Libya pushes for handover of Gadhafi spy chief
http://www.ottawacitizen.com/news/Libya+pushes+handover+Gadhafi+chief/6327326/story.html

- # Libya pushes for handover of Gadhafi spy chief

Abdallah al-Senussi nabbed in Mauritania

By Laurent Prieur, Reuters March 20, 2012

- Libya stepped up pressure on Mauritania to hand over Moammar Gadhafi's feared intelligence chief Abdallah al-Senussi on Monday, sending a senior delegation to argue he must face Libyan justice.

  Senussi, 62, the last major Gadhafi associate on the run since the dictator's overthrow and death in a popular revolt last year, was arrested in Mauritania after he arrived there late on Friday on a flight from Morocco. France and the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague also want to take him into custody.

  A Mauritanian security source told Reuters authorities had yet to take a decision on the fate of Senussi, who is accused of playing a central role in repression and torture under Gadhafi.

- Libyan Deputy Prime Minister Mustafa Abu Shagour flew into Mauritania's capital Nouakchott to urge the West African country to hand Senussi over, citing what he called a "community of interests" between the two Arab League members.

  "We are attached to those ties and we are determined to take back Abdallah al-Senussi because he has committed crimes against Libyans, so that he can be judged in Libya by Libyan justice," he told reporters at Nouakchott airport.

  Sources close to the Mauritanian government said a meeting between the delegation and President Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz had been scheduled for Tuesday.

Twitter / @MustafaAG: I have met the President o ...
https://twitter.com/#!/MustafaAG/status/182170119781355520

-

  Dr.Mustafa Abushagur

  @MustafaAG

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I have met the President of Mauritania and he agreed to the extradition of Senussi to Libya.

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@MustafaAG Great news thank you. I hope the families of his victims will get justice through the courts & he can be punished for his crimes.

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Arwa Al-Sharif

@Arwa_ly

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@MustafaAG any pics plz ???

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Alaeddin Muntasser

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@MustafaAG Allahu akbar walelahe alhamd!!

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Hani Benamer

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@MustafaAG شكرًا لتواصل معنا .

20 Mar

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Libyans leaves Mauritania, hope to extradite Senussi | Reuters
http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/03/21/us-libya-senussi-idUSBRE82K12X20120321

Libyans leaves Mauritania, hope to extradite Senussi

- By Laurent Prieur and Hadeel al-Shalchi

NOUAKCHOTT/TRIPOLI | Wed Mar 21, 2012 4:53pm EDT

- (Reuters) - A Libyan delegation left Mauritania on Wednesday without Muammar Gaddafi's intelligence chief Abdullah al-Senussi, but the Libyan government spokesman said his extradition was expected soon.
- Libya is vying with France and the Hague-based International Criminal Court (ICC) to try Gaddafi's former right-hand man, who was arrested on Friday when he flew into the Mauritanian capital Nouakchott using a false passport.

  Mauritanian sources played down Libyan suggestions that a deal to extradite Senussi was almost complete, one calling it "wishful thinking", and said other countries also had a say in the case.
- "We have an assurance from Mauritania that it will extradite ... Senussi, but there are legal procedures which must be respected and we will wait," Libyan government spokesman Nasser al-Manee told reporters before boarding their plane.

  "No date has been set for his physical extradition, but it will be soon," he added.

  After arriving in Tripoli, Manee told a news conference Mauritania had "committed to handing him over to us and we deny anything that is otherwise."

- Libyan Deputy Prime Minister Mustafa Abu Shagour, leading the delegation, said on Twitter after talks with Mauritanian President Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz on Tuesday that Aziz had given his consent to Senussi's extradition and he would "soon be in a Libyan prison."

  Mauritanian sources differed.

- "No commitment of any kind whatsoever has been given in this case," an official source told Reuters.

  Another source close to the issue said: "At this stage no commitment has been given by the Mauritanian side, it looks like wishful thinking by the Libyans."

- Earlier, a security source in the ex-French colony, which is heavily dependent on foreign aid, said that other countries should also have a say in the fate of Senussi, who had been the last senior Gaddafi regime figure still at large following the dictator's overthrow and death in an uprising last year.

  The source declined to elaborate but several rights groups have said they doubt whether Senussi, 62, would get a fair trial in Libya and that he would be better transferred to the ICC to face charges of crimes against humanity.

- HELD BEHIND A HIGH WALL

  The Libyan delegation visited Senussi in detention and Manee said the former intelligence chief was "in good health".

  "He is in a normal situation in a jail, under strong security," he said. "All his rights as a prisoner are guaranteed."

  Officials have said Senussi was arrested with a young man who Manee said could be one of his relatives.

- Senussi is understood to be in detention in the main police training school in Nouakchott. The facility - surrounded by a high wall blocking the view from outside - was the only one that combined adequate security with a degree of comfort for Senussi, according to local security sources.

  Aziz, an army general who seized power in 2008 and won elections a year later decried by rivals as rigged, has had solid support from Paris that has helped him win international respectability and an IMF funding program.

  France wants Senussi in connection with a 1989 airliner bombing over Niger in which 54 of its nationals died.

- A second Mauritanian security source told Reuters on Tuesday France was arguing that its claim had priority because it had helped in last week's arrest of the ex-spy chief.

  Senussi is suspected of playing a central role in the killing of more than 1,200 inmates at Tripoli's Abu Salim prison in 1996. It was the arrest of a lawyer acting for relatives of the victims that sparked Libya's Arab Spring revolt in February last year.

  Senussi has also been linked to the 1988 bombing over Lockerbie, Scotland of a Pan Am jet that killed 270 people. A diplomatic source said on Tuesday the United States was keen to question him about that attack.

  (Additional reporting by Marie-Louise Gumuchian in Tripoli, Diadie Ba in Dakar; Writing by Mark John and Richard Valdmanis; Editing by Tim Pearce)

AU, UNSC need coherence: Ebrahim Ebrahim - Times LIVE

http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2012/03/12/au-unsc-need-coherence-ebrahim-ebrahim

- # AU, UNSC need coherence: Ebrahim Ebrahim

Sapa | 12 March, 2012

- Greater strategic political coherence is needed between the United Nations and the African Union, Deputy Minister of International Relations Ebrahim Ebrahim said on Monday.

- This could help avoid a repetition of what happened in Libya last year, he said in a speech prepared for delivery at the University of Limpopo.

  "This was aptly demonstrated during the conflict in Libya, where the pursuit of other agendas by non-African actors resulted in attempts to marginalise an African solution to the crisis."

  Ebrahim was referring to Nato forces' bombing of Libya and the eventual fatal shooting of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi.

  South Africa said it had only voted for a no-fly zone over Libya when it voted in a UN Security Council (UNSC) resolution last year.

  At the same time, it was a participant in an AU "roadmap" for a political solution in Libya, so South Africa was upset to see that Libya was actually being bombed.

- President Jacob Zuma said at the time that Gaddafi should have been handed to the International Criminal Court.

Ebrahim said Africa had in the past 10 years shown "remarkable political will and commitment" to rid the continent of conflicts and wars.

The AU had its own Peace and Security Council (PSC), to which South Africa belonged, an African standby force and a Continental Early Warning System to deal with threats to peace and security.

On the UNSC, more than 70 percent of their deliberations were on African conflict situations.

Six of the UN's 14 peacekeeping operations and nearly 80 percent of its peacekeepers are deployed in Africa, including the UN Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo with 23,383 staff, and the UN-African Union (Unamid) peacekeeping mission in Sudan with 27,501 staff.

- However, there is no African country with a permanent seat on the UNSC council. A permanent seat entitles the member country to veto, or block any decision it does not agree with. China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States are permanent members.

South Africa served as the president of the Security Council for January 2012 and took the opportunity to focus on how to enhance co-operation between the UN and the AU in the maintenance of international peace and security.

President Jacob Zuma presided over a "high level" debate on the subject and at the end of the debate, the UNSC unanimously adopted resolution 2033 of 2012.

This resolution reiterated the importance of establishing a more effective relationship between the AU's PSC and the UNSC.

Don't recognise Libya's NTC, Mugabe tells AU | News24
http://www.news24.com/Africa/Zimbabwe/Dont-recognise-Libyas-NTC-Mugabe-tells-AU-20120131

- # Don't recognise Libya's NTC, Mugabe tells AU

  2012-01-31 08:46

- Cape Town – Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe has warned that Africa might be re-colonised if leaders fail to handle issues as the continent's founding fathers used to do, his country's Herald website reported on Tuesday.

  According to the report, Mugabe said the African Union "should not rush to recognise Libya's National Transitional Council, but look at exactly what happened in that country leading to the callous murder of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi".

  The Zimbabwean leader was speaking during a session on Peace and Security at the AU summit in Ethiopia.

  He said America and Europe had run out of resources and "they will come to Africa" as the continent continues to discover more resources.

  Africa should have said "No, No" to the bombing of Libya by Nato, Mugabe said.

  "We should have said no, no to Nato," said Mugabe, adding that due to Africa's silence, "Gaddafi was killed in broad daylight, his children hunted like animals and then we rush to recognise the NTC".

  He said it was not the mandate of the Peace and Security Commission to recognise the NTC and the summit "should look at what happened and we should be deciding whether to recognise the NTC or not."

  - News24

Uganda strips Gadhafi-era ambassador of role - Boston.com
http://articles.boston.com/2012-02-17/news/31072066_1_ugandan-libyan-ambassador-diplomat

- # Uganda strips Gadhafi-era ambassador of role

  February 17, 2012|Rodney Muhumuza, Associated Press

- Ugandan officials have stripped Libya's ambassador of his title and evicted him from the embassy, saying he was an obstacle to new relations with post-Moammar Gadhafi Libya, the foreign minister said Friday.

  The Libyan diplomat had to be evicted in order to accommodate the arrival in Uganda of a new representative, said Uganda's foreign affairs minister Okello Oryem. But the former ambassador can remain in the country, Oryem said.

  "He's no longer the Libyan ambassador in Uganda. He can no longer continue to enjoy the status of an ambassador,"

Oryem told The Associated Press. He denied accusations that the diplomat had been harassed and said that he was given police protection.

- Relations between Uganda and Libya prospered during the long reign of Gadhafi, whose oil money flowed into Uganda through the telecommunications and travel sectors. He was also popular among Uganda's Muslims, to whom he donated an elegant mosque that remains one of the tallest structures in Kampala, the capital.

  Gadhafi's death last October put Ugandan diplomats in an uncomfortable situation: What to do with an envoy who did not want to go home and was eager to continue occupying his former office. The diplomat also kept the official residence, Oryem said, leaving no place for the new envoy when he arrived in Kampala weeks ago.

- The evicted envoy has expressed concerns that he could be arrested once he returned home, and Ugandan officials say the government may negotiate his transfer to a third country. Oryem said the diplomat had been stripped of his security and was now a private man.

  "I don't know if he's willing to go home, but he's welcome to stay in Uganda for as long as he wishes," Oryem said of the former ambassador. "We cannot press him to go to Libya."

  The decision to evict the diplomat was reached after Ugandan and Libyan officials attending a recent African Union summit in Ethiopia decided to formalize relations that had gone cold after Gadhafi's death. The envoy's refusal to leave had complicated Uganda's plans to reopen its mission in Libya, with Ugandan diplomats normally accredited to Tripoli still holding out in neighboring Tunisia.

  Libya has at least $300 million in Ugandan assets that have since been unfrozen. The Ugandan government is in the process of handing over the properties, which include one of the oldest banks in Uganda.

DULLAH OMAR EIGHTH MEMORIAL LECTURE BY THE TMF PATRON, THABO MBEKI: COMMUNITY LAW CENTRE, UWC, BELLVILLE. FEBRUARY 16, 2012.

http://www.facebook.com/notes/thabo-mbeki/dullah-omar-eighth-memorial-lecture-by-the-tmf-patron-thabo-mbeki-community-law-/10150587837649713

- # DULLAH OMAR EIGHTH MEMORIAL LECTURE BY THE TMF PATRON, THABO MBEKI: COMMUNITY LAW CENTRE, UWC, BELLVILLE. FEBRUARY 16, 2012.

  by Thabo Mbeki on Thursday, February 16, 2012
- DULLAH OMAR EIGHTH MEMORIAL LECTURE BY THE TMF PATRON, THABO MBEKI: COMMUNITY LAW CENTRE, UWC, BELLVILLE. FEBRUARY 16, 2012.
- *"**Reflections on Peacemaking, State Sovereignty and Democratic Governance in Africa**."*

  Director of Ceremonies,

  Vice Chancellor of the University of the Western Cape,

  Members of staff, students and workers of the UWC and the Community Law Centre,

  Our dear sister, Farida Omar and other members of the Omar family,

  Ladies and Gentlemen,

  Comrades and friends:

  Firstly, I would like to thank the Community Law Centre for giving me the opportunity to deliver this 8th Dullah Omar Memorial Lecture, as well as apologise for having obliged the Centre, last year, to postpone the delivery of this Lecture.

  I would also like to salute the Centre for having instituted this Lecture Series, thus to honour and sustain the memory of a truly outstanding South African.

  I was privileged to address a Memorial Meeting on March 24, 2004 which was held to pay tribute to Dullah Omar whose mortal remains had been laid to rest eleven days earlier.

- On that occasion I said:

  "We should speak of what it is that makes us to value Dullah Omar as we do, as an outstanding comrade and African, who belongs among the galaxy of stars that point our way to a better future…

  "We owe it to him and others who dedicated themselves to serve the people of South Africa, ready to lay down their lives, to ensure that we eradicate poverty and underdevelopment, racism and sexism in our country, realise the renewal of Africa, and contribute to the construction of a new world order of equality among the peoples and a shared prosperity… "To achieve these objectives we need the quiet courage of a Dullah Omar, without seeking fame and acclaim. We need the steadfast attachment to principle of a Dullah Omar, without expectation of personal reward. We require the unwavering focus on the interests and aspirations of the masses of the people of a Dullah Omar. We must cultivate the use of our minds and skills to

advance the interests of the people as did Dullah Omar, rather than our selfish desires."

I am more than certain that we have even greater need today to commit ourselves to emulate Dullah Omar in practical ways, than perhaps we did when we said our final farewell to him eight years ago.

The subject I have been asked to address this evening relates directly to the important issue of the State and Governance on our Continent.

In this context, I know that many of us present here this evening will recall that when we came into government in 1994 there was much discussion about what was described as the "*right-sizing"* of government.

We will also recall that whatever the domestic merits of this discussion, it was taking place in a situation of the global domination of the neo-liberal ideological perspective which argued for the *"minimisation of the role of the state",* in favour of the so-called *market.*

-

I mention all this because it was Dullah Omar who first warned us that as we went about "*right-sizing*" government, to avoid creating a bloated and expensive public administration, we should take care not to fall into the dangerous trap of weakening and therefore disempowering the democratic state.

In this regard, he warned against the surrender to the private sector by the democratic state of a substantial portion of the delivery of services especially to the poor, which the private sector would do, informed by the goal of the pursuit of profit, rather than the needs of the people.

I recall this today to underline that Dullah Omar advanced the view that for us, and other developing countries, the sovereign democratic state, a state which derives its legitimacy from the will of the people, has to play a critical role as a motive force for progressive change.

I also recall this to make the point that Dullah Omar the lawyer was not only a *'legal eagle'*, but also played an important role as a theoretician of the national democratic revolution and a principled defender of the perspectives of this revolution.

This is yet another reason why we owe the UWC Community Law Centre a debt of gratitude for what it has done to ensure that we do not apply to the eminent revolutionary, Dullah Omar, the prescript – out of sight, out of mind!

- At its close, the First Pan African Congress, held in London, England, in 1900, issued a call **"To the Nations of the World",** in which it said:

  "In the metropolis of the modern world, in this closing year of the nineteenth century, there has been assembled a Congress of men and women of African blood, to deliberate solemnly upon the present situation and outlook of the darker races of mankind. The problem of the 20th Century is the problem of the colour line, the question as to how far differences of race, which show themselves chiefly in the colour of the skin and the texture of the hair, are going to be made, hereafter, the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civilization."

  In these famous words, 112 years ago leaders from the African Continent and the African Diaspora, including the Caribbean and the United States of America, made the assertion that the 20th Century would have to address the related issues of:

  - the liberation of the peoples of Africa and the Caribbean from colonialism and imperialism, enabling them fully to enjoy the rights to self-determination and development; and,
  - the emancipation of the peoples in the African Diaspora, especially in the United States, from racial discrimination and oppression, to enable them to enjoy equal citizenship rights and thus access all available opportunities for development.

- To underline all this, in his closing address on July 25, 1900, the outstanding African American, W.E.B. du Bois said:

"Let the nations of the world respect the integrity and independence of the free Negro states of Abyssinia, Liberia, Haiti, and the rest, and let the inhabitants of these states, the independent tribes of Africa, the Negroes of the West Indies and America, and the black subjects of all nations take courage, strive ceaselessly, and fight bravely, that they may prove to the world their incontestable right to be counted among the great brotherhood of mankind. Thus we appeal with boldness and confidence…for a generous recognition of the righteousness of our cause."

Five weeks ago we celebrated the Centenary of Dullah Omar's movement, and ours, the African National Congress. As we continue to mark this historic achievement during the rest of this year, the question we will have to ask is – has the ANC realised the goal which was proclaimed by the 1st Pan African Congress!

We say this because in fact that Congress, held 12 years before the ANC was formed, set the agenda for all African liberation movements, and therefore the ANC itself.

- All this relates directly to the important topic we have been asked to address – "***Reflections on Peacemaking, State Sovereignty and Democratic Governance in Africa***."

Recent events on our Continent, and specifically what happened in Côte d'Ivoire and Libya last year, have given particular and immediate relevance to this topic.

In the context of this Lecture I will focus on Libya, even as the events in Côte d'Ivoire would also confirm much of what I will say about Libya, relating to the purposes and outcome of contemporary foreign armed interventions in Africa.

Before I proceed any further, I would like to reiterate what I have said before and elsewhere, which bears on the insulting allegation that the African Union and some of us had been bought with petrodollars we had received from the Libyan Gaddafi regime.

In this regard, the charge has been made that we took the positions we did to oppose the abuse of the United Nations Security Council to effect regime-change in Libya, because we had been corrupted by these petrodollars.

- Once again I would like unreservedly to repudiate the fabrications that have been propagated that the African Union depended on Libya for its budget requirements, and that Libya supported the ANC in any way whatsoever during the period of our struggle against the apartheid regime prior to 1990.

Despite this reality, much of our domestic media and its international counterparts, and the so-called analysts, have consistently and stubbornly propagated the entirely unfounded falsehood that Gaddafi's Libya played a significant role in helping to give the ANC the wherewithal to survive and successfully conduct the struggle against apartheid.

What I will say relating to the UN Security Council Resolution 1973, in support of the AU positions in this regard, has nothing whatsoever to do with any supposed historic friendly relationship with Gaddafi's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

On March 10, 2011, the AU Peace and Security Council adopted a Roadmap for the peaceful resolution of the then Libyan conflict.

Among other things, this Roadmap provided for an end to the violent conflict in Libya and the institution of a process whereby the Libyan people would engage one another in inclusive negotiations freely to determine the future of their country, including its obligatory and genuine democratisation.

- The African Union secured the agreement of the Gaddafi regime to this Roadmap, relying on the fact that Libya is one of its members.

This created the framework to address the issues identified in the theme of this Lecture – p**eace-making, state sovereignty and democratic governance in Libya - without further resort to force and therefore the needless killing of tens of thousands of Libyans and the destruction of valuable national infrastructure and other property.**

The AU forwarded its March 10 decision to the United Nations, the League of Arab States and other relevant organisations.

However, the UN Security Council wilfully elected to ignore the decisions of the African Union, treating these decisions relating to an African country, and therefore us, the peoples of Africa, with absolute contempt.

Even in its communications, the Security Council virtually decreed that Libya had ceased to be an African country. Accordingly it argued that it derived the legitimacy of its actions from decisions taken by the League of Arab States.

On March 17, seven days after the African Union had adopted its Roadmap for the peaceful resolution of the Libyan conflict, it adopted its Resolution 1973, which created the space for NATO, an independent US-European military and political alliance, to intervene in Libya to impose a violent resolution of this conflict, centred on regime change, which objective was completely at variance with Resolution 1973.

- **I am certain that all of us present here this evening are familiar with what then happened.**

In essence, NATO intervened not to impose a no-fly-zone to protect civilians, as prescribed by the UN Security Council, but to lead and empower the opposition National Transitional Council in a military campaign to overthrow the Gaddafi regime.

Indeed, once the NATO campaign was launched, we were forewarned that this was the intention of the major Western powers.

As early as only a month after the adoption of UNSC Resolution 1973, the architects of this Resolution and the NATO campaign, Presidents Obama and Sarkozy and Prime Minister Cameron, publicly announced their intentions.

- **In a joint letter published in the newspapers, *The Times* of London, the French *Le Figaro*, and the *International Herald Tribune*, these three Permanent Members of the Security Council, shamelessly repudiating the UNSC mandate, said:**

"There is a pathway to peace that promises new hope for the people of Libya: a future without Gaddafi...So long as Gaddafi is in power, NATO and its coalition partners must maintain their operations...Colonel Gaddafi must go, and go for good..."

- **Having become slaves to this illegal regime-change objective, the relevant United Nations institutions betrayed all the prescriptions they are obliged by international law to respect. Thus:**
  - **· the UN Secretary General allowed the representatives of the rebel National Transitional Council to act as the legitimate representatives of the UN Member State of Libya, contrary to all UN protocols;**
  - **· the UN Secretary General refused to accredit the representatives of the Libyan Government;**
  - **· the UN Secretary General failed to take action to insist that even his own peace Envoy, former Jordan Foreign Minister, Abdel-Elah al-Khatib, should have the space to facilitate a peaceful resolution of the Libyan conflict;**
- **· the UN Security Council refused to ensure that NATO acted in a manner consistent with its own resolutions, thus declining to hold NATO to account;**
  - **· the UN Security Council surrendered its authority to oversee the future of Libya to a self-appointed 'Libya Contact Group', made up of countries and organisations committed to regime-change in Libya, in defiance of the Security Council decisions; and,**
  - **· as we have said, the UN ensured that in all respects Libya should be defined as other than an African country, insisting that the legitimacy of the regime-change agenda derived from its support by the League of Arab States, knowing very well that for many years Libya had become virtually only a nominal member of this regional organisation, thus earning the wrath of many of the Member States of the League.**
- **The naked reality is that the relevant organs of the United Nations - the Security Council and the Office of the Secretary General - elected to betray their binding obligations in terms of international law, especially as prescribed by the UN Charter.**

Rather, they chose to give free reign to the so-called P3, the United States, France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and North Ireland, exclusively to decide the future of Libya.

- **As we all know, this P3 justified its illegitimate military actions in Libya and its regime-change agenda on the basis of the four propositions that:**
  - **· it was acting in the interest of peace in Libya, consistent with the peace-making responsibilities of the United Nations;**
  - **· it was acting in support of legitimate representatives of the Libyan people, constituted of a rebel formation opposed to what they unilaterally decreed was an 'illegitimate' Government;**
  - **· together with this opposition, it was acting to bring democracy to Libya, thus to liberate the Libyan people from a dictatorship; and,**
  - **· it was acting to implement the principle of the right of the international community 'to protect the people' from criminal abuse by their Government, especially if, to maintain itself in power, this Government committed crimes against humanity, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and genocide.**
-

In this context I would like to state that there is absolutely no evidence that the Gaddafi regime either committed or had any intention to commit any genocide or wage a war against civilians, justifying the evocation by the UN, the P3 and NATO of the so-called 'right to protect'.

- **In this regard, in a Report published in June last year, the International Crisis Group, the ICG, said:**

"Much Western media coverage has from the outset presented a very one-sided view of the logic of events, portraying the (Libyan) protest movement as entirely peaceful and repeatedly suggesting that the regime's security forces were unaccountably massacring unarmed demonstrators who presented no real security challenge.

"This version would appear to ignore evidence that the protest movement exhibited a violent aspect from very early on.

"While there is no doubt that many and quite probably a large majority of the people mobilised in the early demonstrations were indeed intent on demonstrating peacefully, there is also evidence that, as the regime claimed, the demonstrations were infiltrated by violent elements.

"There are grounds for questioning the more sensational reports that the (Gaddafi) regime was using its air force to slaughter demonstrators, let alone engaging anything remotely warranting use of the term 'genocide'...

"To insist that (Gaddafi) both leave the country and face trial in the International Criminal Court is virtually to ensure that he will stay in Libya to the bitter end and go down fighting."

- **In an article published by the US newspaper, *The Boston Globe,* on April 14, 2011, Professor Alan Kuperman wrote:**

"Evidence is now in that President Barack Obama grossly exaggerated the humanitarian threat to justify military action in Libya...

"Human Rights Watch has released data on Misurata, the next biggest city in Libya (after Benghazi), and scene of protracted fighting, revealing that Moammar Khadafy is not deliberately massacring civilians but narrowly targeting the armed rebels who fight against his government...

"(The NATO) intervention did not prevent genocide, because no such bloodbath was in the offing. To the contrary, by emboldening rebellion, US interference has prolonged Libya's civil war and the resultant suffering of innocents..."

Just over a fortnight before the adoption of Resolution 1973, answering questions at a press conference on March 1st, relating to the allegation that the Gaddafi regime was using its Air Force to massacre civilians, then U.S. Secretary of Defence, Robert Gates, said: *"We've seen the press reports, but we have no confirmation of that."*

Admiral Mike Mullen, then head of the US armed forces said – *"That's correct. We've seen no confirmation whatsoever."*

Nevertheless the UNSC based its decision to impose the so-called no-fly-zone precisely on these very same unsubstantiated reports!

- **Interestingly, the US right-wing *Heritage Foundation*, which has little respect for the United Nations, published an article on September 1 last year, written by one Dr Ted R. Bromund, in which he said:**

***"The Obama Administration badly wanted to act (against Libya) with the approval of the U.N. Security Council. So on March 17, it got, by a vote of 10-0 with five abstentions, a U.N. Security Council resolution authorizing "all necessary measures...to protect civilians." It then immediately reinterpreted this resolution into approval for NATO to become the rebel air force. The next time the Administration wants to do something through the U.N. – say, on Syria – it will find Russia and China a lot less eager to abstain on resolutions that might be subject to creative reinterpretation. Relying on the U.N. carries immense inherent costs (for the US): tricking the U.N. to get what you want just increases those costs."* [**"Obama's Top Ten Errors on Libya".**]

When I spoke at Stellenbosch University on August 26 last year, I said:

"The naked reality is not that the Western powers did not hear what the ICG said. Rather, they heard, but did not want to listen to anything informed by the objective to address the real interests of the people of Libya. They were...bent on regime-change in Libya, regardless of the cost to this African country, intent to produce a political outcome which would serve their interests."

- **Together with everything I have said, we must nevertheless accept that various concrete realities in Libya provided the excuse for the Western powers to intervene in the manner they did.**

  The fact is that Libya was not a democratic country, having lived under a military autocracy since 1969, when young military officers, led by Colonel Gaddafi, took power through an anti-imperialist coup d'état to overthrow a feudal regime beholden to the Western powers, thus to advance the objective to assert the right of the African and Libyan people to self-determination.

  For the record, we must state this that at that time, more than four decades ago, the entire global progressive movement welcomed this coup d'état as a progressive step forward, because it was against feudalism and imperialism.

- **It is also true that seen as part of the so-called 'Arab Spring', it was inevitable that any repressive action taken against unarmed demonstrators, as happened at the beginning of the Libyan demonstrations, and also in Tunisia, Egypt and Bahrain, would be unacceptable.**

  We must also understand that Gaddafi's Libya occupied a particular position in the context of the system of international relations.

  Through its actions, it had earned the wrath of the major Western powers, partly informed by the conviction that Libya had carried out terrorist actions which had claimed many lives of citizens of these powers.

  Similarly, it was in the bad books of especially the Arab Gulf countries, and generally the Arab League.

- **Within Africa, it had made many enemies and had positioned itself as a rouge element, intent to establish client states which would serve its interests.**

  At the same time, it was attractive to the Western powers because of its large reserves of high quality crude oil, and the need to recruit it into a geo-strategic arrangement focused on tying the countries of North Africa into a particular partnership with the EU.

  For all these reasons, it was relatively easy for the Western powers to intervene in Libya as they did, knowing that they would meet little resistance in this regard, as actually happened.

- **In the result, they have achieved what to them are welcome strategic outcomes, which:**

  - **· will secure Libya as a 'friendly' state in the context of the Middle East, especially with regard to the unresolved and globally strategic issue of the fate of the people of Palestine;**
  - **· will place them in a strong position to intervene in the African Maghreb, including in Egypt;**
  - **· will guarantee their favourable access to Libyan oil;**
  - **· will shut down an important point of departure for unacceptable illegal migration into Western Europe; and,**
  - **· will serve as a precedent enabling them to intervene in all other African countries as they wish.**

- At the same time we must fully understand the implications of the critically important and strategic observation made by the EU External Action Service, relating to the linkage between the EU, North Africa, and the African Sahel, which includes Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria, Chad and Sudan, that:

  "The current political developments in the Maghreb have consequences for the situation in the Sahel, taking into account the close relations between the countries of the two regions, a significant presence of citizens of Sahel countries in the Maghreb and the risks that arise from the proliferation of arms in the region. The problems facing the Sahel not only affect the local populations but increasingly impact directly on the interests of European citizens." [European Union External Action Service: Strategy for Security and Development in the Sahel.]

- **Some of the vitally important lessons we, as Africans, must draw from the Libyan experience are that:**

  - **· in the post-Cold War setting, the Western powers have enhanced their appetite to intervene on our Continent, including through armed force, to ensure the protection of their interests, regardless of our views as Africans;**
  - **· these powers will use the argument that they are our unique friends as defenders of our democratic and human rights, obliged to act in this regard especially when our Continent, through the AU and our regional bodies, can be presented as having failed to act to defend these rights;**
  - **· these powers will act as they did in Libya especially if, in situations of internal conflict, which they would also foment, they can argue that they are implementing the UN-approved 'right to protect', the so-called R2P; and,**

- **· our Continental disunity and weakness with regard to the defence of the right of all Africa to act to guarantee our right to self-determination opens the door to our 're-colonisation', including in the context of the resolve of the Western powers to limit our possibility to establish a truly strategic alliance especially with the People's Republic of China.**

- **I trust that all of us understand that this makes the clear statement that as Africans we must act in a decisive manner to ensure the achievement of the objectives we have set ourselves, long before the Libyan debacle, based on the perspective we had elaborated together, to pursue the historic goal of the renaissance of our Continent.**

In earlier times, the African scribes saw the terrible tragedy we were visiting on ourselves as Africans, during the years of our independence, as when our ruling African elites became venal rent-seekers who set themselves the objective to suck the blood of the people, in their personal interest.

- **In this context, the eminent Nigerian and African writer and thinker, Chinua Achebe, warned the African masses:**

"Warriors will fight scribes for the control of your institutions; wild bush will conquer your roads and pathways; your land will yield less and less while your offspring multiply; your houses will leak from the floods and your soil will crack from the drought; your sons will refuse to pick up the hoe and prefer to wander in the wilds; you shall learn ways of cheating and you will poison the cola nuts you serve your own friends. Yes, things will fall apart."

Another scribe, in different circumstances, the Irish poet William Butler Yeats, had used exactly the same words – things fall apart!

Yeats had gone on to express in poetic words the catastrophe which Achebe described in beautiful prose, expressed with the necessary sensibility to the African setting.

- **This is what Yeats said, in part:**

Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;

Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,

The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere

The ceremony of innocence is drowned;

The best lack all conviction, while the worst

Are full of passionate intensity…

And what rough beast, its hour come round at last,

Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born?

The Libyan tragedy and debacle occurred because things fell apart, since, as Africans, as Chinua Achebe had said, we had learnt the ways of cheating, and allowed those who have the means to abuse state power to control us, our institutions and our minds.

In the end, and as a result, the African centre could not hold.

As an exemplar of this reality, indeed with treacherous welcoming smiles on our faces, many of us had poisoned the very eminent gift of friendship, the cola nut, which we had set aside to give to other Africans, knowing that this was a false and deadly affirmation of a non-existent expression of African unity and solidarity.

- **As W.B. Yeats did, given our own behaviour, we too must ask ourselves the dread question –**

And what rough beast, its hour come round at last,

Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born?

It is clear that unless we change our ways, consciously to deny the inevitability of the ominous and frightening perspective so accurately described by Chinua Achebe, our own rough beast will slouch towards our Bethlehem, ready to be born!

- **In this regard, among others, we must act honestly, unequivocally and in unity to:**

- **· reinforce democracy and respect for human rights throughout our Continent, and thus confirm that the noble objectives of African unity and solidarity can only be achieved when each and every one of our countries abides by the inalienable principle and practice that the people shall govern;**
- **· develop our own capacity to resolve our conflicts, committed to find African solutions to African problems, in much the same way that, for instance, the Europeans insist, correctly, that they have the right to arrive at European solutions to European problems, as do the people of the United States of America with regard to their problems;**
- **· implement in all our countries the all-Africa policies adopted through the OAU and the AU, whose implementation would constitute the cement we need to give practical meaning to the objective to achieve genuine African unity and solidarity, thus to build the firewall to guarantee that we succeed to defend our right to self-determination;**

- **· use these policies to structure our individual and collective relations with the rest of the world, specifically to achieve the objective of securing Africa's rightful place among the world community of nations, understanding that none of our countries can achieve this objective on its own; and,**
- **· strengthen our Continental and Regional organs, relying on our resources, and institutionalise the cooperation among our 54 States, thus to defend the strategic goal of the realisation of the historic objective of African integration and unity even as our governments change as a consequence of the exercise of the democratic right of each of our peoples to mandate any party to serve as the government of their choice.**

- **At the recent AU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the AU Commission reported that the requisite number of ratifications had been achieved which brought the important '*African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance*' into force as a binding legal obligation affecting all AU Member States.**

  In this regard, I would humbly suggest that all of us present here, under the leadership of the Community Law Centre, should familiarise ourselves with this Charter, thus to position ourselves as activists for its implementation.

  I would also suggest that, perhaps starting with a pilot project, the AU Commission must take the necessary steps to help ensure the implementation of all the provisions of this Charter.

  This would relate directly and immediately to the theme of this Lecture - *Peacemaking, State Sovereignty and Democratic Governance in Africa*.

- **Everything we have said makes the very important statement that:**

  (i) recent events, as in Libya and Côte d'Ivoire, have confirmed that the major Western powers remain interested and determined to attach Africa to themselves as their appendage, at all costs, ready to use all means to achieve this objective;

  (ii) to realise this objective, these powers will exploit the universal commitment to democracy, human rights and good governance to intervene in any and all our countries to advance their interests;

  (iii) these powers will intervene in our countries especially during periods of violent conflict, with no regard to the principle of the sovereignty of our states, taking advantage of the UN-approved principle of the 'right to protect', which they will interpret freely, to serve their interests;

  (iv) unless, practically, we assume responsibility for the advancement of democracy, the protection of human rights and the realisation of the objective of good governance on our Continent, and act to guarantee peace and security, these powers will intervene in our countries in pursuit of their selfish objectives, legitimising such intervention by presenting themselves as 'friends of Africa', intent to give us the gift of democracy, human rights, peace, good governance and progress, regardless of our wishes;

- **(v) in all instances we must expect that such interventions will be supported by some native forces, our own kith and kin, which the world powers concerned will present as the genuine representatives of our peoples, without regard to the truth in this regard;**

  (vi) these powers will use their might to oblige the supposedly inclusive multilateral institutions to facilitate the achievement of their objectives, including through the imposition of sanctions;

  (vii) they will also use the global media to demonise whomsoever they view as their enemy, and present in the best possible light whomsoever they determine is their friend; and,

(viii) where and when necessary, they will misuse especially the UN Security Council to legitimise their actions.

On other occasions I have sought to draw our attention as Africans to the deeply troubling reality of the perspective that has surfaced in the aftermath of the end of the Cold War, which has argued for the re-colonisation of Africa.

- **If I may, I would like to cite only two statements in this regard.**

The British commentator, Richard Gott, wrote in the London *New Statesman* magazine published on 15 January 2001:

"There is a growing belief, not least within the ranks of latter-day new Labour missionaries, that appears to favour the reconquest of Africa. No one really suggests how this would come about, nor is there a "plan" available for discussion. Yet the implicit suggestion of recent reporting from Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe and Nigeria, sometimes echoed in London, is that imperial intervention might indeed be welcomed by peoples threatened with mayhem, anarchy and civil war…

"What Africa really needs, Maier, (in his book This House Has Fallen: Nigeria in Crisis), seems to suggest, is the advice of a new generation of foreign missionaries, imbued with the new, secular religion of good governance and human rights…

"With the reporting and analysis of today's Africa in the hands of (this new generation of missionaries)…it is not surprising that public opinion (in the West) is often confused and disarmed when governments embark on neo-colonial interventions. The new missionaries are much like the old ones, an advance guard preparing the way for military and economic conquest."

Seven years later, on April 19, 2008 *The Times* (London) published an article by Matthew Parris entitled *'The new scramble for Africa begins'*, which drew attention to the global demand for the immense African natural resources, and said:

"Fifty years ago the decolonisation of Africa began. The next half-century may see the continent recolonised. But the new imperialism will be less benign. Great powers aren't interested in administering wild places any more, still less in settling them: just raping them. Black gangster governments sponsored by self-interested Asian or Western powers could become the central story in 21st-century African history."

- **It is very easy for the self-interested to dismiss such concerns as amounting to no more than the ravings of misguided addicts to theories about allegedly fictional malevolent conspiracies.**

In our case we have the advantage, if this is the right word, to point to the concrete examples of Libya and Côte d'Ivoire, which are by no means fictional.

Thus we return to the statement issued by the 1st Pan African Congress during the last year of the 19th Century, that 'the problem of the 20th Century is the problem of the colour line.'

It is clear that despite the advances that were made, the 20th Century did not finally solve 'the problem of the colour line', as understood by that Congress.

- **The question therefore arises – will it happen that the 21st Century, which we made bold to identify as the African Century, finally solves 'the problem of the colour line'?**

In the continuing context of the vision of the 1st Pan African Congress, we must understand that this question also relates to the African Diaspora.

In this regard, using only the example of United States, I would like to cite some observations made by the prestigious US *'Pew Research Center',* relating to the comparative material conditions of the African American population.

- **In a report released on July 26, 2011, entitled *"Wealth Gaps Rise to Record Highs Between Whites, Blacks, Hispanics",* the Center said:**

"The median wealth of white households is 20 times that of black households and 18 times that of Hispanic households, according to a Pew Research Center analysis of newly available government data from 2009.

"These lopsided wealth ratios are the largest since the government began publishing such data a quarter century ago and

roughly twice the size of the ratios that had prevailed between these three groups for the two decades prior to the Great Recession that ended in 2009."

This statement, based on hard empirical evidence, confirms that even in the African Diaspora, during the second decade of the 21st Century, 'the problem of the colour line' persists.

In the period between 1900 and 2012, as Africans we have registered historic victories in pursuit of the objectives handed down to us by the eminent representatives who met at the 1st Pan African Congress, representing the then and future struggles on the African Continent and the African Diaspora.

These victories have given us some space to help us to determine our destiny, and therefore to answer the question, in our interest, about what should happen to achieve the related objectives of peace, state sovereignty and democratic governance certainly on our Continent.

- **112 years after W.E.B. du Bois spoke in London, we must heed the directive he issued, that, in his words, "***the black subjects of all nations (must) take courage, strive ceaselessly, and fight bravely, that they may prove to the world their incontestable right to be counted among the great brotherhood of mankind."*

To be part of that 'great brotherhood', and indeed sisterhood, surely means that we must conduct ourselves as Dullah Omar did, and remain loyal, in word and deed, to the objectives which inspired him throughout his life, to serve the ordinary people of our country, of Africa and the world.

Dullah understood the intimate relationship between, and fought for the realisation of the integration through our efforts as Africans, of the objectives of democratic rule in Africa, the construction of sovereign developmental African states committed to serve especially the interests of the poor, and the achievement of peace among the Africans, regardless of race, colour, gender, religion and historical origin.

- **I know that Dullah Omar shared with the Afrikaner youth I met 14 years ago, the vision that -** *"Yesterday is a foreign country - tomorrow belongs to us!"*

As his movement, and ours, the African National Congress, celebrates its Centenary, and honours the memory of Dullah Omar, it will have to ask itself the simple yet challenging question – does it, as it advances into its second century, remain loyal, still, to the dream to whose realisation Dullah Omar dedicated his life, up to his last day on earth, as a committed and unwavering Pan-African revolutionary democrat, ever-faithful to the clarion call that was made by the 1st Pan African Congress, 112 years ago?

I am honoured that today I have had the privilege to speak here, in honour of the revolutionary intellectual, who belonged among you as a teacher, Advocate Dullah Omar, at this historic 'intellectual home of the left', described in these words many years ago by your former Vice Chancellor, Professor Jakes Gerwel.

Because of the combination of these circumstances, I make bold to pose to you a question I believe you have to answer in terms of your practical actions as a centre of learning, teaching, research and uninhibited intellectual inquiry and expansion of the frontiers of knowledge - what shall we, the Africans, do, regardless of the Continent of our abode, to ensure that tomorrow belongs to us!

Thank you.

Libya: Amnesty International Calls on U.N. Security Council and Arab League To Act Decisively on Libyan Crimes | Amnesty International USA
http://www.amnestyusa.org/news/press-releases/libya-amnesty-international-calls-on-un-security-council-and-arab-league-to-act-decisively-on-libyan

- February 22, 2011

Libya: Amnesty International Calls on U.N. Security Council and Arab League To Act Decisively on Libyan Crimes

Amnesty International Press Release
Tuesday, February 22, 2011

Amnesty International Calls on U.N. Security Council and Arab League To Act Decisively on Libyan Crimes

Organizations Calls for Total Arms Embargo on Libya

Contact: Suzanne Trimel, 212-633-4150, strimel@aiusa.org

- (London) -- Amnesty International today called on the U.N. Security Council and the Arab League to urgently send a team to Libya to investigate the crisis that has left hundreds of protesters dead.

  The organization also called on the Security Council to impose a total arms embargo on Libya, amid reports that lethal force against protesters includes a range of weapons, munitions and related equipment.

  "Colonel al-Gaddafi and his government appear to be prepared to kill as many people as it takes to stay in power. The international community needs to act now to put a stop to this," said Salil Shetty, Amnesty International's Secretary-General.

  "The Security Council must also put an immediate end to the export or transfer of all arms and military equipment to Libya," said Shetty. "Other states must not be complicit in further killing. All military and police supplies and cooperation with Libya must stop now until the risk of such serious human rights violations is ended."

- The Security Council and the Arab League are meeting today in special sessions to discuss the spiralling violence in Libya.

  Amnesty International said an investigation by the United Nations and the Arab League should include a judgment as to whether the scale of the crimes being committed in Libya warrants a Security Council referral to the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court.

  Navi Pillay, the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, said Monday that the Libyan authorities' actions against protesters may amount to crimes against humanity.

  Saif al-Islam al-Gaddafi, Colonel al-Gaddafi's son, said in a televised speech on Sunday that the army would "play a big part whatever the cost" to end anti-government protests and that the Libyan authorities will "fight to the last man and woman and bullet.".

  Shetty said: "It is an outrage that al-Gaddafi's son feels able publicly to announce the readiness to massacre Libyans in order to maintain his father's hold on power.

- "The international community must immediately make it clear to all those in the Libyan government, military and security apparatus that they and those carrying out their orders will be held to account for crimes under international law, such as those now being reported," said Shetty.

  Amnesty International warned that reports it had received from hospitals in eastern Libya indicated that some 200 people had been killed by security forces as of Sunday. . Hospital staff told Amnesty International that they were struggling to cope with the number of casualties.

  The true number of deaths could be much higher as this sample represented only the major hospitals. Some families are also likely to have buried their dead without taking the bodies to hospitals.

  In addition to the United Nations and Arab League, Amnesty International also called on the African Union to take action.

  "All international bodies that Libya holds membership of need to recognise the gravity of this crisis. The African Union must urgently address the gross human rights abuses being committed in Libya in a special session of its Peace and Security Council," said Shetty.

Libya: Organization Calls for Immediate Arms Embargo and Assets Freeze | Amnesty International USA
http://www.amnestyusa.org/news/press-releases/libya-organization-calls-for-immediate-arms-embargo-and-assets-freeze

- February 23, 2011

Libya: Organization Calls for Immediate Arms Embargo and Assets Freeze

- Amnesty International Statement
  For Immediate Release
  Wednesday, February 23, 2011

Amnesty International Accuses U.N. Security Council and African Union of Failing the People of Libya with 'Half-Hearted' Response as Violence Flares and Colonel al-Gaddafi Vows to "Cleanse House"

Organization Calls for Immediate Arms Embargo and Assets Freeze

Contact: Suzanne Trimel, 212-633-4150, strimel@aiusa.org

- (London) -- Amnesty International today accused the international community of failing the people of Libya in their hour of greatest need as violence spirals and Colonel al-Gaddafi threatens to "cleanse Libya house by house".
- The organization said the response to the Libya crisis by the U.N. Security Council fell shamefully below what was needed to stop the spiralling violence , and called for concrete action, including an immediate arms embargo and assets freeze.

  The U.N. Security Council on Tuesday issued a statement calling for an end to the violence and urging Libya to act with restraint and respect human rights, but took no substantive measures.

  Amnesty International also criticized the African Union, which has not convened its Peace and Security Council to address the human rights crisis in Libya.

"Colonel al-Gaddafi has publicly made clear his readiness to kill those who oppose him in order to stay in power," said Salil Shetty, Amnesty International's Secretary-General.

- "This is unacceptable. Colonel al-Gaddafi and all those reporting to him need to know that they will be held personally accountable under international law for the crimes they commit."

"His threats make the half-hearted response from the international community even more shocking. What Libyans need now is not mere words of concern but immediate, concrete action."

Amnesty International said that as a bare minimum the Security Council must impose an immediate arms embargo against Libya and an asset freeze against al-Gaddafi and his key security and military advisers.

The call came as Colonel al-Gaddafi gave a speech in which he called protesters "cockroaches" and "rats," and compared the situation to China, saying that national unity had been "more important than the people of Tiananmen Square."

- Amnesty International also criticized the response of the African Union to the unfolding crisis, which has seen hundreds killed and persistent reports of mercenaries being brought in from African countries by the Libyan leader to violently suppress the protests against him.

"It is outrageous that the African Union Peace and Security Council has not even met to discuss the emergency taking place in one of its own member states," said Salil Shetty.

Amnesty International called on the African Union to ensure that its member states, particularly those bordering Libya, are not complicit in human rights abuses in Libya.

The organization also urged the Arab League, which yesterday banned Libya from participation in its meetings, to act at once on its public commitments, in particular by launching an independent Arab investigative committee into the crisis in Libya.

- **In full, Amnesty International called on**:

· The United Nations Security Council: to immediately impose an arms embargo on Libya preventing transfer of equipment and personnel, implement an asset freeze against Colonel al-Gaddafi and his senior military and security advisers and state unequivocally that crimes under international law in Libya will be investigated and punished.

· The African Union and its member states: to immediately investigate reports that armed elements are being transported from African countries to Libya, acting to secure the land borders into Libya and monitor suspicious flights.

· The U.N. General Assembly: to immediately suspend Libya from the 47-member UN Human Rights Council.

· The UN Human Rights Council: to deploy a fact-finding mission to Libya to make rapid recommendations on human rights abuses and whether a referral to the International Criminal Court is warranted.

· Libya and neighboring countries: to facilitate the safe departure of those who wish to leave Libya.

Amnesty International is a Nobel Peace Prize-winning grassroots activist organization with 3 million supporters, activists and volunteers in more than 150 countries campaigning for human rights worldwide. The organization investigates and exposes abuses, educates and mobilizes the public, and works to protect people wherever justice, freedom, truth and dignity are denied.

Home
http://www.ippmedia.com/frontend/index.php?l=38116

- ## Gaddafi never invested in Tanzania, says govt

By Judica Tarimo

- 4th February 2012

- The government yesterday refuted allegations that it had investment links and a business relationship with late Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, stating that he had never invested in the country.

A heated debate erupted yesterday during the question-and-answer session in the National Assembly over Tanzania's business relationship with the former Libya leader, with Kigoma-North legislator Zitto Kabwe saying that Gaddafi, as an individual, invested heavily in Tanzania.

- "The gener al feeling could be that Tanzania has the habit of having opportunistic diplomatic relationships," he said, explaining that it would associate with a person because of certain advantages or benefits from that person.

In his supplementary question Zitto wanted to know the government position regarding invasion of the North Atlantic Treaty Orgnization (NATO) in Libya.

But the government refuted Zitto allegations as lacking facts on the existing relationship between Tanzania and Libya.

Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office (Investment and Empowerment) Dr Mary Nagu clarified that Tanzania's relationship was with the Libya government and not Gaddafi as an individual.

He emphasized that Tanzania had diplomatic relationships with many governments in Africa and across the globe and not the presidents of the respective countries.

"It should also be understood that our country had no relationship with the late Gaddafi as an individual but as the head of state," said Nagu.

- Reacting to Zitto's claims on huge investments made by Gaddafi in Tanzania through the Libyan Arab African Investment Company (LAAICO), the minister stressed that Gaddafi had no investment in Tanzania.

According to the MP, Libya, through LAAICO, has many investments in many African countries, including Tanzania.

"Gaddafi has never invested in Tanzania," the minister clarified, noting: "Tanzania, as a member of the African Unity (AU), had relationship with the government of Libya…it was a country-to- country relationship," she stressed.

In his basic question, Mbeya Urban legislator (Chadema) Joseph Mbilinyi said that the former Libyan leader invested heavily in Tanzania, but the minister insisted: "Gaddafi, as a person, had never invested in Tanzania."

Records compiled by the Tanzania Investment centre (TIC), according to minister Nagu, show that the late Gaddafi had never invested in Tanzania, observing that TIC had registered only one Libyan company, namely North Africa Investment Trading Company.

- "This is a Libyan company…it was not the property of Gaddafi," explained the minister.

The respective Libyan company invested in Bahari Beach Hotel Limited, which had three shareholders, namely Abdallah Hiblo who has 33.34 % shares, Mohamed Gmati (33.33%) and Mr Hussein Omrani (33.33%).

"The Libyan company bought Bahari Beach hotel under the government's privatization arrangement which was being coordinated by the Presidential Parastatal Sector Reform Commission in 1998. The company invested about USD 5.8 million, and Tanzania benefited in terms of 160 jobs created for Tanzanians," noted the minister.

- SOURCE: THE GUARDIAN

Libya rejects MSF torture allegations: minister | Top News | Reuters
http://af.reuters.com/article/topNews/idAFJOE80U02A20120131?sp=true

Libya rejects MSF torture allegations: minister

Tue Jan 31, 2012

- By Yara Bayoumy
- ADDIS ABABA (Reuters) - The Libyan government rejected on Monday allegations it had tortured detainees who had fought for Muammar Gaddafi's forces, saying that if there had been cases of torture it had not known about them.

The aid agency Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) said last Thursday it had stopped its work in detention centres in the city of Misrata because its medical staff were being asked to patch up detainees mid-way through torture sessions so they could go back for more abuse.

Libyan Foreign Minister Ashour bin Khayyal said it was not the policy of the ruling National Transitional Council, which has promised to make a break with Gaddafi-era practices and respect human rights, to use torture.

- "Gaddafi's remnants committed actions that were an aggression to the revolution and to Libya and they will now receive the treatment they deserve," Khayyal told Reuters on the sidelines of an African Union summit in Addis Ababa.

"As a government, it is not our policy at all to commit torture because we, the Libyan people, suffered under these policies and we strongly reject it," Khayyal said.

"If there was torture, then it was not with the knowledge of the government or by the agreement of the government either. It may be actions by individuals, but we have not heard about the report you mention."

Khayyal said his government had no problem dealing with forces loyal to Gaddafi who were not carrying weapons.

The MSF allegations are awkward for Western powers which backed the rebellion against Gaddafi and helped to overthrow him and install Libya's new leaders.

- PROTECTING LIBYAN MONEY

The civil war which ended with Gaddafi's death last year may have helped spread small arms around the region, according to a U.N. report which said some countries believed former fighters in Libya may have smuggled weapons into the Sahel region on the southern edge of the Sahara desert.

Khayyal stopped short of blaming certain countries for providing shelter to these groups, among them Libyan army regulars and mercenaries.

"We cannot say they are giving shelter to them, but they are there in their territories, especially in Niger and Mali," he said, adding that a recent visit to both countries had been positive.

Khayyal said his government was trying to resolve the standoff in the tribal stronghold of Bani Walid by peaceful means. A militia commander whose troops were driven out of the town last week said his forces were massing to recapture it but were holding back at the government's request.

"We are trying to resolve the situation there by peaceful means and we avoid confrontation, but if we have to then we will confront them," said Khayyal.

He also said he would send delegations soon to review Libya's investments in several African countries.

Under Gaddafi's rule, Libya made major investments in Africa, some of which are managed by the $65 billion Libyan Investment Authority (LIA) through a $5 billion fund known as the Libyan African Investment Portfolio.

Libya minister to protect investment in Zamtel | Reuters
http://af.reuters.com/article/investingNews/idAFJOE80U00X20120131

- # Libya minister to protect investment in Zamtel

Tue Jan 31, 2012 7:04am GMT

Print | Single Page

[-] Text [+]

- ADDIS ABABA (Reuters) - Libya will do all it can to protect its 75 percent stake in Zamtel, the fixed-line telecoms firm in Zambia, whose government announced plans last week to seize Libya's stake in the firm, Libyan Foreign Minister Ashour bin Khayyal said on Monday.

"The Zambian government has taken a unilateral action by nationalising this company," Khayyal said, adding he had spoken to his Zambian counterpart about the issue at the African Union summit in the Ethiopian capital.

- Zambia dissolved the board of Zamtel and appointed a new acting CEO last Tuesday, a day after announcing plans to seize 75 percent of the firm from Libya's LAP Green Networks.
- The previous Zambian government had sold the 75 percent stake to LAP Green Networks for $257 million in 2010.
- Libya made major investments in Africa during Muammar Gaddafi's rule, some of them managed by the $65 billion Libyan Investment Authority (LIA) through a $5 billion fund known as Libyan African Investment Portfolio.

LAP, a telecom company operating in six African countries, was one of these investments.

- Khayyal said Libya's ruling National Transitional Council would review such investments. "We will keep what (investment) is successful, and we will review what is facing difficulty or is a failure," he told Reuters on the sidelines of

the summit.

He said Libya would send a delegation to Zambia to discuss the Zamtel issue in one or two weeks.

- "Definitely this money is Libyan money, and owned by the Libyan people. We will exercise all our efforts to protect this money," Khayyal said.

Libyan PM calls for security meeting over weapons | World | Reuters
http://af.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idAFTRE80S0BA20120129

- # Libyan PM calls for security meeting over weapons

Sun Jan 29, 2012

- ADDIS ABABA (Reuters) - Libyan Prime Minister Abdurrahim al-Keib called on Sunday for a regional security conference to tackle a proliferation of weapons by exiled supporters of former leader Muammar Gaddafi.

The Libyan civil war may have given militant groups in Africa's Sahel region like Boko Haram and al Qaeda access to large weapons caches, said a U.N. report released on Thursday.

"(There is) still a real threat from some of the armed remnants of the former regime who escaped outside the country and still roam freely. This is a threat for us, for neighbouring countries and our shared relations," Keib told African Union leaders in Addis Ababa.

"My country calls for a regional security conference in Libya of interior and defence ministers of neighbouring countries," he told the summit, the first since Gaddafi's death last year.

A U.N. report said the Libyan civil war may have created a proliferation of small arms, giving militant groups like Boko Haram and al Qaeda access to large weapons caches in Africa's Sahel region that straddle the Sahara, including Nigeria, Niger and Chad.

The report said some countries believe weapons have been smuggled into the Sahel by former fighters in Libya - Libyan army regulars and mercenaries who fought on behalf of Gaddafi, who was ousted and killed by rebels.

Links between al Qaeda and Boko Haram have become a growing source of concern for the countries of the region, the U.N. report said.

The Islamist sect Boko Haram has killed at least 935 people since it launched an uprising in Nigeria in 2009, including 250 in the first weeks of this year, Human Rights Watch said last week.

(Reporting by Yara Bayoumy; Editing by James Macharia)

Intra-Africa trade can spare continent Euro fallout | Reuters
http://af.reuters.com/article/investingNews/idAFJOE80T00C20120130?sp=true

- # Intra-Africa trade can spare continent Euro fallout

Mon Jan 30, 2012
- By Aaron Maasho

- ADDIS ABABA (Reuters) - African countries can prepare for the impact of the euro-zone crisis that threatens to derail economic growth on the continent by improving trade between their countries and fighting inflation, a top World Bank economist said on Sunday.

World Bank's Vice President for Africa, Obiageli Ezekwesili said the traditional partners of Africa in Europe were likely to be affected by the fallout of the European debt crisis, which would squeeze remittances, curb trade and tourism.

Ezekwesili said Africa's economic growth forecast for this year stood at 5.3 percent and 5.6 for 2013, but a recession would likely lead to a 1.7 percent contraction in 2012.

"When you talk about Greece, Portugal, Ireland and the other countries, you then look at African countries particularly linked to them. We keep our eyes on countries like Cape Verde, Guinea, Nigeria, Sierra Leone," Ezekwesili told Reuters on the sidelines of an African Union summit in Addis Ababa.

- She said the Ethiopia summit would discuss boosting intra-regional trade in Africa to ease the impact of the recession.

"In Cape Verde, remittances constitute a very important part of its balance of payment, its current account. Its linkage with Portugal has a huge implication for remittances," she said.

"Tourists receipts (from Europe) can have a serious impact, as will the FDI (foreign direct investment). The export of merchandise to Europe will be affected."

Remittances -- money sent home by workers abroad -- are a key source of foreign exchange in Africa after revenue from traditional sources such as tourism, agricultural products and minerals.

Ezekwesili forecast a downturn of at least some 30 percent in some African countries, which she did not specify, by virtue of trade links with their key European trading partners.

- She said some of the countries in Africa sent 60 percent of their exports to a particular country in Europe, and were likely to face a downturn in earnings due to the crisis.

Ezekwesili said public expenditure efficiencies were key, and urged diversification of economies and higher farm output.

Europe's sovereign debt crisis has killed off the economic revival that followed the 2008/2009 global financial crunch, and many euro zone economies likely began shrinking in late 2011 and may enter recession this year.

The International Monetary Fund is pessimistic, forecasting a 0.5 percent contraction in 2012 that it says could drag the world into recession.

Ezekwesili said African economies also have to strike a balance between pursuing growth, and keeping a lid on inflation.

She said African countries did well during the last financial crisis because policy-makers maintained macro-economic reforms, but they need to be even more vigilant now. Inflation is in double digits in key economies such as Nigeria and Kenya.

"We still see rising inflationary trends in some of the key countries which will need to be managed," she said.

BERNAMA - Libya Wants "A Fair Game" With The African Union
http://www.bernama.com/bernama/v6/newsindex.php?id=642643

AU Summit: Summit is appropriate opportunity to complete AU institutions, Libyan newspaper
http://www.afriquejet.com/news/africa-news/au-summit:-summit-is-appropriate-opportunity-to-complete-au-institutions,-libyan-newspaper-201102028.html

- AU Summit: Summit is appropriate opportunity to complete AU institutions, Libyan newspaper
- **Tripoli, Libya – A Libyan newspaper has said the African Union summit is the appropriate opportunity to draw the attention of African leaders to the need to complete the setting up of AU institutions to implement the United States of Africa project. Al-Zahf Al-Akhdhar, in its editorial on Monday, urged African leaders to see to it that the dream of African populations of a United States of Africa materialises, as it is one of the important keys for Africa's development and at all levels.**

  The newspaper said the United States of Africa would ensure a prosperous future for the continent in a world that no longer recognised small countries that were unable to face the challenges of our era.

  Al-Zahf Al-Akhdhar said Africans expected the meeting of African heads of State and government in the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, to pass resolutions to meet the challenges facing the African continent, which is a victim of colonialist plans aimed at hindering its unionist project.

  The newspaper expressed the hope that the summit would result in efficient decisions reflecting the African will to promote the setting up of a United States of Africa through the African cabinet system for the continent to speak about its affairs with one single voice in all international organisations.
- Pana 02/02/2011

AFP: AU wants to turn the page with Libya post-Kadhafi

http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5iOalJlv5rLanFd0eUKNOJa5sA1kw?docId=CNG.384a2765838b6cbd605175bf201e33f8.581

- AU wants to turn the page with Libya post-Kadhafi

  By Imed Lamloum (AFP)

- TRIPOLI — The African Union wants to turn the page in its ties with Libya's new rulers, the head of the AU's executive arm said on Monday on his first visit to the country since the ouster of Moamer Kadhafi.

  "What I told the authorities firstly is that the past is the past, no matter what happened. We must turn the page and look to the future," AU commission chairman Jean Ping told AFP in an interview.

  The AU only recognised Libya's new leaders in September, after having failed to assert itself as a mediator in the conflict between rebels and Kadhafi, who had been a founder of the pan-African organisation.

- The rebels, who had the support of NATO, turned down AU appeals for dialogue with the Kadhafi regime, casting a cloud over relations between the bloc and Libya's National Transitional Council.

  In the interview, Ping said he had come to Tripoli "to discuss with the authorities the future of the new Libya."

  "The previous regime had its methods, its resources, its own vision of relations with others. The new regime, I think, wants to have normal relations with its brothers and ordinary Africans."

  He noted that "Libya's relations with neighbouring (African) countries were moving very quickly in the right direction," adding that the AU had "helped to normalise these relations."

  Ping said that Libyan Prime Minister Abdel Rahim al-Kib, with whom he held talks on Monday, would take part in an AU summit scheduled for the end of the month in Addis Ababa.

- The "king of the kings of Africa," as Kadhafi liked to be called, was behind the creation of the African Union and led an aggressive campaign for the formation of a United States of Africa, which he dreamed of leading.

  "When the AU was formed, two currents led the debate: Moamer Kadhafi's vision on one side with a number of African countries which wanted to speed up this union; and some countries on the other which wanted to go gradually," said Ping.

  He added that he expects "the debate will continue" following the fall of Kadhafi, who was killed by rebels fighting in his hometown of Sirte on October 20.

  "The difference is that the debate will not be influenced by someone like Kadhafi, who wanted to force through his vision."

- Ping sought to play down the influence of the Kadhafi regime in the African Union, including in financing, stressing that Libya was never the main source of funding for the bloc.

  "This is a serious mistake everyone makes, especially Westerners," said the AU chief.

  "There are five major contributors (to the AU budget) which pay the same (about 15 percent): Libya, but also Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria and South Africa," he said, adding the remaining 25 percent was shared among other members.

  "Sometimes Kadhafi's Libya held back its contribution and did not pay," he said, adding that Tripoli has not provided its share for 2010 and 2011, but only as a way to press for certain projects.

  Ping said that Kadhafi's active role in Africa gave people a "false impression" of his investments in the continent.

  "He set up a fund of $5 billion, which is not negligible. But we must not forget that the vast wealth of Libya... $150 billion was invested in Europe," he said.

  "If the new authorities and the Libyan people want to complain that their money was invested outside the country, the first beneficiaries were Westerners."

South Africa President criticizes UN over Libya - Sacramento News - Local and Breaking Sacramento News | Sacramento Bee

http://www.sacbee.com/2012/01/12/4183582/south-africa-president-criticizes.html

- South Africa President criticizes UN over Libya
- By MICHAEL ASTOR
  Associated Press
- Published: Thursday, Jan. 12, 2012

- UNITED NATIONS -- South African President Jacob Zuma told the U.N. Security Council on Thursday that it "completely ignored" the African Union when it allowed NATO's bombing campaign to oust Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi.

  Zuma made his comments to the 15-member council during a debate on a resolution seeking to improve relations between U.N. and the A.U.

  "A problem which was confined to one country, Libya, has now grown to be a regional problem. The lesson we should draw from the Libyan experience is that greater political coherence and a common vision between the A.U. and the U.N. are critical in the resolution of African conflicts," Zuma said.

Zuma also said that the ignored African plan would have helped resolve the conflict. He added that the resolution was important not because Africa did not want outside help, but that those who provide help must take into account African concerns.

- "It is important that an international organization like the United Nations take into account the realities on the local level when it takes a decision," Zuma said.

South Africa, which holds the rotating Security Council presidency for the month of January, has recently been critical of the NATO bombing campaign saying that when it voted for the U.N. resolution approving a no-fly zone to protect civilians it had not intended to authorize regime change.

Mark Kornblau, spokesman for the U.S. Mission to the United Nations disputed Zuma's characterization of the campaign.

"The international action in Libya saved tens of thousands of innocent civilians from slaughter, and the subsequent overthrow by the Libyan people of a brutal dictator has inspired people across the region and the world to pursue their own universal human rights and freedoms," Kornblau said in a statement.

Pambazuka - AU on Libya: Political solution needed
http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/74462

- **AU on Libya: Political solution needed**

Ruhakana Rugunda

2011-06-29, Issue 537

- At a meeting between the UN Security Council and the African Union High Level Ad hoc Committee on Libya on 15 June, Dr Ruhakana Rugunda, Uganda's permanent representative to the United Nations, gave the African Union's stand on NATO's invasion of Libya.
- Mr. President,

1. Thank you for organising this interactive dialogue. It is good that the United Nations Security Council has met the African Union (AU) Mediation Committee (High-Level Ad hoc Committee on Libya) so that we can exchange views on the situation in Libya in a candid manner. This should have happened much earlier because Libya is a founding member of the AU. An attack on Libya or any other member of the African Union without express agreement by the AU is a dangerous provocation that should be avoided given the relaxed international situation in the last 20 years since the release of Nelson Mandela from jail and the eventual freedom of South Africa.

2. The UN is on safer ground if it confines itself on maintaining international peace and deterring war among member states.

3. Intervening in internal affairs of States should be avoided except where there is proof of genocide or imminent genocide as happened in Rwanda or against the Jews in Germany and the European countries that were occupied by the Third Reich.

- 4. There are differences on the issue of Libya as to whether there was proof of genocide or intended genocide. Fighting between Government troops and armed insurrectionists is not genocide. It is civil war. It is the attack on unarmed civilians with the aim of exterminating a particular group that is genocide – to exterminate the genes of targeted groups such as the Jews, Tutsis, etc. It is wrong to characterise every violence as genocide or imminent genocide so as to use it as a pretext for the undermining of the sovereignty of States. Certainly, sovereignty has been a tool of emancipation of the peoples of Africa who are beginning to chart transformational paths for most of the African countries after centuries of predation by the slave trade, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Careless assaults on the sovereignty of African Countries are, therefore, tantamount to inflicting fresh wounds on the destiny of the African peoples. If foreign invasions, meddlings, interventions, etc, were a source of prosperity, then, Africa should be the richest continent in the world because we have had all versions of all that: slave trade, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Yet, Africa has been the most wretched on account of that foreign meddling.

- 5. Whatever the genesis of the intervention by NATO in Libya, the AU called for dialogue before the UN resolutions 1970 and 1973 and after those Resolutions. Ignoring the AU for three months and going on with the bombings of the sacred land of Africa has been high-handed, arrogant and provocative. This is something that should not be sustained. To a discerning mind, such a course is dangerous. It is unwise for certain players to be intoxicated with technological superiority and begin to think they alone can alter the course of human history towards freedom for the whole of mankind. Certainly, no constellation of states should think that they can recreate hegemony over Africa.

6. The safer way is to use the ability to talk, to resolve all problems.

- 7. The UN or anybody acting on behalf of the UN must be neutral in relation to the internal affairs of states. Certainly, that should be the case with respect to African countries. The UN should not take sides in a civil war. The UN should promote dialogue, peaceful resolution of conflicts, and help in enforcing agreements arrived at after negotiations such as the agreement on the Sudan.

8. Regardless of the genesis of the Libyan problem, the correct way forward now is dialogue without pre-conditions. The demand by some countries that Col. Muammar Gadaffi must go first before the dialogue is incorrect. Whether Gadaffi goes or stays is a matter for the Libyan people to decide. It is particularly wrong when the demand for Gadaffi's departure is made by outsiders.

9. In order for dialogue, without pre-conditions, to take place, we need a ceasefire in place that should be monitored by the AU troops among others. This will help the AU to confirm the veracity of the stories of Gadaffi killing civilians intentionally.

- 10. That dialogue should agree on the way forward in the direction of introducing competitive politics. Gadaffi thinks he

has the most democratic system in the world of people's authority, elected local committees. Since so much chaos in Libya has emerged on the issue, Gadaffi should see the wisdom of accepting competitive democracy. Gadaffi cannot ignore the fact that the rebels took over Benghazi and his authority melted away before NATO came in to confuse the picture. The pre-NATO uprising in Benghazi was, mainly, internal. Gadaffi may say that they were organised by Al Qaeda. Even if that is so, it is a fact that some Libyans in Benghazi threw out Gadaffi's authority. Therefore, Gadaffi must think of and agree to reforms, resulting into competitive politics.

11. A transitional mechanism could, then, be worked out and competitive elections would take place after an agreed timetable.

12. What about security for the opposition members? We have plenty of experience on such issues. What did we do in Burundi? We provided a protection force (a brigade) for the Hutu leaders who were living outside Burundi or were in the bush. One of them is now the President of Burundi after winning democratic elections.

- 13. How about those who are alleged to have committed war crimes – including Gadaffi and the rebels? Again, our decision in Burundi is useful here. We used the concept of "immunité provisoire" (provisional immunity), for all the stakeholders so that they could participate in the dialogue. After peace is realised, then a Truth and Reconciliation body could be set up to look into these matters. After democratic elections, trials of guilty parties can take place.

14. Long-term safety of everybody can be ensured by security sector reform and especially reform of the army, so that it takes orders from any elected President.

15. The intervention in Libya was premised on the basis of protecting civilians and preventing further civilian deaths. However, the humanitarian situation in Libya remains serious and continues to get worse with continued hostilities. Looking at how resolutions 1970 and 1973 are being implemented, the international community and the United Nations in particular, are being severely put to the test, as what is happening in Libya will undermine future efforts of the UN in the protection of civilians. There is, therefore, no need for any war-like activities in Libya because there is a peaceful way forward. There has been no need for these war activities, ever since Gadaffi accepted dialogue when the AU mediation Committee visited Tripoli on April 10, 2011. Any war activities after that have been provocation for Africa. It is an unnecessary war. It must stop.

- 16. The story that the rebels cannot engage in dialogue unless Gadaffi goes away does not convince us. If they do not want dialogue, then, let them fight their war with Gadaffi without NATO bombing. Then, eventually, a modus vivendus will emerge between the two parties or one of them will be defeated. The attitude of the rebels shows us the danger of external involvement in internal affairs of African countries.

The externally sponsored groups neglect dialogue and building internal consensus and, instead, concentrate on winning external patrons. This cannot be in the interest of that country. Mobutu's Congo as well as performance of all the other neo-colonies of Africa in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and their eventual collapse in the 1990s prove that foreign sponsored groups are of no value to Africa.

17. It is essential that the UN Security Council works with the African Union to ensure that a ceasefire is immediately established with an effective and verifiable monitoring mechanism and dialogue embarked upon, leading to a political process including transitional arrangements and the necessary reforms. The crisis in Libya requires a political solution and not a military one; and the AU Road Map is the most viable option.

Libya recolonised

http://www.frontlineonnet.com/fl2823/stories/20111118282300900.htm

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from the publishers of THE HINDU

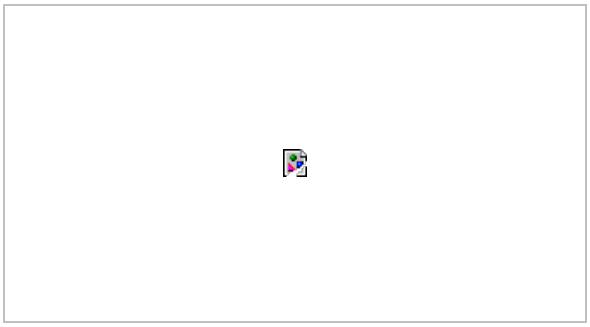
- **COVER STORY**

Libya recolonised

AIJAZ AHMAD

- **Libya is the first country that the Euro-American consortium has invaded exclusively on the pretext of human rights violations.**

IVAN SEKRETAREV/AP



On the outskirts of Tripoli, a residential building reduced to rubble in a NATO airstrike on June 19. Even the most conservative estimates suggest that the war in Libya has led to the loss of at least 50,000 lives, mostly at the hands of NATO's bombers and local allies.

- FROM Kabul in October 2001 to Tripoli in October 2011, a decade of unremitting planetary warfare has seen countries devastated and capitals occupied over a vast swathe of territory from the Hindu Kush to the northern end of Africa's Mediterranean coast. Within the Arab world, this ultra-imperialist offensive of Euro-American predators may yet move on to Syria as well – and beyond that to Iran at some future date. For now, in any case, the occupation of Libya by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's (NATO) clients and corporations marks the vanquishing of the spirit of rebellion that was ignited in neighbouring Tunisia and Egypt earlier this year and has been under attack ever since. For much of Africa, though, this may yet be merely a beginning of a new conquest by the Euro-American consortium that may ravage the continent even more ferociously than did the famous "Scramble for Africa" that was sanctified in Berlin at the end of the 19th century.

- **Humanitarian interventionism**

  Afghanistan was invaded in the name of "War on Terror" plus human rights. Iraq was invaded in the name of "War on Terror" plus nuclear non-proliferation plus human rights. Libya is the first country that has been invaded almost exclusively in the name of human rights. In the very early days of hostilities in Libya, President Barack Obama said dramatically that if NATO had waited "one more day, Benghazi could suffer a massacre that would have reverberated across the region and stained the conscience of the world". His senior aides claimed that the imminent "massacre" could have led to the death of one lakh people, and this is what got repeated ad nauseum on U.S. television channels as well as in all the halls of power where the option of human rights interventionism got discussed with a view to obtaining a United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolution. This was a bare-faced lie, very much in the mould of the lie about Iraq's purported nuclear weapons that was brandished around by Obama's predecessor, President George Bush Jr. It was on the basis of such disinformation that Resolutions 1970 and 1973 were passed in the Security Council, invoking the dubious principle of the "responsibility to protect", which was inserted into the duties of the U.N. as late as 2005, after the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq were already afoot.

- This was the time when the Bush administration was openly claiming in international fora, including at the U.N. itself, that (a) in this Age of Terror the U.S. reserved the right of pre-emptive military attack against any state that the U.S. considered a threat to its national security, and that (b) in the conditions of the "War on Terror" many aspects of the Geneva Conventions were no longer applicable. This discourse of the right to pre-emptive invasion was then supplemented by the discourse of the benign nature of the empire itself, in the shape of human rights interventionism. The claim now was that the "international community" – as defined by Euro-American powers – had the right to intervene in the internal affairs of any sovereign country if "massacre" or "genocide" was imminent. The NATO bombings in Libya that began in the third week of March were the first that had ever been authorised by the Security Council in its entire history on this dubious principle of human rights interventionism. Nicolas Sarkozy, the French President, was in his own way quite right when he asserted in the early hours of March 25: "It's a historic moment… what is happening in Libya is creating jurisprudence… it is a major turning point in the foreign policy of France, Europe, and the world" (emphasis added).
- No credible evidence has ever emerged to support Obama's claim that a massacre (of up to 100,000) was imminent in Benghazi, and no massacres ensued in the rebellious cities and towns that Qaddafi's troops did occupy in the earlier stages of the fighting. On the contrary, there is incontrovertible evidence of massacres at the hands of NATO's mercenaries. Neighbouring countries, such as Niger, Mali and Chad, have reported the eviction of some three lakh black African residents from Libya as NATO's local allies and clients rolled on towards Tripoli under the devastating shield of NATO's own 40,000-plus bombings over large parts of Libya. Together with these mass evictions of workers and refugees from neighbouring countries – whom the Qaddafi regime had welcomed to make up for labour shortages in an expanding economy – there are also credible reports of lynchings and massacres of black Libyans themselves. The scale of these depredations is yet undetermined but it is already clear that upwards of 50,000 have died as a result of the war unleashed by NATO with the collusion of the Security Council, and half a million or more have been rendered homeless, mostly at the hands of NATO-armed "rebels" who have now been appointed as the new government of the country. Neither the Security Council nor NATO commanders nor, indeed, President Obama – the first black President in the history of the U.S. and himself the son of a Kenyan father – has seen it fit to take up the "responsibility to protect" these hapless people, most of them black Africans, even though several heads of African states have protested, including the very pro-U.S. President of Nigeria.
- One of the most pernicious aspects of the liberal discourse of human rights in our time is that this doctrine is utilised in country after country to justify imperialist interventionism in the affairs of the sovereign countries of the tricontinent in direct violation not only of the United Nations Charter and the Westphalian order of nation-states as such but, even more fundamentally, of the very spirit and practices of the anti-colonial movements that fought to dismantle the colonial empires of yesteryear. The right to independent nationhood is inseparable from the right to choose one's own government without foreign interference. In virtually every country of Latin America over the past half a century, peoples have fought against the most brutal kinds of dictatorship but without ever asking for a foreign intervention.

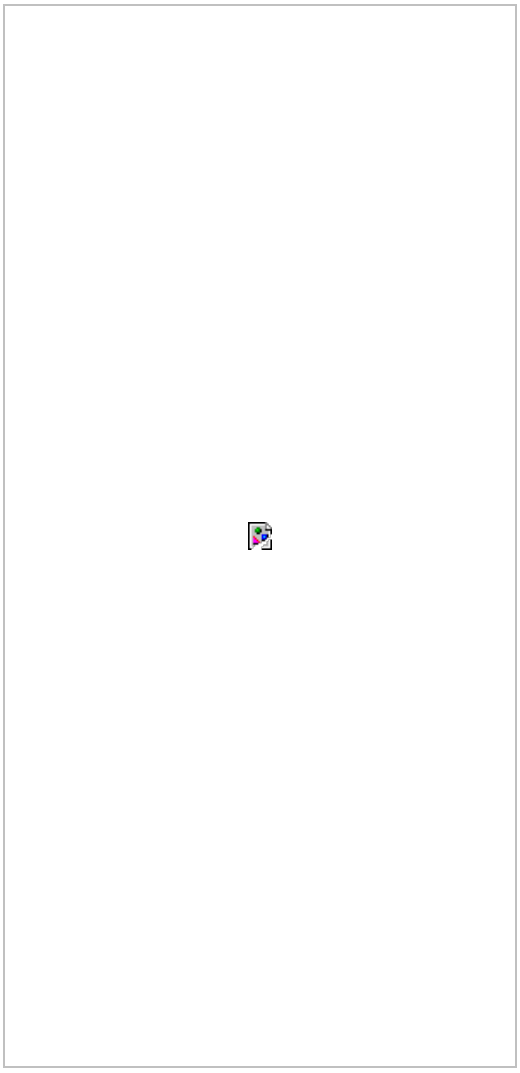
- For three simple reasons: (1) it is only the people themselves, in their collectivity, who have the right to change their government; (2) it would be hard to find a dictator, including Qaddafi and Saddam Hussein, who has not colluded with imperialism at one point or another; and (3) a military intervention is always, without exception, the intervention of the strong against the weak – always, without exception, in pursuit of the interests of those who intervene.

Given this basic principle, the issue of Qaddafi's dictatorial rule is just as irrelevant today as was the nature of Saddam Hussein's rule in the past; and as irrelevant as would be the dictatorial temper of Bashar al-Asad in Syria or Mahmoud Ahmedinejad in Iran in case of invasions yet to come.

- We shall come to the paradoxical character of the Qaddafi regime, and it cannot be anyone's case that Qaddafi was some sort of liberal democrat. It needs to be said, though, that he was no more dictatorial than most rulers of Africa and the Arab world, most notably the friends of the West in Saudi Arabia and the whole complex of various emirates in the Gulf. His authoritarianism was indeed ferocious. However, if matters are viewed from the perspective of the well-being of the Libyan people, we shall also have to concede that Qaddafi built the most advanced welfare state in Africa – just as Iraq was the most advanced welfare state in the Arab East, Saddam's authoritarianism notwithstanding. Dismantling of the welfare state – and privatisation and corporatisation of the national assets – is in fact the filthy underbelly of this human rights imperialism. If human rights were even remotely the issue in such interventionism, Saudi Arabia would be the logical first target. And, why should there not be a NATO occupation of Israel, immediately, for protecting the human rights of the Palestinian people and the implementation of numerous Security Council resolutions?
- In reality, the great crusade for human rights and democracy in Libya was conducted by NATO with the aid of, among others, personnel from Qatar and the Emirates, just as NATO's own Islamists in Turkey have joined hands with Saudi Arabia in providing weapons to the Muslim Brotherhood and its allies in Syria against the Assad regime in the name of democracy and human rights.
- **Empire goes where oil is**

The Security Council resolution that authorised NATO's "humanitarian intervention" in Libya was well reflected in a secret proposal to the French government by the National Transitional Council (NTC) in the early days of the "rebellion", which offered to France 35 per cent of Libya's gross national oil production "in exchange", in the words of the proposal, for "total and permanent" French support for the NTC. The French government, of course, denied it when the French newspaper Liberation published the communication. This coyness of the conspirators was not to last long. On October 21, less than 24 hours after the announcement of Qaddafi's assassination, Britain's new Defence Minister, Philip Hammond, announced that the United Kingdom had presented to the NTC a "request" for a licence to drill for oil. He then added:

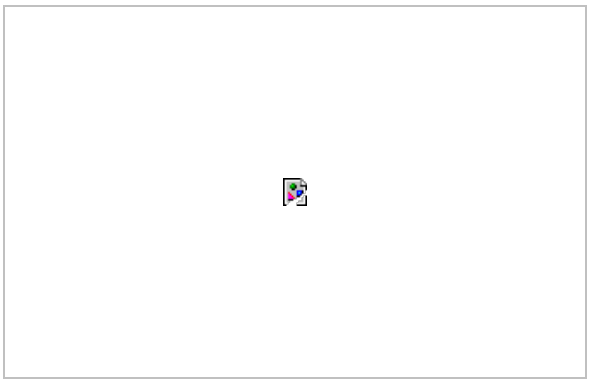
- "Libya is a relatively wealthy country with oil reserves, and I expect there will be opportunities for British and other companies to get involved in the reconstruction of Libya…. I would expect British companies, even British sales directors, [to be] packing their suitcases and looking to get out to Libya and take part in the reconstruction of that country as soon as they can."
- As the U.S. Ambassador, Gene Cretz, unfurled the flag over the American Embassy in Tripoli, at its reopening ceremony on September 22, he was equally upbeat:



"We know that oil is the jewel in the crown of Libyan natural resources, but even in Qaddafi's time they were starting from A to Z in terms of building infrastructure and other things. If we can get American companies here on a fairly big scale, which we will try to do everything we can to do that, then this will redound to improve the situation in the United States with respect to our own jobs."

- Referring to the Italian oil company, the Foreign Minister of Italy, Franco Frattini, added his own gleeful chime to this triumphalist chorus: "Eni will play a No.1 role in the future." Qatar, whose overt and covert contribution to the NATO offensive was very considerable indeed, is already handing oil sales in eastern Libya and will also be entering the distribution of the spoils of war from a position of strength. The New York Times noted: "Libya's provisional government has already said it is eager to welcome Western businesses (and)… would even give its Western backers some 'priority' in access to Libyan business." That was accurate. "We don't have a problem with Western countries like Italians, French and U.K. companies," Abdeljalil Mayouf, a spokesman for the NTC-controlled oil company, Agogco, was quoted by Reuters as saying, "but we may have some political issues with Russia, China and Brazil."
- Libya's 46 billion barrels of oil make it home to Africa's largest proven deposit of conventional crude, though Nigeria and Angola dispute this Libyan pre-eminence. Before the civil war began in earnest in February, Libya was pumping about 1.6 million barrels a day, most of which went to southern Europe, whose refineries were tailored to refine Libya's light, high-quality crude. By contrast, Saudi crude is heavier and unsuitable for many of those refineries, while Libya's geographical proximity also makes it much more attractive. Almost 70 per cent of Libya's oil went to four countries, Spain, Germany, France and Italy, even before the NATO war, and oil-producing regions were of course the first to be secured as NATO started bombing its way to victory. The oil industry's biggest players, meanwhile, are ready to reclaim their old concessions and get new ones. The vast Ghadames and Sirte basins, largely off limits to foreign oil companies since Qaddafi came to power 42 years ago, are now expected to be privatised and opened to foreign corporations. The same applies to Libya's offshore oil and gas resources.
- The loss of political sovereignty thus leads necessarily to great curtailment of economic sovereignty as well.

AFP/HANDOUT



THE PRODUCTION FACILITIES of a German oil firm in the Libyan desert near the oasis of Jakhira, which was shut in February following the violence. Almost 70 per cent of Libya's oil went to four countries - Spain, Germany, France and Italy - even before the NATO bombings, during which the oil-producing regions were the first to be secured.

- **African Union vs "The international Community"**

At a meeting between the two parties on June 15 this year, some three months after NATO initiated its aerial bombings of Libya, the High Level Ad hoc Committee of the African Union (A.U.) handed over to the Security Council a letter spelling out the A.U. position on the Libyan crisis. Now, even after the fall of Tripoli and the assassination of Qaddafi, the contents of that communication are worth re-visiting if we wish to assess the great gap of perceptions and prescriptions, on issues of interventionism, between nation-states of the tricontinent on the one hand, and, on the other hand, those institutions of "the international community" whose task it is to justify Euro-American interventionism. We shall first offer a series of quotations from that key document:

- 1. "Whatever the genesis of the intervention by NATO in Libya, the A.U. called for dialogue before the U.N. Resolutions 1970 and 1973 and after those resolutions. Ignoring the A.U. for three months and going on with the bombings of the sacred land of Africa has been high-handed, arrogant and provocative."

2. "An attack on Libya or any other member of the African Union without express agreement by the A.U. is a dangerous provocation… sovereignty has been a tool of emancipation of the peoples of Africa who are beginning to chart transformational paths for most of the African countries after centuries of predation by the slave trade, colonialism and neocolonialism. Careless assaults on the sovereignty of African countries are, therefore, tantamount to inflicting fresh wounds on the destiny of the African peoples."

- 3. "Fighting between government troops and armed insurrectionists is not genocide. It is civil war…. It is wrong to characterise every violence as genocide or imminent genocide so as to use it as a pretext for the undermining of the sovereignty of states."

4. "The U.N. should not take sides in a civil war. The U.N. should promote dialogue…. The demand by some countries that Col. Muammar Qaddafi must go first before the dialogue is incorrect. Whether Qaddafi goes or stays is a matter for the Libyan people to decide. It is particularly wrong when the demand for Gaddafi's departure is made by outsiders…. Qaddafi accepted dialogue when the A.U. mediation committee visited Tripoli on April 10, 2011. Any war activities after that have been provocation for Africa. It is an unnecessary war. It must stop…. The story that the rebels cannot engage in dialogue unless Qaddafi goes away does not convince us. If they do not want dialogue, then, let them fight their war with Qaddafi without NATO bombing…. The externally sponsored groups neglect dialogue and building internal consensus and, instead, concentrate on winning external patrons."

- It goes without saying that the A.U. is by no means a conglomeration of radicals; it is a conservative grouping of state governments, most of whom are, in one way or another, allied with the West; many of the heads of states participating in A.U. proceedings at any given time are venal, corrupt, authoritarian or worse. That is, however, no more relevant than the personal venality of Sarkozy or Silvio Berlusconi or any other Western leader. The point, rather, is that the A.U.'s is the only united voice through which African states speak and that the principles and points of fact raised here are unexceptionable.
- The very first point is that the Security Council, NATO or any other conglomeration of states and institutions simply have no right to represent themselves as "the international community" when what they say and do is opposed by the united voice of the African state system. The second point is that the issue of state sovereignty is posed in Africa and Asia not only in European, Westphalian terms, but, far more sensitively and explosively, in the perspective of the recently won and still very fragile independence of states after a long history of colonial predation. Further, the A.U. letter rejects the position – enunciated by Obama, his NATO allies and the Security Council – that there was any genocide or imminent genocide in Libya. Rather, it speaks strictly of a "civil war" between "government troops and armed insurrectionists", calls upon the U.N. not to take sides in the "civil war" and goes on then to contemptuously dismiss the "externally sponsored groups" and their "demands" that are designed for "winning external patrons".

- The most important practical point in any case is that Qaddafi had accepted the principle of negotiation and arbitration by the A.U. as early as April 10, after which the A.U. quite rightly demanded that NATO stop its military mission and the U.N. concentrate on facilitating negotiations under A.U. auspices. A significant section of the letter laid out an elaborate plan for negotiations, for policing of violence inside Libya by an A.U. brigade as had been done in Burundi, and for conflict resolution processes using the principles of "provisional immunity" during the peace negotiations, and for the establishment of truth and reconciliation bodies for reconciliation after peace has been re-established.

None of it was heeded, precisely because the voice of reason had come from the weak, while the will for intervention and regime change had come from self-appointed masters of the universe.

- **Civilisation and the ecstasy of conquest**

In the moment of victory, President Obama was relatively more measured in his words than many other Western leaders. The fall of Libya to 40,000-plus NATO bombings was proof, he said, that "we are seeing the strength of the American leadership across the world". And he was not entirely mistaken in taking the credit. The Security Council resolution that authorised NATO operations would have been inconceivable without the coercive powers of the U.S. Obama's cavalier condoning of assassination and extra-judicial execution, as displayed to the world in the cases of Osama bin Laden and Anwar al-Awlaki among others, was part of the implicit licence to kill the unarmed Qaddafi as well. Less than 48 hours before Qaddafi was actually assassinated, Hillary Clinton, the U.S. Secretary of State, was on a triumphant visit to Tripoli, the Libyan capital now occupied by NATO and its local clients, and said unambiguously: "We hope he [Qaddafi] can be captured or killed soon." Incitement to murder could hardly be couched in words more stark

- This issue of an authorised assassination should detain us somewhat, for it does impinge upon the imperial duplicity of the human rights discourse. Details of Qaddafi's death and burial are still unclear. We do know that the town of Sirte, to which he had retreated during the siege of Tripoli, was devastated by hundreds of aerial bombings by NATO with the single-minded intent to kill him and those close to him. We also know that he was leaving Sirte in a convoy when the convoy too was bombed; the French claimed that it was their Rafale fighter jet that disabled his vehicle; the Americans claimed that it was the work of one of their Predators. The main point is that he was captured alive and unarmed by NATO's mercenaries on the ground, kicked around, beaten and killed. Considering how many American, French, British, Qatari and other special forces have been there, commanding the Libyan "rebels", it is significant that the body of the dead man was never taken away from the milling "rebels". Christof Heyns, the U.N. Special Rapporteur, seems to be clear on this point: "The Geneva Conventions are very clear that when prisoners are taken they may not be executed wilfully and if that was the case then we are dealing with a war crime, something that should be tried."

- The complication, however, is that the Western alliance had previously announced an award of $20 million to anyone who kills (or helps kill/capture) Qaddafi. So, here is a test for Western values: should the man who killed Qaddafi be tried in a court of law? Should he be awarded $20 million and celebrated as a hero? Or should he be allowed to slip out of the grip of the law, history and public memory – and settled, with a handsome settlement, in Miami, southern California or a villa on the Rhine?

Qaddafi's own tribe issued this statement: "We call on the U.N., the Organisation of the Islamic Conference and Amnesty International to force the [National] Transitional Council to hand over the martyrs' bodies to our tribe in Sirte and to allow them to perform their burial ceremony in accordance with Islamic customs and rules." But there was no such luck! NATO's mercenaries displayed Qaddafi's body, along with that of his son Mutassim, naked to the waist, in freezers in a meat store in Misrata, inviting souvenir photographs.

- Human rights imperialism seems to be inventing a brand new entertainment industry: that of necrophilic tourism.
- Be that as it may. President Obama is right in claiming that the event proved "the strength of American leadership". U.S. Special Forces and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) teams were on the ground since before the beginning of the rebellion and made sure that those who were destined to be NATO's mercenary army on the ground were armed from the start; they were then joined by their French and British counterparts and backed by armed groups from Qatar, the Emirates and the like. Bombings were left largely to the Franco-British component of NATO but much of the high electronics and infrastructural nitty-gritty was handled by the U.S. forces: collecting electronic intelligence and smashing the Libyan anti-aircraft systems, for example, and blockading the coast. NATO warplanes used U.S. bases for refuelling and these bases supplied munitions when their European counterparts ran low. In an important sense, the military operation in Libya was a highly successful experiment in an assault coordinated between AFRICOM – the U.S. Command for the control of Africa – and its European partners.

- If President Obama was cryptic, his icy Vice President, Joe Biden, was precise: "In this case, America spent $2 billion and didn't lose a single life. This is more of the prescription for how to deal with the world as we go forward than it has been in the past." By "life", Biden obviously means American life, considering that even the most conservative estimates suggest that the war in Libya has led to the loss of at least 50,000 lives, mostly at the hands of NATO bombers and their local allies.

More broadly, what is at issue is a U.S. objective, first conceived during the Vietnam War, to develop an "automated battlefield" with technologies so advanced that wars may be won and entire countries conquered without any significant ground deployment. Across the Atlantic, that same idea was invoked by people like Paddy Ashdown, who once served for four years as E.U. High Representative in Bosnia-Herzegovina, who said that from now on the West should adopt the "Libyan model" of intervention rather than the "Iraqi model" of massive invasion.

- This kind of hard-boiled Anglo-Saxon pragmatism can easily be translated by an ambitious politician like Nicolas Sarkozy, the current French President, into the sophistries of a high-minded Gallic discourse on history and civilisation. Pierre Lévy, a former editor of L'Humanité, recently recalled a passage from a speech Sarkozy delivered in 2007 in which he glorified "the shattered dream of Charlemagne and of the Holy Roman Empire, the Crusades, the great schism between Eastern and Western Christianity, the fallen glory of Louis XIV and Napoleon…" and then went on to declare that "Europe is today the only force capable of carrying forward a project of civilisation." This claim to a unique civilisational mission then led quickly to an ambition to conquer: "I want to be the President of a France which will bring the Mediterranean into the process of its reunification after 12 centuries of division and painful conflicts…. America and China have already begun the conquest of Africa. How long will Europe wait to build the Africa of tomorrow? While Europe hesitates, others advance."

- Lévy then goes on to quote Dominique Strauss-Kahn, a senior leader of the Socialist Party (much in the news recently for alleged sexual misdemeanours), who matched Sarkozy's bombast with his own desire for a Europe stretching "from the cold ice of the Arctic in the North to the hot sands of the Sahara in the South (…) and that Europe, I believe, if it

continues to exist, will have reconstituted the Mediterranean as an internal sea, and will have re-conquered the space that the Romans, or Napoleon more recently, attempted to consolidate."

In this world view, then, NATO is seen as having inherited a mission from the Roman Empire and the Napoleonic conquests, which then involves the "re-conquest" of North Africa. It was, after all, only about 50 years ago that France finally relinquished its claim that Algeria was not a foreign colony but an "outlying province" of France itself. What is very striking in any case is how closely the rhetoric of "civilisation" is woven into the rhetoric of "conquest" and even "re-conquest."

- **Obama, Africa and the Imperial Project**

Poor little "Olde Europe"! Even in its wildest civilisational ravings, all it can imagine is the re-conquest of its colonial empire in North Africa. By contrast, the U.S. knows how to get directly to the point. In the second week of October, when the war against Libya had been won but Qaddafi yet not assassinated, President Obama announced: "I have authorised a small number of combat-equipped U.S. forces to deploy to central Africa to provide assistance to regional forces…. On October 12, the initial team of U.S. military personnel with appropriate combat equipment deployed to Uganda. During the next month, additional forces will deploy…. These forces will act as advisers to partner forces that have the goal of removing from the battlefield Joseph Kony and other senior leadership of the LRA [Lord's Resistance Army]…. Subject to the approval of each respective host nation, elements of these U.S. forces will deploy into Uganda, South Sudan, the Central African Republic, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo."

- So, in the wake of the Libyan conquest, U.S. troops are to be immediately deployed to countries across the middle of Africa, in four countries and in cooperation with regimes that have hideous records of dictatorship and human rights abuses, not the least on the part of Uganda's "President-for-life", Yoweri Museveni. Obama justified this newly minted "humanitarian mission" in Uganda in the name of eliminating the LRA. This is odd. The LRA has actually been around for almost a quarter century and has never been weaker than it is today. Why, suddenly, such an operation across a huge part of Africa? Paul Craig Roberts, a former Under Secretary of State for Treasury under President Ronald Reagan (and thus not a left-winger by a long shot), put the matter succinctly: "With Libya conquered, AFRICOM will start on the other African countries where China has energy and mineral investments…. Whereas China brings Africa investment and gifts of infrastructure, Washington sends troops, bombs and military bases."
- Even this recent deployment may be just the tip of an oncoming iceberg. For many years now, the U.S. has been building up a special Command for Africa, the AFRICOM, in tandem with CENTCOM that is responsible for operations in the Middle East (West Asia). As part of this imperial mission in Africa, the U.S. is actively engaged in training the militaries of Mali, Chad, Niger, Benin, Botswana, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Gabon, Zambia, Uganda, Senegal, Mozambique, Ghana, Malawi and Mauritania. Together with other NATO countries, the U.S. has staged numerous military exercises in Africa with the ostensible purpose of preparing contingency plans for "protecting energy supplies" in the Niger delta and the Gulf of Guinea. Aside from Libya, major oil producers in the region include Angola, Nigeria, Cameroon, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Chad and Mauritania. All these, and many others besides, are to be "protected" – pretty much on the "Libyan model" if need be.

- This is not the place to go into details. Suffice it to say that the fall of Libya is likely to serve as the first major step in the offensive to capture Africa's plentiful natural resources. In the fullness of time, as multiple insurgencies and bloodlettings are let loose across the continent, we are likely to see the erection of many new bases for the AFRICOM-NATO combine, very much on the model of Iraq and Afghanistan. The objective is not only to reserve African resources for the Euro-American imperium as much as possible but also to deny those resources to China, which gets about one third of its oil from Africa – Angola and Sudan in particular – in addition to important materials like platinum, copper, timber and iron ore. Some 75 Chinese companies were working in Libya with 36,000 personnel, not so much in the oil sector as in infrastructural development projects; and China accounted for about 11 per cent of Libya's pre-war exports. It evacuated its personnel and complained that NATO had unilaterally changed the U.N. resolution from protecting civilians to regime change.

The U.S. would like to see this eviction of China from Libya to become permanent and for such evictions to be repeated across Africa. Will that happen? Too soon to tell. The U.S. has the military might and the impatient arrogance of a declining superpower, but China is the one that has the cash and the almost glacial patience of a rising economic power. A confrontation is on, and it will take decades to settle.

- **Conclusion**

Major issues pertaining to the significance of the Libya war have not been addressed here: the meaning of all this for the so-called "Arab Spring"; the nature of the fallen Qaddafi regime; the likely composition of the emerging dispensation; the social disintegration and multiple internal conflicts that are now likely to ensue; the destabilisation and the prospect of multiple civil wars across the Sahel region caused by the war on Libya; and so on. Other contributors to this issue of *Frontline* may clarify these issues, or this author may return to them in a future contribution.

- So, let me conclude this piece by noting that Qaddafi did leave a brief will, and it is important that we recall some of his last words:

"Let the free people of the world know that we could have bargained over and sold out our cause in return for a personally secure and stable life. We received many offers to this effect but we chose to be at the vanguard of the confrontation as a badge of duty and honour. Even if we do not win immediately, we will give a lesson to future generations that choosing to protect the nation is an honour and selling it out is the greatest betrayal that history will remember forever despite the attempts of the others to tell you otherwise."

- That is true. Friendly African countries had offered him safe sanctuaries, while some European countries would have preferred to have him as a neutralised client rather than a celebrated martyr in (at least parts of) Libya. Offers were

indeed made. Given the choices, he preferred to die. In that brief will, he also expressed a simple wish:

"Should I be killed, I would like to be buried, according to Muslim rituals, in the clothes I was wearing at the time of my death and my body unwashed, in the cemetery of Sirte, next to my family and relatives. I would like that my family, especially women and children, be treated well after my death."

- In Islamic custom, the stipulation that the body be washed and wrapped in a fresh shroud is lifted in the case of martyrs. Right or wrong, Qaddafi did think of his own impending death as martyrdom. We may not think so, but many others probably will. Qaddafi was quite largely a buffoon, in many ways brutish, more so as he grew older and more egomaniacal, but not everyone is going to forget that he also had a visionary side to him and built for his people the most advanced welfare state on the continent. His is a contradictory legacy. We have described earlier in this piece what the winners did to his corpse. Not just the members of his own family or his tribesmen, but many, many others might not so easily forget all that.

Recognizing the "Unpeople" | Truthout
http://www.truth-out.org/recognizing-unpeople/1325894936#.Twit8zbKb2M.twitter

Recognizing the "Unpeople"

Saturday 7 January 2012

by: Noam Chomsky, Truthout | Op-Ed

- On June 15, three months after the NATO bombing of Libya began, the African Union presented to the U.N. Security Council the African position on the attack – in reality, bombing by their traditional imperial aggressors: France and Britain, joined by the U.S., which initially coordinated the assault, and marginally some other nations.
- It should be recalled that there were two interventions. The first, under U.N. Security Council Resolution 1973, adopted on March 17, called for a no-fly zone, a cease-fire and measures to protect civilians. After a few moments, that intervention was cast aside as the imperial triumvirate joined the rebel army, serving as its air force.

At the outset of the bombing, the A.U. called for efforts at diplomacy and negotiations to try to head off a likely humanitarian catastrophe in Libya. Within the month, the A.U. was joined by the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and others, including the major regional NATO power Turkey.

- In fact, the triumvirate was quite isolated in its attacks – undertaken to eliminate the mercurial tyrant whom they had supported when it was advantageous. The hope was for a regime likelier to be amenable to Western demands for control over Libya's rich resources and, perhaps, to offer an African base for the U.S. Africa command AFRICOM, so far confined to Stuttgart.

No one can know whether the relatively peaceful efforts called for in U.N. Resolution 1973, and backed by most of the world, might have succeeded in averting the terrible loss of life and the destruction that followed in Libya.

- On June 15, the A.U. informed the Security Council that "ignoring the A.U. for three months and going on with the bombings of the sacred land of Africa has been high-handed, arrogant and provocative." The A.U. went on to present a plan for negotiations and policing within Libya by A.U. forces, along with other measures of reconciliation – to no avail.

The A.U. call to the Security Council also laid out the background for their concerns: "Sovereignty has been a tool of emancipation of the peoples of Africa who are beginning to chart transformational paths for most of the African countries after centuries of predation by the slave trade, colonialism and neocolonialism. Careless assaults on the sovereignty of African countries are, therefore, tantamount to inflicting fresh wounds on the destiny of the African peoples."

- The African appeal can be found in the Indian journal Frontline, but was mostly unheard in the West. That comes as no surprise: Africans are "unpeople," to adapt George Orwell's term for those unfit to enter history.

On March 12, the Arab League gained the status of people by supporting U.N. Resolution 1973. But approval soon faded when the League withheld support for the subsequent Western bombardment of Libya.

And on April 10, the Arab League reverted to unpeople by calling on the U.N. also to impose a no-fly zone over Gaza and to lift the Israeli siege, virtually ignored.

- That too makes good sense. Palestinians are prototypical unpeople, as we see regularly. Consider the November/December issue of Foreign Affairs, which opened with two articles on the Israel-Palestine conflict.

One, written by Israeli officials Yosef Kuperwasser and Shalom Lipner, blamed the continuing conflict on the Palestinians for refusing to recognize Israel as a Jewish state (keeping to the diplomatic norm: States are recognized, but not privileged sectors within them).

- The second, by American scholar Ronald R. Krebs, attributes the problem to the Israeli occupation; the article is subtitled: "How the Occupation Is Destroying the Nation." Which nation? Israel, of course, harmed by having its boot on the necks of unpeople.

  Another illustration: In October, headlines trumpeted the release of Gilad Shalit, the Israeli soldier who had been captured by Hamas. The article in The New York Times Magazine was devoted to his family's suffering. Shalit was freed in exchange for hundreds of unpeople, about whom we learned little, apart from sober debate as to whether their release might harm Israel.

- We also learned nothing about the hundreds of other detainees held in Israeli prisons for long periods without charge.

  Among the unmentioned prisoners are the brothers Osama and Mustafa Abu Muamar, civilians kidnapped by Israel forces that raided Gaza City on June 24, 2006 – the day before Shalit was captured. The brothers were then "disappeared" into Israel's prison system.

  Whatever one thinks of capturing a soldier from an attacking army, kidnapping civilians is plainly a far more serious crime – unless, of course, they are mere unpeople.

- To be sure, these crimes do not compare with many others, among them the mounting attacks on Israel's Bedouin citizens, who live in southern Israel's Negev.

  They are again being expelled under a new program designed to destroy dozens of Bedouin villages to which they had been driven earlier. For benign reasons, of course. The Israeli cabinet explained that 10 Jewish settlements would be founded there "to attract a new population to the Negev" – that is, to replace unpeople with legitimate people. Who could object to that?

  The strange breed of unpeople can be found everywhere, including the U.S.: in the prisons that are an international scandal, the food kitchens, the decaying slums.

- But examples are misleading. The world's population as a whole teeters on the edge of a black hole.

  We have daily reminders, even from very small incidents – for instance, last month, when Republicans in the U.S. House of Representatives barred a virtually costless reorganization to investigate the causes of the weather extremes of 2011 and to provide better forecasts.

  Republicans feared that it might be an opening wedge for "propaganda" on global warming, a nonproblem according to the catechism recited by the candidates for the nomination of what years ago used to be an authentic political party.

  Poor sad species.

AU Summit To Decide Fate of Libyan Assets Held in Member States

http://tripolipost.com/articledetail.asp?c=1&i=7601

- AU Summit To Decide Fate of Libyan Assets Held in Member States
  02/01/2012
- When the African Union, AU, heads of state meet at this month's summit in the Ethiopian capital, Addis Abba, one of the items to top the agenda would be the fate of Libyan investments frozen in East Africa and other African countries during the eight-month long conflict that eventually toppled Muammar Gaddafi from power.

  The United Nations and the European Union, have both lifted the sanctions against Libya after the country was declared free about three months ago. Many of the member countries of these international organisations, including the United States, have also unfrozen Libya's assets or are in the act of doing so, but in many African countries, Libya's assets, under the Libyan Africa Portfolio, LAP, remain the subject of local restrictions.

  Following the imposition of UN sanctions during the uprising, Uganda, for one, which hosts a number of Libyan enterprises took control of these assets and though the sanctions were lifted, have been slow to revert management to the transitional authority in Tripoli.
- Kenya opted to protect the assets without taking control, and its foreign affairs minister Moses Wetangula said at the time, that Kenya did not freeze Libyan assets following the UN Security Council resolution because they could not trace any Libyan investments in Kenya to Gaddafi, his family and other people covered by these sanctions.

  However, Mr Wetangula said the Libyan property is protected and that it would be transferred to the new government upon stability.

  In contrast, Uganda and Rwanda both froze the Libyan assets. Uganda froze assets worth $375 million in March, 2011, in line with a U.N. resolution imposing sanctions, and Rwanda followed suit a month later.
- Uganda is awaiting AU recognition of the new authority in Libya before negotiating the modalities for return of the assets, and Uganda's state minister for foreign affairs, Henry Okello-Oryem has been reported saying: "As long as the

AU recognises a new broad based government, we shall automatically be bound to it and transfer the businesses and investments."

Official recognition of the newly created Libyan government is expected to be announced at this month's AU summit.

The AU first recognised the National Transitional Council, NTC, as representative of the Libyan people in the formation of a transitional government that will occupy the Libyan seat at the AU in September.

- Libya under Gaddafi, invested into Uganda's agriculture, hotel, health, infrastructure, construction, food and finance sector through the Libyan Africa Investment Portfolio.
Libyans owns 49 per cent in the National Housing and Construction Corporation with shares worth $21.1m in developing the housing projects at Lubowa housing estate along Entebbe Road and Naalya housing estate.

It also has an interest in Uganda Coffee Development Authority, UCDA, following a 2007 agreement to partner in a joint venture to construct an $11m Soluble Coffee Plant that would add value to Uganda's coffee and at the same time comply with European Union standards.

Other Libyan interest thought ALP include shares in Tropical Bank, House of Dawda, Uganda Pharmaceuticals, Uganda Telecom and Lake Victoria Hotel Entebbe and the construction of an oil pipeline.

Pambazuka - NATO murdered Gaddafi
http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/77468

- **NATO murdered Gaddafi**

Demba Moussa Dembélé

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http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/77468

- The taking-control of Libya by the West and the assassination of Gaddafi may signal the beginning of the militarisation of Africa and the hastening of its recolonisation, writes Demba Moussa Dembélé.
- The United States, France and Britain have finally achieved their goal in Libya: The assassination of Gaddafi! The lies being told to make us believe that it was the NTC forces that killed him are fooling nobody. What's more, NATO admitted bombing a 'pro-Gaddafi convoy' on Thursday morning, and coincidentally a few hours later his 'capture' or 'death' was announced.
- A COLD-BLOODED MURDER

There is little doubt that it was NATO, assisted by Western Special Forces, who killed Gaddafi in cold blood. Note that this crime took place two days after the US secretary of state, Hillary Clinton's visit to Tripoli, during which she said of Gaddafi 'I hope he will soon be captured or killed'. This is therefore a state crime; the responsibility for which rests on the shoulders of Barack Obama, Nicolas Sarkozy and David Cameron, the main warlords of this western imperialist attack on a sovereign regime. Remember that since this attack was started, NATO have tried several times to kill the Libyan leader; including the bombing of his residence, as a result of which one of his sons and three grand-children were killed.

Therefore, this cold-blooded killing has exposed the barbaric, tyrannic and cruel nature of this imperialist alliance to the world. We need only look at the barrage of speeches of 'satisfaction' hailing from these leaders, some even claiming to be 'proud' to have played a part in this shameful killing. These western leaders have shown us their bloodthirsty, wicked and despotic natures. These are immoral individuals who will lie, kill and massacre without hesitation in order to achieve their ends.

- THE COMPLICITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

What is also obvious to the eyes of the world is the shameful role played by the United Nations. The Secretary General, Ban Ki-Moon was quick to read a statement which spoke of 'an historic transition' for Libya, expressly offering the services of the United Nations in order to 'help' NATO and its mercenaries! We already knew that the UN had been complicit in the murder of an African leader, Patrice Lumumba, in the Congo in 1961. Yet we thought it was never to be repeated. The date, 20 October 2011 will therefore remain as another day of infamy in the history of the UN organisation.

- WHAT FUTURE FOR LIBYA?

The physical elimination of Gaddafi will perhaps – and for how long? – put an end to the resistance against the occupation of Libya by NATO and its mercenaries. But we can safely say that the future doesn't look particularly bright for the Libyan people. The country is already in the process of recolonisation. Neither NATO forces nor the Special Forces are prepared to leave Libya. The member countries of NATO who instated the NTC will make their demands, not only for the sharing and exploitation of natural resources, but equally and especially for the granting of 'military facilities', i.e. military bases on land, sea and air. Need I remind you that it was Gaddafi that closed the military bases operated by the Yankees after taking power in 1969?

Libya therefore risks being turned into a new colony, thus becoming a threat to its neighbours.

- LESSONS FOR AFRICA

By daring to defy the imperialist NATO mob alone for months and without any support from an African state; even suffering betrayals like that of Wade, the Senegalese president, Gaddafi gave a master class to African leaders: a lesson in courage, bravery and dignity in the face of adversity. He had repeatedly said that he would never leave the land of his ancestors and that he preferred to die rather than to go into exile. He kept his word and became a legend.

Right to the end, he refused to accept any ultimatum, any order from the Western dictators.

What a contrast with the behaviour of many African leaders, especially among those who were the first to betray him, such as Abdoulaye Wade. They suffer daily humiliation at the hands of their western masters, receiving warnings and orders about everything and nothing. They face the indignity and contempt of these masters. These are individuals who are prepared to satisfy the slightest whims of the latter. As rightly pointed out by the late Professor Joseph Ki-Zerbo, people who can only imitate and obey do not deserve to be called 'leaders'.

Gaddafi was certainly not a democrat, far from it. He was a dictator in many respects, a leader who was at times unpredictable. But he was a dictator who was enlightened, who loved his country and Africa. He felt Africa and had a vision and great ambition for her. No other African state leader has done as much to advance African unity for the independence and security of the continent.

- This is why we can say that the fall and assassination of Gaddafi spells the end of efforts to form the United States of Africa, at least for the foreseeable future. The progress that was made in constructing an economically unified continent will undoubtedly be put on hold, or abandoned. This is true of the African Central Bank, the African Monetary Fund and African Investment Bank. The latter was rightly to be based in Tripoli! Gaddafi was the driving force behind these projects and was ready to devote the country's monetary reserves to them.

The TNC's racist attitudes, illustrated by the massacre of black Libyans as well as nationals from countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, demonstrate that the leaders appointed by NATO have priorities other than the construction of African unity.

The invasion of Libya by NATO's member countries paints a bleak picture for the independence and security of the continent. It may open Africa's doors wide to the AFRICOM project – the militarisation of the continent by the United States – which, until now, had not found a host country on African soil. Consequently, the taking-control of Libya by the West and the assassination of Gaddafi may signal the beginning of the militarisation of Africa and the hastening of its recolonisation.

The Sense In "Western Intervention" | Daily Guide Newspaper
http://www.dailyguideghana.com/?p=9977

- # The Sense In "Western Intervention"

Posted on April 13, 2011

- Many, if not all, African countries have suffered the travail of bad leadership; a factor accounting for the stagnation or even retrogression of these nations.

Ironically, these countries are endowed with adequate natural resources to move them from their sorry status to the next level of development.

The state of most, if not all, of these countries is shrouded in abysmal poverty, disease and squalor. To aggravate their worrying state in the face of bad leadership, some of these countries also suffer instabilities as military adventurists take advantage of the absence of democracy to oust the status quo.

Money which could have been used to address the very critical challenges besetting these countries is used by the dictators to stockpile arms to subdue dissent within their borders when these emerge.

When these countries eventually slip into states of civil strife and even civil war, occasioned by bad leadership, it is the Western countries which dispatch the necessary aid and even interventions to stop the killings and maiming of innocent citizens.

In spite of the foregone realities on the ground, there is the usual tendency for some Africans to regard the usual necessary interventions of the Western countries as undue interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries.

We demur because but for such interventions, African dictators would have had field days in subjecting their compatriots to unimaginable ordeals and even death.

- The current Libyan story is a case in point. The dictator who has ruled the oil-rich country for over four decades is not ready to cede power to anybody apart from his son Seif Al Islam.

Genuine protests of Libyans against the dictatorship were met with the most repressive action imaginable, as tanks, RPGs and even mortars were used against civilians.

For many weeks that Muammar Gaddhafi slaughtered his compatriots, African countries sat down unconcerned until the Western world spoke against it at the UN and eventually established a no-fly-zone over Libyan skies. Which African country can go to this level?

For the African Union (AU), silence was the word until recently when it mustered courage and issued a lame statement against the development in the North African country.

As for the necessary muscle to ensure that democracy is restored and Universal Adult Suffrage becoming an important feature of Libyan politics, the AU does not consider that necessary.

The little perks they are showered with by the North African madman are enough to make them turn their attention from the slaughtering field in Libya. That is the truth.

- Whether the French captured Laurent Gbagbo or not, the West has the right to intervene in African scenes when these countries inch towards civil strife, in as much as they (Western states) support local budgets.

Such inputs form an important segment of the annual expenditures which push the economies forward. In fact, the budgets of African countries are donor-driven.

It stands to reason therefore when Western countries show interest in what goes on in these countries.

What could ECOWAS and AU do when Gbagbo's intransigence drove Ivory Coast to the brink? The 'dzi wofie asem' mantra is still fresh in our minds.

The French rightly responded to the plight of Ivorians and acted the way they did in concert with the Ouattara forces to restore normalcy.

We need the West to check our dictators and pray that until our leaders learn to play the game by the books and leave the scene when their time is up, they (the West) should always come to our rescue. We may be compelled to return to this subject.

AU's Libya Gimmicks | Daily Guide Newspaper
http://www.dailyguideghana.com/?p=25836

- # AU's Libya Gimmicks

Posted on September 7, 2011

African Union (AU).

Success and resilience are not attributes of the African Union (AU). They have a few, if any, feathers in their cap especially since the change from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to the AU.

The achievements of the continental union when it was set up and wore the garb of OAU have all been interred with the founding fathers who must be squirming in their graves at the open hypocrisy being displayed by the relatively new faces at the helm of affairs.

In the face of the Libyan challenge, members of the union have shown sufficient evidence of hypocrisy to be rendered irrelevant and incapable of meeting the aspirations of the people of the continent. At a time when it became glaring that they were not primed to manage the Libyan challenge, they still made a lot of noise to, perhaps, make themselves relevant as the people of the North African country became even more vulnerable to the missiles of Gaddafi.

Eventually, they failed to make any impact because the person at the centre of the controversy, Muammar Gaddafi, is their benefactor as he dishes out money and other largesse to them as they remain at his beck and call, bowls-in-hand.

We have been prompted to comment on the Libyan issue, vis-à-vis the involvement or otherwise of the AU because of the continental body's pretentious conduct in the matter.

We have observed with trepidation the recent deliberate marginalizing of matters pertaining to the struggle by the people of Libya, against a despot who ruled their country for a little over four decades.

At the time that the people of Misrata and Benghazi were tethering towards the edge of destruction in the face of an imminent invasion by Gaddafi forces, it took the action of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), through the UN, to stop this and not the AU. As for the AU, they could only manage a noisy response over a so-called interference by the West in an African matter.

- Interestingly, it is the Western countries which respond to our self-inflicted humanitarian crisis with life-maintaining materials, as our AU members engage in their Rip Van Winkle slumber.

It is only when they wake up from this stupor that they begin to issue statements condemning the West. They failed in La Cote d'Ivoire and it is not likely they would succeed in any continental crisis anytime soon.

Even when many countries of the world, including Russia and Nigeria, have recognized the Transitional National Council (TNC) of Libya, the AU continues to play its tricks of not finding it possible to do same at this time.

They think that those at the helm of Libya are not worth recognizing and we wonder just how long they would continue in this stead.

The authorities and the people of Libya can rest assured that with most parts of the world supportive of their cause, no machinations against them, be they AU-inspired or not, would succeed.

The decision by some African countries such as Burkina Faso, and the others earlier mentioned, to recognize the TNC suggests a division in the AU which still struggles to garner dues from its members.

Otumfuo Succeeds Gaddafi | Daily Guide Newspaper
http://www.dailyguideghana.com/?p=34453

- # Otumfuo Succeeds Gaddafi

Posted on December 13, 2011

- THE ASANTEHENE, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, has been nominated to replace the late Libyan leader, Muamar Gaddafi, as the next chairman of the Kings and Sultans of Africa Forum.

The decision was taken at a crisis meeting of the powerful body made up of respected traditional leaders drawn from different parts of the African continent.

The meeting was held in Nairobi, Kenya, in October this year.

A letter of the Asantehene's elevation was presented to Otumfuo Osei Tutu II at a colourful durbar of chiefs and people from different parts of the country to mark the last Akwasidae of the year, which was held at the forecourt of Manhyia Palace on Sunday.

Togbui Amenya Fiti V, Paramount Chief of Aflao, and an executive member of the Kings and Sultans of Africa Forum, who was accompanied by a high-powered delegation from his traditional area, presented the letter to Otumfuo.

The Kings and Sultans of Africa Forum was formed by the late Muamar Gaddafi with the sole goal of pushing for Africa unity, leading to the formation of United States of Africa.

Col. Gaddafi was the first and life chairman of the group. However, his sudden death created a huge vacuum which needed to be filled immediately to save the forum from demise.

- The forum has powerful African traditional leaders such as King Monogo of Congo Brazzavile, Queen Best, Uganda, Kin Chikaya, Congo, King Bagidi, Benin and King Agokoli, Tokoli, just to mention a few.

Togbui Amenya Fiti V, in an interview with ***DAILY GUIDE***, disclosed that some members of the Ghana National House of Chiefs were active members of the forum which usually meets on 9th September of every year.

Throwing more light on Otumfuo's elevation to head the powerful group, he said Col. Gaddafi's death called for the crisis meeting in Kenya, where members unanimously agreed that Otumfuo should lead them.

He said the executive members of the group, immediately after reaching the decision, drafted a letter which was given to him to be given to the Asantehene at his palace in Ghana.

Now that Otumfuo has taken delivery of the letter, he noted, the Asantehene was expected to convey an emergency meeting early next year, during which the way forward of the body would be outlined.

Asked whether Otumfuo would also serve as a life time leader of the group, Togbui Fiti V said, "This would be discussed at the emergency meeting next year."

The Paramount Chief for Aflao stated that it was his prayer that the Asante monarch would be made a lifetime chairman of the forum to spearhead it to success.

FROM I.F. Joe Awuah Jnr., Kumasi

CPP Deplores Shelling In Libya | The Ghanaian Times
http://newtimes.com.gh/story/cpp-deplores-shelling-in-libya

- 26th May, 2011

CPP Deplores Shelling In Libya

By Times Reporter

Ladi Nylander, Chairman of CPP

- The Convention People's Party has described as unacceptable the current happenings in Libya.

The North African country has witnessed intense shelling of key installations by NATO forces in order to oust the Libya leader Muamar Gaddafhi.

NATO is backing Benghazi based rebel forces to take over the running of the North African Country, once the rule by Gaddafhi is brought to an end.

A statement signed by the chairman of the CPP, Ladi Nylander, to herald the celebration of the African Union Day, regretted the needless bloodshed in Libya and called on the African Union to negotiate a successful peace agreement.

"Imbued with the imperative to attain a strong united prosperous Union of African states, the CPP finds the current developments in Libya unacceptable and calls on the African Union Chairman Mr. Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo and Chairperson of the African Union Commission, Mr. Jean Ping to, as a matter of urgency, negotiate a ceasefire in the Libyan crises. We demand that the AU show leadership by negotiating a peaceful settlement of the crisis without further bloodshed," the statement said.

- The statement further urged the accentuation of regional collaborations such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development project (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) as a way to establish the culture of democracy and good governance on the continent.

The CPP also expressed disappointment with the current state of regional integration in the sub-region and called on the Mills government to lead the way in that regard.

"The CPP also fails to accept the state of affairs on regional integration, a project that was envisioned by Ghana in the early 1960s. To that end, we wish to remind His Excellency, Professor John Evans Atta Mills, President of the Republic of GHANA and our Minister of Foreign Affairs that regional integration remains Ghana's "baby", and the whole continent expects Ghana to lead in the process towards attainment of the goal.

"We call on the government of Ghana and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to begin the process of engaging leadership of the African Union for a return to the Agenda of attaining regional economic integration as a matter of urgency," the statement said.

Africa: Tripoli Tries Diplomacy Again | STRATFOR
http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:TWoHgy6opWMJ:www.stratfor.com/analysis/africa_tripoli_tries_diplomacy_again+STRATFOR+Africa:+Tripoli+Tries+Diplomacy

- # Africa: Tripoli Tries Diplomacy Again

January 29, 2008

Pascal Le Segretain/Getty Images

Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi

Libya hosted a mini-summit with leaders from Chad, Egypt, Eritrea, Gabon, Mauritania, Senegal and Sudan, media reported Jan. 28. The meeting addressed issues expected to arise at the African Union (AU) Heads of State and Government summit to be held in Ethiopia on Jan. 31-Feb. 1. However, the talks are not likely to put an end to tensions between Chad and Sudan, which are essentially fighting rebel groups that have fed off each other in the porous border region between the two countries, or garner support for Libya's idea of a United States of **Africa**.

Libya has been diplomatically active in trying to resolve conflicts in sub-Saharan **Africa** over the past several years. Aiming to broker a peace deal between Chad and Sudan — as well as one in Sudan's Darfur region — is nothing new for Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi. However, regardless of Tripoli's **diplomacy**, a resolution to the countries' conflict — which also affects the Central African Republic — is not likely any time soon. Neither is a solution to the related conflict in Darfur.

- Proposing a United States of **Africa** — an organization to succeed the AU — with Gadhafi as its head is another Libyan initiative unlikely to yield success. The Libyan leader first floated the concept in 1999. He could expect strong opposition from leaders of other African powers, particularly Nigeria and South **Africa**, who see themselves as Africa's continental and international representatives. Gadhafi, flush with cash and recently accepted by the international community, has the means to boost his pan-African vision, but the translation of that vision into reality is very improbable.

Coordinating the election of a new head of the AU Commission is a more realistic move by **Tripoli** ahead of the AU summit. Candidates from Burundi, Gabon, Mauritius, Sierra Leone and Zambia are believed to be in the running to replace former Malian President Alpha Oumar Konare for the post that, with few resources and limited authority, is little more than ceremonial when it comes to continent-wide leadership.

Regardless of the outcomes at **Tripoli** — or at the AU summit in Addis Ababa — Libya will continue to stake out a position for itself in mediating African conflicts and seeking leadership in sub-Saharan **Africa**.

Libya: Gadhafi's Interest in the Darfur Conflict | STRATFOR
http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:r1bI9DjAEnkJ:www.stratfor.com/libya_gadhafis_interest_darfur_conflict+STRATFOR+Libya:+Gadhafi's+Interest+in+the+Darf

- # Libya: Gadhafi's Interest in the Darfur Conflict

May 19, 2005 | 0218 GMT

- Summary

Sudanese Foreign Minister Mustafa Osman Ismail, speaking to reporters after the summit held in Tripoli to discuss the situation in **Darfur**, said the next round of meetings on the **Darfur** crisis would be the last. The statement comes after two days of hastily changed negotiations headed by Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi. Although not immediately visible, Gadhafi likely has his hand in both sides of this process as part of his effort to improve his international image.

- Analysis

Mustafa Osman Ismail, Sudan's foreign minister, told reporters May 17 he believed the next round of negotiations regarding the crisis in Sudan's western region of **Darfur** will be the last. This statement followed two days of discussions in Tripoli — headed by Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi, with leaders from Chad, Egypt, Eritrea, **Libya**, Nigeria and Sudan — where the parties agreed that the solution for the crisis should come from a framework created by the African Union. The two main rebel groups in the **Darfur** conflict — the Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) — did not attend the talks.

The **Darfur** meetings, originally scheduled for May 16-17 in the Egyptian resort town of Sharm El Sheik, were moved at the last minute to Tripoli. Some have speculated that Cairo already has its hands full with domestic trouble over constitutional changes to the electoral system, along with a surge in the number of problems with militants, protesters and activists allied with the Muslim Brotherhood and other parties in the umbrella Kifayah (Enough) movement. Gadhafi, seeking to put his international isolation behind him, would gladly offer Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak a means to deflect international attention away from the Egyptian situation by absorbing that attention himself and hosting the talks in Tripoli.

- The **Darfur** talks, though scheduled much earlier, took place against the backdrop of a May 11 meeting between SLM and JEM rebels and Gadhafi. At that meeting, the rebel groups jointly announced that they remained committed to the cease-fire agreement and were prepared to return to negotiations with Khartoum. Previously, the rebels had declared they would not restart the talks unless Khartoum discontinued attacks by government forces and the associated Janjaweed militia, and released imprisoned members of the rebel groups — conditions the SLM and JEM said Khartoum has not fully met.

It might not be obvious, but Libya's geopolitical interests, **Gadhafi's** personal historical involvement with rebel movements and **Gadhafi's** desire to build his image regionally and internationally all suggest **Gadhafi's** deep involvement in the renewed efforts to resolve the **Darfur** conflict. However, his involvement serves his own interests, and any peace deal he brokers could very well be for appearances only

- **Gadhafi's** involvement in brokering a resolution to the **Darfur** conflict is not a stretch beyond his historical interests. He has long attempted to advance himself as the champion of Pan-African and Afro-Asian causes — largely because his international isolation and the distrust he has inspired in most Arab governments limit his influence in his immediate area. He has tried to mediate conflicts in the past, but his isolation has prevented most international actors from taking him seriously. His new emergence as a friend of the West increases his chances of success with the tactics he has long attempted to use.

Geographically, the conflict in **Darfur** could lead to some instabilities in **Libya**, making a resolution — or at the very least, a decrease in hostilities — a high priority on **Gadhafi's** list of goals in his near abroad. The **Darfur** crisis has displaced several hundred thousand individuals from their homes into refugee camps. However, as the conflict has evolved over the past two years and **Libya** has allowed humanitarian organizations to stage their relief efforts from southern **Libya**, the possibility has increased that instability — not to mention weapons and angry rebels — could spill into southeastern **Libya**. Gadhafi, recently emerged as a reformed pariah and already facing some problems with Islamists, does not need unhappy rebels congregating on his southern border, nor the insurrection — and subsequent crackdown — they could engender.

- If **Gadhafi's** hand is guiding the **Darfur** rebels' actions — in the peace process or otherwise — it certainly would not be the first time Gadhafi has played both sides of a conflict in an attempt to boost Libya's status and his own image. Gadhafi has actively supported several nationalist groups around the world, including Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Abu Nidal Organization and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) in the Philippines. Most recently, he offered to mediate in the conflict between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement rebels.

Gadhafi helped found and enable Muslim independence movements in the Philippines beginning in the 1970s — providing political support, arms and other supplies — primarily as a means to boost his position in the Islamic world. He arranged the 1976 Tripoli Agreement, under the auspices of the Organization of Islamic Conference, pushing for the Philippine government to negotiate with the Muslim rebels and use financial incentives to help resolve the conflict. The agreement failed, and a 1996 accord set out an implementation strategy for the 1976 Tripoli Agreement. In April 2000, the rebel group Abu Sayyaf kidnapped 10 foreign tourists from a Malaysian diving resort. The governments whose nationals were involved — Finland, France, Germany and South Africa — asked **Libya** for help because of **Gadhafi's** continued contact with the rebels. Gadhafi agreed to help after securing a promise from the countries involved to assist in ending Libya's international isolation. In the end, Gadhafi paid the rebels' $20 million ransom demand and the hostages went free.

- Gadhafi stands to gain much by convincing Khartoum and the rebels to resolve the **Darfur** conflict peacefully. As **STRATFOR** has said, Gadhafi desperately wants the United States to remove **Libya** from its list of state sponsors of terrorism so **Libya** can gain more regional and international legitimacy. Allegations that Tripoli was involved in a plot to assassinate Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abdel-Aziz called into question the sincerity of Tripoli's renouncement of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction and put a dent in **Gadhafi's** plans to get **Libya** off the state sponsors of terrorism list. **Gadhafi's** efforts to return the rebel groups to the negotiating table may also be part of Tripoli's effort to salvage its image after those allegations. Solving the **Darfur** conflict — which most countries and international organizations see as a form of terrorism, and in some cases genocide — would create the international perception that Gadhafi, instead of enticing the rebels to fight, enticed them to stop fighting. This could bolster **Gadhafi's** chances of getting removed from the U.S. list.

- Bringing a resolution to the **Darfur** conflict would also allow the world, and particularly North African countries, to perceive Gadhafi as a regional power broker who can exert significant influence over governments and peoples within his area — another of **Gadhafi's** short-term goals.

If Gadhafi is indeed supporting the **Darfur** rebels in exchange for their cooperation in a peace agreement, it should be noted that the peace Gadhafi negotiated between Manila and the MNLF never materialized — although the MNLF no doubt appreciated the support.

The **Darfur** rebel groups' character places Gadhafi in a good position to change the landscape of the conflict. The groups have shown a propensity to change their demands and objectives regularly, and neither the JEM nor the SLM — who fight with each other often — has the resources to pose a considerable threat to Khartoum. **Gadhafi's** deep pockets and resources would make steering both groups fairly easy, at least in the short term.

Libya: From Scoundrel to Sidekick in Militant Search? | STRATFOR
http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:7CREe0iSQtAJ:www.stratfor.com/libya_scoundrel_sidekick_militant_search+STRATFOR+Libya:+From+Scoundrel+to+Sidekick

- # Libya: From Scoundrel to Sidekick in Militant Search?

March 17, 2004 | 2025 GMT

- Summary

With the anti-terrorism battle refocusing on Europe and South Asia, al Qaeda and other organizations will seek sanctuary in less-scrutinized parts of the world. North and West Africa seem to be likely spots for militants to turn up, and the United States will seek to bolster ties with governments in those areas in an effort to exploit internal intelligence capabilities and root out **militant** cells. The four primary allies on a new North African front are likely to be Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and — notably — **Libya**.

Analysis

- As the war against terrorism focuses on Europe and the tribal hinterlands of Afghanistan and Pakistan, Islamist **militant** organizations are likely to seek sanctuary elsewhere. Their choices are likely to focus on relatively lawless areas with substantial Muslim populations, areas like the Balkans — and North and West Africa, which are beginning to come under greater scrutiny due to reported connections with the March 11 bombings in Madrid.

As U.S. military and intelligence assets have been spread increasingly thin, the United States has sought regional allies willing to carry out counterterrorism operations with minimal U.S. support. This strategy has been used in Western Europe and in East Asia, where the United States has essentially appointed Australia as its regional deputy. The United States will seek to extend this strategy to areas that are ripe for exploitation by **militant** organizations.

Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, **Libya**, Chad, Mauritania, Mali and Niger have been largely overlooked by U.S. military and intelligence agencies, which have been preoccupied with operations in Iraq and Afghanistan and an ongoing commitment on the Korean peninsula. Additionally, Western European countries do not yet possess the central command authority, unified foreign policy and military power necessary to carry out significant counterterrorism operations in North and West Africa.

- North and West Africa's existing resistance movements, porous borders, questionable control by some central governments and majority Muslim populations create fertile sanctuaries for Islamist extremists. To deal with such a hospitable **militant** environment, the United States will seek the cooperation of regional powers to contain and root out militants in their midst. The United States will seek to involve itself with the more stable players in the region — Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and the biggest fish: **Libya**.

Morocco and Tunisia present similar demographics and political challenges for the United States. Both nations possess amenable governments and Islamic populations that are little inclined to militancy. The governments in Rabat and Tunis are secular and have historically cooperated openly with the United States. Tunisia has played key roles in monitoring extremist operations in Sudan and in helping to facilitate Libya's change of heart on weapons of mass destruction. The United States will have to interact subtly with these two states — hoping not to enrage the populace — and limit its action to low-level clandestine operations such as intelligence-sharing and training intelligence and counterterrorism operatives.

Algeria presents much more fertile ground for the United States. Algiers has years of experience combating Islamic extremism and has engaged in a civil war against Islamist extremists. The Algerian government is relatively stable, has control of its population, has been a reliable and eager partner of the United States and would likely give the United States a much freer hand to carry out counterterrorism operations within its borders and regionally. The Algerian government continues to struggle with the internal threat of Islamic militancy and has already assisted in the U.S. war

on terrorism. It will be more than amenable to increasing military cooperation and its support of U.S.-led operations in the region.

- **Libya** would be the jewel in the North African crown for the United States. Since announcing its national change of heart on weapons of mass destruction, **Libya** has been touted by the United States and the United Kingdom as a paramount example of the success of the war on terrorism. The United States will seek to exploit Libya's transformation from **scoundrel** to **sidekick**.

Libya — due to its previous overt and covert associations with extremist groups regionally and abroad — possesses vast intelligence that could provide the United States with a deadly weapon as it seeks to expand into a new battlefield. Also, Libya's secular nature and its desire to reconcile with the West give the United States a government willing to prosecute the war against militants on its own with minimal U.S. involvement. **Libya** is also in the position of having been the anti-Islamist sponsor of secular terrorist organizations that might have been affiliated indirectly with Islamist militants.

Additionally, Libya's continental influence will be assessed as the United States seeks to acquire senior partners in the African endgame. Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi has long seen himself as the primary voice of Africa and carries substantial sway in the fledgling African Union. If the United States can secure a public counterterrorism alliance with Tripoli, it will resonate throughout the continent — likely paving the way for operations and alliances throughout Africa.

- **Libya** has evolved into a mid-level power player beyond Africa. Gadhafi's influence spreads from South America to Southeast Asia, implying that securing **Libya** as an ally not only opens up North Africa to U.S. intervention but also grants the United States a relatively capable global ally as well.

Extremist organizations such as al Qaeda will exploit the lawless Wild West atmosphere that is prevalent in much of Africa to create regional sanctuaries. Neither the United States nor its allies currently possess the operational bandwidth to deal with this stewing threat directly. However, pro-U.S. North African governments are in a position to align closely with the United States and earn a seat at the war-on-terrorism table.

Special Report: Libyan Involvement in Africa | STRATFOR
http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:hf_e_GduZWcJ:www.stratfor.com/analysis/20110311-libyan-foreign-investment-and-foreign-policy-africa+STRATFOR+Libya's+involvement+in+Africa&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=ca

- # Special Report: Libyan Involvement in Africa

March 14, 2011

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MAHMUD TURKIA/AFP/Getty Images

Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi with African Union heads of state in Sirte, Libya, in July 2009

- Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi has pursued an aggressive foreign policy of Pan-African integration and the cultivation of Libyan regional dominance during the latter half of his 42 years in power. Consequently, **Libya's** financial influence can be traced throughout **Africa**, raising the question of whether Gadhafi's potential exit might have any destabilizing effect on the continent.

At the end of the 1990s, Gadhafi established economic ties with many of the countries and groups he previously had backed politically. Through a series of investment vehicles funded by the country's petroleum revenues, the Libyan state systematically developed an extensive network of financial holdings designed to generate a return on investment and to protect Libyan interests in strategic regions.

- By 2002, subsidiaries of the country's sovereign wealth fund, the Libyan Investment Authority (LIA), had accumulated or extended investments in at least 31 countries throughout **Africa**. The largest investments were in Zambian telecommunications firm Zamtel ($394 million) and in oil storage and pipeline infrastructure linking Moanda to Matadi in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (around $300 million). The majority of stakes were significantly smaller, however. These investments came on top of an existing network of commercial banking subsidiaries established largely to manage the supply of ongoing petroleum exports from Libya.

Despite this, Libyan aid and investment does not appear to pose a concentration risk to any African government. The freeze on Libyan state investments does mean that subsidiary companies may struggle to access the working capital needed to maintain operations. But overall, Libya has spread its aid and investment too thin to create a risk of destabilization in potential client states. This is particularly true outside of the broader Sahel region. In the Sahel, where Gadhafi has long had strong influence, the retreat of Libya as a prominent regional actor may influence the regional balance to some degree. Despite this, competition for energy and mining resources should ensure that other states, potentially China, will support incumbent governments that find themselves in dire straits.

- There are non-state groups for whom Gadhafi's potential demise may pose problems, however. In addition to his

investments, Gadhafi also supported various African paramilitary and insurgent groups. The remains of his Islamic Legion, a paramilitary force of foreign soldiers set up in the 1970s, still gives him access to rebel groups across the region even where his policy of backing incumbent governments in pursuit of Pan-African integration has served to reduce his leverage.

In Sudan, Libyan support for Darfuri rebel group the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) is believed to be significant. In the event of Gadhafi's fall, the group may struggle to assert itself and remain intact unless it can diversify its funding base. Similarly, Gadhafi has long supported greater autonomy for the Tuareg people in Niger and Mali. He has backed Tuareg insurgencies in the past, at the same time helping to prevent the tribes from falling completely under the influence of al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). The end of support for these groups and the potential disbursement of Libyan military hardware to the region constitute the most apparent risks to regional stability at this point.

- Gadhafi's vehicle for distributing funds to foreign entities is the LIA, which funds a number of investment vehicles, including the Libyan Arab Foreign Bank (LAFB), the Libyan African Portfolio for Investments (LAP), Tamoil and African subsidiary the Libyan Arab African Investment Co. (LAAICO). Believed to be capitalized with approximately $65 billion, the LIA's portfolio includes holdings in at least 31 African countries along with extensive U.S. and European holdings. A leaked U.S. diplomatic cable from 2010 revealed that some $32 billion in liquidity was being managed from the United States, while the scale of investment in **Africa** is believed to be in the region of $5 billion with $2.5 billion in LAAICO and the rest spread between LAFB and Tamoil's African operations under the OiLibya brand.

Within these holding companies, the combination of cross-border banking licenses and locally based concerns enables the movement of funds around the globe. Despite professing developmental aims, the investment strategy employed in **Africa** suggests a broader underlying motive. The geographically diversified illiquid holdings, largely concentrated in the real estate and banking sectors, are generally not tied to labor-intensive operations, and have focused on privatized state assets and joint ventures with other governments. This indicates that Gadhafi has sought to strengthen political relationships and to bring these countries into his sphere of influence via investments in state assets undergoing privatization.

- **Sudan**

In reaction to Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's peace deal with Israel after the Yom Kippur War of 1973 and the support shown by Sudan for these measures, Gadhafi supported Darfuri rebels in their insurgency against Khartoum. After Sudan's 1989 coup brought Omar al Bashir to power, relations began to normalize to the extent that Sudan is now reported to be **Libya's** largest debtor, owing Tripoli as much as $1.29 billion. Sudan's total public debt stands at more than 100 percent of GDP, with pressure for full forgiveness mounting ahead of Southern Sudan's secession. The Libyan component of this total is smaller than that of numerous other foreign creditors, however.

Gadhafi has maintained ties to the rebel groups in Darfur, reportedly arming the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) with rifles, anti-aircraft guns and satellite phones and also supplying vehicles and fuel. In May 2010, Gadhafi allowed Khalil Ibrahim, the JEM leader, to seek refuge in Libya after the Chadian government had stopped him from entering its territory. In response, Sudan called for Gadhafi to expel Ibrahim and announced it was sealing Sudan's border with Libya when no action was taken. The border was reopened on Feb. 27, 2011, in order to receive Sudanese fleeing the conflict in Libya. While JEM remains less vital than the various Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) factions to the objective of peace in Darfur, the loss of its patron may force it to diversify its funding base. And this could lead to new participants entering the fray and further destabilization of the situation in Darfur.

- **Chad**

Disputes over the Aouzou Strip border region caused intermittent warfare between Chad and Libya in the late 1970s through the late 1980s. Libya ultimately was defeated at the hands of the French-backed Chadian forces and withdrew, though Libya did backed Idriss Deby's Patriotic Salvation Movement in its successful insurgency against the Hissene Habre government. The Deby government has been a close ally to Tripoli ever since, and Libya has been involved with almost all mediation efforts in Chad, which it sees as the keystone of its regional sphere of influence. In 2007, Gadhafi mediated the peace settlement between the government and four rebel groups, the Movement for Resistance and Change, the National Accord of Chad, and two factions of the Front for United Forces for Development and Democracy.

Apart from support for the regime, Libyan investment in Chad exists in the form of the Libyan Foreign Investment Company-Chad (100 percent LAAICO owned), a diversified holding company with light industrial and real estate interests that include a bottled water factory, a textiles business and a five-star hotel and administrative center in the Chadian capital, N'djamena. In addition, LAFB has a 50 percent stake along with the Chadian government in Banque Commerciale du Chari, the country's third-largest commercial banking operation. Libya provided $12.5 million in seed capital to the bank, which currently has assets in the region of $55 million.

- The cornerstone of the Chadian economy is the oil industry. Tamoil has exploration rights near the northern border with Libya, but no material stake in existing operations in the south, where all of Chad's oil is pumped. China's large and growing presence in the country and competition from Taiwanese, Indian and U.S. interests means it is unlikely that Libyan withdrawal would have sustained consequences for Chad's oil revenues. Similarly, the banking sector in

the country is diversified across at least six other entities that engage both in commercial and microlending operations. Before the influx of oil revenues, Chad is reported to have been heavily reliant on Tripoli for its budgetary needs, however the diversion of oil revenues toward government coffers and away from a national endowment for when Chad's oil production is exhausted — where the money had been slated to go — has given Deby a substantial alternative source of funding.

- **Niger**

Long a supporter of greater autonomy for the ethnic Tuareg people in Niger and the region as a whole, Gadhafi played a major role in the Tuareg uprisings of the last decade. He prominently mediated peace settlements while simultaneously being accused of providing support to the main Nigerien rebel group, the Niger Movement for Justice (MNJ). Gadhafi's dual strategy stems from the confluence of four simultaneous desires: to focus Tuareg resentment southward away from Libya; keep the Tuareg rebels out of the AQIM sphere of influence; enhance his political prestige in the Sahel; and weaken his southern neighbors. The significant international focus brought to the region by heightened AQIM activity saw Gadhafi pursue a peaceful settlement through mediation. In 2008, Libya donated 260 tons of food aid to Niger through the Libyan Fund for Aid and Development in **Africa**. Meanwhile, an agreement was reached in August 2010 between the fund and the Nigerien government to capitalize a $100 million fund to aid Niger's development.

- The Libyan state had significant investment interests in Niger including a 51 percent stake in Societe Nigerienne des Telecommunications (SONITEL) and SahelCom, the former state telecommunications companies. In 2009, the government of Niger naturalized LAAICO's interest and that of Chinese firm ZTE, its operational partner, as a result of unmet obligations. LAAICO also has real estate and construction interests in the country, specifically an administrative, commercial and residential complex in Niamey and other agricultural and land holdings. The two countries also reached an agreement in 2008 for Libya to build a $155 million trans-Saharan railway through Niger, though work has yet to begin. Niger depends on uranium production for 30 percent of its foreign export earnings, a sector which the Libyan government has not been involved in and where French, U.S. and Chinese interest in the country is focused. Niger is also promoting energy exploration, a sector the Chinese already have a stake in.

- **Mali**

Along with Algeria and lately the United States, Libya has provided military support, including two SIAI Marchetti reconnaissance aircraft, to the Malian government in the fight against AQIM in the country's north. As in Niger, Gadhafi played a prominent role in events surrounding the Tuareg rebellions of the last decade by both mediating and being accused of actively aiding the insurgent group the Democratic Alliance for Change (ADC) and its offshoot Alliance Tuareg Nord Mali pour le Changement (ATNMC).

Economically, the Libyan Foreign Investment Company (100 percent LAAICO-owned) has real estate and hospitality interests, which include the hotels Laico L'Amitie and Laico El Farouk in Bamako, along with a stake in the National Tobacco Company (SONATAM). LAFB also has a 96 percent stake in the Banque Commerciale du Sahel, a commercial banking operation capitalized with $30 million set up to manage Libyan interests in Mali and one of a number of commercial banking operations in the country. Libya has also provided technical assistance in the agricultural sector, helping combat locust plagues and providing food aid to northern Mali. As with neighboring Niger, Libya plays a visible role in the economy but is not active in the major mining operations that drive the export economy and generate 80 percent of foreign currency earnings. Mali is the third-largest gold producer in **Africa** after South **Africa** and Ghana.

- **Mauritania**

Since the 2008 coup that brought Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz to power, Libya has canceled $100 million of Mauritanian debt and made $50 million available for the construction of a hospital and the University of Al-Fateh. The Libya Fund for Aid and Development has also provided developmental assistance in the form of 26 tons of food and tents for flood victims in 2009 and $1 million in funding for the construction of schools in six regions of Mauritania in 2010.

Libyan assistance in the campaign against AQIM has also extended to Mauritania. In both the 2005 and 2008 coups, accusations of Libyan **involvement** have persisted. Gadhafi attempted to mediate a power-sharing agreement between the ruling junta and opposition but he was widely reportedly to have been ineffective and counterproductive in his adoption of an anti-democratic tone that caused mass walkouts.

LAFB has held a majority stake since 1972 in Chinguitty Bank, which originally was capitalized with around $12.5 million and is a shared investment with the government in Nouakchott, representing Mauritania's sole state investment in the local banking sector. Though underdeveloped, the financial sector in Mauritania is well-diversified and comprises at least 18 commercial banks and insurance firms along with a number of microfinance institutions. The Mauritanian economy itself is based on extractive industries with the country's significant iron ore deposits and well-developed mining operations making it the seventh-largest global exporter of the commodity. Offshore oil deposits have the potential to contribute the equivalent of 25 percent of current government revenue, but are yet to be developed on any significant scale. The Libyan government's economic interests do not extend to either of these key sectors and therefore do not pose a risk to Mauritanian stability.

- **Central African Republic**

In the Central African Republic (CAR), Gadhafi provided troops in 2001 to suppress a rebel uprising in which the CAR'S army chief of staff was shot. This followed the assassination of the Libyan ambassador to the CAR in 2000. When Francois Bozize staged a successful coup in 2002, Libya provided military support to the incumbent government of Ange-Felix Patasse, ending up on the losing side of the conflict. Since Bozize's ascent to power, however, Libya has adopted a pragmatic approach and continued to play an important role in the country. Gadhafi mediated the settlement between Bozize and the head of the Democratic Front for the Central African People (FDPC) rebel movement, Gen. Abdoulaye Miskine, in February 2007.

In addition, LAAICO has real estate and hospitality interests, specifically a luxury hotel in Bangui through the Laico Hotel Group. It also holds a 50 percent stake in the Companie Centrafricaine de Mines (COCAMINES), a diamond mining entity based in Bangui initiated in 2000 thought no longer operational. Diamond mining is the CAR's primary export industry. Deposits are largely alluvial, making industrial exploitation of the resource difficult. Although a participant in the Kimberley Process, the dispersed, artisanal nature of diamond mining and subsequent distribution in the country mean that implementing good governance procedures is a challenge. Lacking the capital to launch its own operations, the small ruling elite has lived off this informal network by demanding a share of the production and heavily taxing exports. This has enabled the elite to enrich themselves and to buy political loyalty through a patron-client network. Foreign participation in the sector has dwindled in recent years however due to the marginal nature of operations and political obstruction.

- **Burkina Faso**

After 23 years in power, Blaise Compaore has developed a reputation as a regional power broker and mediator. Re-elected with more than 80 percent of the vote in November 2010, Compaore faces little notable opposition at home and is unlikely to face an immediate challenge should Gadhafi fall. The regime in Ouagadougou does enjoy political support from Libya, however, and the Libyan leader's departure may present an opportunity for Compaore to flex his muscles in the region. Whether neighboring nations will accept any moves in this regard remains to be seen. One are to observe is Burkina Faso's relationship with Mauritania, where Gadhafi's influence is said to be responsible for keeping relations amicable.

Economically, LAAICO wholly owns the Societe pour l'Investissement et Commerce (SALIC), which has an administrative, commercial and residential complex and a five-star hotel in Ouagadougou's new Ouaga 2000 district. LAFB has a 50 percent stake along with the government in Banque Commerciale du Burkina, a commercial banking operation that was initially capitalized with $17.5 million and reportedly holds a 10 percent market share among five other commercial banks operating in the country. Burkina Faso's economy is heavily agrarian and the country lacks natural resources, meaning that foreign investment has been limited. The Libyan government's investment is therefore important as it facilitates access to Libyan petroleum products for the Burkinabe who are fuel importers, though supplies are relatively diversified.

- **Zimbabwe**

Gadhafi and Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe have shared a close relationship over the course of their respective decades in power. Gadhafi is reported to have provided Mugabe with more than $500 million in oil subsidies and loans over the past 15 years, although this supply dried up in 2003. The relationship and flow of funds between the two has become strained in recent years, as Libya has lent further westward. In 2001, Mugabe signed an agreement with the Libyan government to cover its fuel import requirements up to $360 million per year in exchange for the mortgage of Zimbabwean oil infrastructure and ongoing agricultural exports. In 2003, the deal collapsed over the value attached to mortgaged assets and the non-delivery of agreed export products. Libya is no longer a major fuel exporter to Zimbabwe, which is currently believed to rely on France, South **Africa** and China for its fuel requirements.

The Libya Fund for Aid and Development donated tractors and fuel to the country in 2008 after systematic land grabs had decimated agricultural output. LAFB also took a 14 percent stake (valued at $15 million) in CBZ Bank, a ZSE-listed commercial banking operation in 2001 of which Absa, South Africa's second-largest bank, is also a shareholder. More recently, LAAICO invested in Rainbow Tourism Group, Zimbabwe's second-largest hotelier.

- **African Union and African Development Bank**

Libya provides 15 percent of AU funding and also covers the dues of a number of smaller African countries which pleaded poverty during the financial crisis. This commitment is around $40 million annually. Paying dues for other cash-strapped African countries is not necessarily unique to Libya, though; other aspiring African powers are believed to be doing so as well — it is likely that Equatorial Guinean President Teodoro Obiang, who was elected chairman of the

African Union in January, probably won his election with promises of cash or discounted oil deals. Libya also contributes funds to the African Development Bank, though it is not one of the top 10 shareholders in the bank. In July 2007, LAP took a 61 percent stake in the African Development Bank-backed Regional African Satellite Communications Organization Members (Rascom) project, which provides point- to multi-point telecommunications services across the continent.

Opinion: It's Time to Create the United States of AfricaBy Dr. Fathi El-Shihibi

http://www.tripolipost.com/articledetail.asp?c=5&i=5190

- Opinion: It's Time to Create the United States of Africa
  By Dr. Fathi El-Shihibi
  06/12/2010
- The convening of the third summit between the African Union (AU) and the European Union (EU) which was hosted by the Leader of the Revolution Muammar al-Qathafi in the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (November 29-30) and focused on exploring ways to increase economic and investment cooperation between the two continents prompted me to revisit the prospect of creating the United States of Africa and how would that create new possibilities and opportunities for the citizens of both entities.

  Having become more and more aware that this cherished dream is gradually taking a backseat to more urgent matters in individual countries such as the upcoming referendum in the Sudan scheduled for January of next year on whether Southern Sudan remains part of the country or chooses independence and the intermittent civil war in Somalia, I thought that I should remind everybody that the sooner unity is established the better are the chances to overcome the seemingly daunting problems on the continent.
- Furthermore, judging from the international political atmosphere the United States of America, the European Union as well as the United Nation and the rest of the world community will positively receive the creation of this union as a major step to combat and overcome the many problems plaguing the continent including conflict, famine and disease.

  As a matter of fact the governments of the United States of American and the Russian Federation as well as China have been signaling their support for the creation of the union through the remarks of their high officials including US President Barak Obama and his Secretary of State Hilary Clinton, President Dmitry Medvedev of the Russian Federation and President Hu Jintao of the People's Republic of China.
- The United States government in a congratulatory note to the president of Malawi Dr. Bingu wa Mutharika on his election as the new chairperson of the African Union, firmly expressed high hopes in continuing and upgrading the country's partnership with the AU to establish peace throughout the continent and help member states attain and maintain stability and prosperity.

  Nowadays when I ponder the future of the African Union and the strong possibility of finally creating the United States of Africa my thoughts hover between the famous words of the English socialist author George Bernard Shaw and the African revolutionary Kwame Nkrumah. Shaw reflecting on humanities' resilience to transform dreams or visions into reality concludes that "You see things and you say why? But I dream things that never were and say why not? "
- 1. Kwame Nkrumah being a visionary who embodies Shaw's characterization of the dreamer turned visionary, having formed his vision of a pan-African Union and being committed to pursue his vision with vigor and determination, uttered these famous words "Revolutions are brought about by men, by men who think as men of action and act as men of thought"
  2. On another occasion Nkrumah asserts that the path to unity has to be charted by the Africans themselves and in accordance with their own vision not the vision of others "We face neither East nor west; we face forward"
  3. The ideas of Nkrumah and like-minded African leaders such as the late President of Egypt Jamal abd al-Nasser, eventually led to the creation of the Organization of African Unity in 1963.
- Muammar al-Qathafi, leader of the Libyan revolution and former President of the African Union, asserted his vision as did Nkrumah and continued the march towards unity which culminated in the establishment of the African Union.

  Furthermore he, echoing the words of his predecessor"Africa must unite or perish (4), has been leading the way towards the establishment of the final phase in Africa's pursuit of unity and complete independence by calling for the establishment of the United States of Africa. These efforts towards this cherished and noble destination have encountered and continue to encounter numerous setbacks and hurdles whether internal or external.

  On the one hand any moves towards unity have been facing challenges by opposition groups and diverse ideologies especially during the cold war. On the other hand, early on many outside players' particularly former colonial sates used their economic leverage and their surviving connections inside many African countries to hamper any efforts towards more unity.
- Nevertheless, there are many challenges confronting the establishment of such a union be they internal or external albeit being for the most part a mixture of both which can also be solved:

  The challenge I consider a priority is that some African governments' opposition to moves intended to expedite the creation of such a union. It is a known fact that some centers of power in these countries still harbor lingering loyalty to their former colonists mainly England and France due to mutual interests or economic, political or military pressures.

  This is the reason that these same heads of states and other power enclaves seem to be uncommitted regarding Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's timely proposal to ease restrictions on travel between African states, lifting or easing of regulations that stand in the way of free trade and the creation of a single currency (the Afro) which is similar to the Euro currency used by members of the European Union.
- When it comes to the unwillingness of some African governments or heads of states to push forward with the creation of a union, the solution to that is to advance Colonel al-Qathafi's proposal to the African people not their governments per say to debate and determine the future of their continent.
  This move towards popular participation can start by resurrecting the Arusha charter hence (the African charter for popular participation in development and transformation) that was agreed upon by member states meeting in Arusha, the United Republic of Tanzania, but was hardly implemented since its inception in 1990. Therefore, involving the African people and not only their governments can produce the leverage needed to expedite the moves towards the envisioned union.

The next challenge is that of globalization which provides some Western states with a pretext to enforce economic and political domination. As the saying goes there is strength in unity since a genuine union particularly on the economic level can give the continent leverage not only in world affairs but also the mean to cope with the challenges of globalisation. Having a union could lead to the promotion of the status of African countries from proxy or client states to partners in the world economy.

- Despite the lingering effects of colonization in the majority of African states that left them dried of needed resources if not utterly impoverishment, these same countries can with the right planning and cooperation with each other recoup their losses and be in a position not only to withstand the impact of globalization but to influence the policies and standards created by multinational corporations.

  Although many of these countries are still reeling from heavy debts and under development which left them vulnerable to the dictates of such multinational and mostly Western financial organizations such as the IMF (the International Monetary Fund), the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation, they can still overcome such setbacks by creating their own financial institutions along the line of the African Economic Community that was established in Abuja in 1991 but then the plan was hardly put into practice.
- The third challenge that stands in the way of African unity is security. The issue of security on the continent is as it stands now moving in two different directions. The first direction is pursued by some African countries that remain suspicious of a continental defence forces and consequently opt to rely on the West for their security.

  The West including the United States and in the absence of a reliable and effective AU defense forces have been providing protection by direct military intervention in African hot spots such Somalia or rely on client states or proxy states to do their bidding such as Tanzania's invasion of Uganda to topple Idi Amin in 1979 or Ethiopia's invasion of Somalia in 2006 that was launched to uproot the insurgency and al-Qaeda sympathisers as part of America's war on terrorism.
- The United States, along with former colonial powers France and England are reshaping post-cold war policies to expand and protect their interests on the continent especially in oil and other African riches or to ward off the expanding influences of China, Iran and the Russian Federation.
  A prime example of the ambitious resumption of influence by the USA and Its Allies can clearly be seen in the creation of a new central command known as the United States African Command or AFRICOM for short.

  The declared mission of this command, which was established during the administration of George W. Bush, is to oversee military operation as well as other duties to augment US security back home and abroad. The command has been operational since the establishment of its main headquarters in a number of willing African allies that still orbit the Western sphere of influence.
- The second direction is the one adopted by African countries that highly value the exercise of complete independence in decision-making, movement or action. Thus in order to safeguard the continent there are two complementary courses of action one long term and one short term. The first is to educate and enlighten Africans that achieving a lasting union would mean transcending internal strives and civil wars as well as interstate rivalries and military conflicts.

  The second is the establishment of a continental defense force that will safeguard the integrity and independence of member states which will eventually enter into a federation thereby guaranteeing their security and independence. Nowadays African states are to a large degree dependent on the United Nations and Its Security Council for assistance in matters of war and peace.
- However, as we have seen in the Darfur situation in the Sudan the UN resolutions are mostly influenced by former colonial states due to the absence of a united African block that promote and protect the integrity of individual African states. A strong African security forces would have stepped in and put an end to the conflict without any need for outside interference.

  Here I would like to conclude this modest study of Africa's Unity and ways to establish the long cherished vision of a United States of Africa by expanding on the saying "Unity is strength" and adding that "Unity is security", "Unity is self reliance" and "Unity is self sufficiency "no matter how steep the sacrifices are or will be to achieve such a noble undertaking.
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Pambazuka - Kenya's media in bed with the military
http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/78374

- ## Kenya's media in bed with the military

Reports on Somalia invasion are mostly propaganda

Henry Makori

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cc A ENational media coverage of Kenya's invasion of Somalia all comes from a single source – the military, writes Henry Makori. No wonder there seems to be so little opposition to the war.

Pictures of Kenyan military tanks rolling into Somalia. Defence Minister Yusuf Haji flanked by his internal security counterpart George Saitoti and Police Commissioner Mathew Iteere explain the incursion. Unsmiling generals wag fingers at a live press briefing. Pictures of soldiers distributing relief food to starving Somalis. Female soldiers at the 'frontline'. President Kibaki declares operation will go on until al-Shabaab militia is vanquished. TV reporters in helmets and bullet proof vests report from the 'frontline'…

These are the daily media images of the Kenyan war in Somalia. A clean war. Not a drop of blood. There have been frequent reports of killings of al-Shabaab militiamen and bombing of their bases. But no one has seen any images of the 'frontline gains' as NTV once described the army's progress.

The headlines on TV and in the newspapers have been entirely celebratory since the fighting began on 16 October 2011 – except on those days when suspected retaliatory grenade attacks rocked Nairobi; the media has played down subsequent grenade attacks in other parts of the country.

- Here's a small selection from the front pages of Kenya's two leading dailies, Nation and Standard, over the past month: 'Nine shabaab men killed in fierce clash near border town' (Nation); Kenya's fearsome arsenal in offensive' (Standard); 'Al-Qaeda camp hit by Kenya's jets and ships' (Nation); 'Kenya enters next phase in operation' (Standard); 'Allies hunt shabaab fighters door-to-door (Nation); 'We will fight on to victory, vows Kibaki' (Nation); 'UN to punish al shabaab allies' (Standard); 'Spirits high as navy kills 18 shabaab' (Standard)…

All the information carried in these stories – and many others on TV, radio and on websites – is from a single source: The military. No attempt has been made to verify independently the stories. The army holds frequent news conferences in Nairobi, but most of the time the media relies on emails and tweets from Kenya Defence Forces spokesman, Major Emmanuel Chirchir. There must be no other view of the war.

Very few people have questioned the war – or rather there has been little media coverage of opposing voices. One of these is former chairman of the Kenya National Human Rights, a state agency, Maina Kiai, who described 'Operation Linda Nchi' (Swahili for Operation Secure the Nation) as an 'illegal and unconstitutional invasion of Somalia.' The normally vocal civil society organisations, faith groups and other movements are unheard.

As Kiai says, the war is illegal because Article 95 (6) of the constitution says that, 'The National Assembly approves declarations of war.' Parliament never debated the Somalia invasion. Nor did the president as Commander-in-Chief of Kenya Defence Forces make the announcement. He only spoke about it subsequently as an operation against al-Shabaab terrorists. The invasion is touted as a joint security operation with Somalia's Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and not a war – although Ethiopian soldiers have already joined in and Kenya is supported by its Western allies, mainly USA and France.

- Some observers believe Kenya decided to enter Somalia after a plan to create a new state (Azania) in the south of the country to act as a buffer between Kenya and al-Shabaab-controlled areas failed. The question that has not been openly asked – or answered in the military and political briefings – is why Kenya decided to pursue al-Shabaab inside Somalia and not the other militias inside other neighbouring countries which have for years attacked, killed and robbed Kenyans living near the national borders.

The invasion was said to be in response to the kidnapping of some Western tourists by al-Shabaab. But the militia group never claimed responsibility for those kidnappings, but actually denied the allegations. In recent years, Muslim religious leaders repeatedly claimed that al-Shabaab were recruiting youths in Nairobi and Mombasa to fight in Somalia. The government did nothing about the reports – only for the internal security ministry to tell parliament when the military invasion was launched that al-Shabaab has its 'head' in Eastleigh district, Nairobi. How did the Kenyan security forces let that happen?

There are claims of military adventurism as well. Kenya has never gone to war (everyone recalls Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni's jibe that Kenya only had a 'career army'); the invasion of Somalia is seen by politicians and the media here as an opportunity to demonstrate that the country is not only a regional economic power but also a military one. It is also seen as an opportunity to galvanise a country where ethnic divisions and rivalry is endemic. Only days before the inversion, the government had launched a six-month advertising campaign dubbed 'Nitakuwapo' (I will be here) to promote patriotism

- On the day the military incursion was launched, the military held an off-the-record briefing for senior editors in Nairobi. Did they hammer out a secret deal about how the coverage should be handled? That appears to be the case. Casper Waithaka, a senior reporter at Nation newspaper, says that announcement of the invasion generated a lot of excitement in the newsroom. Money may have changed hands as well.

'I remember clearly that day. There was a lot of excitement in the newsroom. Some of my editors have been in the industry for 30 years but they have never had the opportunity [to cover war]. So they were saying, 'why not?' They were given a lot of money and they gave their go-ahead.'

The go-ahead was for reporters to be embedded with the soldiers in Somalia. Several journalists from major media houses were flown from Nairobi and are still with the soldiers. They supply daily dispatches about events in what the media here calls the 'frontline'. Are the reports accurate representations of the reality as the reporters see it? The answer is no.

Nation has been running a disclaimer in its inside pages saying that, although its print and broadcast journalists are

with the soldiers, 'their reports are subject to military conditions.' It is not clear what those 'military conditions' are and the implications for the veracity of the media reports. But other media houses (and indeed Nation's television, NTV, and radio stations) have not carried any disclaimer

- One could get an idea of what is going on at the 'frontline' by speaking to reporters who have been there. Patrick Injendi, a journalist with Citizen TV, spent three weeks with the soldiers. The media has been reporting that the Kenyan army has 'captured' or 'liberated' town after town in Somalia apparently with little resistance from al shabaab as the soldiers make their way to the militia's stronghold in the port city of Kismayu. But Injendi says the only 'towns' he ever saw were settlements with two or three buildings.

  How do the reporters get their 'frontline' stories? 'There is no freedom of movement', Injendi says. 'You couldn't just wake up and decide you were going to look for news in a certain place. You must be accompanied by soldiers for security.' That means the media reports are merely what the soldiers tell the reporters.

  There also was no adequate preparation for the journalists to report the invasion. Like many Kenya journalists used to reporting the antics of politicians at funerals and rallies around the country or their statements read out at press conferences in Nairobi, Injendi says he was not prepared for the distress that came with reporting on a war. 'We had no helmets or bullet proof jackets on leaving Nairobi.'

  Yet the Kenyan media has created the impression that their reports are the truth. But Kate Hold, a British photojournalist who has covered American and British soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan and was early this year embedded with African Union forces in Somalia (AMISOM), says military restrictions are so bad journalists sometimes report propaganda.
- 'Every time I saw a body of a soldier being repatriated I wondered why it was not being reported,' Kate says of her experience in Somalia. 'One day 52 Burundian soldiers were killed. I had access and could photograph them but I wasn't allowed to report it. And it became clear why the AU did not want this reported: they felt that it was a matter of national pride and they didn't want to make it seem to al-Shabaab that they were losing, or that there was any indication of weakness. It was the same in Afghanistan: the Americans did not want reports about how many deaths there were.'

  But the question of casualties is not only in relation to the soldiers. Are those figures highlighted almost daily in the media of al-Shabaab militias killed accurate? What about Somali civilians killed in the bombings? How many are they so far? No numbers have been published, or even the mention of civilian deaths.

  Simiyu Werunga, director of the African Centre for Strategic and Security Studies, suggests that civilian casualties could be quite high inside Somalia. 'I speak from some experience: when you are fighting an organisation that is amorphous, is fluid and mobile and they are using civilians as shields, it becomes a bit difficult for a military to minimise casualties. Secondly, African militaries are not digitised, so they don't have 'smart' weapons. Now, most western countries have 'smart' weapons, which have seriously reduced collateral damage. African countries don't have those kinds of weaponry and because the tactics of al-Shabaab – using people as shields – it makes it difficult for the military to reduce casualties'.
- Although Kenyans are being told that everything is going fine, civilian casualties are the reason why there is a lot of anger among Somalis against the Kenyan invasion, although all one sees in the media are happy Somalis welcoming their 'liberators'. The vice-chair of the Kenya National Commission of Human Rights, Hassan Omar, says the anger may not be reported in the Kenyan media but it is there, boiling in blogs run by Somalis.

  'Because of four tourist abductions, we have killed about a hundred Somalis – that is collateral damage. Because the Kenyan army has five jetfighters that have no night vision or digitisation, it is proper to kill 100 Somalis because we are bringing security to Kenya', Omar wonders, adding that he has seen Somalis expressing bitterness about the killings in blogs. 'There is a lot of anger there. Don't ever underestimate it because of the fact that it is not reaching the Kenyan media.'

  Because of civilian casualties, says Omar, the Kenyan army could end up facing charges of war crimes. Some groups, he said, are documenting the atrocities and could bring a suit against the military commanders. Yet there are no media reports in Kenya of Somali civilians killed. Omar poses: 'Who is going to speak for the hundreds of Somalis who have died so far? And it is independent media that has reported this: Press TV, Al Jazeera. They have confirmed some of these deaths. Who is going to speak for them? Or are we only speaking about four tourists because our commercial interests lie there?'

  The frustration is not limited to Somalia. Kenya has a large ethnic Somali population in the north of the country but also in Nairobi and other major towns. Because of the war in Somalia, Kenyan Somalis are now viewed with suspicion. There have been claims of police harassment of the citizens, supposing them to be al-Shabaab sympathisers. This violation of citizen rights has not received much media attention because of support for the war.
- Rage Hassan, a radio producer at Nairobi-based Star FM, which broadcasts in Somali, says that, whereas Somalis call in to say they support the war, they also report needless harassment by the police. He has even experienced it himself. 'Yesterday I went for a driving test and a traffic officer called out to me: 'Hey, you al-Shabaab, come in.'

  Despite such experiences, the impression created by the media is that Kenyans are united in their support for the war. 'For whatever reasons – some could be about profits – the media since we started this incursion in Somalia has never reported the truth', says Werunga of ACSSS. 'If you cannot report what is happening on the ground, how can you expect the Kenyan people to start questioning what is happening?' he wondered.

  Radio journalist Kassim Mohammed who has reported on Somalia echoes that sentiment. 'The Kenyan media has failed in reporting this war. On the other hand, the Somali media has done very well: they question, they criticise a lot of the things going on. We are in bed with the army; not just the reporters, but even the news anchors. The other day I was really shocked when a well-known TV personality came on air and said: 'Our men are at war. Can you please send them words of encouragement.'

  That pretty much sums up the Kenyan media's attitude to the war in Somalia. But there is no doubt that the truth about what is exactly happening will eventually come to light. Trouble is, immense damage would already have been done.

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Africa Lies Naked to Euro-American Military Offensive | Black Agenda Report
http://blackagendareport.com/content/africa-lies-naked-euro-american-military-offensive

- # Africa Lies Naked to Euro-American Military Offensive

Wed, 11/30/2011

- **by BAR executive editor Glen Ford**

As the U.S. and its NATO allies move southward to further consolidate their grip on Africa, following the seizure of Libya and its vast oil fields, most of the continent's leadership seems to welcome re-absorption into empire. "Africa is the most vulnerable region in America's warpath, a continent ripe for the plucking due to the multitudinous entanglements of Africa's political and military classes with imperialism." AFRICOM is already in the cat-bird seat, placed there by Africans, themselves.

- ## Africa Lies Naked to Euro-American Military Offensive

by BAR executive editor Glen Ford

- *"The United States and its allies, principally the French, are positioned to 'take' much of the continent with the collaboration of most of its governments."*

The United States and its allies are engaged in an Asian and African offensive, a multi-pronged assault thinly camouflaged as humanitarian intervention that, in some regions, looks like a blitzkrieg. This frenzied aggression, still in its first year, saw NATO transformed into an expeditionary force to crush the unoffending Gaddafi regime in Libya and is now poised to topple the secular order in Syria. Although drawing on longstanding schemes for overt and covert regime change in selected countries, and fully consistent with global capital's historic imperative to bludgeon the planet into one malleable market subordinate to Washington, London and Paris, the current offensive had a particular genesis in time: the nightmare vision of an Arab awakening.

The prospect of an Arab Spring at the dawn of 2011 sparked a general hysteria in imperial capitals. Suddenly, they stared in the face of geopolitical death at the hands of the Arab "street." Washington understands full well that the emergence of Arab governments that reflect the will of the people would soon result, as Noam Chomsky is fond of saying, in the U.S. being "thrown out" of the region – the final toll of the bell, not just for the oil-hungry West, but for international capital's annexes in the autocratic cesspools of the Persian Gulf.

"The prospect of an Arab Spring at the dawn of 2011 sparked a general hysteria in imperial capitals."

- With centuries of Euro-American domination flashing before their eyes, Washington, London and Paris quickly configured NATO to unleash Shock and Awe on the victim of choice in North Africa: Muammar Gaddafi. The momentum of that show of force has led an expanding cast of imperial actors to the gates of Damascus. But Africa is the most vulnerable region in America's warpath, a continent ripe for the plucking due to the multitudinous entanglements of Africa's political and military classes with imperialism. The awful truth is, the United States and its allies, principally the French, are positioned to "take" much of the continent with the collaboration of most of its governments and, especially, its soldiers.

AFRICOM, established in 2008 by the Bush administration and now fully the creature of President Obama's "humanitarian" interventionist doctrine, claims military responsibility for the entire continent except Egypt. The U.S. military command has assembled a dizzying array of alliances with regional organizations and blocs of countries that, together, encompass all but a few nations on the continent – leaving those holdouts with crosshairs on their backs. As the U.S. bullies its way southward in the wake of the seizure of Libya, its path has been smoothed by the Africans, themselves.

The long U.S. war against Somalia, dramatically intensified with American backing for the Ethiopian invasion in late 2006, is now sanctioned by IGAD, the International Authority on Development in East Africa, comprised of Ethiopia; the puppet government in Somalia's capital, Mogadishu; Kenya; Uganda; the de facto French and U.S. military protectorate, Djibouti; and, nominally, Sudan.

- *"As the U.S. bullies its way southward in the wake of the seizure of Libya, its path has been smoothed by the Africans, themselves."*

This year's French-led, but nominally United Nations operation to oust the regime of Laurent Gbagbo, in Ivory Coast, was vouchsafed by ECOWAS, the 16-member Economic Community of West African States, including Benin Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo.

AFRICOM stages a huge, annual military exercise called African Endeavor, which trains African militaries to use "standard communications practices." African armies are taught U.S. command-and-control procedures, on American-made equipment, that is serviced by American advisors. In 2009, the militaries of 25 African nations took part in the exercise. This year, 40 nations joined Operation African Endeavor, accounting for the vast bulk of the continent's men under arms.

- More insidiously, through AFRICOM's "soldier-to-soldier" doctrine, U.S. and African military peers are encouraged to forge one-on-one relationship up and down the levels of command: general-to-general, colonel-to-colonel, major-to-major, and even captain-to-captain. AFRICOM hopes these peer partnerings will forge personal relationships with African armed forces over the long haul, regardless of whatever regime is in power.

In the Sahel, AFRICOM maintains close relationships with virtually every nation along the vast band of land south of the Sahara

desert that stretches from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, all under the heading of "anti-terrorism." These include Mauritania, Mali, Chad, and Niger, plus Nigeria and Senegal. To the north, AFRICOM has similar ties to the Maghreb countries: Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and, until this year, Gaddafi's Libya.

- *"This year, 40 nations joined Operation African Endeavor, accounting for the vast bulk of the continent's men under arms."*

AFRICOM is often the real power behind nominally African missions. AMISOM, officially the African Union's so-called peace keeping force in Somalia, is in fact comprised of troops from Uganda and Burundi, U.S. client states that act as mercenaries for Washington, and paid for mainly by the Americans. They are soon to be joined by 500 soldiers from Djibouti. For years, AMISOM was all that saved the puppet regime in Mogadishu from instant annihilation in its tiny enclaves at the hands of the Shabab resistance. Today, the reinforced "African Union" fighters are on the offensive, along with Kenyan and Ethiopian invaders, aimed at smashing the Shabab in a pincer movement. U.S. drones based in Ethiopia and Djibouti bring death from overhead. Thus, a force nominally fielded by the African Union is an active belligerent in a U.S. engineered war that has set the Horn of Africa ablaze – a conflict also sanctioned by IGAD, the regional cooperative body.

It is only a matter of time before Eritrea, an adversary of Ethiopia and one of the few African nations outside the AFRICOM orbit, is attacked – doubtless by nominally African forces backed by the U.S. and French. Certainly, the thoroughly compromised African Union will be in no position to object.

- No sooner than the last loyalist stronghold fell in Libya, President Obama extended his "humanitarian" interventionist reach deep into central Africa, sending 100 Special Forces troops to Uganda for later assignment to the Democratic Republic of Congo, the new nation of South Sudan, and the Central African Republic, the French neocolonial outpost where the Americans sent Haitian President Jean Bertrand Aristide after kidnapping him in 2004. Supposedly, the American Green Berets will hunt for the 2,000 or so fighters of the Lord's Liberation Army – a force the Ugandans themselves could snuff out if they were not busy acting as America's mercenaries elsewhere on the continent. (Washington's other loyal hit man in the region, Rwanda, was cited by a United Nations report as bearing responsibility for some the millions slaughtered in Congo.)

"A force nominally fielded by the African Union is an active belligerent in a U.S. engineered war that has set the Horn of Africa ablaze."

- NATO's aggression in Libya was made inevitable when Nigeria, South Africa and Gabon dishonored themselves at the United Nations Security Council by voting in favor of the bogus "No Fly Zone." The momentum of the Euro-American offensive flows southward, and will soon set much of the continent afire. The Horn of Africa is already a charnel house of flame and famine, engineered by the Americans but fully joined by Africans and their regional institutions. In the west, ECOWAS legitimizes imperial policies, while in the Sahel, Africans scramble to identify targets for the Americans. Each year, most of the continent's militaries gather round the Americans to learn how to command and control their own troops, thus making their armies useless to resist the real enemy: the U.S. and NATO.

Betrayed by a political/military class eager to integrate itself into the imperial system on any terms, Africa lies naked to the Euro-Americans.

It will be up to the slums and the bush to reverse this catastrophe. If the Americans and Europeans are to be resisted, Africans will have to fight their own governments, first.

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Libya and America: From foe into friend? | The Economist
http://www.economist.com/node/941021

- **Libya and America**

From foe into friend?

Libya tries to climb back into America's good books

Jan 17th 2002

- LAST week Libya and America were talking to each other in London about ways to remove Libya's name from the roster of states sponsoring terrorism, where it has been for 22 years. The talks, their second since September 11th, were led by Richard Burns, the State Department's Middle East man, and Musa Kusa, Muammar Qaddafi's trusted head of external intelligence.
- Removing the 22-year-old tag comes at a price. America, and Britain too, demand that Libya accepts responsibility for the crimes of its officials in bombing a Pan-Am jet over Lockerbie—a convenient formula for absolving Mr Qaddafi of personal blame—and that it pays compensation for what happened. While all involved appear keen on a resolution, nobody seems ready to budge ahead of a final judgment on the Lockerbie bombing.
- The appeal of Abdelbaset Megrahi, the Libyan intelligence agent convicted of mass murder, opens on January 23rd and is expected to last four weeks. Libya's ambassador to London, Muhammed Alzwai, is already reported as saying that his country would pay compensation should Mr Megrahi finally be found guilty. In America's courts, the victims' families are again pressing claims for a payout of $10 billion.
- This is a hefty sum, but still less than the country's annual oil revenue. Libya has billions of dollars frozen in America, plus billions more held in foreign reserve, and diplomats say the sum is negotiable. Although his sanctions-suffering

people may resent seeing more of their wealth diverted abroad, Mr Qaddafi may judge it a fair price to pay for the lifting of UN sanctions and the return of an American ambassador to Tripoli after a 30-year absence.

- Bilateral ties have been buoyed by the common war on Islamist militants. Since September 11th, Mr Qaddafi has been straining to present himself as America's friend. He condemned the suicide attacks as "horrifying" and described American retaliation as an act of self-defence. It is reported that Libya supplied America with intelligence on Osama bin Laden's allies in the Philippines, where Libya had posed as an honest hostage-broker with the Abu Sayyaf group. In return, America has added the Islamic Fighting Group, Libya's most effective opposition, to its terror list.
- Hand-in-hand with his drive for international rehabilitation, Mr Qaddafi appears bent on an uncharacteristically normal process of internal reform. Reports from Libya speak of a steady dismantling of the worldwide *mathaba*, the revolutionary cells policing his reign of terror. In their place, say dissidents in London, Mr Qaddafi is seeking to restore power to the armed forces. Since an aborted military coup in October 1993, Libya's army has been little more than a motley crew of rival militias.
- But how readily can the Great Leader shed his revolutionary stripes? In Tripoli, words rarely match the deeds. The minister of finance, sentenced to one year's prison for corruption amid a flurry of publicity last November, retains his cabinet post. And for all the talk of an end to revolutionary zeal, Mr Kusa, the Americans' chief negotiating partner, is the head of the *mathaba* and a one-time self-declared assassin of Libyan dissidents in London.

Compensation but no real justice | The Economist
http://www.economist.com/node/1989564

- **Compensation but no real justice**

Libya's agreement to admit responsibility for the Lockerbie bombing and pay $2.7 billion to victims' families is a step in the rehabilitation of its dictator, Muammar Qaddafi. But he escapes personal blame and remains a menace

Aug 14th 2003

- FOR the past five years, Muammar Qaddafi has been trying to pass himself off as a reformed character. Hitherto one of the world's leading sponsors of terrorism, Libya's dictator decided in 1998 to hand over for trial two Libyans accused of planting the bomb that blew up Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland in 1988. Having previously trained many of the guerrillas who have wrought death and destruction across Africa and elsewhere, he switched to playing peace broker in several African conflicts. And he condemned the September 11th terrorist attacks on America and provided information on groups linked to al-Qaeda. On Wednesday August 13th, Mr Qaddafi took another big step in his bid for rehabilitation, when Libya signed an agreement in which it will admit responsibility for the Lockerbie bombing and pay $2.7 billion—$10m to each of the families of the 270 who died in the bombing—in return for sanctions against the country being lifted.
- Lawyers for the families said late on Wednesday night that they had signed the deal with the Libyan government in London. On Friday, Libya sent a letter to the United Nations Security Council, admitting responsibility for the bombing. It is expected soon to deposit the compensation in an account at the Bank for International Settlements, from which the money will be paid out in stages. The first 40% will be disbursed once the UN permanently scraps its sanctions against Libya, which have been suspended since 1999; a further 40% will be distributed to the families once America lifts its own sanctions; the remaining 20% will be paid if Libya is removed from America's list of countries deemed to be sponsors of terrorism.
- American officials indicated on Wednesday that these measures would not be lifted until Libya persuades America that it really has stopped backing terrorism and, furthermore, that it is not seeking weapons of mass destruction. Under the deal, if America does not lift its measures within eight months, the Lockerbie families will receive only half of the $2.7 billion and the rest will be returned to Libya. Although the families' lawyers are confident that the UN Security Council will lift its sanctions as early as the coming week, even this is in some doubt: France (which can veto Security Council votes) is demanding that Libya increase the compensation of around €31m ($35m) that it has paid—without admitting responsibility—to the families of the 170 people killed when a plane belonging to French airline UTA exploded nine months after the Lockerbie bomb.
- If these obstacles are overcome, the Lockerbie families will, after a long fight, win substantial compensation and an official admission of guilt by Libya. They have already seen Abdelbaset Megrahi, a Libyan intelligence agent, sentenced to life imprisonment by a Scottish court for organising the Lockerbie bombing. But, unsurprisingly, some are unhappy that the deal spares Mr Qaddafi any personal blame and may help his campaign to achieve international respectability. This would be "a disgusting spectacle", said Dan Cohen of New Jersey, whose 20-year-old daughter died in the bombing.

- America had imposed sanctions on Libyan oil in 1982 over the country's links to terrorist groups. President Ronald Reagan extended the sanctions in 1986, and ordered American air raids on the Libyan capital, Tripoli, after blaming Libya for an attack on a nightclub in Germany that killed two American soldiers. In what may have been retaliation for the raids, in December 1988 Libyan agents put a bomb on Pan Am Flight 103 from London to New York. The UN imposed its sanctions in 1992 after Libya refused to hand over two of its agents suspected of involvement in the attack. But in 1998, the suspects' lawyer agreed that they be tried by Scottish judges sitting in the Netherlands. In 2001, though his co-defendant was cleared, Mr Megrahi was found guilty of murder. An appeal was rejected last year and he was sent to jail in Scotland.

The deal signed this week is likely to aid Mr Qaddafi in his quest for rehabilitation. The Libyan dictator now appears to have stopped training and funding terrorists. In the past four years he has tried to encourage peace talks in the civil

wars in Sudan and Sierra Leone and to end a conflict between Congo and Uganda, while persuading Libyan-trained rebels in the Philippines to release six foreign hostages. At home, he has announced the scrapping of the extreme form of socialism he imposed after seizing power in a coup in 1969. Under that system, private enterprise was banned and the country was run by a corrupt and inefficient revolutionary bureaucracy—leaving Libyans poor despite the country's vast oil earnings. In a speech in June, he sounded positively Thatcherite about the need to privatise swathes of the public sector and to attract more private investment.

- But such moves do not yet mean that Mr Qaddafi is a man that America and Europe can do business with. He may no longer back terrorists who attack foreigners, but he has continued to support bloodstained African tyrants who terrorise their own people—from Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe to Liberia's recently deposed Charles Taylor (who, according to a *Washington Post* report last week, had recently flown to Libya and received weapons).

Furthermore, there are worries that Mr Qaddafi is seeking weapons of mass destruction. In 1999, as he was launching his new role as a peacemaker, British customs seized an illicit shipment of missile parts bound for Libya, in defiance of an international embargo. Libya is thought to have chemical weapons and to have dabbled in some sorts of biological and nuclear research. It may also be developing missiles in co-operation with North Korea. Though his behaviour has improved considerably of late, the mercurial Mr Qaddafi could quite conceivably turn nasty again, and still has the means to wreak havoc.

Libya and sanctions: Allow Qaddafi his probation | The Economist
http://www.economist.com/node/2003888

- ## Libya and sanctions

Allow Qaddafi his probation

What logic is there in ending UN sanctions if the American ones remain in place?

Aug 21st 2003

- IS IT time to bring Libya, that serial offender, in from the cold? Only a very small step of the way, replies America. A compromise is often handy but this one doesn't make a lot of sense.
- The Libyan government claims that it has done what was demanded of it. It has put an agreed $2.7 billion into an escrow account to compensate the families of the 270 people who lost their lives when a Pan Am airliner exploded over Lockerbie in 1988. It has accepted "responsibility for the actions of its officials" (two Libyan intelligence agents were tried for the atrocity, one of whom was found guilty and imprisoned, the other acquitted). And it has reiterated its commitment to the war on terrorism.

In return, the UN is preparing to lift the sanctions (a travel ban and an embargo on certain spare parts) imposed in 1993 but suspended in 1999, when Libya handed over the two agents for trial. A hitch may cause a bit of a delay: France wants some correlation between the Lockerbie blood-money and the much less generous deal it made with Libya over the bombing of a French airliner in 1989. But the lifting of UN sanctions is now a formality. What remain at stake are America's separate and harsher sanctions, imposed in the early 1980s and hardened from time to time, and Libya's established place on the State Department's list of terrorism's usual suspects.

- America has agreed that the UN sanctions should go, says Colin Powell, so that the bereaved families can get their settlement—though, in fact, they will get only half the $10m they have each been promised if America's bilateral sanctions continue. And these sanctions will remain, the secretary of state insists, until Libya becomes more democratic, stops meddling in African conflicts, and convinces the world that it is not pursuing weapons of mass destruction.

Sanctions, and the chance of getting rid of them, have almost certainly pulled Muammar Qaddafi in a less irresponsible direction. Libya's leader is as erratic and peculiar as they come. But he has also, never forget, calmly survived 34 years of leadership in particularly inclement conditions. In his time he has supported the most evil terrorists, the most rotten regimes: Libya has been both bank and training ground for wickedness. However, Mr Qaddafi switches tack when things go wrong, and what has been going wrong for him recently are America's sanctions, particularly the secondary ones that scare away other oil investors.

- ## Some reward, at least, for better behaviour

At this point, however, sanctions may well have become a dwindling asset. If the light at the end of the American tunnel were to be shut off, Mr Qaddafi could veer away again, in a different and worse direction. At the moment he seeks to look respectable. He eschews terrorist organisations. He has moderated his meddling in African affairs in

favour of pursuing pan-African ideals that are as harmlessly unattainable as his former pan-Arab ones. But is he steady on this course? Without encouragement, he could wobble off once more.

It would be silly to trust the man much farther than you can see him. Yet there is a convincing argument for giving him a chance, lightening the American bonds, even if not fully releasing him. Mr Qaddafi still needs to be pressed hard on many matters, not least on those nasty weapons he is suspected of developing. But opening the UN prison door, while leaving the American one tight shut, is an illogical contradiction. Mr Qaddafi may not yet have won his freedom, but he should now be allowed his full probation.

Letter From Europe - Libya Tactics Change, but Goal Doesn't - NYTimes.com
http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/22/world/europe/22iht-letter.html

- Letter From Europe

Libya Tactics Change, but Goal Doesn't

- By ALAN COWELL

  Published: August 21, 2009

- PARIS — Sometime back, a reporter visiting Libya made a phone call to an American there whom the authorities wanted to keep quiet, in public at least. Almost before the reporter had lowered the handset, the phone rang. If the journalist persisted with his overtures, said an official who had secretly monitored the conversation, he would be dealt with by "the Libyan method."

  There was no ambiguity about what that might mean. In the 1980s, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi ran what Dana Moss, an expert on the relationship between Libya and the United States, called "a rogue regime which used terror as its main tactic of foreign policy."

- The tally of atrocities stretched from the bombing of the La Belle nightclub in Berlin in 1986 to the downing of airliners. Even before the visit to Tripoli, the same reporter had met in Hamburg with a German gun runner who freely admitted arranging a shipment of Libyan weapons destined for the Irish Republican Army.

  But nothing in that catalogue of terror paralleled the events of Dec. 21, 1988, when a bomb smuggled onto Pan Am Flight 103 exploded above the Scottish town of Lockerbie, killing all 259 people on board and 11 on the ground. Of the dead, 189 were American.

  The event spread shock, trauma, grief and horror. Its scars cut deep into the families of the dead, turning them into victims, too. Michelle Ciulla Lipkin, who was 17 when her father was killed in the bombing, said recently, "there is a piece of me and everyone else in my family that died that day with him."

- The attack symbolized the very worst of what Colonel Qaddafi has since tried to disavow. And when the only person convicted in the bombing, the former Libyan intelligence agent Abdel Basset Ali al-Megrahi, was released early from a Scottish prison Thursday on compassionate grounds, it raised many questions, not just about the nature of justice, but also about Colonel Qaddafi's ambitions and the doggedness with which he has sought to shed the outlaw image he brandished in the 1980s.

  While he has not personally accepted blame, Colonel Qaddafi's regime has paid $2.7 billion to the Lockerbie families and lesser amounts to the victims of other atrocities — part of the bounty the Libyan leader has offered in return for an imperfect rehabilitation. Formally, he has abandoned his nuclear ambitions, rejected terrorism and sealed contracts with Western oil companies. In 2003, Libya begrudgingly took responsibility publicly for "the actions of its officials" in the Lockerbie tragedy.

- But, almost 21 years after the bombing, the legal assignment of guilt rests exclusively with Mr. Megrahi, released because, the Scottish authorities concluded, he will die soon from cancer.

  "His absolute priority in the little time he has left is to spend it with his family in his homeland," said his lawyer, Margaret Scott — a remark that drew the anguished riposte from the victims' families that their loved ones were denied such indulgence.

  When Mr. Megrahi returned to a jubilant welcome in Libya on Thursday, the moment brought a flawed conclusion to a judicial process under which the 57-year-old former intelligence agent was tried in 2001 and sentenced to a minimum 27 years in prison for mass murder.

- The outcome brought no solace either for American families who wanted him to serve his full sentence, or for the British families who had generally accepted Mr. Megrahi's protestations of innocence but sought full disclosure of the conspiracy.

  When Mr. Megrahi abandoned an appeal against his conviction that might have re-opened the case, John Mosey, a Briton whose daughter Helga died in the Lockerbie tragedy, said that when he did so, the victims' families were "robbed of the opportunity to find justice."

- "It is a bad outcome to a bad case," The Guardian newspaper said in an editorial. "Justice has not been done."

  Nothing, of course, will bring back the victims. But the question that suffused Mr. Megrahi's release was how their memory might best be served and how those who endured their loss might find some kind of respite or comfort.

- "Mr. Megrahi's conviction represented some sort of justice for us," said Mrs. Lipkin. "Without the sentence served as planned, what are we left with?"

  Lockerbie is not the only horror to inspire such considerations. From Darfur to South Africa, Rwanda to the Balkans,

victims seeking closure have found themselves lost in a maze of bewildering and contradictory markers pointing willy-nilly to compassion and revenge, disclosure and forgiveness, memory and release. Some experts have argued that it is only when a perpetrator has shown remorse and confessed fully that victims may find peace and forgiveness.

- But, as Lockerbie seems to show, such elusive catharsis may be unattainable.

  "There is often the mistake of equating forgiving with forgetting," Pumla Gobodo Madikizela, a South African psychologist, once said of her own land's post-apartheid strivings. "This is not the case. Nothing can make victims forget their trauma. It is something they live with daily."

  Indeed there has been no remorse and scant forgiveness. As he left Scotland, Mr. Megrahi offered "sincere sympathy" to the survivors — but repeated that he had done nothing wrong.

- In the West's minuet with Libya, though, there were two other unstated but powerful elements — realpolitik and money.

  The lure of Libya's oil and gas reserves has blunted the Western appetite to re-open the Lockerbie case, particularly when Colonel Qaddafi is pursuing his own long quest for a place on the global stage. The release of Mr. Megrahi could hardly have been timed more felicitously for the aggrandizement of the Libyan leader. He is already president of the African Union, and in September he plans to address the United Nations General Assembly.

  Next month marks the 40th anniversary of the military coup that brought Colonel Qaddafi to power. Above all, said Ms. Moss, he "sees himself as a world leader and wants to be acknowledged as a world leader."

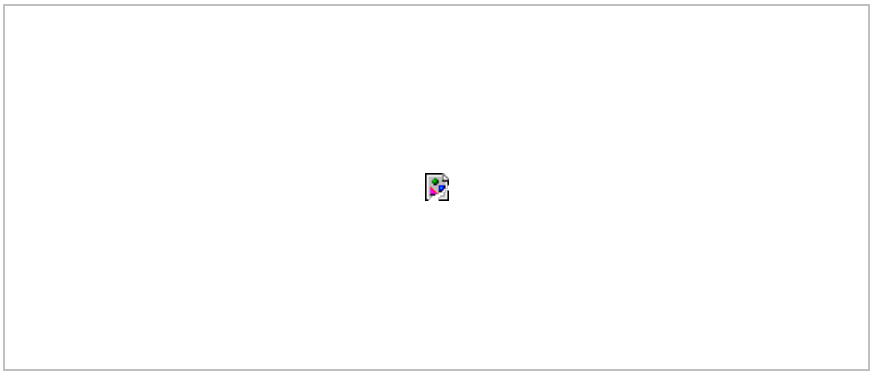
  The "Libyan method" may have evolved over the years, in other words, but the underlying objective has endured.

'We miss Gaddafi' say Chadians | The Observers

http://observers.france24.com/content/20111122-we-still-regret-gaddafi%E2%80%99-death

- 22/11/2011 / CHAD

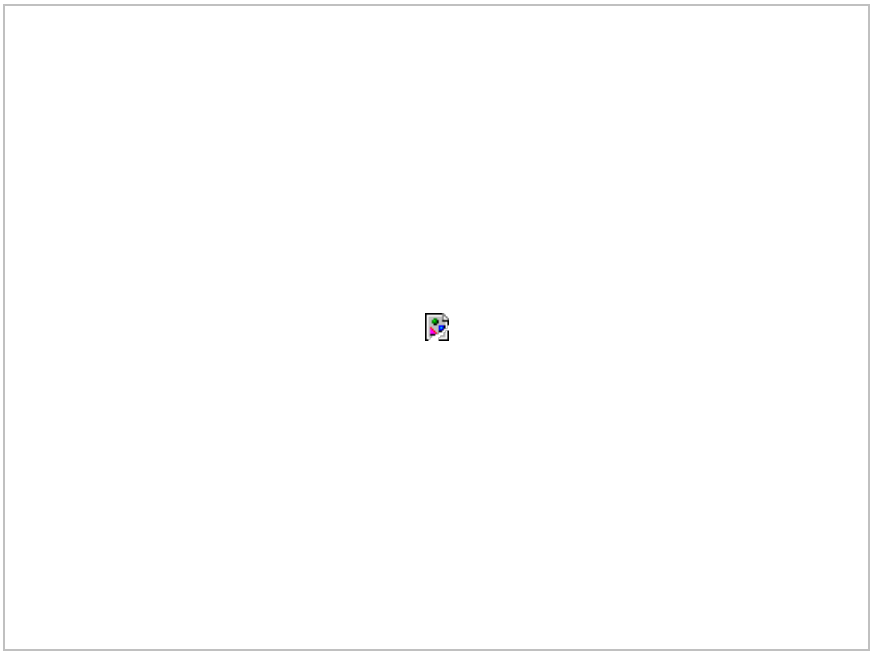
'We miss Gaddafi' say Chadians

- 

  The entrance to N'djamena's old racetrack, which the former Libyan leader had planned to turn into an Islamic centre. Photo sent by our Observer Richard Mbatna.

  The revolution in Libya has had one little-mentioned side effect: the end of economic co-operation between the wealthy oil state and its neighbour, Chad. Libyan funding for Chad construction projects has dried up, and many Chadians say they miss the rule of the late Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi.

  At the start of the millenium, Libya began to invest in key economic sectors such as tourism, industry and agriculture in neighbouring African states. Thanks to its plentiful petro-dollars, Tripoli was able to fund the construction of 23 hotel resorts in 15 different countries, as well as oil refineries, banks and telecommunications networks.
- Chad was one of the main beneficiaries of Libya's largesse, which stemmed from Gaddafi's desire to increase his influence throughout the African continent. The five-star Kempinski Libya Hotel in the capital N'djamena and the headquarters of the Chari commercial bank are both owned by the Libya Arab Africa Investment Company, one of the many hedge funds created by Gaddafi.



The Libya Hotel in N'djamena. Photo sent by our Observer Richard Mbatna.

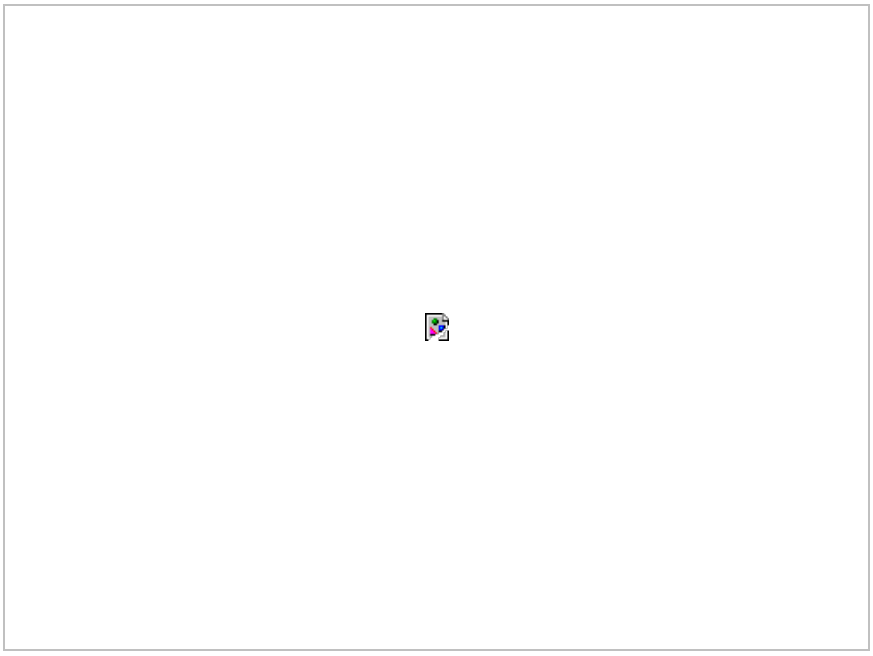
Economic co-operation between Chad and Libya was at its peak when the uprising against Gaddafi's government broke out in February. Chad had just given Libya 50,000 hectares of land to develop, as well as N'djamena's racetrack, which Gaddafi promised to turn into an Islamic centre. A month after rebel fighters killed the Libyan leader, these construction projects are now at a standstill.

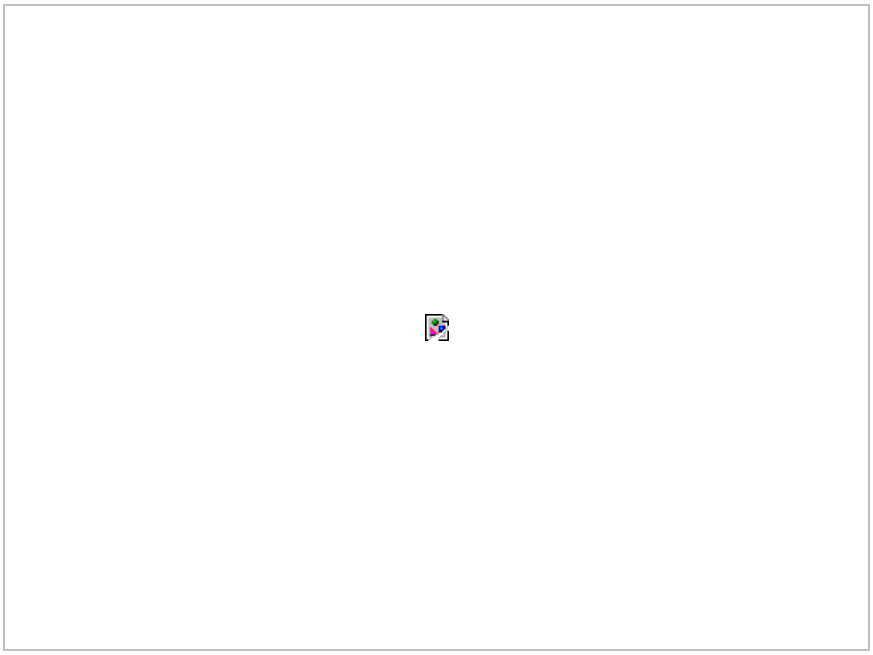
- The Chadian president Idriss Déby Itno has officially recognised Libya's ruling National Transitional Council, even though he long supported Gaddafi against the rebels. According to a report by the International Crisis Group, a Brussels-based NGO focused on conflict resolution, relations between Chad and the new Libyan authorities remain tense.

- **"As a business owner, Gaddafi's departure has affected me directly"**

  Richard Mbatna is the owner of a sports store in N'Djamena.

  Gaddafi did a lot for the beautification of N'Djamena. He financed the construction of the Libya Hotel and of villas all around the city. But today, all construction work has stopped. That's why we miss Gaddafi.
- As a business owner, his departure has affected me directly. The second edition of the CEN-SAD sports games [a Pan-African sports competition created by Gaddafi in 1998] was supposed to take place this October in N'Djamena. I had prepared samples for sports uniforms and was hoping to be the official provider for Chad athletes. But the competition has been postponed until further notice."





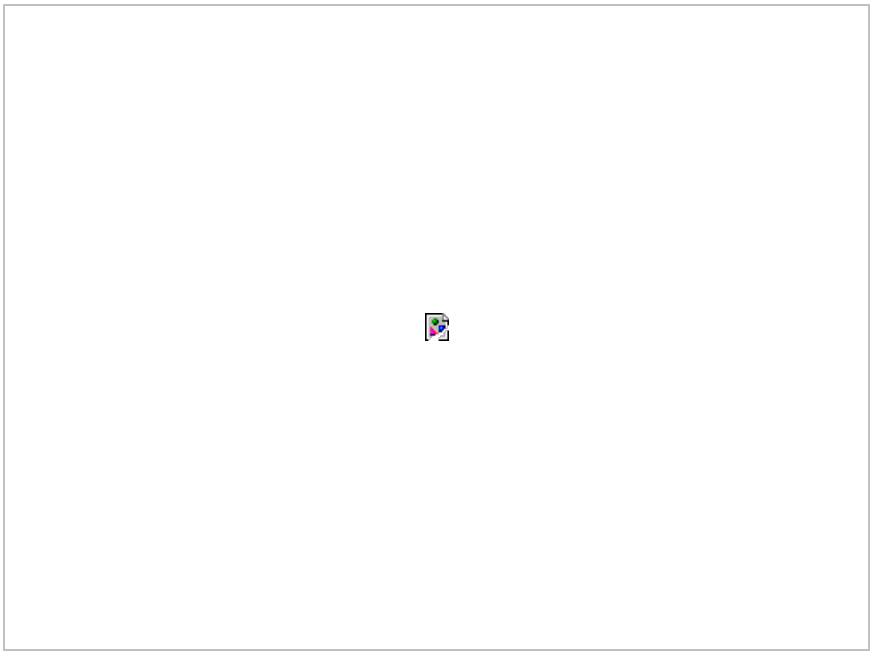
The entrance to the Libyan villas, where contruction has stopped. Photo taken by our Observer.

- **"With his billions of dollars, I wonder why Gaddafi didn't invest in his own country"**

  Wad is an engineer in N'Djamena.

Muammar Gaddafi has always fascinated Chadians. I believe he was a role model because he represented African nationalism and always pushed for the development of African countries [the former Libyan leader wanted to create the United States of Africa]. He had so many great projects for Africa and wanted to make it fully independent from Western states.

- Nevertheless, I realise that he did very little for the development of his own country. I was shocked to see on television that Libyan cities are not connected by highways, but roads in very poor condition. With his billions of dollars, I wonder why Gaddafi didn't invest in infrastructure for his own country."



N'djamena's old racetrack. Photo taken by our Observer Richard Mbatna.

This post was written with FRANCE 24 journalist Peggy Bruguière.

Africans remember Gadhafi as martyr, benefactor - THonline.com: National/World: war conflict, libya, gadhafi, charles taylor, african union
http://www.thonline.com/news/national_world/article_e86bbd88-feb6-11e0-9eb9-001a4bcf6878.html

Tears as Muslims pay respect to Col. Gaddafi - National |monitor.co.ug
http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/-/688334/1259446/-/item/1/-/lyfr4m/-/index.html

- Kampala Lord Mayor Erias Lukwago, who announced that he was going to Mecca for Hijjah, said: "Gaddafi's death should be a lesson to other leaders. The leaders should know when to leave power."

Tears as Muslims pay respect to Col. Gaddafi - National |monitor.co.ug
http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/-/688334/1259446/-/bhxf0xz/-/index.html

- Tears as Muslims pay respect to Col. Gaddafi
-

Sheikh Amir Mutyaba, former Uganda ambassador to Libya during Amin's time, wipes away tears as he eulogises Muammar Gaddafi during special prayers in memory of the slain leader held at the Gaddafi Mosque in Old Kampala. He was among the first beneficiaries of scholarships Gaddafi offered to Muslims to study abroad. Photo by Stephen Otage

- By YASIIN MUGERWA & WANDERA OUMA (email the author)

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