiled 1,200 kilometers away in Tobruk, no longer governs anything. The democracy which Libyans were promised by Western governments after the fall of Colonel Gaddafi has all but vanished.Contrary to popular belief, Libya, which western media routinely described as "Gaddafi's military dictatorship" was in actual fact one of the world's most democratic States. Under Gaddafi's unique system of direct democracy, traditional institutions of government were disbanded and abolished, and power belonged to the people directly through various committees and congresses.

Thus, far from control being in the hands of one man, Libya was highly decentralized and divided into several small communities that were essentially "mini-autonomous States" within a State. These autonomous States had control over their districts and could make a range of decisions including how to allocate oil revenue and budgetary funds. Within these mini autonomous States, the three main bodies of Libya's democracy were Local Committees, Basic People's Congresses and Executive Revolutionary Councils.

According to Friedman (2012) intervention in Libya and Syria is not humanitarian or liberal submitted that Libyan intervention by NATO has delivered nothing but political chaos. He avers that advocates of intervention underestimate coercions contribution to political order. Friedman reviewed three rationales for military intervention in Libya and declared all three failures. One was to show other dictators that the international community would not tolerate the violent suppression of dissenters (Friedman 2012:1). He submits that the reversal domino theory has obviously failed to teach leaders like Bashar al-Assad of Syria anything but to brutally nip opposition movements in the bud

before they coalesce, attract foreign arms and air support, and kill you or, if you are lucky, ship you off to Hague (Friedman, 2012:1).

The second rationale was to establish liberal democracy. He argues that Libya lacks the traditional building blocks of liberal democracy and that foreign military intervention impedes democratization. Thirdly, he examines the rationale of maintaining regional peace which the Libyan intervention has failed to do but instead helped in destabilizing Mali. He explains that Gaddafi's fall pushed hundreds of Tuareg tribesmen that fought on his side back to their native Mali, where they promptly reignited an old insurgency (Friedman, 2012:1). In the same vein, (Gardner, 2011) argues that the intervention in Libya was not all together humanitarian or strictly to protect the Libyan civilian populace but a goal of regime change. Attempts to achieve this goal through international sanctions and through the backing of insurgents has represented the predominant thrust of America and European policy since 1969 after Colonel Gaddafi seized power by staging a coup d'état against King Idris (Gardner, 2011:2). He argues that the inability to overthrow Gaddafi through clandestine means during the Cold war resulted in attempts to co-opt him in the Post-cold war period. He concludes that the 2011 Libyan crisis provided the opportunity to overthrow the Gaddafi regime under the guise of the responsibility to protect (Gardner, 2011:2) and that these Western led regime change in Libya was mainly galvanize by the US and European self interest. These interest he concludes includes the French interest in developing a stronger European security and defence umbrella over the Euro-Mediterranean and the opening of Libyan oil wealth to the US and Europe (Gardner, 2011:6).

In a similar vein, Etzioni (2012) argues that intervention undermines the most elementary foundation of the international order the Westphalia norm and what he referred to as a sociological mess is left behind at the end of the intervention (Etzioni, 2012:1). He further argues that the only exception to this non-

intervention posture are cases in which large numbers of human beings are being killed, maimed and tortured but this intervention should not be aimed at a regime change. He believes that Libya qualified for the exception to non intervention posture but when Gaddafi offered to negotiate, the offer would have been given a chance. The rejection of this offer had passed the threshold that separates a humanitarian intervention justified under R2P from forced regime change, which are much more difficult to justify because they lead to more casualties and greater socio-political upheaval (Etzioni, 2012:1). Yash Tandon believes that along with the ethical appeal of humanitarian intervention comes it pitfalls, dangers and risky side. He argues that intervention are more often than not based on real politik considerations and cynical manipulation of the doctrine by big powers to legitimize imperial wars and gross interference in the sovereign affairs of smaller and vulnerable nations (Tandon, 2011:1). He submits that the principle of humanitarian intervention is not yet a mature principle as it is still subject to the manipulations by the big power for their interest. He advocates that genocide or violations of human rights in Africa should be handled by the African Union as these are strategic and humanitarian challenges that Africa must face on their own (Tandon, 2011:7).

Reifer (2011) in his opposition to humanitarian intervention in Libya writes that when it comes to the Western powers, for those who remember history, the rhetoric of humanitarian intervention can be easily dismissed. The track record of the West, which includes supporting brutal dictators acting against defenceless civilians in Egypt, Bahrain, Yemen and Saudi Arabia, makes a mockery of their current claims to have humanitarian intent in Libya (Reifer, 2011:2). He argues the Western military intervention in the third World is often problematic, leads to worsening of violence and brings more harm to the civilian population (Reifer, 2011:2). He stressed Noam Chomsky's conclusions that the major strategic aim of US in the Arab Middle East has always been the

regions tremendous oil resources, control over which has long been a major lever of world power. This remains the great prize in the jockeying for control of the great powers in the region still (Reifer 2011:2). His arguments show that interventions by the West in the Third World countries are often driven by self-interest and hardly humanitarian. In an interview of Noam Chomsky by Stephen Shalom and Michael Albert on the Libyan crisis, he argued that NATO intervention in Libya was guided by Western interest in oil control. As much as Gaddafi gave the West access to oil but reliability and dependability of the leader is very important. This explains why the intervention was in Libya and not in other Arab countries that had the same uprising. He writes that with regard to the Middle East the primary concern has been, and remains, its incomparable energy resources. Control of these would yield substantial control of the world while control over oil is not the sole factor in Middle East policy; it provides fairly good guidelines, right now as well. In an oil-rich country, reliable dictator is granted virtual free rein Libya is a different case. Libya is rich in oil, and though the US and UK have often given quite remarkable support to its cruel dictator, right to the present; he is not reliable. (http://www.zcommunications.org/noam-chomsky).

Thus, from all intent and purpose, the various factors analysed depicted nothing but a desperate attempt to terminate the regime of Gaddafi and institute a pro-western regime. A regime that will submit to western dictates through collaboration in the illicit milking of the oil deposits in Libya. Without belabouring the obvious, the section is of the view that the unethical removal of Gaddafi remains a violation of the sovereignty of Libya no matter the angle one wants to look at it. In other words, the position of this analysis validates the claim that Gaddafi's act of genocide against the people of Benghazi and the advancement of neo-colonialism by the western state of which US championed were responsible for the intervention of NATO in the Libyan crisis

CHAPTER FIVE

INTERNATIONAL CHARTERS, RESOLUTIONS AND CONVENTIONS GUIDING EXTERNAL INTERVENTIONS

Introduction

In every human interaction and institution, there is a regulatory body moderating the behaviours of men. The essence is to provide limits to whatever one can do against another. Hence, the saying, "where one's right stops another starts". It defines the boundary and extent one can go in relating with one another with some measure of respect attached to it. The same is applicable to nations in their interactions with other states in other to avoid violation of the rights of others. This tells more on the import of sovereignty of states. Thus, in spite of these efforts, there was unavoidable prevalence of state dominations. These happened among states of unequal economic, political and economic stance leading to wars among states. With the consciousness that attends most of the states after a thirty (30) year old war from 1618-1648, a treaty was signed in Westphalia, called the Treaty of Westphalia. The implication is to help in the unification and protection the sovereignty of states. Despite these efforts, there were persistent violations of state sovereignty of which page 21-40 under the literature review captured.

Consequently, at the end of the Second World War, there was a global rethink to re-position and protect the rights and sovereignty of states. Therefore, a charter was evolved to aid determine and protect states under the umbrella of United Nations Organizations. Most important among the various aspects of the charter is the Chapter 1, Article 2(7) which reads,

> Nothing contained in the present charter shall authorize the United Nations
> to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction
> of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to

>settlement under the present charter, but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under chapter VIII.

The implication of the above is simply in accordance or recognition of the sovereignty and autonomy of states within the United Nations Organizations. It shows that there is a guarantee and status for state respect within the body. It also made vital provisions on conflict prone states in chapter VIII. In a bid to avoid abuse of state powers and sovereignty, Chapter IV, Article 1 (2) was provided as a check. The section thus reads,

>The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of International Peace and Security brought before it by any member of the United Nations, or by the Security Council, or by a state which is not a member of the United Nations in accordance with Article 35, Paragraph 2 and except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the state or states concerned or to the Security Council or to both. Any such question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.

Thus, to get a clearer understanding of the above, some Articles like; Chapter VII, Article 39, 40, 41, 42, 43(1-2) were considered consequential to be noted as they form the fulcrum that determine the dynamics states interactions within the international system. Here, the articles read;

Article 39

The security council shall determine the existence of any threat, breaches of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Article 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Article 40

In order to prevent aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendation or deciding upon the measures provided for Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measure shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or positions of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

Article 41

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed forces are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of

economic relations and rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication and the severance of diplomatic relations.

Article 42

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved too be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such actions may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of members of the United Nations.

From the above, it is germane to note that United Nations' provisions to secure and protect the sovereignty of states are well articulated in the charter. The charter was so explicit to the extent that it gives a clearer view on when the body is likely to intervene in crisis prone states within the international environment. The charter was not implicit on the right authority for the intervention. As such, the need to sanction NATO by United Nations as a rightful regional body under the resolution 1973 R2P that involved willing states does not arise. None of the UN legal document subscribed to the use of NATO (third party) when other relevant institutions, bodies and approaches have not been fully explored. Thus, the subsequent part of this study, examined the application of UN Charters, Resolutions and Reports on the intervention of NATO in the Libya state and negations that covered the mandate of intervention.

5.1 UN Regulations on Humanitarian Intervention

The dynamics of the war was typified on side of ugly stance. This happened at the rudimentary stage of the war. At that stage, UN should have devised a subtle way of handling the conflict because, a rebel group has emerged. A challenge or rebellion to an existing government is perceived as treasonable felony and the world body should have adopted a uniform standard in addressing the dynamics of the conflict in the application of humanitarian intervention. Thus, according to Kochler (1999) in Musiani (2008), the Human Right Watch (HRW) set out

criteria as found in World Summit Outcome Document (WSOD) and other UN panel document for Humanitarian Intervention (H I). The basic Criteria include:

1. Military action must be the last reasonable option to halt or prevent slaughter and should not be used if effective alternative are available;

2. The intervention must be guided primarily by a humanitarian purpose; humanitarian purpose must be the dominant reason for military action;

3. Every effort should be made to ensure that the means used to intervene (themselves) respect international human rights and humanitarian law, we do not subscribe to the view that some abuses can be countenanced in the name of stopping others;

4. It must be reasonably likely that military action will do more good than harm; Humanitarian Intervention should not be tried if it will cause more suffering

In the interpretation, humanitarian intervention is preferred when it receives the endorsement of the UNSC or other bodies with significant multilateral authority. Many of the UN resolution and reactions of states indicate a preference for interventions that abides with the norms of international law and charter of the UN. This is in consonance with the feeling that allowing any one state the privilege of the UN charter will be tantamount to allowing all, resulting to a state of global anarchy in which the weak states will be at the mercy of the more powerful state.

Going by the above submission, none of the options were explored in full, take for example number one of the four criteria for the application of humanitarian intervention was underutilized as there was a serious desperation to effect a regime change. Even, just war principles which include; just cause, proportionality, right intention, last resort, probability of success, right authority were violated (MacMahan 2005:11 and Ibeh, 2013: 15).

As a result of the failure to properly manage the first, a second blunder was committed which was primarily guided by (individual) national interests against international laws on human rights. Unfortunately, the intervention violated UN charter as they lost control over NATO's involvement in the crisis. NATO failed to report to the Secretary General on the subsequent development of the intervention. That led to the abuse of the law especially in determining the meaning of willing nation under Chapter VIII. Here, NATO was never mentioned and such intervention scored a big global error on the part of America and the western states that were desperate to remove Gaddafi from power for the obstacles he posed. Finally, the military action caused more harm than good, thus leaving the people to suffer severely on what may be termed a global conspiracy and design to wreck havoc on the socio-political and economic conditions of the Libyan state.

Thus in Libya, the crude application of the humanitarian intervention contradicts the settled standard of international law and justice due to the overzealousness of United States of America and some European states that place national (self) interest against global ethics, interest and values.

5.2   UN Resolution 1973: Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and Resolution 1970

The Security Council then adopted the resolution 1973. As at the adoption of this resolution, the 10 non permanent members of the Council were Lebanon, Germany, India, Brazil, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Columbia, Portugal, South Africa, Gabon and Nigeria. Five members (Russia, China, Germany, India and Brazil) abstained from voting on the resolution while the others voted for its adoption. It is worthy of note that Russia and China simply abstained from voting instead of blocking it to show their dissatisfaction. It is also worthy of

note at this point that there had always been division in the P5 when its regarding Intervention in Sovereign States and the implementation of the doctrine of R2P. This was evident even in the 2005 World Summit as the Security Permanent members like China and Russia refused to fully embrace R2P, France and United Kingdom embraced it but the United States supported it half-heartedly. In their individual responses, China advocated "for the status quo by hedging on the International community's responsibilities, requesting further discussion and deferring to the Security Council". Russia argued that there is no sufficient understanding of the concept of R2P and that the UN is capable of responding to crises under current situation and that it would undermines that Charter. They therefore advocated for a change in name to 'Responsibility to Protect Civilian Population' (http://www.reformtheun.org). France embraced R2P and urged that it should highlight the international community's duty to step in through the Security Council. It further stated that "France respects the issue of sovereignty, but believes that there must be limits on the scope of State sovereignty" and it envisaged a robust doctrine as it believes that "sometimes talking is not enough and the international community should consider the use of force as a last resort". The United Kingdom in its endorsement argues that "this was not about the West trying to find excuses to intervene" but that an "internationally agreed framework was needed to protect the vulnerable" which must be done on a case by case basis. The United Kingdom further stated that "only in extreme cases would military force be used". The United States was supportive of R2P though its statement never referred to 'responsibility'; it also used a weak language with respect to considering reaction" (http://www.reformtheun.org).

This line of division in the P5 was still evident in the adoption of UNSCR 1973 (2011). While France, United Kingdom and the United States represented by Alain Juppe, Mark Lyall Grant and Susan Rice respectively embraced and voted

in favour of the resolution, China and Russian Federation represented by Li Baodong and Vitaly Churkin respectively did not fully embrace the resolution but refused to veto the resolution. The representatives that supported the resolution argued that they did so because Gaddafi's regime was not responsive to the initial UNSCR 1970. China who abstained from voting stressed that it was deeply concerned about the deteriorating situation in Libya. However, the United Nations Charter must be respected and called for a peaceful resolution of the crisis. Li Baodong emphasized that China was always against the use of force when other means were not fully exhausted. He said there were questions yet to be answered concerning the implementation of the resolution, so therefore, it has serious difficulty with the resolution however had refused to block its passage based on the request of the Arab league and the African union. The Russian Federation on its part also had some fundamental questions bothering on how and by whom the measures specified in the resolution will be enforced and what the limits of engagement would be. Russian Federation did not block the resolution but was convinced that immediate ceasefire was the best way to stop the loss of lives. Despite the different opinions about the effectiveness of resolution 1973, the resolution was passed by the Security Council, without any of the Permanent Five (P5) blocking it on the 17th of March 2011 (Chengu, 2015). The implication is that national interest was respected and the sovereignty of Libya was traded for its advantage.

5.3   The Justification of NATO's Intervention

Abass (2011:1-8) summarily presented the reason to justify the involvement of NATO in Libyan crisis. He argued that in as much as many are of the view that NATO's involvement was too ambitious; he tried to justify their motive with following reasons. On the legality of NATO's involvement in Libyan crisis, this section addresses pertinent questions bordering on responses to the Libyan

crisis. It tries to justify NATO-led intervention and whether it undermined the sovereignty of Libya. Firstly, it is important to understand what sovereignty is. The position has aligned itself with the definition which views sovereignty as the authority of a State to govern itself that authority comes from the people and then bestowed on a few representatives of the people now referred to as the government. It is said to be the responsibility of the government to protect the source of its authority which is the people. Therefore, it is irresponsibility for a government not to protect its people. This is in fact the first pillar of the doctrine of R2P; it stresses 'the protection of its population'. In the case of Libya, the work has shown enormous killings and threats to kill the Libyan population by the Gaddafi-led Libyan government from whom as it were the Libyan State derives its sovereignty (Abass, 2011:2). It was therefore expedient that the International community respond and intervene to protect the sovereignty of Libya. The NATO-led intervention in Libya was therefore to uphold the sovereignty of Libya.

Secondly, on issues of determining if NATO was used for the purpose of regime change and not the protection of the Libyan civilians. Drawing from the conclusions reached in our first submission, Abass (2011) stated that it is obvious that the NATO-led intervention was a necessity and that the primary aim was the protection of Libyan population. The background to the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1970, 1973 and the subsequent intervention shows how ruthless the Gaddafi's regime had become in dealing with the antigovernment protesters despite calls from the international community on both sides to stop the violence. The Libyan government vented so much violence on its own people and threatened to exercise more violence even on a house to house basis. NATO had to be activated in a bid to quell the violence (Abass, 2011: 4). So, it is evident that NATO's intervention was in response to the irrational killings in Libya. It is however difficult to ascertain if

NATO had an initial secret motive or agenda to effect a regime change. However, as the intervention gathered momentum and given the stance of Gaddafi on the one hand and the protesters on the other hand to continue the violence, a quick fix to the problem was a regime change. It is difficult to see how the violence could have stopped abruptly without a regime change considering the antecedents of the man called Gaddafi. Gaddafi's predisposition, actions and utterances towards the opposition was a clear invitation for the International community and by extension NATO to take action. In the Libya instance, it is difficult to separate between the protection of the Libyan population and a change in the Gaddafi-led regime.

Lastly, on the sustainability of the principle of Non-intervention of the UN Charter, Article 2#7 in a situation like that of Libya which had turned violent and holding threats of impending brutal killings. The UN Charter that provides for the principle of non-intervention also provides for an exception to that principle in Article 41 and 42. To Abass, the UNSC can intervene when the circumstances portend threat to international peace and security. The Libyan situation was capable of further escalating the insecurity and tension that permeate the already volatile Middle-East and North African region thereby causing a threat to international security. Again, the 2005 Responsibility to protect principle had also redefined the concept of sovereignty and non-intervention. A sovereign State has as a follow-up to the sovereignty, the protection of its population but the Libyan government manifestly failed in this responsibility and therefore, the international community had to take a collective action, in a timely and decisive manner to halt the violence through NATO intervention (Abass, 2011:7).

5.4 United Nations' Charters and Resolutions and the Illegality of NATO's Involvement in Libyan Crisis

Be that as it may, NATO's operation in Libya raised lots of questions that deeply impacted on the legal structure of the UN charter and implicate policy-related questions for the UN, the concerned regional organization and the structure of global collective security. While there can be no doubt that great benefits are to be derived from the interaction of the UN and regional organizations, the lack of clarity about the legal basis, an absence of policy precision, and trite rules of engagement considerably undermine such collaboration and, at the extreme, threaten to compromise the integrity of the operation concerned.

For this reason, it is important to discuss how NATO's involvement in Libya, though undoubtedly legitimate, was legally dubious under UN Charter rules. This study argued that the time is well nigh for the UN to develop clear policy guidelines for dealing with organizations that are not governed by Chapter VIII of the Charter but which are, nonetheless, committed to assisting the UN in realizing its primordial goal of maintaining international peace and security.

Chapter VIII of the UN charter recognizes that regional "arrangements or agencies" have marked role to play in the maintenance of international peace and security; hence, these organizations are empowered to conduct pacific settlement of dispute among their members entirely on their own and without recourse to the Security Council (Article 52). However, while regional organizations are generally forbidden to take enforcement actions (including, of course, military measures), they can do so with the authorization of the Security Council (Article 53). This is one of the three bases recognised by the Charter as constituting exceptions to the general prohibition of force under Article 2(4) of the Charter. (The other two being the right of individual or collective self – defence (Article 51), which accrues only after an armed attack has occurred

against a UN member, and the now futile actions against former enemy state (Article 107). The treaties of most regional organizations contain provisions enabling them to defend themselves once an attack occurs against their members).

However, it seems unlikely that the reference to NATO, anywhere in Resolution 1973, was an accident of drafting. It was a rather clear indication that NATO was not intended as a beneficiary of a Resolution 1973 mandate. Put Differently: NATO is not a Chapter VIII Organization and lacked the legal basis for the intervention. The Alliance was established in 1949 as an Article 51 organization – that is, a mutual defence pact – and was so clearly described by its treaty. The critical (even if historical) rationale for NATO's preference for being a collective self-defence organization was simply that it wanted to free its actions from Security Council prior authorization, to which Chapter VIII binds all regional organizations.

To legally respond to a security council's resolution callings on states acting "nationally or through regional organization or arrangements", as resolution 1973 did, an organization must be such that it is contemplated as a "regional Organization" by Chapter VIII of the UN Charter. While there are no clear criteria about what these are, two fundamental factors are crucial: First, such an organization must regard itself as a Chapter VIII organization (as, indeed, the OAS, AU, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, and so on, have manifested severally). Second, and by far most important, such organization must be ready to fulfil the obligation under article 54 of the Charter: keeping the Security Council "fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security".

In other words, this requirement is needed so that organizations intending to assist in the implementation of a Security Council resolution do not present the Security Council with a fiat accompli. But more important is that if an organization does not meet these criteria, but nonetheless responds to the Security Council's clarion call for assistance through such particular resolution as 1973, then, potentially, the organization's involvement risks illegality.

The Security Council recognises how important it is for all organizations that would be involved in the enforcement of the Libyan resolution to comply with Article 54. Hence, the council insisted in Resolution 1973 that such organizations must "inform the UN Secretary-General and the Secretary General of the league of Arab states immediately of measures taken in exercise of the authority conferred by paragraph 8. The essence was to ensure that there should not be any abuse of state sovereignty.

To that extent, the involvement of NATO has not traditionally complied with Article 54 of the UN Charter for the simple fact it is not governed by Chapter VIII; hence, it does not need to comply with such a directive. It is also not implausible to contemplate NATO's blatant disregard of the additional obligation, in paragraph 8, to inform the Secretary General – that is, aside from informing the UN Secretary-General.

As a matter of fact, NATO could not have legally responded to the Security Council's mandate issued to **regional organizations and arrangement** in Resolution 1973 because, by virtue of its own treaty, the alliance is neither such an organization, nor one that could be held bound by either Article 53 or 54 of the Charter. Therefore, since NATO is acting in Libya collectively, in contradistinction from acting nationally (according to resolution 1973), the latter caveat in the mandate does not save NATO from being in violation. That provision would have saved France, UK and US when they acted individually

and nationally at the outbreak of the crisis before NATO took over the mission. However, the use of NATO to intervene in Libyan political crisis has provided a murky atmosphere for doubt. This anchors on the fact that the use of NATO violates all the sections of the charter involving regional intervention on crisis prone states.

Despite the position of the apologists who supported the view of NATO's involvement in the Libyan Leadership crisis, still there are logics on the why their mission was criticised. In a bid to provide a clear view on the failure of the mission in Libya, our argument is that the following points below provide a bench mark for the evaluation of the intervention embarked by NATO in Libya. The questions that ring bell are, where they able to adhere to the war procedures which should first consider the following- Peace mission, Peace support operation, Role of preventive diplomacy, Peacekeeping, Peacekeeping operations, Peace enforcement, Peace-building, Humanitarian Assistance, Humanitarian Intervention, etc.? If not, such mission was conceived in futility and typified savage. In other words, the lack of clarity about U.N. strategic goals in the post-cold war era has spawned all kinds of mushy thinking about what their role in the world should be and what circumstances justify U.S./NATO intervention abroad (Merry, 2012:2). A look at President Obama's action in Libya raised lots of doubt. The obfuscation that attended the United Nations-focused as it was on protecting Benghazi civilians from mass killing by forces of Libyan leader Muammar el-Gaddafi, when the actual goal was the elimination of Gaddafi's regime. (Merry, 2012:2).

In summary, having weighed NATO's intervention in Libyan crisis looking at the charter, resolutions and conventions, the study discovers that there is a judicial abuse and a sovereign incursion. This stems from the fact that there was need for the intervention but, the use of NATO for the intervention assumed the

centre of the argument. Despite the conditions in the resolutions (1970 and 1973), the apologists have not been able to state convincingly why US, France, Britain and others opted for the use of NATO. The use of NATO not only violated the UN charter VIII, Article 52, and Chapter 2, Article 7, it went on to violate Article 52-54 of the charter that empowers the Secretary General to superintend over the activities of willing nations and regional organizations. Thus, the intervention remained a violation of the sovereignty of Libya considering the fact that their actions contradicted the settled standard of international law, regulations and conventions. It thus, validated the second hypothesis.

CHAPTER SIX

IMPACT OF NATO'S INTERVENTION ON THE SOVEREIGNTY OF LIBYA

Introduction

Every action has an equal and opposite reaction. Whatever action that is taken by any nation on another must have a consequence on that state. Our academic voyage so far has exposed the dynamics of NATO's involvement in Libyan domestic crisis. That has resulted in the spate of political instability that has attended the state. The study also examined the various dimensions of abuse that has diminished the level sovereignty in Libya. It examined the impact of the attack on the autonomy, supremacy legality and independence of Libya. The nature of the bastardization of Libya left the polity in comatose, with external forces (western states) illicitly harvesting the natural deposits in Libya (Chossudovsky, 2011). The implication is that when the political aspect of a state is affected, automatically, the socio-economic fabrics are affected. The study assessed the incessant attacks that attended Libyan state. The study critically looked at how the impact registered on the uniqueness of the state has affected the autonomy and security of Libyan state which remained prime to her national interest. In all, the section explored the erosion of political, economic, philosophical and legal sovereignty of Libya due to NATO's intervention to save Libyan state. Thus, the bulk of this discussion focused on the indices of sovereignty and how the intervention has really affected the sovereignty of Libya.

Just as we stated abinitio, sovereignty is the claim to be ultimate political authority, subject to no higher power as regards the making and enforcing of political decisions. In the International system, sovereignty is the claim by the

independent state to attain full self-government, and the mutual recognition of claims to sovereignty is the basis of international society (Mclean, 1996: 464). Nwangwu (1989: 45) state that

> Sovereignty means the full and exclusive legal power to make and enforce laws for people within a definite territory and under a definite jurisdiction. When a nation is formally recognised as having the exclusive right to make policy for that nation, territory and people, such a nation is sovereign or formally independent.

In a similar note, Garner in Agarwal (2008: 156-158) summarily presents the following as the indices of sovereignty which include; permanence, exclusiveness, comprehensiveness, inalienability, unity, imprescriptibility, indivisibility, absoluteness, originality. Upon these indices are found the basic where the political authority of presidents resides and it spells the level of autonomy reserved for states.

In a more explicit perspective, Laski (2006) stated that every independent State is at liberty to determine its foreign policy and to join any bloc of power it likes. Any other state does not reserve any right to interfere with the external matter of an independent state. Thus, by external sovereignty we mean that every state is independent of other states. He went on to explain that ssovereignty refers to the degree of autonomy possible in state decision processes. It reflects the ability to act. All the factors that undermine this ability to act constitute limitation on sovereignty. Such limitations come from both external and internal environment. Sovereignty is a concept that suggests extensive autonomy of a ruling class from the internal and external social environment. He went on to state that external limitations on sovereignty arise when a state is tied through various linkage groups and processes with much stronger states. It can be in areas of the market for land, labour, material and service, technology, capital and governmental activities and political interaction. Internal limitations on sovereignty arise from a low level of general economic development, particular

industrial capacity and from low levels of national unity and morale, weak political will on the part of the national leadership, a dependent and diffident (insecure) government. These limitations encouraged tensions that provided foreign powers with the opportunity to align with internal forces and intervene in the domestic life of a state. A country consumed by conflicts and instability is too weak or unwilling to ward off the designs of outside powers.

In that regard, the position of Libyan is by no means far from the above explanations as it tried to provide linkage force on why the intervention in Libya was made possible. Despite the logic and position of scholars on what really constitute sovereignty, the concept and practices over the years is beginning to experience a serious reverse in that what really characterised the sovereignty now suffer defeat due to the evolution of globalisation and internationalism. This section of the study is designed to understand the impact of NATO's intervention on the sovereignty of the Libyan state. It serves as the bane of this study for it is upon it that the position of this study is established. Thus, the following sub-headings were provided to aid the understanding of the study.

- Violation of Libyan sovereignty and homogeneity (Unity): The weakening of the supremacy and inalienability of the sovereignty
- Effects on the indivisibility, comprehensiveness on state sovereignty and Challenges to the Military Forces in Libya
- Abuse on the internal security and absoluteness of the sovereignty of Libyan state
- Deplorable increase in violence, Abuse of Human Rights and the legality of state sovereignty
- External abuse of Local Economy and its Implication on Economic Development of Libya
- Impact on the indivisibility and comprehensiveness of Libyan state

6.1 The weakening of the supremacy and inalienability of the sovereignty of Libya

The impact of NATO involvement in Libyan crisis has to a large extent wrecked serious havoc on the legal sovereignty and supremacy of the state. When a state lacks internal and external sovereignty with an attendant collapse of law and order, such state is conceived to be weak. Under Gaddafi, the political hierarchical structures were there and the economy was robust and rated as one of the best in Africa. The intervention deeply affected the dynamics of the Libyan sovereignty to the extent that the supremacy of Libyan constitution and authority was lost with the aid of foreign intervention aided by NATO. With the end of the war which aided the exit of Gaddafi, the state of Libya was thrown into comatose with ceaseless attacks from every quarter living the leadership of the state helpless and unable to bring looming anarchy ravaging under control. It inflicted a serious danger to the extent that the security of lives and property in Libyan were threatened and lost. This was never a doubt as the Prime Minister of Libyan was at a time in 2012 kidnapped and ransom was demanded. This became the height of insecurity and abuse of state supremacy which tried to crumble the political fabrics of Libyan state (Ashley, 2011, Fahim, 2011 and Kartas, 2013). Today, many political scholars are branding Libya a failed state due to the total collapse of the socio-political, economical, legal sovereignty and technological bases that attend the state. This owes a lot to the weakening and suffocation of sovereign values of a state. It has become a major challenge on the Libyan state. The major challenges this posed to the state include; regional and ethnic power struggles and independent efforts to sell or smuggle oil.
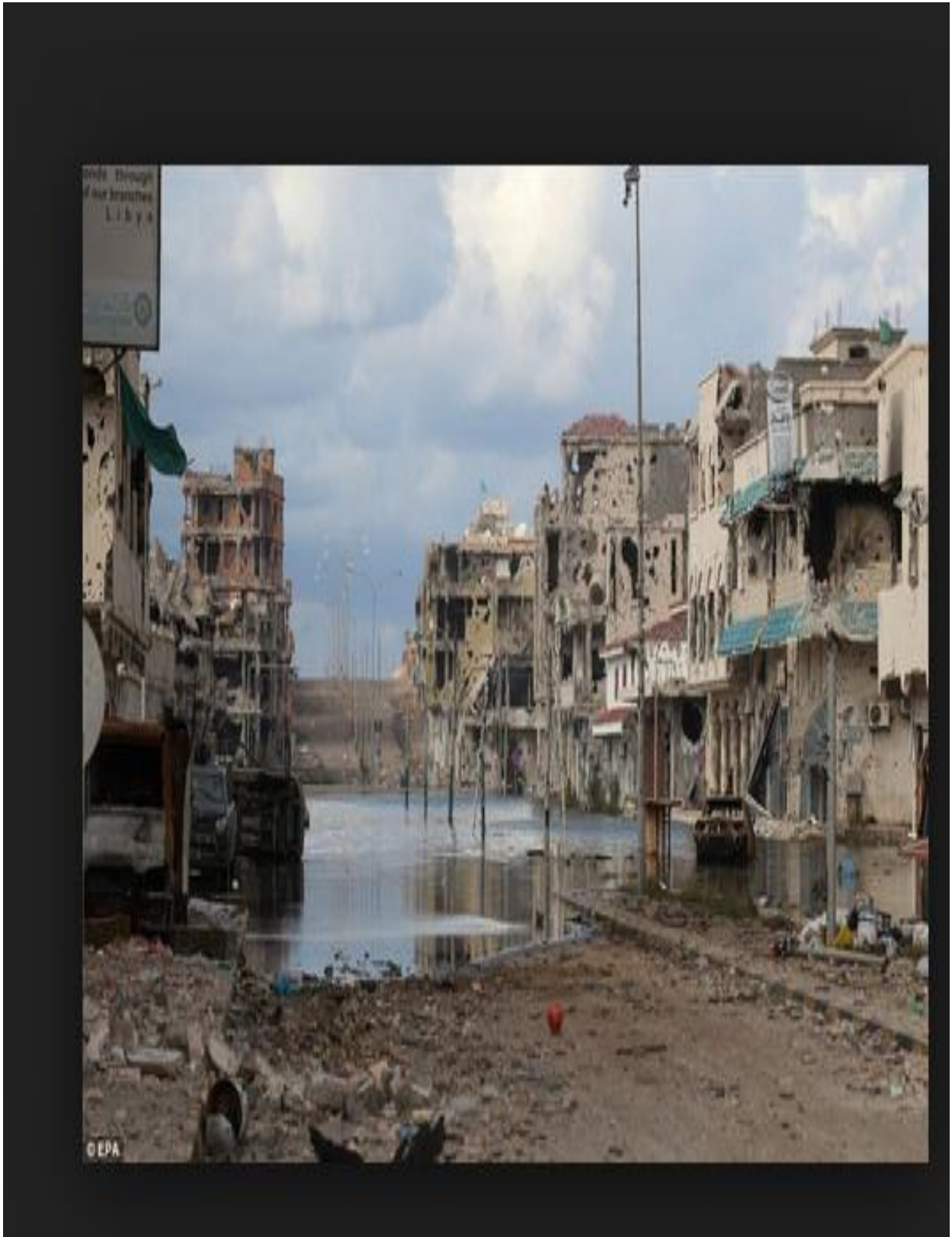
Furthermore, the impact of NATO's incursion on the sovereignty of Libya is that it has completely diminished the sovereignty, structures and values, living the state hopeless and helpless. In other words, the intervention has greatly affected the sovereignty of Libya with its attendant manifestations in diverse forms. The implication is that it has eroded the internal comfort the people of Libya once enjoyed despite the autocratic nature of the regime. These are all the remnants of NATO's intervention in the Libyan sovereign state. One thing that is pertinent about the involvement of NATO in Libyan crisis is its aftermath. It was an attack termed R2P but turned into a full blow reprisal attack that ended in a regime change. The intervention instead of promoting the peace and security of Libyans suffocated the peaceful atmosphere thereby resulting to great loss of lives and property with promises of democracy bartered (Kartas, 2013).

The impact of the war did not just devastate Libyan state but threw the state on a reverse gear with the attendant war without end. It has led to an up rise in ethnic confrontations which has remained unending. With NATO's intervention in Libyan crisis, there has been a consistent problem in Libya since the war came to an end. Each day that passes, it is one problem or the other. The various ethnic groups have risen against themselves. Others include, the kidnap of a sitting Prime Minister, Bombing major installations of the state, ceasing of Ports, near ethnic cleansing, etc. The worst part of it is that NATO is nowhere to be found. The process of peace execution and building was left in the hands of the National Transition Council (NTC) that lacked legitimacy with such a huge responsibilities (Richards, 2013). This was at a time when the central power moderating the state affairs hardly enjoys minimal support from the inhabitants of the state. The implication is so obvious in Libya as the state struggles to re-establish herself within the comity of nations. It thus, questions the essence of

the intervention and what is left after the war. Below is the picture showing the level of destruction inflicted on the state. See Picture 1.

In line with the above, the realists responded that the global stage is one conceived in extreme struggle for dominance and supremacy of stronger states over the weaker states. It signals the intentions of stronger states over the weaker in terms of resource distribution and acquisition. It explains why western capitalist states are so concerned about the nature and character of leadership among the developing states especially those states with vital resource deposits. Libya under Gaddafi was never an exception. U.S. and the western states were never given a free ride to milk the oil deposit in Libya under Gaddafi's administration (Richards, 2012). As a result of the rift that existed between them, there was global conspiracy that resulted in the removal of Gaddafi from office. This explains why NATO was involved to help ensure speedy removal of Gaddafi through UN resolutions. Instead of embarking on saving the lives of those living in Benghazi under R2P, the programme was refocused towards ensuring regime change (Friedman, 2012 and Ashley, 2011). At the removal of Gaddafi from office, the western states speedily installed a regime that will at all times succumb to their whims and caprices. That was exactly what was used to replace the administration of Gaddafi. The implication remains that interested states ended up in instituting a puppet regime that can hardly challenge their intentions on the expansion and concerned oil benefits.

Summarily, without belabouring the obvious, one is not left in doubt to posit that there was serious abuse on the sovereignty of Libya by NATO which was unlawfully pursued under the umbrella of **regime change**.

Picture 1

Picture of NATOs disrespect of Libyan sovereignty
Source: https://libyaagainstsuperpowermedia.org/2014/04/09/eyes-for-peace-the-nato-bombing-killed-2-of-the-population-in-libya-may-17-2012/

6.2 Effects on the indivisibility, comprehensiveness on state sovereignty and challenge to the Military Forces in Libyan

With the war in Libya ended, a new version of political division cropped up. This time it is a political vendetta on those who supported King Idris and that of Gaddafi with its attendant ethnic rivalries. While Gaddafi was in power, he was fear by many and to that he was able to use his position to instil fear in the lives of his people and inculcated discipline across the length and breadth of Libyan state. During his reign, he was able to garner so many supporters to himself that they are ever ready to stake their lives for him (Chossudovsky, 2011). Nevertheless, Chossudocsky stated that the exit of Gaddafi was attended by various groups' rivalries which include, the Berbers, Arabs, Tuaregs, Tebu, Toubou, nomads and semi-nomads, etc. Thus, it was more or less a tribal and ethnic rivalry which was so intense that so many lives and property were destroyed. At this point, one wonders what the intervention was if not to help protect lives, but it ended in abysmal devastation of the sovereign state of Libya.

Again, the emergence of two parallel governments competing for influence is also a major political setback, one in the capital city Tripoli and the other in the Eastern city of Tobruk remains a negative testimony to this intervention (Raghavan, 2015). As a result of the way and manner the intervention was conducted, it leaves nothing but political spell on the sovereignty of Libya that the intensity of the conflict elicits hopelessness for the state of Libya. The situation in Libya does not require prophesy on the state of the nation as lots of challenging activities are going on in the state. Thus, since the termination of Gaddafi's life and era, the inhabitants of Libya are living in fears. The implication of the whole exercise is that the exit of Gaddafi signalled the emergence of various opposing groups demanding for their fair share of

national booties. Series of attacks on both the officers of the state and the citizens were recorded. Just as we stated above, the situation got to a point that resulted in the kidnapping of the Prime Minister (UNSMIL, 2014).

In both Tripoli and Benghazi, all sides have been resorting to a variety of weapons in populated areas, including small arms, GRAD rockets, mortars, anti-aircraft guns, tanks and air attacks. Air strikes by "Operation Dignity" on populated areas have been frequently taking place in Benghazi since May 2014, while in Tripoli there have been two air sorties against Operation Dawn armed groups (UNSMIL, 2014). There is no denial of the fact that Libya has lost lots of men in their fight to resist western dethronement of Gaddafi. In the course of that, so many ammunitions and weapons of war were utilized and destroyed. ***See picture 2 and 3 as evidence on the destruction of lives of Libyans.*** A division was introduced with some faction moving to the side of the rebels and other pulling their full weight behind the reigning authority of Gaddafi. As a result of those losses, the military strength of Libya was reduced to nothing, thus, making its ability to resist external interference a farfetched one (Ogwu, 2013). The obvious is that every department in Libya suffered serious casualty resulting in great loss of man power in the state. The wholeness (comprehensiveness) and indivisibility of the state was lost reducing the military strength Gaddafi once boasted with drastically.

Picture 2

Eyes for Peace: "The NATO bombing killed 2% of the population in Libya" May 17, 2012

Picture 3

Source: Eye of Peace: https://libyaagainstsuperpowermedia.org/2014/04/09/eyes-for-peace-the-nato-bombing-killed-2-of-the-population-in-libya-may-17-2012/

Consequently, it is the western inability to control the movement of ammunition that was responsible for the situation in Libya and series of uprising in Arab states otherwise known as Arab spring. It depicts nothing but a global conspiracy to unseat Gaddafi. From the above political angles discussed, it showed the spate of havoc inflicted on Libya which violated the spirit and letters of the fourth UN criteria on humanitarian intervention where the application of military action left the state worse than it was.

6.3 Abuse on the internal security and absoluteness of the sovereignty of Libyan state

The crisis that rocked Libya in 2011 was so enormous that the state was bombarded with high tech-ammunitions. From the table 4 below, it was obvious to note that as a result of the heavy exchange of war weapon by the parties involved in the crisis of which Gaddafi was over powered, so many lives were lost which ran into tens of thousands. It did not end there as properties worth billions of dollars were destroyed, all in a bid to offer humanitarian assistance needed to save the lives of people living in Benghazi. This issue has been given so much attention in this study for it formed the bedrock of this research. **Table 4** below also has a lot to say concerning the unlawful intervention which left the state with unimaginable death tolls. It presented an articulation of various international bodies NGOs, IGOs views report on death toll in Libya over time.

Table 3

Death Total of Protester, Armed Belligerents and Civilians

s/n	Sources	Libyan Casualties	Time/Period
1.	World Health Organization	2,000 killed	February 15 – March 2, 2011
2.	International Federation for Human Rights	3,000 killed	February 15 – March 5, 2011
3.	Libyan League for Human Rights	6,000 killed	February 15 – March 5, 2011

4.	National Transitional Council	10,000 killed	February 15 – April 12, 2011
5.	UN-Human Rights Council	10,000 – 15,000 killed	February 15 – June 9, 2011
6.	Aljazeera English	13,000 killed	February 15 – June 18, 2011
7.	National Transitional Council	30,000 killed	February 15 – Sept 18, 2011
8.	National Transitional Council	25,000 killed	February 15 – Oct, 2011

Source: Casualties of Libyan Civil war 2012

A breakdown on the spate of death was also given to support the views of the table presented above. The position of the table came with definite locations and number of casualties suffered by the Libyans in the attack that was branded humanitarian intervention to save the lives of the people living in Benghazi. Thus, table 5 attested to the depth of losses suffered by the inhabitants of Libya far above the genocide Gaddafi was accused of with the following stated;

Table 4:   Civilian death in Libya in 2011

NA = Not Available

NR = Not Reported

Date	Opposition Fatalities	Government Fatalities	Civilian Fatalities	Details
February 6	1	N R	NA	Protest in Roujdane
February 17-20	332 – 479	163	"	First Battle of Benghazi
February 17 -25	300 – 700	N R		Tripoli Clashes
February 17	4-10	N R		Protest in Ababiya
February 18	2	N R		Protest Qubah
February 18-May 15	376	358 -545		Battle of Misrata
February 20	4	N R		Protest in Tobruk
February 20	3	N R		Protest in Zintan
February 21-22	N R	37		Revenge killings against loyalist in Benghazi
February 21	15	3		Rebel capture of La Abraq Airport in Bayda
February 22 -23	9	N R		Protest in Gharyan

February 23	2	16		Captured and execution of loyalists fighter at Derna
February 18 –15			610 - 862	Battle of Misrata
February 16	22	N R	N A	Captured and Execution of rebel fighters at Sirte
March 1-13			39	Shelling of Zuwara
March 1 – August 18	500 – 517	397		Nafusa mountains campaign
March 1 – July 20	27	N R		Fighting at the Algerian – Libyan border
March 2	14	2 – 10		First battle of Brega
March 4 – 12	71 – 81	4 – 27		Battle of Ra's lanuf
March 4	34 – 100	N R		Explosion at an arms depot in Benghazi
March 6	182 – 230	1		Battle of Bin Jewad
March 6			1	Shooting in Bayda
March 12			1	Killing of Aljazeera camera man near Benghazi
March 13 – 15	7	25		Second battle of Brega
March 14	7	16		Government retaking of Zuwara
March 15 – 26	136	41	25 – 30	Battle of Ajdabiya
March 15	1	N R		Rebel fighter plane clashed
March 17	NR	1-2		Bombing run on the Benghazi military air base
March 18	3	NR	3	Fighting in Zuwetina
March 19 – 20	261	27 – 30		Second battle of Benghazi
March 19 – July 13			1108	NATO bombing campaign
March 20	1	NR		Killing of rebel activist in Benghazi
March 22 – 24	N R	19-28		Coalition air strikes on Tripoli
March 26 – 30	12	7		First Gulf of Sidera Offensive
March 28	1	N R		Execution of rebels at Sirte
March 31 – April 17	46 – 49	28		Third battle of Brega

Source: Casualties of Libyan Civil Way (2011)

Regrettably, what became the outcome of the intervention went far beyond the initial arrangement that came with the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) the lives of people living in Benghazi. The obvious was that what transpired was a monumental deviation from the main agenda to group interest and the manner with which it was pursued sent chill down the spine of nations lured into supporting and voting for the mission. The most important was that the intervention went contrary to the spirit and letter of UN panel document on humanitarian intervention. According to Kochler (1999) in Musiani (2008), the Human Right Watch (HRW) presented a set out criteria as found in World Summit Outcome Document (WSOD) and other UN panel document for Humanitarian Intervention (H I). The basic Criteria include:

1. Military action must be the last reasonable option to halt or prevent slaughter and should not be used if effective alternative are available;

2. The intervention must be guided primarily by a humanitarian purpose; humanitarian purpose must be the dominant reason for military action;

3. Every effort should be made to ensure that the means used to intervene (themselves) respect international human rights and humanitarian law, we do not subscribe to the view that some abuses can be countenanced in the name of stopping others;

4. It must be reasonably likely that military action will do more good than harm; Humanitarian Intervention should not be tried if it will cause more suffering.

Therefore, a look at the above states conditions shows that NATO violated all the preconditions and necessary conditions required for the application of the doctrine on humanitarian intervention. Based on the fact that it was stated that military actions should be last reasonable option to halt or prevent slaughter and should not be used if effective alternative are available poses strong indictment on NATO. The implication was that they failed did not

apply any other options in the intervention outside that of military. The manner the application of military action was carried out was not properly done as it suggested some ulterior intentions against the Libyan state.

In a similar note, the document suggested that the intervention must be guided primarily by a humanitarian purpose; humanitarian purpose must be the dominant reason for military action. At this point, it was not clearly stated the point at which humanitarian intervention must be carried out. What was observed was a strict adherence to a motive driven by national interest of states to champion the course of subjugating Libyan hegemony. Again, NATO was never interested in respecting the sovereignty of Libya as their interest was propelled by the desire to effect a regime change.

Furthermore, the document has it that every effort should be made to ensure that the means used to intervene (themselves) respect international human rights and humanitarian law. This study does not subscribe to the view that some abuses can be countenanced in the name of stopping others. Here, the whole world opined that NATO violated international standard and principles guiding humanitarian interventions. It formed the main reason for the various criticisms from many nations, especially third world states. This conforms to our position in the previous chapter where we argued that the UN Charter stated that willing nations that embarks on humanitarian intervention must report to the Secretary General of the body and that the office will be briefed on every stage of development in the course of the intervention. Unfortunately, not only that NATO was never anywhere near what the charter termed willing nation, still they failed to adhere to all the resolution of UN Charter and embarked on a fragrant abuse that sunk the political sovereignty of Libya.

Meanwhile, the document stated that the intervention must be reasonably likely that military action will do more good than harm; Humanitarian Intervention should not be tried if it will cause more suffering. This forms the basis of the argument as pictures and tabular representation on the destruction of lives and property of the Libyan state stand to confirm. ***See picture 2 and 3***. It went further to question the support of the rebel and the provision of logistics that aided the removal the Libyan sovereign head. In other words, this section is not in any way suggesting abuse of rights which the Libyan suffered under Gaddafi but the role played by NATO in their application of the doctrine of necessity to save the inhabitants of Benghazi. ***See picture 4 below***. Humanitarian intervention is preferred when it receives the endorsement of the UNSC or other bodies with significant multilateral authority. Many of the UN resolution and reactions of states indicate a preference for interventions that abides with the norms of international law and charter of the UN. This is in consonance with the feeling that allowing any one state the privilege of the UN charter will be tantamount to allowing all, resulting to a state of global anarchy in which the weaken states will be at the mercy of the more powerful state. Thus, that is the contemporary condition of Libya.

Picture 4

Sources: Pictured: Libyan Islamist rebels pose with planes seized from Tripoli Airport

http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2741428/Officials-warn-ELEVEN-missing-

airplanes-Libya-used-carry-terrorist-attack-9-11-anniversary.html#ixzz4brFCFQTQ

6.4   Abuse on Human Rights and the Legality of State Sovereignty

The situation in Libya is one conceived in comatose and outright abuse of human rights as we have seen in the toll of death shown in picture 2 and 3. This situation has to a large extent affected democratic process in Libya. To be direct to this assertion, human right is a major indices for democratic evaluation. As a result of the myriads of conflict from so many quarters, there are so many human rights abuses. In as much as Libya was a state emerging from a military and autocratic regime, there were expectations that with the intervention of the western in addressing the crisis in Libya, the rights of the people will be respected. The situation is so tensed that so many agitations and reactions are coming from the people on the spate of neglect the people face. This ranges from humiliation to persistent attacks leaving the populace to seek peaceful atmosphere at nearby states.

The sorry situation in country showed the level of desperation in the people of Libya. According to International Organization for Migration (2011), at the end of March, Sub Saharan nationals who reached Dirkou reported that several thousand other African migrants were still trapped in Sabha, unable to leave Libya because of a lack of means to travel south towards the border (IOM, 2011). In the first week of May 2011, IOM was informed that around 4,000 Sub-Saharan Africans stranded in and around Misrata have no assistance or food. According to IOM data, a total of 62,058 Sub-Saharan migrants were repatriated during the civil war in Libya from neighbouring countries. Among them, 1 out of 2 (50.4%) were repatriated to Chad, 18.3% to Ghana, 16.0% to Mali and 14.4% to Niger (Kartas, 2013).

Sequel to the above, two considerations can be made about the impact of the Libyan crisis on international migration movements. On the one hand, Sub Saharan nationals were without any doubt the people most at risk, both in Libya

and at the borders (where repatriation activities led to an impasse). On the other hand, the capacity of neighbouring African countries to manage the crisis in terms of the reception of migrants was remarkable. Thus, Picture 4 shows the level of bombardment on the state and Chart 6 below shows the spate of movement both citizens and non citizens in their struggle for survival. It has led to border migration against the desires of the people who felt that values in their state have depreciated thus, a dent on human right.

Chart 4

Cross Border Movement of Migrants

CROSS BORDER MOVEMENT (CBM) OF MIGRANTS			
Arrived in	Nationality	30 Sept to 6 Oct	Cumulative
Egypt	Egyptians	2,043	143,514
	TCNs	210	86,000
	Total	2,253	229,514
Tunisia	Tunisians	8,952	105,865
	TCNs	335	207,549
	Total	9,287	313,414
Niger	Nigeriens	10	77,818
	TCNs	8	5,117
	Total	18	82,935
Algeria	Algerians	-	1,666
	TCNs	-	12,296
	Total	-	13,962
Chad[2]	Chadians	26	50,874
	TCNs	-	808
	Total	26	51,682
Italy[1]	Total	-	25,935
Malta[1]	Total	-	1,530
Sudan	Total	-	2,800
TOTAL ARRIVAL		11,584	721,772
TOTAL TCN		553	311,770

1 - Numbers only reflect arrivals from Libya (and not from Tunisia)
2 - Figures for Chad now include arrivals in Faya, Kalait, Mao, Mourdi and Ouniangakebir

IOM Cross Border Movements Map as of 7 October 2011

As of 7 October, IOM has recorded 721,772 people leaving Libya.

TUNISIA 313,414
TRIPOLI
ALGERIA 13,962
LIBYAN REPUBLIC
EGYPT 229,514
NIGER 82,935
CHAD 51,682
SUDAN 2,800

International Organization Migration (IOM) Report 2012

Picture 5

Source: Museum of conflict (War) in Libya.
https://www.google.com.ng/search?q=the+destruction+of+libyan+sovereignty&source=lnms
&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjrxbK04TSAhUJnRQKHUYdDX0Q_AUIBigB&biw=10
24&bih=475#imgrc=ty9xesDKlmuR9M:

6.5 External abuse of Local Economy and its Implication on Economic Development of Libya

As a result of NATO's intervention in the Libyan crisis which was executed in utmost bad fate, the economy of Libya was weakened and its local contents were despicably vandalized by both indigenes and foreign interveners. Due to the spate of bombing rained on the Libyan state resulting in abysmal loss of lives and properties. Such destruction of lives and property thus, raised numerous questions on the essence of the intervention which was aimed at improving the state of the economy and polity ended up in disaster. Accordingly, Jinadu (2012) succinctly opined that the intervention was the most reckless due to the fact that so many things were abused. He went on submit that the illogicality of the intervention has thrown the world body into a state of political and economic dilemma giving out the essence of their interaction with developing states as imperialistic. His position on the economic destabilization was captured in the wave of clear violation of economic sovereignty of the state.

The intervention instead of aiming at salvaging the essence of its course, ended up devastating the economic fabrics of the state, thereby raising ugly incidents of poverty occasioned by external abuse of local resources. These resources remain the gold tonic that drives the Libyan economy. It did not only suffer illegal bunkering from both local and internal operators but shrank lean the financial purse of the state in the course of building a collapsed state (Kabul, 2013). The manifestations of the intervention came in form of wide spread of poverty in the land through scarcity and unemployment created by a destroyed institution. Corruption now reigns supreme as a way of life. Thus, elaborate discussions on the economic abuse suffered by the Libyan state were captured based on the indices stated below. It showed the extent external violations went

in jeopardizing the social existence of the state. That has by extension thrown the state into a serious economic recession and a near condition of a failed state. The implication is that the state is economically helpless as the dynamics of the state revolved around the economic, the substructure which determines the super-structure (Ake, 1981).

Furthermore, Libya has to a large extent been affected by the effects of the war which have swept across the length and breadth of the state. The impact of the intervention has affected the economic sovereignty of the state. This has in so many ways affected the economic base and social production of the system. The manifestation of has numerous reflections as poverty has assumed the centre stage in the scheme of things. The effects of poverty have been occasioned by mass displacement, joblessness, excess destruction of agricultural products emanating from excessive bombardment of the socio-political and economic fabrics of the state, etc. This made it impossible for the Libya to sustain its financial autonomy. This has thus plunged the state into lending. The table below shows the impact of the war on the Libyan economy. A war that was supposed to save ended up killing the economy. A cursory look at Chart 4 below reveals that Libyan commitment by fiscal year before 2012 Libyan was zero, but in 2012 it went up to 3 billion dollars. It is a commitment to International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It shows the rate at which the economy is plundered leading to hardship and deprivations of all kinds within the state. Thus, one begins to questions the essence of the intervention leaving a bastardized economy behind.

Chart 5.

Libya: Commitments by Fiscal Year (in millions of dollars)*
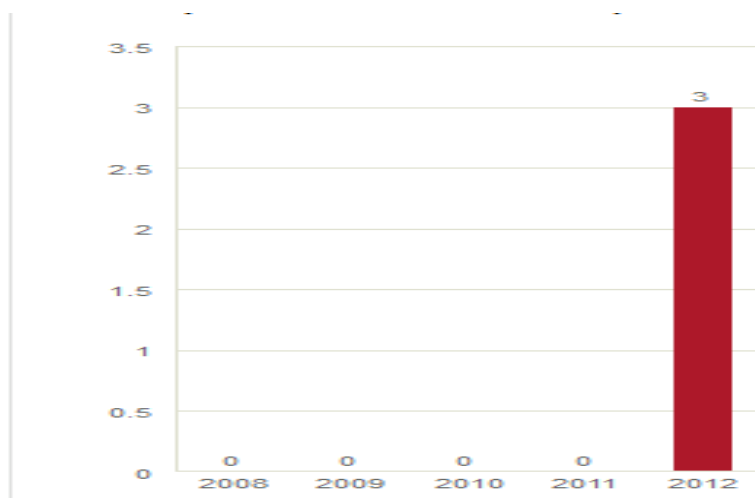
Amounts include IBRD and IDA commitments
Source: World Bank Report, 2015

Clear indices of the above could be understood on the level of decline in per capita income of the state and Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The implication is that the state is affect in many ways especially

- Longevity, measured by life expectance at birth;
- Knowledge, measured by adult literacy and number of years children are enrolled at school;
- Standard of living, measured by real GDP per capita at purchasing power parity.

As a result, according to World Bank Report (2015) real GDP is estimated to have contracted by 24 percent in 2014, following a 13.6 percent drop recorded in 2013. The economic recession over two consecutive years cut nominal GDP by half (US$ 82 billion in 2012 and US$ 41.2 billion in 2014) as did income per capita (from US$ 12,800 in 2012 to US$ 6,600 in 2014). The real economy continued to suffer in 2015 from disruptions to the oil sector. However, thanks to very low production in 2014 H1, oil production increased by 30 percent over the first 7 months of 2015 to an average 0.41 million bpd. This production level

represents a fourth only of the potential 1.6 million bpd. As a result, GDP is estimated to rise by 2.9 percent in 2015. Despite the broad consumer price subsidy system, inflation jumped by 7.6 percent over the first quarter 2015 mostly driven by higher prices of food (up 14.3 percent).

Table 5

Year	2012	2013	2014	2015
GDP	10	13.6	24	26

Source: World Bank Report on Libyan Real GDP (2015)

As a result of the disarray in the system emanating from the war, the economy slipped the more and many people lost their jobs. This has to a large extent created a serious unemployment within Libya. When so many edifices where people work were destroyed and the major installation bartered, it has kept the system in a serious shambles. Independent employers and institutions of work were suffocated. It has placed a serious financial burden on the state with the state struggling to emancipate herself from the dark effects of mean interventions from NATO in the name of humanitarian intervention. The effects are that so many institutions with a carrying capacity to employ were forced to shut down owing to the wanton destruction of properties that amounts to billions of dollars. With chart 5, it shows the rate at which unemployment rate rise and fall in Libya especially at the time of the intervention and beyond. In as much as so many have been displaced of their properties due to war and so many are left in the open with nothing. This has to a large extent heightened the spate of unemployment in Libya. No one knows how many years it will take to recover half of what was lost in an uncalculated intervention that impacted negatively of the Libyan state.

Libya Unemployment rate: For that indicator, The World Bank provides data for Libya from 1991 to 2013.

Chart 6.
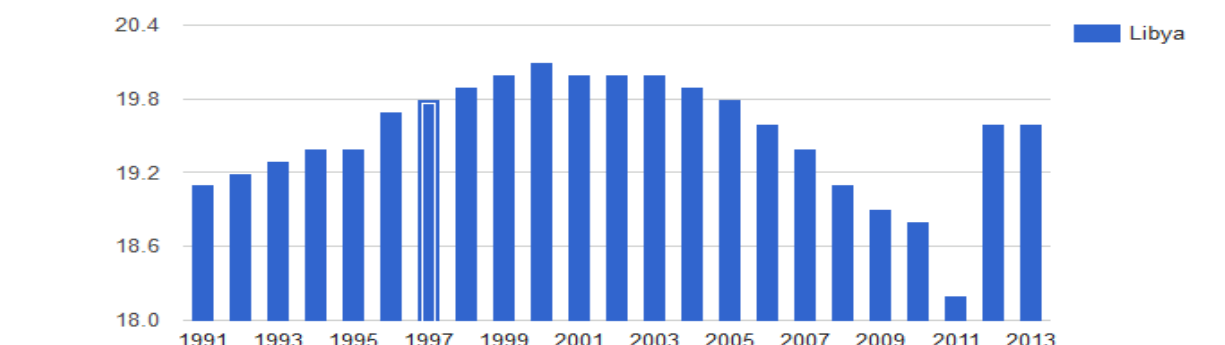
Sources: World Bank Report 2014

As a result, the intervention with its attendant destruction of sovereign base of state brought about serious socio-economic hardship which has no doubt affected the state to the extent that they were mass exodus of both aliens and citizens in search of greener pastures for the war has ended living them to live like carnivores. At the risk of not been consumed by the raging effects of the war. Leaving the system in search of pasture became apt for so many.

Table 6

Issues on Migration

Foreign nationals fled from Libya during the 2011 unrest by country of arrival and country of nationality			
Country of arrival	Country of nationality	Number	%
Egypt	Egypt	154,634	20.1
	TCNs (*)	88,163	11.5
	Total	242,797	31.6
Tunisia	Tunisia	136,749	17.8
	TCNs	208,489	27.1
	Total	345,238	44.9
Algeria	Algeria	1,666	0.2
	TCNs	12,296	1.6
	Total	13,962	1.8
Niger	Niger	79,015	10.3
	TCNs	5,413	0.7
	Total	84,428	11.0
Chad	Chad	50,874	6.6
	TCNs	808	0.1
	Total	51,682	6.7
Sudan	Total	2,800	0.4
Italy	Total	25,935	3.4
Malta	Total	1,530	0.2
Total		768,372	100.0
of which TCNs		315,169	41.0
(*) Third Country Nationals			
Source: IOM			

Source: International Organization migration (IOM) Report 2012

With the above stated statistics on Libyan migration, it is obvious to note that nobody leaves his/her state except when confronted with insurmountable national issues that threatens the security of lives and properties of the state. It has clearly exposed the dynamics and the state's inability to guard and protect the basic rights of the citizens resulting in a serious breakdown of the sovereignty of the Libyan state. The situation has resulted in Libya embarking on food subsidies. Food subsidies have significantly increased in recent years, imposing a toll on the government's budget. Data from Libya's Price Regulation Fund show that the nominal cost of food subsidies has increased from under 172million LYD in 2001 to over 2 billion LYD in 2012. Over the years, the basket of subsidized goods has seen some variation, from a minimum of 3 to a maximum of 13 products with flour, semolina, and rice consistently

subsidized throughout the last decade. A process of subsidy reforms took place between 2005 and 2010 but, at the outbreak of the revolution, these reforms were rolled back almost entirely. This led to a significant increase in the cost of food subsidies from 1.1% of GDP in 2010 to 2% of GDP in 2012 (Table 7 below). As a share of government expenditure, food subsidies also doubled from 2 to 3.8 percent between 2010 and 2012. Flour, sugar, rice, vegetable oil and semolina represent the lion's share of the cost of food subsidies to the government.

Table 7

Government Expenditure on Food subsidies 2001-2012 (Millions LYD)

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011*	2012*
Wheat	12	99	-31	77	0	0	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Flour	124	151	338	527	491	390	467	925	953	703	n.a.	n.a.
Sugar	11	22	39	44	55	54	107	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Rice	8	52	46	104	101	108	97	141	236	187	n.a.	n.a.
Olive and other vegetable oils	-6	5	99	165	120	116	134	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Tea	18	11	15	31	17	41	34	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Tomato paste	9	9	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Dry yeast	0	1	4	11	10	17	13	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Evaporated milk	-7	3	56	147	0	0	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Semolina	0	4	37	48	37	68	43	50	144	58	n.a.	n.a.
Miscellaneous	4	2	6	6	7	7	7	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Pasta	0	0	0	42	0	0	0	0	0	97	n.a.	n.a.
Total	172	357	625	1,202	839	801	902	1,117	1,333	1,046	1,414	2,046
in percent of GDP										1.1	3.3	2.0
in percent of government expenditure										2.0	4.8	3.8

Source: Central Bank of Libya Data for 2011-2012 in Abdelkrim, A. et al. (2015)

As a result of the above, so many persons, individuals, families and groups were displaced. This owes largely to the extent properties that worth billions of dollars were disrespectfully brought down. The amount of ammunition used and the foreign expertise that handled them left no stone unturned and they fought to throw out Gaddafi from office.

Summarily, having x rayed the impact of NATO's intervention in the Libyan crisis, the study able to decipher that despite the fact that NATO does not in any way possess the legal right to intervene, still the intervention was wrongfully applied going by the international standards and principles. The study shows

that the way and manner the crude application humanitarian intervention amounted to a total erosion of the sovereignty of Libya. The intervention got the state and its socio-political and economic fabrics destroyed. In other words, the study considering the established indices of sovereignty was able to prove that despite whatever intentions NATO wanted to establish in Libya, it ended shrinking the political space in Libya. The aiding of rebels by NATO was a serious indictment on the international community (Chossudovsky, 2011). This was seen as a dangerous global politics as it has announced the extent nations can go in order to achieve their various interests. It has set a dangerous precedence on global politics where a support is lent to a rebel group by external forces that were expected to mediate and curb political challenges within the Libyan state. The overthrow of Gaddafi through a regime change programme was also an indictment on NATO. The inability of UN to show supremacy over NATO's intervention in Libya suggested conspiracy. The implication was that not sanction or restriction was given even at a time when the reported cases of NATO abuse of international order were established. It is based the above stated argument that the researcher was able state that the involvement of NATO in Libyan crisis was never on humanitarian intervention but an incursion on the sovereignty of Libya. The explanations gave credence on how the intervention in the Libyan crisis by NATO has significantly impacted on the sovereignty of the state. It thus, validates the both the second and third hypotheses which stated that the intervention of NATO has significantly impacted on the sovereignty of Libyan state and has also proved that the intervention of NATO did not enhance peaceful resolution in the crisis in Libya considering the huge impact of destruction suffered by Libya.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1   Summary

In sum, it is germane to note that Libyan sovereignty was abused by US-NATO led mission which pulled down the foundation of the Libyan state. The study captured in details the dynamics of the NATO's involvement in Libyan crisis which falls within two premises; (a) that the involvement of NATO in Libyan political crisis was a design to save the threatened and jeopardized lives of the Libyans living in Benghazi. That was provoked by the sporadic killings and disappearance of top citizens perceived to be enemies of the state. With the resolution 1970 and 1973, that gave power to willing nations as stipulated in Article 53 and 54 of the UN resolution to use any means to ensure the protection of Libyan citizens living in Benghazi and the logic of 'no fly zone', NATO was illegally empowered under the leadership of United states of America to invade the territory of Libyan on humanitarian grounds; (b) on the other hand, it argued that the involvement of NATO was an incursion on the sovereignty of Libya. It further argued that the manner and velocity with which NATO invaded Libyan territory was a total breach of the sovereignty of Libya. The implication is that more explanations attended NATO's involvement which was premised on the following; (i) that Libyan is not a member of NATO and therefore, it lacked the *locus standi* to intervene in Libyan crisis, (ii) there are legitimate bodies that has the potentials to intervene which include; the UN Security Council, AU, Arab League and Independent states of UN; (iii) that article 53 of UN resolution did not include NATO as part of the willing nations who are also expect to report to Secretary General or work in harmony with them, (iv) that NATO abused its mission by abandoning to saving the lives of

the citizens living in Benghazi for 'regime change'. These were totally preposterous from their mission in Libya. Thus, the whole exercise was marred with irregularities and inconsistencies of various types which have to a large extent thwarted the very existence of Libyan state.

From the overall study, it was revealed that:

1. Gaddafi's act of genocide and neo-colonial tendencies were major cause of NATO intervention in Libyan crisis;
2. NATO intervention has negative impacts on the sovereignty of the Libyan state;
3. The Intervention of NATO in Libyan crisis failed to enhance peaceful resolution as NATO abandoned their initial mission for regime change and aiding of rebels.

The implication is that NATO ended up aiding the rebels in removing a sitting government; failed to adhere strictly to the UN main guideline on humanitarian interventions and also failed to report or liaised with the UN Secretary General as indicated in the resolution that empowered the involvement under Article 53.

7.2   Conclusion

Having carried out this systematic research guided by hypothetical exploration, theoretical and conceptual framework, we are led by empirical evidence to conclude that the crisis in Libya was a manifestation of communicative frustration, abuse of administrative principles and social values consequent upon so many years of shrunk political space and neglect which manifested itself in the manipulation of the political and fiscal system. It is on that occasion that NATO surreptitiously crept in and rained unimaginable havoc better imagined than experienced on the Libyan state. Thus, NATO's involvement could better be described as an incursion on the sovereignty of Libya considering the quantum and extent of abuse of protocol that attends the

involvement. The lives NATO claimed she wanted to protect were subsequently destroyed far beyond expectation. Thus, such act has thrown so many into destitution, displacement, hunger and excessive want and lack. The killing of Muammar Gaddafi was done in utmost bad fate. He (Gaddafi) should have been prosecuted for Genocide and war crime and if he was found guilty and the law will be allowed to take its due cause (just like the case of Saddam Hussein). It has thus made the whole exercise a global disaster with United Nations seeing nothing in it and its impact still hunt the incumbent and the transition government in Libya faced with a conflict and war prone-state at all times.

7.3   Recommendations

A research of this nature is imperative when a meaningful solution is given to the study. From the above stated logic, it would be germane to posit the following as meaningful solution, that if applied will help protect the sovereignty and autonomy of weaker states. They include the following:

a. Defined role for NATO: There should be a defined role for NATO in order to help protect the sovereignty of the weaker states and also avoid the selfishness of stronger states. The implication is that the powers of NATO in the contemporary world has grown beyond limits that other smaller states are beginning to get live in fears with the manner of invasions and attacks emanating from them. It will be incumbent on United Nations, the bigger body to call them to order. This they can do by defining the extents and roles of NATO and also be determined to caution them on their excesses.

b. Rising up to challenges: United Nations should stir up and face reality. Since NATO started assuming powers that come its way, United Nations Organization looks more of a weaker union. The kind of support UN continues to give NATO has continued to keep lots of people in abysmal

confusion on its implication on other states. Thus, this study calls on United Nations to brace up to its challenges and be deeply involved in finding solution to global quagmire than leaving it in the hand of NATO for capitalist advancement. The Security Council should lace its shoes and square up with the major challenges of global indiscipline, sovereign and human rights abuse.

c. There is need for a global conference to re-define the import of sovereignty to avoid the unnecessary ambiguity created by supra-nations against the weaker states. This should be done under the umbrella of United Nations with the General Assembly coming out with lasting decision on global challenges. The essence is to give other states the opportunity to partake in building a modern international environment devoid of excessive external interference. It will also give them room to discuss and address other forms of challenges that pose serious threat to global peace and security especially, terrorism, sovereign abuse, etc.

d. Sanction: Meaningful sanctions should be meted to erring states collectively by other states and such should be followed to the letter irrespective of which state is involved. This could be made possible when other states adhere to the adjudications of the International Court of Justice. This is because if weaker states interests are not protected, very soon a second phase of colonialism and imperialism will be established with weaker states lurking themselves under the mercy of greater nation, thus, building up new empires.

e. United Nations should endeavour to develop a set of policy guidelines to enhance its collaboration in UN mission with the non application of Chapter VIII on regional organizations such as NATO. Such policy guidelines should be spelt out, in clear terms, the condition governing UN collaboration with such organization. This will help avoid a situation of coverage that characterises the current UN/NATO interaction.

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APPENDIX

A tabular chronology of major events in Libyan

YEAR	EVENT
The oldest	Accounts of Libya, is connected to Pheonician colonies established in first half of the last millennium BC
7th century BC	Phoenicians settle in Tripolitania in western Libya, which was hitherto populated by Berbers
6th century BC	Carthage conquers Tripolitania
5th century BC	Rise of the Garamantian Empire in today's Fezzan
4th century BC	Greeks colonise Cyrenaica in the east of the country, which they call Libya.
74 BC	Cyrenaica conquered by Rome. Further Roman advances south is halted by the Garamantians. The region is later named Libya, where today's north-eastern Libya is called Libya Superior, while today's north-western Egypt is called Libya Inferior.
107 BC	North-western Libya conquered by Rome, and comes under administration of Africa Proconsularis, which has its administrative centre around Carthage. The region becomes later a province of its own, under the name Tripolitania.
455 AD	Vandals take possession of Libya
AD 643	Amr Ibnu l-As conquers north-eastern Libya, known as Barka, and the region becomes part of the new Muslim Empire, governed from Madina in today's Saudi Arabia
647 AD	Tripolitania is conquered by the Arabs
1146	Tripolitania and Cyrenaica is conquered by the Normans of

	Sicily
1521	Barka is incorporated in the Ottoman Empire, but control remains in the hands of local rulers
1551	Tripolitania becomes vassal state under the Ottoman Empire.
16th Century	Libya becomes part of the Ottoman Empire, which joins the three provinces of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Fezzan into one regency in Tripoli.
1711	Rise of the Karamanli dynasty, which served to protect the corsair activity centred to Tripoli, and strongly irritating European powers. Still, trade between Libya and Europe thrives. Much of this trade was with slaves, destined for the American continent
1835	As the Karamanli dynasty had become increasingly less popular, due to economical inefficiency and abolishing of corsair activity and slave trade, the Ottoman sultan has his nominal representative removed from power in Tripoli
1842	Fezzan comes under nominal Ottoman control.
1843	Muhammad Ibn Ali s-Sanussiy, leader of a increasingly powerful religious movement, chooses Cyrenaica as his seat. The Sanussiy movement becomes important all over Libya.
1911	Italian invasion, and a battle over control of Libya starts. The Sanussiys become the leaders of Libyan resistance.
1912	The Ottoman Empire renounces its claim over Libya
1911-1912	Italy seizes Libya from the Ottomans. Omar al-Mukhtar begins 20-year insurgency against Italian rule

1920s	Libyan resistance grows as Senussi dynasty joins in alongside the Mukhtar campaign. Tripolitania and Cyrenaica is united under Italian rule.
1931	Italy breaks resistance through combination of major armed operations and concentration camps for rebel population. Al-Mukhtar is captured and executed. End of the Italian colonisation of Libya, when the Sanussiys give in.
1934	Italy unites the provinces as the colony of Libya and steps up Italian migration as part of an eventual plan for the incorporation of Libya into a Greater Italy.
1942	Allies oust Italians from Libya, which is then divided between the French, who administer Fezzan, and the British, who control Cyrenaica and Tripolitania.
1943	With the fall of the Axis powers in the World War II, Great Britain and France divides Libya: Tripolitania and Cyrenaica comes under British control. Fezzan comes under French control.
1949	☐ Cyrenaica becomes independent emirate, with Emir Sayyid Idris Sanussiy as leader. ☐ **November 21:** United Nations grants independence for a united Libya, within the span of 2 years
1950	A national assembly convenes in Tripoli. Emir Idris is designated king of the coming kingdom.
1951	☐ October 7: Promulgation of the new constitution of Libya. ☐ **December 24:** King Idris declares the independence of the United Kingdom of Libya
1952	**February**: Elections held for parliament.

1953	☐ Libya enters the Arab League. ☐ **December 7:** Great Britain obtains rights on having military bases for a period of 20 years
1954	September 9: USA obtains equal agreement as Great Britain did the preceding year on military bases.
1955	Libya joins the United Nations
1956	Libya grants two American oil companies a concession of some 14 million acres
1961**	King Idris opens a 104-mile pipeline, which links important oil fields in the interior to the Mediterranean Sea and makes it possible to export Libyan oil for the first time. **September:** With the opening of a 167 km long pipe line, oil exportations start from Libya. Libya increases its share of oil profits from 50% to 70%.
1963	Amendments to the constitution, transforming Libya into one national unity, and allowing for female participation in elections.
1964	Negotiations between Libya and Great Britain and USA on cessation on military installations in Libya
1969 **September 1**	• Coup against the royal palace and the king, staged by young officers. The Libyan Arab Republic is established, and Mu'ammaru Gadhafi becomes head of a revolutionary council. • **September 14:** Libya takes effective control over banks (with 51%). • **December 11:** Temporary constitution replaced the old constitution. • **December 26:** Signing on confederation between Libya,

	Egypt and Sudan.
	• King Idris deposed in military coup led by Col Muammar Gaddafi, who pursues a pan-Arab agenda by attempting to form mergers with several Arab countries, and introduces state socialism by nationalising most economic activity, including the oil industry.
1970 March 31 and June 30	• Libya orders the closure of a British airbase in Tobruk and the giant US Wheelus air force base in Tripoli; property belonging to Italian settlers nationalised. • Last American and British troops leave Libya. • **July 7:** Libya nationalises the oil industry, and all Italian assets in the country
1971	National referendum approves proposed Federation of Arab Republics (FAR) comprising Libya, Egypt and Syria. However, the FAR never takes off.
1972 August 2	Declaration of a merger with Egypt to be staged.
1973	Col Gaddafi declares a "cultural revolution", which includes the formation of "people's committees" in schools, hospitals, universities, workplaces and administrative districts; Libyan forces occupy Aozou Strip in northern Chad.
1974 January 12	Merger between Tunisia and Libya is declared, but the incentive lasts only a couple of hours
1977 March 2	Col Gaddafi declares a "people's revolution", changing the country's official name from the Libyan Arab Republic to the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah and setting up "revolutionary committees" - heralding the start of institutionalised chaos, economic decline and general

	arbitrariness. ☐ **April 5:** Student demonstrations that are brutally suppressed. ☐ **July:** Border clashes with Egypt. ☐ **November:** Libya changes its national flag into the present all green.
`**1980**	Libyan troops intervene in civil war in northern Chad
1981	US shoots down two Libyan aircraft which challenged its warplanes over the Gulf of Sirte, claimed by Libya as its territorial water.
1984	UK breaks off diplomatic relations with Libya after a British policewoman is shot dead outside the Libyan embassy in London while anti-Gaddafi protests were taking place. **1984 May 8:** Assassination attempt on Gadhafi.
1984 May 8:	Assassination attempt on Gadhafi.
1985 September:	Libya expels 100,000 immigrant workers,- which strikes hard on neighbouring countries of Tunisia and Egypt. Closing of the borders to the two countries
1986	US bombs Libyan military facilities, residential areas of Tripoli and Benghazi, killing 101 people, and Gaddafi's house, killing his adopted daughter. US says raids were in response to alleged Libyan involvement in bombing of Berlin disco frequented by US military personnel. partially in an attempt to kill Gadhafi.
1987 March 27	• Liberalisation of the economy, loosening of the socialist structures. • **September:** Libya looses its occupied territories in

	northern Chad.
1988 April **1988** December -	Some political liberalisation, freeing of political prisoners. Borders with Tunisia and Egypt are reopened Lockerbie bombing - an airliner is blown up over the Scottish town of Lockerbie, allegely by Libyan agents.
1989 January-March	☐ actionsagainst Islamist group of Jihad, 1,500 arrests. ☐ **February 17:** Declaration of the Maghreb Union, together with Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. ☐ **September:** Establishment of a body for world Muslim revolution.
1992 April	UN imposes sanctions on Libya in an effort to force it to hand over for trial two of its citizens suspected of involvement in the blowing up of a PanAm airliner over the Scottish town of Lockerbie in December 1988.
1994	Libya returns the Aozou Strip to Chad.
1995 **April 1995**	Gaddafi expels some 30,000 Palestinians in protest at the Oslo accords between the Palestine Liberation Organisation and Israel. ☐ Libyanviolations on the UN ban on international flights in and out of Libya, with an airplane sending pilgrims to Mecca in Saudi Arabia for hajj. ☐ **September 1:** Gadhafi calls for pan-Arab expulsion of Palestinian refugees and immigrant workers, in order to halt the ongoing peace process between Israel and Palestine. Libya starts with sending Palestinians out of the country. ☐ **September 6 and 7:** Clashes between Libyan police and militant Islamists in Benghazi. Thousands of Islamists and

	Sudanese expatriates are arrested following the clashes.
	☐ **October 25:** Libya stops the expulsion of Palestinian expatriates.
1996 August	US trade laws involves a threat against any company that trade with Libya. The law is met by strong international reactions.
1999	Lockerbie suspects handed over for trial in the Netherlands under Scottish law; UN sanctions suspended; diplomatic relations with UK restored.
2000 September	Dozens of African immigrants are killed by Libyan mobs in the west of Libya who were said to be angry at the large number of African labourers coming into the country.
Lockerbie sentence **2001** 31 January	Special Scottish court in the Netherlands finds one of the two Libyans accused of the Lockerbie bombing, Abdelbaset Ali Mohamed al-Megrahi, guilty and sentences him to life imprisonment. Megrahi's co-accused, Al-Amin Khalifa Fahimah, is found not guilty and freed.
2001 May	Libyan troops help to quell a coup attempt against President Ange-Felix Patasse of the Central African Republic.
2002 January	Libya and the US say they have held talks to mend relations after years of hostility over what the Americans termed Libya's sponsorship of terrorism.
2002 14 March	The Libyan man found guilty of the Lockerbie bombing, Abdelbaset Ali Mohmed al-Megrahi, loses his appeal against the conviction and begins a life sentence of at least 20 years.
Compensation **2003** January	Libya is elected chairman of the UN Human Rights Commission despite opposition from the US and human rights groups.
2003 August	Libya signs a deal worth $2.7bn to compensate families of the

	Lockerbie bombing victims. Libya takes responsibility for the bombing in a letter to the UN Security Council.
2003 September	UN Security Council votes to lift sanctions.
2003 December	Libya says will abandon programmes to develop weapons of mass destruction.
2004 January **2004** March	Libya agrees to compensate families of victims of 1989 bombing of French passenger aircraft over Sahara British Prime Minister Tony Blair visits, the first such visit since 1943.
Nurses sentenced **2004** May	Five Bulgarian nurses and a Palestinian doctor are sentenced to death having been accused of deliberately infecting some 400 children with HIV. They are eventually freed under a deal with the European union.
2004 August	Libya agrees to pay $35m to compensate victims of the bombing of a Berlin nightclub in 1986.
2005 January	Libya's first auction of oil and gas exploration licences heralds the return of US energy companies for the first time in more than 20 years.
2006 February	At least 10 people are killed in clashes with police in Benghazi, part of a wave of international protests by Muslims who are angered by a Danish newspaper's cartoon depictions of the Prophet Muhammad.
2006 May	The US says it is restoring full diplomatic ties with Libya.
2006 September	Human Rights Watch accuses Libya of abusing the human rights of African migrants trying to enter the EU by forcibly repatriating them. Some of the migrants face possible persecution or torture at home, according to the report.

2007 January	Prime minister announces plan to make redundant 400,000 government workers - more than a third of the total workforce - to stimulate the private sector and ease public spending
2008 January	Libya takes over one-month rotating presidency of the UN Security Council in a step back to respectability after decades as a pariah of the West.
2008 August	Libya and US sign agreement committing each side to compensate all victims of bombing attacks on the other's citizens. Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi apologises to Libya for damage inflicted by Italy during the colonial era and signs a five billion dollar investment deal by way of compensation.
2008 September	US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice makes historic visit - the highest-level US visit to Libya since 1953. Ms Rice says relations between the US and Libya have entered a "new phase"002E
2009 February	Gaddafi elected chairman of the African Union by leaders meeting in Ethiopia. Sets out ambition of "United States of Africa" even embracing the Caribbean.
2009 June	Gaddafi pays first state visit to Italy, Libya's former colonial ruler and now its main trading partner.
2009 August	Lockerbie bomber Abdelbaset Ali al-Megrahi is freed from gaol in Scotland on compassionate grounds and returned to Libya. His release and return to a hero's welcome causes a storm of controversy.
2009 December	Diplomatic row with Switzerland and European Union after one of Gaddafi's sons is held in Switzerland on charges of mistreating domestic workers.

2010 January	Russia agrees to sell Libya weapons in a deal worth $1.8bn. The deal is thought to include fighter jets, tanks and air defence systems.
2010 June **2010** July	UN refugee agency UNHCR expelled. US senators push for inquiry into claims that oil giant BP lobbied for Lockerbie bomber's release. BP confirms it is about to begin drilling off Libyan coast.
2010 October **2010** December	European Union and Libya sign agreement designed to slow illegal migration. US diplomatic cables published by WikiLeaks indicate that Gaddafi threatened to cut trade with Britain if Lockerbie bomber died in prison.
2011 February	Anti -Gaddafi uprising Arrest of human rights campaigner sparks violent protests in eastern city of Benghazi that rapidly spread to other cities. Authorities use aircraft to attack protestors. Gaddafi insists that he will not quit, and remains in control of the capital, Tripoli.
2011 March	UN Security Council authorises a no-fly zone over Libya and air strikes to protect civilians, over which NATO assumes command. Backed by extensive NATO air raids, Libyan rebels initially capture territory but are then forced back by better-armed pro-Gaddafi forces. Rebels ask West for arms.
2011 July	**Obituary: Muammar Gaddafi** The international Contact Group on Libya formally recognises

	the main opposition group, the National Transitional Council (NTC), as the legitimate government of Libya.
2011 August

2011 August-September | Rebels swarm into Col Gaddafi's fortress compound in Tripoli, six months after the uprising began. With only a few remaining strongholds under his control, Col Gaddafi goes into hiding. His wife and three of his children flee to neighbouring Algeria.

African Union joins 60 countries which have recognised the NTC as the new Libyan authority. |
| **2011** 20 October | Col Gaddafi is captured and killed.

Three days later, the NTC declares Libya to be officially "liberated" and announces plans to hold elections within eight months. |
2011 November	Saif al-Islam, the fugitive son of former Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, is captured, becoming the last key Gaddafi family member to be seized or killed.
2012 January	Clashes erupt between former rebel forces in Benghazi in sign of discontent with the pace and nature of change under the governing NTC. The deputy head of the NTC, Abdel Hafiz Ghoga, resigns.
2012 February	Scores killed in clashes between Arab Zawi and African Tebu groups in Al-Kufra in the remote south-east.
2012 March	NTC officials in the oil-rich east, centred on Benghazi, launch a campaign to re-establish autonomy for the region, further increasing tension with the central NTC in Tripoli.

Mauritania arrests Gaddafi-era intelligence chief Abdullah al-Senussi at Nouakchott Airport, and insists it will investigate |

	him before considering an extradition request from Libya. The International Criminal Court and France also seek his extradition.
2012 May	Gunmen burst into government headquarters in Tripoli during a protest against the suspensions of bounty payments to groups that had fought against the Gaddafi government. Security forces restore order.
2012 June	Government struggles to control local militias, especially in Zintan in the West. The Al-Awfea Brigade briefly takes over Tripoli International Airport, and a pro-autonomy mob ransacks the election commission building in Benghazi. Tunisia extradites former prime minister Al-Baghdadi al-Mahmoudi.
2012 August	Transitional government hands power to the General National Congress, which was elected in July. The Congress elects Mohammed Magarief of the liberal National Front Party as its chairman, thereby making him interim head of state.
2012 September	Benghazi attack US ambassador and three other Americans are killed when armed men storm the consulate in Benghazi. The US believes armed Islamist groups used protests against a film produced in the US that mocks the Muslim prophet Muhammad as cover for the attack. Crowds in Benghazi drive out the Ansar al-Sharia and other militias from the city and nearby Derna, prompting head of state Mohammed Magarief to vow to disband all illegal militias.

	Mauritania extradites former spy chief Abdullah al-Senussi to Libya to stand trial over crimes allegedly committed under Col Gaddafi's rule.
2012 October	Mustafa Abu Shagur, prime-minister-elect, fails in two attempts to gain parliamentary approval for his government. The National Congress elects Ali Zidan, a liberal and leading opposition envoy during the civil war, to succeed him. Pro-government forces put down armed uprising in western town of Bani Walid. The Libyan authorities allege that Gaddafi loyalists are still present in the town - a claim rejected by local militiamen.
2012 November	New government led by Ali Zidan is sworn in. Benghazi police chief is assassinated by unknown gunmen.
2012 December	Former Prime Minister al-Baghdadi al-Mahmoudi goes on trial in Tripoli on charges of "acts that led to the unjust killing of Libyans" and of funnelling about $25m of public money through Tunisia to help forces loyal to Col Gaddafi.
2013 January	Libya dismisses security concerns that prompt Britain, Germany and the Netherlands to urge their citizens to leave the country's second city, Benghazi.

Sources: Compiled by the Researcher from timeline.com on Libya (Libyan Timeline 2013)

Taxonomy of Realisms

Types of realism	Key thinkers (classical and modern)	Key texts	Big idea
Structural realism 1 (human Nature)	Thucydides (430-400 BC) Morgenthau (1948)	The Peloponnesian War Politics Among Nations	International politics is driven by an endless struggle for power which has its roots in human nature. Justice, law, and society have either no place or are circumscribed.
Historical or practical realism	Machiavelli (1948) Carr (1939)	The Prince The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939	Political realism recognises that principles are subordinated to policies; the ultimate skill of the state leader is to accept and adapt to, the changing power political configuration in world politics.
Structural realism II (international system)	Rousseau (c. 1750) Waltz (1979)	The state of war Theory of International politics	It is not human nature, but the anarchical system which fosters fear, jealousy, suspicion and insecurity. Conflict can emerge even if the actors have benign intent towards each other.
Liberal realism	Hobbes (1651) Bull (1977)	Leviathan The Anarchical Society	The international anarchy can be cushioned by states who have the capacity to deter other states from aggression, and who are able to construct elementary rules for their coexistence.

Sources: Baylis, J. and Smith, S. ed. (2001). The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

A Tabular Representation of the Alliances Discussed

S/N	Name of the Alliance	Countries	Place of Interventions	Reason for the Alliance
1	Triple Alliance of 1596	Britain, France and Dutch Republic of United Provinces (seven) (now Netherlands)	. Spain	. Subdue Spain, . Favoured the recognition of Dutch as a sovereign territory.
2	Triple Alliance of 1668 (War of devolution and Austrian succession)	England, Sweden and United Province	. Spain	. Weaken Spain (resulted in war and was later resolved).
3	Quadruple Alliance of 1713	Great Britain, France, Netherlands and Austria	. Spain	. Dispute on who should inherit Spain after the death of Habsburg King of Spain.
4	Triple Alliance of 1717 Quadruple Alliance (1718)	Great Britain, France and United Provinces + Austria	. Britain . Spain	. Britain and . Prevent Spain from violating the 1713 treaty of Utrecht
5	Triple Alliance 1788	Great Britain, United Provinces and Prussia	. France	. subdue the growing power of France
6	Holy Alliance 1815	Russia, Prussia and Austria. Championed by Tsar of Russia	. Italy, France	. Use of religion to exert global dominion
7	Triple Alliance 1882	Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy (were enemy to triple Entente	. Britain . France	. Balance of power . Struggles and conflicts among European states
8	Triple Entente 1890	Great Britain, France and Russia	. Russia, France .United Kingdom.	. Triple alliance
9	Central power (also known as quadruple alliance) before WW1	Germany, Austria-Hungary, Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria	. France . Russia	. Russia . France . Serbia . subdue Allied forces
10	Allied Powers (also known as the Entente Powers)	United Kingdom, France, the Russian Empire, Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro and Japan	. Germany, Austria and Ottoman Empire	. Subdue Central Powers
11	North Atlantic treaty Organization 1949	Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Greece and Turkey	. Afghanistan . Iraq and Libya	. Kosovo, . Afghanistan, . Iraq and . Libya

		were admitted to the alliance in 1952, West Germany in 1955, and Spain in 1982. In 1990 the newly unified Germany replaced West Germany		
12	Warsaw Pact 1955	Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia (now the Czech Republic and Slovakia), East Germany (now part of the United Federal Republic of Germany), Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia (now the Czech Republic and Slovakia), East Germany (now part of the United Federal Republic of Germany), Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).	. NATO .Czechoslovakia	. Ideological war . Czechoslovakia
13	Economic Community Of West Africa States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) 1990	Anglophone ECOWAS members	. Liberia . Sierra-Leone	. aid the president of Liberia (1990) and . Sierra-Leone (1996).
14	United state unified combatant command	US Regional bodies	. Libya, .Iraq and Afghanistan	Iraq (CENTCOM) Libya (AFRICOM)

Source: Compiled by the Researcher, 2016

The Map of Libya