

[UN extends its political mission in Libya with a mandate to promote democracy - 680News](http://www.680news.com/news/world/article/340053--un-extends-its-political-mission-in-libya-with-a-mandate-to-promote-democracy)
<http://www.680news.com/news/world/article/340053--un-extends-its-political-mission-in-libya-with-a-mandate-to-promote-democracy>

. UN extends its political mission in Libya with a mandate to promote democracy

Edith M. Lederer, The Associated Press Mar 12, 2012

- The U.N. Security Council voted unanimously Monday to extend its political mission in Libya with a mandate to support the government in promoting democracy, restoring public security, and eliminating the flood of weapons in the country especially shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles.

A resolution extending the U.N. mission for a year was adopted unanimously at the start of a ministerial meeting on challenges from last year's Arab Spring. Among those attending the meeting were U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and the foreign ministers of Russia, Britain, France and Germany.

Libya celebrated the first anniversary of the start of its revolution on Feb. 17, but its government faces a host of problems, first and foremost asserting authority over the country. Hundreds of armed militias that helped oust Moammar Gadhafi are the real power on the ground, wielding control over cities, neighbourhoods and borders.

- The country has been plagued by revenge attacks by those who suffered at the hands of Gadhafi's forces during the brutal civil war that ousted the Libyan dictator after more than four decades. Human rights groups have documented reports of widespread torture and killings of detainees deemed loyal to Gadhafi, including foreigners suspected of being mercenaries. According to the U.N., up to 6,000 Libyans are detained in facilities run by revolutionary brigades.

The Security Council welcomed recent positive developments in Libya and said it looks forward to "free, fair and credible elections in June." That vote is expected to establish a 200-member assembly that will appoint a prime minister and select a panel to write a constitution.

But the council also expressed concern over continuing reports of reprisals, arbitrary detentions, torture and extrajudicial executions and called on Libyan authorities "to take all steps necessary to prevent violations of human rights."

The top U.N. envoy to Libya, Ian Martin, recently told the Security Council that Libyan authorities recognize that their main challenge is to address the wide circulation of weapons in the country and the future of the revolutionary fighters, and to develop professional state security institutions under civilian control. The council maintained the arms embargo on Libya but ordered its committee monitoring sanctions to consult with Libyan authorities and lift the asset freeze on the Libyan Investment Authority and the Libyan Africa Investment Portfolio "as soon as practical."

[Libya to fund African industry: Bashir Saleh Bashir, one of Muammar Ghadaffi's closest advisors, serves as the chairman and managing director of the Libya Africa Portfolio, the investment arm of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. He spoke](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa5327/is_335/ai_n29380742/pg_3)
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- [African Business](#) / [Oct, 2007](#)

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by Stephen Williams

- Bashir Saleh Bashir had told me he was not acting as a politician and that he would tell any country that came to him for financial assistance to speak to the Libyan government. "I want to invest. If you have an offer and promise me good return, I will invest. I have no limitations. LAP will work with anyone who wants to work with us: state players, the private sector, the Europeans, the Americans ... everyone."

Very obviously, Libya and LAP are open for business.

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- **Libya to fund African industry: Bashir Saleh Bashir, one of Muammar Ghadaffi's closest advisors, serves as the chairman and managing director of the Libya Africa Portfolio, the investment arm of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. He spoke exclusively to African Banker at his Tripoli office**

by Stephen Williams

- With a \$5bn fund to invest and \$3bn already committed to projects throughout Africa, you might expect Bashir Saleh Bashir to have an aura of self-importance about him. In fact, the opposite is true; first impressions are of an African representing the new generation of leaders in the continent. Those impressions were borne out later as I listened to him speak passionately about Africa and of the Libyan leader's vision for the continent's future development.

We greeted each other with a handshake and the traditional Muslim greeting of 'As Salaam Alaikom'. Realising that Arabic was not my mother tongue, he then took the time to explain that this phrase was a solemn undertaking meaning we would do each other no harm. We then took our seats at a table to begin our conversation.

- One of my first questions was to learn more about the life of this fascinating man. "I am from the southern part of Libya," he began. "And I started my working life in 1967 as a secondary school teacher. I joined the revolution from its beginnings, helping to co-ordinate the movement's activities in the south of Libya. After the success of the revolution I was made an ambassador to the Central African Republic and afterwards served as ambassador to Tanzania and then Algeria.

"I returned to Libya in 1986, after the US bombings, and served as a governor in the south. From 1992 I worked in foreign relations before I became the state protocol director, and since 1998 have worked in the Leader's office. For a year and a half I have also been the chairman of the Libya Africa Portfolio.

- Passion for Africa
- "I am very interested in Africa. I have authored a number of books and also contributed articles for various magazines. I have a passion for Africa and I want to help my leader to achieve his vision for Africa, especially his vision for working towards a United States of Africa. Libya can serve as an example for other countries to develop Africa."

Bashir Saleh Bashir then went on to outline the purpose of the LAP, which is central to Muammar Ghadaffi's vision for Africa. With \$5bn in funds in its bank, LAP invests finance across Africa on behalf of the Libyan state. As well as banking, it has operations spanning major economic sectors such as aviation, oil refining and distribution, real estate and agriculture. In these divisions it has already committed another \$3bn in capital.

- Adding value to exports

Bashir Saleh Bashir explains that LAP has a particular mandate to focus on adding value to Africa's exports. He illustrated just how important this is by describing a recent visit to Liberia. "Liberia is a major producer of rubber, but are there any factories producing rubber products in Liberia? Are there any factories for adding value to raw materials in Liberia? There are not; there is not even a small factory producing balls or rubber toys for Liberian children. All Liberia produces is raw materials for export."

- "I also went to Cote d'Ivoire where, as everyone knows, they produce cocoa. It is one of the world's biggest cocoa producers. I asked the Ivorians: 'Is there any chocolate manufacturing?' They said 'no'. Similarly, when I went to Kenya they told me that they export coffee worth \$100m a year but I don't believe there is one factory producing instant coffee for export markets."

"My own calculations suggest that Kenya's coffee exports, with added value, would be worth \$900m. Therefore, Kenya loses \$800m which could be used for development purposes to build schools, hospitals and roads. The situation is the same in many other African countries which lose the value they could add to their exports and the value of the jobs they could create in the process."

It is clear that Bashir Saleh Bashir believes passionately about Africa contributing to the commodity value chain and that he believes African governments must be encouraged to seek added value for their countries' exports. "That is the key, the new vision for the development for Africa," he insists.

- Responding to a more general question on development, Bashir Saleh Bashir asked a question in return. "Why is South Africa a developed country? Is it a European country? No. Is it part of America? No. Is it Japan or Korea? No! It is Africa! And the wealth of that country depends on its raw material. South Africa is not like Egypt, it's not like Kenya, it is not like Tanzania, Nigeria, Morocco, it is another world."

"The difference is that the West does not give to other African countries the same access it has given to South Africa. They did not give access to financial resources--they did not give access to their markets. They did not allow other African countries to receive the same treatment."

"Now, we say that everything has changed, we have globalisation. So we must look to getting added value for Africa's exports and to getting access to the world's financial markets."

- "I want to show that there are opportunities to invest in Africa. Europe and the US are awash with money, so much they don't even know what to do with it! Why can't they use that money for projects in Africa? Look what we could do--why don't we build a highway from here to Johannesburg? Why don't we build a highway from Dakar to Nairobi? Why don't we build the Grand Inga Hydroelectric Scheme that could produce enough power for the whole of Africa and surplus that could be exported to Europe? I say they should finance projects like these, but they do nothing."
- By contrast, Libya is very active through the LAP which is funding diverse projects. Bashir Saleh Bashir spoke about a new satellite that the country will launch in December which holds the potential to transform communications in Africa.

Its footprint will cover the whole of Africa providing connections for all the countries of the continent and carrying data, voice and internet communications as well as educational services and facilitating African telecommunication systems.

- Agriculture is our priority

When I asked Bashir Saleh Bashir a direct question regarding which economic sectors he, as the head of the LAP, believed offered the most potential, he gave a rather interesting answer. He identified agricultural projects as the prime sector that would spur Africa's economic renaissance. "Fertility comes from the land and industry comes from agriculture," he pointed out. "Industrialisation is in fact born from agriculture," he claimed.

"We have to identify and execute good agriculture programmes in Africa so that we can feed the people and export produce. We have to industrialise so that we can add value to Africa's mineral and energy resources and the way to do this is, I believe, to first develop Africa's agricultural products."

Again, he returned to the concept of adding value to the continent's exports. "Let's take timber as an example, a commodity which one might define as an agricultural product. In Gabon there are large tracts of forest that could be exploited in a sustainable manner, but at present the timber is just cut down and exported as quickly as possible. That does not make much sense. If Gabon made quality furniture from its timber it could become a top producer of all kinds of wood products and export them around the world.

- "If we could follow this philosophy of added value, Africa would require less assistance from the West. What we really need is not the European example with the Marshall Plan after WWII; or the example of South Korea, Taiwan or Japan, where the West just injected vast amounts of cash to get those countries' economies going. No, it's another vision for Africa we should be aiming for because even if you inject \$25-30bn a year, Africa will need 120 years to catch up. We shall need to give Africa access to education and technological know-how if we are really serious about helping the whole of Africa lift itself from poverty."

I left our meeting feeling highly privileged to have spoken with Bashir Saleh Bashir, a man who is steering much of Libya's oil wealth in developing Africa's economic renaissance. He also makes a convincing case that LAP's policy of focusing on commercial criteria to make its investment decisions is a sensible one. Building commercially viable enterprises and broader social development can go hand-in-hand; they are not mutually exclusive and invariably commerce generates its own momentum for economic growth and social stability.

[Top Gaddafi official gets Niger gov't role: sources | Top News | Reuters](http://af.reuters.com/article/topNews/idAFJOE82708V20120308?rpc=401&feedType=RSS&feedName=topNews&rpc=401)

<http://af.reuters.com/article/topNews/idAFJOE82708V20120308?rpc=401&feedType=RSS&feedName=topNews&rpc=401>

• Top Gaddafi official gets Niger gov't role: sources

Thu Mar 8, 2012

- By Abdoulaye Massalatchi

NIAMEY (Reuters) - Niger has given Muammar Gaddafi's former chief of staff a diplomatic passport and an advisory role in government, sources said on Thursday, a move likely to worsen Niger's fraying relationship with Libya's new leaders.

- Bashir Saleh Bashir was one of Gaddafi's top aides who also ran Libya's investment fund for the ousted leader. He was given the passport in late December after being named a Niger presidential adviser, two top police officials told Reuters.

"A diplomatic passport was issued to Bashir Saleh Bashir, who was named adviser to the presidency," one of the police officials said, asking not to be named.

Niger's bi-weekly L'Evenement said the passport stated Saleh was born in Niger's northern town of Agadez in 1946. A Niger government spokesman was not immediately available for comment.

Tensions have risen between Niger and its northern neighbour Libya since rebels toppled Gaddafi's regime in August. Niger has received nearly 230,000 refugees from Libya, some of whom fought alongside Gaddafi's forces, and has also granted asylum to Gaddafi's son Saadi.

- Neither Saadi nor Bashir are being sought by the International Criminal Court. Niger's government warned its people last month they could be targeted by roving militias if they travel to Libya.

Migrant workers from Niger, one of the world's poorest countries and which faces near-annual food shortages, have for years sought employment in oil-producing Libya.

Libya's new government has pressed Niger to extradite Saadi, saying his call on February 10 for Libyans to prepare for a "coming uprising" threatened ties.

Niger pledged to tighten its surveillance of Saadi but said he could not be handed to a state where he might be executed.

Saleh was regarded as one of the ex-Libyan leader's most powerful advisers. For several years he was chairman of the Libyan African Investment Portfolio, an arm of the country's sovereign wealth fund.

[Libya: Conference on rebuilding Libya infrastructure](http://www.afriquejet.com/infrastructure-libya-2012030734630.html)

<http://www.afriquejet.com/infrastructure-libya-2012030734630.html>

- Libya: Conference on rebuilding Libya infrastructure

- Tripoli, Libya - Conference on rebuilding Libya infrastructure to be hosted by Dubai Chamber. A conference on the rebuilding of Libya's infrastructure will be held on 27-28 June in Dubai, United Arab Emirates (UAE), with the support and endorsement of Dubai Chamber of Commerce & Industry, according to a statement sent to PANA by the Chamber.

The conference will bring together production, service and supply companies from the world's leading technology companies, in a major showcase of various industry expertise reflecting the importance of the vital sectors to Libya's economy.

Over 150 representatives from Canada, China, Germany, Egypt, Italy, UAE, UK, GCC, Middle East, USA and other countries are expected to participate in the event, which they will use to demonstrate and reassure their commitment to the Libyan market and create and strengthen their trading links with Libya's public and private sector business communities.

Visitors will include Libyan government officials and private sector planners, procurement officials, engineers of all disciplines, global specialist contractors, consultants and trading agents providing the essential contacts necessary for the participating companies to secure a part in Libya's economic development programme.

- According to Mr. Atiq Juma Nasib, Senior Director, Commercial Services Sector, Dubai Chamber, Dubai Chamber members' exports and re-exports with Libya registered a 43% growth from its December 2011 figures of AED (Arab Emirates Dirham) 261 million (US\$71million) to AED 374 million in January 2012.

Mr. Nasib described the growth as a good indicator of rising trade with the African country, noting that the Dubai Chamber's endorsement of the conference will go a long way in supporting the competitiveness of Dubai's business community and opening up the gates of opportunities in the Libyan markets.

"Libya is a promising destination for Dubai's business community as the country's re-development process offers excellent opportunities for Dubai Chamber members to use their expertise and benefit from the growth prospects offered by the country's trade, infrastructural, and financial services sectors," Mr. Nasib said.

- On his part, Mr. Raj Menon, principal host of Arabian Reach FZ LLC, a UAE-based marketing & promotions company, said the benefit expected from the conference would extend to the cooperation between UAE and North Africa, as well as West Africa countries.
- "The Conference and Exhibition is also a practical and significant stride towards opening new markets for UAE traders, manufacturers and services establishments in Libya, which is considered a gateway to the North African countries including Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania besides the West African countries including Mali, Togo, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Ghana and Chad," he said.

Stressing that these countries are net importers of various types of goods to durables, raw material and machinery, Mr. Menon said Libya was also strategically located close to the north Mediterranean countries, including Malta, Cyprus, Greece, Italy, France and Spain.

- It recalled that the UAE is playing an active role in supporting Libya on political, military, security and humanitarian grounds while also offering technical support.

Established in 1965, the Dubai Chamber of Commerce and represents, supports and protects the interests of the business community in Dubai by creating a favorable business environment, supporting the development of business, and promoting Dubai as an international business hub.

[Uganda to Return Libyan Assets - WSJ.com](http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052970204781804577266760343578258.html?mod=googlenews_wsj)

http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052970204781804577266760343578258.html?mod=googlenews_wsj

- - AFRICA NEWS
 - March 7, 2012, 4:12 a.m. ET

Uganda to Return Libyan Assets

- By [NICHOLAS BARIYO](#)
- KAMPALA, Uganda—The Ugandan government has started returning assets worth \$375 million to Libya's new leaders, which it had frozen last year in line with the United Nations sanctions against the regime of Moammar Gadhafi, Ugandan officials said Wednesday.

Uganda's foreign-affairs ministry said that following the lifting of the sanctions by the U.N. Security Council last December, a process has started to ensure that all the frozen assets are returned to the North African nation.

"All assets will be returned to the Libyan government in the next few months," a ministry spokesman said, adding that a major Libyan-owned commercial bank, Tropical Bank Uganda, has already been handed over to the Libyan government.

Uganda's long-serving leader, Yoweri Museveni, was a key ally to Gadhafi and openly criticized the foreign intervention in Libya, which led to the eventual overthrow of the country's regime last year.

Uganda's Central Bank said separately that the caretaker board which had been appointed to oversee the operations of the bank last March had been relieved of its duties, following the bank's return to the Libyan government.

- "Bank of Uganda is glad to announce the return of Tropical Bank Ltd. to its majority shareholder, the Libyan Foreign Bank," it said in a statement.

- Other Libyan-owned companies in Uganda include Tamoil East Africa, which is in the process of extending Kenya's Mombasa-Eldoret pipeline to Uganda, National Housing Construction Company, Laico Lake Victoria Hotel and Libya Oil. Libya also owns a 51% stake in a leading telecommunications company, Uganda Telecom.

Tamoil won the contract to extend the 350-kilometer pipeline from Eldoret to Kampala in 2009 but the project's start-up has been delayed mainly due to conflicts over land as well as increased costs due to a change in the original design of the pipeline.

- The discovery of oil in Uganda has necessitated the changing of the pipeline design to allow reverse flow enabling the transport of refined oil products from Uganda to Kenya for an export project.

[93109: Libya](#)

<http://www.fas.org/man/crs/93-109.htm>

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93109: Libya

Updated December 19, 1996

Clyde R. Mark

Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division

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+Also spelled Qadhdhafi, Quadaafi, Gadhafi, Gaddafi, Kaddafi, etc.

• SUMMARY

The United Nations Security Council has passed 3 resolutions calling upon Libya to surrender for trial two men suspected of bombing Pan Am flight 103 in 1988 and French flight UTA 772 in 1989. The U.N.-applied economic sanctions thus far have not compelled Libya to surrender the men for trial.

Libyan-U.S. relations have been plagued by a series of incidents between U.S. and Libyan armed forces, Libyan policies of supporting terrorism, Libya's search for chemical and nuclear weapons, and Libyan meddling in other nations' internal affairs. Qadhafi has proposed bilateral and multilateral unions with his neighbors and several other countries, and envisions himself as carrying on for Egypt's Nasir in unifying the Arab, Islamic, and African worlds.

- Libyan leader Muammar al-Qadhafi implemented a form of participatory democracy in Libya, where villages elect Peoples' Congresses, which in turn elect Peoples' Congresses for geographic regions and the central government. In addition, there are Peoples' Congresses representing industries or institutions, such as education, medicine, or broadcasting. Despite the presence and apparent activity of the Peoples' Congresses, it is clear that members of the Revolutionary Command Council, created after the 1969 coup, and their cohort continue to exercise great influence, perhaps dictatorial authority, over Libya.

Libya's economy depends upon oil; current production is running at 1.4 million barrels per day of high quality crude, most of which is exported to Western Europe. About 1% of Libya's land is arable, and that soil is poor; Libya imports 75% of its food. The Great Man-made River project, started in 1983 and inaugurated in 1991, pipes Saharan aquifer water to the coastal region to expand the agriculture base. Libya enjoys a favorable balance of trade and payments, and runs a small budget deficit.

Qadhafi has used his military in a 1977 border dispute with Egypt, in 1972 and 1978 attempts to buttress Idi Amin in Uganda, in several attempts to influence events in Chad, and in a token deployment in Lebanon.

• MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Press reports in December 1996 said Ukraine had agreed to sell SS-21 and Scud-B missiles to Libya, which, if true, would be a violation of the U.N. sanctions against trade with Libya. Other press reports around the same time said there had been another assassination attempt on Libyan leader Qadhafi, but the reports were not verified.

In November 1996, government authorized young vigilantes, called "volcano committees," began raiding stores and shops searching for businessmen who violated official price ceilings. After seizing property and cash, the vigilantes imprisoned thousands of guilty shopkeepers.

[P.L. 104-172](#) (H.R. 3107), signed into law on August 5, 1996, applies selected economic sanctions against countries trading in oil equipment or investing more than \$40 million in the oil industries of Iran or Libya. Some critics of [P.L. 104-172](#) pointed out that the United States position was not consistent with U.S. opposition to secondary boycotts applied against Israel.

*During a visit to Egypt on April 3, 1996, U.S. Secretary of Defense Perry implied that the United States would consider using military force to stop completion of a chemical weapons plant at Tarhunah, Libya. (See CRS Report 96-849, *Libya: Suspected Chemical Weapons Facility at Tarhunah*.)*

• BACKGROUND AND ANALYSIS

U.S. Relations

The United States did not oppose the 1969 government change in Libya because the Revolutionary Command Council was anti-Soviet and reformist. Even the RCC determination to hasten the scheduled British and U.S. departure from Libyan military bases and the RCC pressure on U.S. and other foreign oil companies to concede higher royalties and shared production ownership did not foul U.S.-Libyan relations. But, by 1973, when the United States withdrew its ambassador to protest Libya's support for revolutionary and terror groups, Libyan-U.S. relations had turned sour and have not recovered.

• Current U.S.-Libyan Issues

1988 Pan American Airlines Flight 103 Explosion. On December 21, 1988, a bomb exploded on Pan Am flight 103 en route from London to New York killing all 244 passengers and 15 crew on board and another 11 people in the town of Lockerbie, Scotland. Early suspicions, according to press accounts, fell on the Syrian-based Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command or the government of Iran; the latter was suspected of seeking revenge for the U.S. Navy shooting down an Iran Air flight over the Persian Gulf in July 1988. On November 14, 1991, the United States and Scotland indicted 2 Libyans described as **intelligence** officials for their roles in the bombing. The remains of Swiss timing devices furnished to Libya were the evidence behind the indictments (See Middle East Economic Digest, April 17, 1992).

- The two men are Abd al-Baset Ali al-Megrahi, and Al-Amin Khalifah Fhimah, both described as Libyan **intelligence** agents; al-Megrahi is from the same tribe as Libya's second-in-command, Abd al-Salam Jallud. France wants to try the two men and four other Libyans in absentia for the explosion of a French airliner, flight UTA 772, over Niger in 1989 that killed 171 people. Initially, Libya refused to surrender the two men to Scotland or the United States, but offered to release them to the Arab League or another international organization for trial in a neutral site, such as Egypt. On September 29, 1993, Libya offered to turn the two over to Scotland for trial if the two men agreed to surrender, but the men refused to surrender. Then in November 1993, Libyan officials offered to send the men to Switzerland for trial, but that offer was refused by the United States, the United Kingdom, and France. Fhimah and al-Megrahi professed their innocence on a Cairo radio talk show on December 17, 1996.
- The United Nations Security Council has passed 3 resolutions concerning the Pan Am 103 and UTA 772 bombings. Resolution 731 of January 21, 1992, called upon Libya to extradite the two accused bombers. Resolution 748 of March 31, 1992, imposed some sanctions on Libya, such as a ban on Libyan aircraft flights, until Libya turns the two suspects over to British or U.S. authorities for trial. Resolution 883 of November 11, 1993, bans sales of oil equipment to Libya, and places a limited freeze on Libyan foreign assets. The Libyans offered the two suspects a choice of going to Scotland for trial in September 1993, and offered to send the 2 men to Switzerland for trial in November 1993, but the Libyan offers were refused. The United States insists that the two Libyan **intelligence** agents indicted for the December 1988 Pan Am flight 103 bombing be turned over to British or American officials for trial as stipulated in the U.N. Resolutions. On February 17, 1994, Qadhafi said that the two men could be tried in a Muslim court in the United States or Great Britain.
- Skeptics doubt if the U.N. sanctions will force Libya to surrender the two men. First, Libya was able to move most of its foreign assets beyond the reach of the freeze called for in U.N. Resolution 883 during the 2 month-long debate over the Resolution. (The debate stretched out because Russia was hesitant to apply sanctions; Libya owes Russia about \$4 billion that would be more difficult to collect if tight sanctions were in place.) Second, the sanctions will not be effective without a ban on purchasing Libyan oil. The United States wanted an oil embargo, but European countries, particularly Italy and Germany, depend upon light Libyan crude for their refineries. And third, the ban on oil equipment sales may be difficult to enforce, as witnessed by similar sanctions against other countries.
- **Terrorism.** Libya continues to support several terrorist groups around the world. On December 12, 1993, Qadhafi said Libya did not support terrorism, but did support revolutionary struggle. The United States bans trade and travel with Libya because it harbors and fosters terrorism.
- **Mass Destruction Weapons.** It was reported that Libyan forces used chemical weapons against the Chadian forces during the 1986-1987 fighting. (See *Washington Post*, December 23, 1987, or *Christian Science Monitor*, January 5, 1988.) Supposedly, Libya acquired the chemical weapons from Iran. In March 1990, the United States and Germany accused Libya of building a chemical weapons center at Rabta, and in February 1993, the United States said Libya was building another chemical weapons plant at Tarhunah. The United States banned the export to Libya of any chemicals or equipment that could be used in the manufacture of weapons. The *New York Times* reported on February 25, 1996, that the underground Tarhunah plant and storage facility would be completed in 1997 or 1998. During his visit to Egypt on April 3, 1996, U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry implied that the United States would consider using military force to stop completion of the Tarhunah plant. (See CRS Report 96-849, *Libya: Suspected Chemical Weapons Facility at Tarhunah*.)

Beginning in the mid-1970s, Qadhafi stated that the Arabs needed a nuclear weapons capability to match Israel's. Libya, according to reports, tried to buy nuclear weapons from China in 1975 and from India in 1978, and tried to negotiate nuclear technology sharing arrangements with Pakistan in 1980, the Soviet Union in 1981, Argentina in 1983, Brazil in 1984, and Belgium in 1985. The Soviets built a small research reactor in Libya in 1981. (See Leonard Spector's *The Undeclared Bomb*, 1988.) Libya signed the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty in 1975.

- **Opposition to the Middle East Peace Process.** Libya opposed the U.S.- Russia co-chaired Madrid meeting and the subsequent Arab-Israeli negotiations, and opposes the PLO-Israel Declaration of Principles signed on September 13, 1993.
- **Congressional Action**

Congress applauded Administration actions against Libya and Qadhafi, such as placing Libya on the terrorism list in 1979, launching the air attack against Libya in 1986, or supporting U.N. Security Council Resolutions 731 and 748 in 1992 that applied economic sanctions against Libya until Libya extradites the Pan Am 103 suspects. P.L. 97-113, signed on December 29, 1981, condemns Libya for supporting international terrorism (Section 718). P.L. 99-83, signed on August 8, 1985, authorizes the President to prohibit imports from and exports to Libya (Section 504). P.L. 103-87, signed into law on September 30, 1993, listed Libya among the countries denied direct or indirect U.S. assistance or any International Organizations and Programs funds. And, Libya was added (Section 11) to H.R. 3107 (similar to S. 1228), which bans investments in the Libyan oil industry ([P.L. 104-172](#)).

- **Current U.S. Economic Sanctions Against Libya**

Beginning in 1973, the United States introduced a series of over 20 sanctions against Libya that ban a wide variety of economic activities. Among the banned practices are transferring conventional weapons or chemicals that could be used in weapons manufacturing; providing direct or indirect foreign aid or aid to international organizations that might benefit Libya; importing crude or refined Libyan oil and exporting U.S. oil production or refining equipment; engaging in trade, contracts, credits, loans, Export-Import Bank transactions, or third country transactions with Libya; and liquidating or transferring Libyan property in the United States. Some of the sanctions were modified over the years; for example, classes of U.S. aircraft were added to the banned export list after Libya used commercial planes to move troops to Uganda. Another modification permitted 5 U.S. oil companies to negotiate a standstill agreement for their Libyan assets and to arrange for third country subsidiaries to operate their Libyan holdings.

In addition, the United States led the United Nations effort to impose economic sanctions on Libya until Libya surrenders the two indicted **intelligence** agents charged with 1988 bombing of Pan Am flight 103 and wanted for trial in the 1989 French air explosion.

- **Past Incidents in U.S.-Libyan Relations**

1973 Libyan Territorial Water Claim. On October 11, 1973, Libya notified the U.S. State Department that the Gulf of Sidra was to be a closed bay and part of Libya's territorial waters. Under international practice the opening across a closed bay can be no more than 24 miles; the Gulf of Sidra opening claimed by Libya was over 300 miles across. Also, under international practice, Libya must have demonstrated continuous and open control over the bay that was recognized and accepted by other nations, conditions not met in the Libyan claim. The United States rejected the Libyan claim on February 11, 1974.

- **1979 U.S. Embassy Burned.** On December 2, 1979, a mob, apparently inspired by the Iranian seizure of the U.S. embassy in Teheran the month before, attacked and burned the U.S. embassy in Tripoli; no U.S. citizens were killed or injured. The press reported that Libyan authorities did nothing to stop the mob. The embassy was closed permanently in May 1980, after a series of Libyan assassinations of Libyan dissidents in Europe. The U.S. Ambassador to Libya had been withdrawn in 1973, and not replaced.
- **1980 Air Incident.** On September 16, 1980, a Libyan fighter aircraft fired at but missed a U.S. EC-135 reconnaissance plane over the Mediterranean. The United States took no retaliatory action.
- **1981 Libyan Diplomatic Mission in Washington.** On May 6, 1981, the United States ordered the Libyan diplomatic mission (called the Libyan People's Bureau rather than embassy) in Washington closed because it was suspected that Libyan diplomatic personnel were involved in a wide range of illegal (or at least undiplomatic) activities, including terrorism and intimidating Libyan dissidents in the United States.
- **1981 Air Battle.** On August 19, 1981, 2 Libyan SU-22 aircraft fired an "Atoll" air-to-air missile at 2 U.S. F-14 aircraft from the carrier Nimitz over the Gulf of Sidra. The Atoll missed but the F-14's did not; the U.S. Navy pilots shot down both Libyan aircraft. On October 15, 1981, the United States deployed 2 AWACS planes to Egypt to patrol the Egyptian-Libyan border area.
- **1981 Assassination Attempts.** Shortly after the August 1981 aircraft incident, the press reported that Libyan "hit squads" had entered the United States to assassinate President Ronald Reagan. On October 25, 1981, U.S. Ambassador to Italy Maxwell Rabb was withdrawn from his post after U.S. **intelligence** sources discovered a plot to kidnap or assassinate the Ambassador. In November, someone fired at U.S. Ambassador to France Christian Chapman. Secretary of State Alexander Haig told a congressional committee that he suspected it was Libyans that fired the shots. (An earlier suspected Libyan assassination plan reportedly targeted U.S. Ambassador to Egypt Hermann Eilts in 1977.) Also in November, it was suspected that Libya was responsible for explosives discovered in music speakers for a U.S. embassy sponsored dance in Khartoum, Sudan. On December 10, 1981, President Reagan banned U.S. travel to Libya and requested that all U.S. citizens leave Libya to avoid a hostage situation similar to Iran in 1979.
- **1983 Air Incident.** On February 1983, the United States despatched 4 AWACS planes to Egypt to watch the Libya-Sudan border and monitor Libyan flights toward Sudan. 2 U.S. Navy F-14 fighters intercepted 2 Libyan fighters over the Gulf of Sidra in June 1983, but neither side fired shots. In August, President Reagan deployed 2 AWACS planes and 8 F-15 interceptors to defend the AWACS to Sudan to monitor Libyan flights.
- **1985 Rome and Vienna Airport Attacks.** On December 27, 1985, 20 civilians, including 5 U.S. citizens, were killed by simultaneous terrorist attacks at the Rome and Vienna airports. U.S. officials asserted that Libya was involved in the attacks.
- **1986 Air and Sea Battle.** The U.S. Navy began a naval exercise on January 23, 1986, in the Mediterranean north of the Gulf of Sidra. (The United States followed accepted international procedures and notified all interested countries, including Libya, of the exercise.) During the week of February 11-15, 1986, Libyan and U.S. aircraft had more than a dozen encounters, although neither side fired shots. On March 24, 1986, Libya fired 6 SA-5 high altitude, long range, slow speed, surface-to-air missiles and 2 SA-2 low altitude, short range, high speed surface-to-air missiles at U.S. aircraft; all missed their targets. A-7 aircraft from U.S. carriers knocked out the SA-5 installations, and repeated the attack 4 hours later after the installation resumed activity. Also, A-6 carrier based aircraft attacked and sank or damaged 4 small Libyan attack boats that approached the U.S. ships.
- **1986 Attack on Libya.** A terrorist bomb killed 3 people (2 of whom were U.S. Army personnel) and wounded 200 (60 of whom were U.S. citizens) in a Berlin nightclub on April 5, 1986. At his April 9 press conference, President Reagan said there was "considerable evidence" that Libya was responsible for the explosion. On April 15, some 100 U.S. aircraft -- including U.S.A.F. F-111's from the United Kingdom, carrier based A-6, A-7, F/A-18, and F-14 aircraft, communications, reconnaissance, and electronic warfare aircraft, and refueling tankers -- attacked 2 military

complexes, 2 air bases, and a port in Libya. Libyan sources said 70 people were killed in the attack, including Qadhafi's infant daughter. Two U.S.A.F. officers were killed when their F111 was shot down. Later on April 15, Libyan patrol boats fired 2 missiles at a U.S. Navy communications station on the Italian island of Lamedusa, but the missiles fell short and the station suffered no damage. In a message to the nation following the 15 April raid, President Reagan cited, as the justification for the U.S. air raid on Libya, intercepted radio messages between Libya and the Libyan embassy in east Berlin discussing the April 5 Berlin nightclub bombing.

- **1989 Air Incident.** Two U.S. Navy F-14 fighters from the carrier *John F. Kennedy* shot down two Libyan MiG-23 aircraft some 70 miles north of the Libyan coast after the Libyan aircraft displayed what the Department of Defense described as "hostile intent" on January 4, 1989. Libya claimed its two aircraft were on routine patrol and were attacked by the United States. The U.S. claimed the two Libyans continued pursuing the U.S. aircraft despite taking five separate evasive actions.

• **Other Libyan Foreign Relations**

Following Egyptian President Jamal Abd al-Nasir's death in 1970, Qadhafi saw himself as Nasir's successor, and as the implementor of Nasir's ideas of Arab socialism, Arab unity, and leader of the Arab, African, and Islamic world circles. Qadhafi believed he would set the example for his Arab, African, and Islamic neighbors with the popular revolution, Green Book, and people's economic committees. Qadhafi pursued several Arab unification schemes, proposing at various times the merger of Libya with Egypt, Tunisia, Sudan, Algeria, Chad, Malta, Morocco, Syria, and other states. To support Arab unity, Qadhafi championed the Palestinian cause against Israel, which led to Libyan support for Palestinian radicals who rejected compromise or a negotiated settlement with Israel. In addition, Qadhafi believed he could foster the world changes he and Nasir envisioned by supporting other anti-colonial, revolutionary, and terrorist groups, providing funding, technical and weapons support, and bases for such groups as the Muslim guerrillas in the Philippines, the M-19 terrorists of Colombia, the Irish Republican Army, and Abu Nidal's Palestinian terrorists. He became involved in the Chad civil war, in Zairian politics, in Idi Amin's Ugandan episode, in the Lebanese conflict, and he supported Iran in its war with Iraq.

- At first, Qadhafi and the RCC rejected the Soviet Union as the leader of the Eastern bloc and the United States as leader of the Western bloc because, in Qadhafi's eyes, they were colonial powers. Libya followed Nasir's lead, to turn away from the Western and Eastern blocs, and rely upon the non-aligned movement. But, in the mid-1970's, Libya turned to the Soviet Union for weapons denied by the West, and because the Soviets were more supportive of the Arab cause against Israel.
- Qadhafi accepted the Palestinian position that Israel was a European-American colony implanted in the Arab Middle East. The United States became Qadhafi's enemy because it protected Israel. Libya rejected the 1978 Camp David agreements and the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli treaty, rejected the 1991 Madrid peace conference and the ensuing bilateral and multilateral talks, and rejected the September 13, 1993 PLO-Israel Declaration of Principles. Libya has promoted Palestinian groups that oppose a negotiated settlement with Israel, and, most recently, has championed the formation of an anti-PLO alliance to stop the PLO-Israel peace talks.

• **Union of the Arab Maghrib**

Libya took part in the June 1988 meeting with Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, and Mauritania to found the Union of the Arab Maghrib (formally founded in February 1989). Thus far, the Union has discussed free trade, economic cooperation, and investment. One target of the Maghrib countries was improved trade relations with the European Community. At present, Libya does not receive the same benefits from the EC as the other Union members because the EC adheres to the U.N. sanctions against Libya.

• **Algeria**

Algeria mediated the 1989 peace agreement between Chad and Libya. And, Algeria and Libya found themselves on the same side supporting the Polisario against Morocco in the dispute over sovereignty in the Western Sahara. Libya proposed a merger of Libya and Algeria in June 1986, and submitted a more formal proposal in June 1987, but all that came of the suggested union were a series of industrial development agreements beginning in March 1988.

• **Chad**

In late 1980, several thousand Libyan troops intervened on the government side in the Chad civil war. In November 1981, the Chad government requested the withdrawal of the 7,000 to 10,000 Libyan troops, to be replaced by peacekeeping forces from the Organization of African Unity. Libyan forces withdrew except for the Aouzou strip, the uranium and mineral-rich territory along the Chad-Libya boundary seized by Libya in 1973. In June 1982, the pro-Libyan Chad Government fell to a French supported rival faction, and many of the government officials and forces sought sanctuary in Libya or Libyan-protected territory in northern Chad. Following more fighting in 1983, Libya and France agreed to withdraw their troops from Chad and allow the Chadians to resume control over their own affairs. French forces withdrew in 1984 but Libyan forces did not, retaining control over the northern 40% of the country and adding to Libya's untrustworthy reputation. In 1986, the former President of Chad announced from his Libyan exile that he was willing to negotiate with the new government, a move that split the Libyan-based rebels (the former government) and led to the house arrest of the former President.

- In the ensuing fighting, the new Chad Government and its rebel faction, supported by France and the United States, fought against Libya and its rebel faction, supported by the Soviet Union. In August 1989 Chad and Libya signed an Algerian-brokered peace accord, although the Libyan incursions into Chad continued through 1990. In August 1990, Chad announced that the two sides had agreed to submit the Aouzou strip controversy to the International Court of Justice. In December 1990, the Chad government was overthrown by rebels friendly to Libya. In early 1994, the IJC decided in favor of Chad, and the two countries agreed that Libya would begin withdrawing in May 1994. Under the eyes of a 15-member U.N. Aouzou Strip Observer Group, the Libyans began withdrawing on May 4 and completed the withdrawal on May 30, 1994. UNASOG withdrew the next day.

- The December 1990 coup freed some 2,000 Libyan prisoners of war, but left another 700 Libyans in Chad who reportedly had been training under the auspices of the U.S. Central **Intelligence** Agency. According to press reports, one-half of the Libyans decided to return to Libya, and the other 350 traveled to Zaire and Kenya before entering the United States where they allegedly continued their military training. (See, for example, John Goshko, U.S. Accepts 350 Former Libyan Soldiers. *Washington Post*, May 18, 1991: A18.) Unconfirmed press reports suggested that some of the CIA-trained Libyans were involved in the March 1996 fighting.

- **Egypt**

Three months after the 1969 coup, the RCC proposed a merger of Egypt, Sudan, and Libya, and later added Syria. Despite the 1970 death of Qadhafi's hero, Egyptian President Nasir, the Libyan leader pursued the merger. Egypt, Syria, and Libya -- Sudan had dropped out -- voted in September 1971 to approve the constitution of the Federation of Arab Republics. The Federation existed, at least on paper, until Egypt withdrew in October 1984 after suspecting that Libya was responsible for planting mines in the Gulf of Suez and the Red Sea. Qadhafi proposed a separate union of Egypt and Libya in 1973, but the merger fell apart after one month when Qadhafi criticized Egypt's conduct in the October 1973 war. Qadhafi did not approve of the Egyptian-Israeli 1975 and 1976 cease-fire agreements, and the increasing bad relations led to border clashes in 1977. Later that same year, Libya denounced Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat's November trip to Jerusalem and the ensuing Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty in 1979. Poor Egyptian-Libyan relations and improving U.S.- Egyptian relations led to conjecture at the time that Egypt would act as the U.S. surrogate to attack and occupy Libya to end Qadhafi's support for terrorists and his meddling in other nations' affairs, but such conjecture was denied by Egypt and the United States. Egyptian-Libyan relations remained poor until a May 1989 reconciliation between Qadhafi and Egyptian President Mubarak reopened their border and re-established normal relations. In April 1995, Egypt offered to fly Libyan pilgrims to Saudi Arabia after the U.N. rejected Libya's request for direct flights. Egyptian President Mubarak meets periodically with Qadhafi to discuss regional affairs.

- **Israel**

Since the 1969 coup, Libya has been a leader of the Arab world anti-Israeli forces, and a strong advocate of the Palestinian cause. Libya has supported Palestinian armed opposition to Israel and has opposed negotiated or mediated settlement. Qadhafi provided bases, arms, training, and financial support for the more radical of the anti-Israeli Palestinian groups, such as Abu Nidal.

On May 30, 1993, 192 Libyan religious pilgrims, denied air flights to Saudi Arabia for the Haj because of the U.N. air embargo, set off across Egypt in buses bound for al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock mosques in Jerusalem. They were welcomed at Rafah on the Egyptian-Gaza boundary by the Israeli Minister of Tourism on May 31, 1993, prayed at the two Muslim shrines in Jerusalem. A planned tour of Jericho, Bethlehem, Hebron and other religious and historical sites was cut short after a Libyan statement that Jerusalem should be the capital of a Palestinian state infuriated Israelis. The Libyans left Israel on June 2, leaving in their wake rumors that Libya and Israel would establish diplomatic relations and that Qadhafi would visit Israel. The visit left the Arab world confused over Qadhafi's reasoning.

- **Malta**

Libya offered economic support to Malta during the 1972 U.K.-Malta negotiations over British bases on the island, and the two signed an economic cooperation agreement in 1984. Libya-Malta relations remain cordial despite a rejected Libyan offer of union and a dispute over territorial waters finally resolved in Libya's favor in 1985 by the International Court of Justice.

- **Morocco**

Morocco and Libya broke diplomatic relations after King Hassan suspected that Qadhafi supported the July 1971 coup attempt against the throne. The two nations restored relations, but Libyan recognition of the Polisario claim to sovereignty over Western Sahara led to a new break with Morocco in April 1980. The August 1984 Treaty of Union between Morocco and Libya surprised everyone because it joined the moderate and steadfast King Hassan of Morocco with the radical and mercurial Qadhafi. The union began falling apart when Libya signed a 1985 alliance with Iran, and ended in August 1986, when King Hassan abrogated the treaty after Qadhafi criticized the King for meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Peres. Qadhafi has criticized Morocco for establishing diplomatic relations with Israel in 1995.

- **Sudan**

In July 1971, after a coup-in-progress briefly removed Sudanese President Numayri from office, Libyan leader Qadhafi forced down a BOAC airliner carrying the new President-designate back to Khartoum, and turned the would-be ruler over to Numayri's troops for execution. Numayri was restored to the Presidency, and Libya and Sudan enjoyed good relations for one year before Sudan accused Libya of involvement in a series of coup attempts and broke relations. Libya considered joining Ethiopia in an alliance against Egypt and Sudan after Sudan supported the 1978 Camp David agreements. Sudan hosted anti-Qadhafi radio transmitters and Libya provided funds and supplies for anti-Numayri rebels. Following Numayri's ouster in 1985, the new government mended fences with Libya and allowed Libyan forces to operate from Sudan in supporting the Chad rebels. After the 1989 change in Sudan's government, the two countries considered a merger and formed a joint General Peoples' Congress in 1990. But recently, Libyan-Sudanese relations have become strained over Sudan's support for militant Islamic reformers.

- **Tunisia**

Relations between Libya and Tunisia improved gradually after initial Tunisian hesitation to accept the 1969 coup. In 1970, Qadhafi proposed a merger of the two countries, but Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba rejected the proposal. Tunisia and Libya announced a merger in January 1974, but the referendum approving the union was delayed and never held. Qadhafi denied Tunisian Government accusations that he was behind the Tunisian rebel raid on Gafsa in January 1980. One month later, in February 1980, a mob burned the French embassy in Libya, apparently in response to the French offer to aid Tunisia against a Libyan-sponsored rebellion. By 1982, the two countries were on good terms again and signed a cooperation agreement. The amicable relations lasted only 2 years, when in 1984 Qadhafi accused Tunisia, Sudan, and the United Kingdom of supporting a rebel attack against his military barracks. In August 1985, Tunisia broke diplomatic relations and expelled 280 Libyans accused of spying, and Libya retaliated by expelling some 30,000 Tunisian workers from Libya. Tunisia and Libya restored diplomatic relations in December 1987, and participated in the June 1988 meetings that led to the Maghrib union. Libya has been critical of Tunisian diplomatic overtures toward Israel since the 1993 Palestinian-Israeli agreement.

- **United Kingdom**

In December 1971, Libya nationalized British Petroleum Company's Libyan operations because the United Kingdom did not stop Iran from seizing the Tunbs islands in the Persian Gulf that were claimed and occupied by the United Arab Emirates. Libya stated that the United Kingdom should have used military force to expel the Iranian invaders. Also in 1971, Libya supported Malta in its negotiations with the United Kingdom over the future of British bases on the Mediterranean island. In March 1984, Libyan agents tried to blow up dissident Libyans in Manchester, U.K. British police on the trail of the bombers surrounded the Libyan embassy in London, and on April 17, 1984, shots fired from inside the embassy killed one British police woman and wounded 11 other people. After more negotiations, Libya withdrew from the embassy on April 27. The United Kingdom joined the United States in supporting U.N. Resolutions 731 and 748 applying economic sanctions against Libya until Libya extradites the suspects in the Pan Am 103 bombing. Eleven British subjects died in the Pan Am 103 crash. In June 1996, Libya offered to reestablish the diplomatic relations broken in 1984.

- **Historical Background**

Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Vandals, and Byzantines, conquered and colonized Libya and its indigenous Berber peoples before the Arab invasions of 643 A.D. transmitted the cultural and religious foundation to Libya that survives to the present. Various Arab dynasties ruled Libya from Damascus, Baghdad, Qayrawan (Tunisia) and Cairo, until the arrival of the Ottoman Turks in 1517. The Ottoman seaport colony at Tripoli sheltered the pirate kingdoms that harassed Mediterranean trade in the 16th through early 19th centuries. During the Arab and Ottoman periods, local rulers, such as the Karamanlis in the 17th and 18th centuries, often controlled parts of Libya while remaining under ostensible Arab or Ottoman regency. In 1843, a new Libyan era began when Muhammad ibn Ali al-Sanusi established the first of his eventual 150 "lodges" espousing an austere Islamic revival movement that featured a return to the simple and orthodox Islam of the Prophet, and rejected Islam based on emotional experiences as practiced by the Sufis. The Sanusi puritans converted the inland tribes and soon controlled most of Libya.

- In 1911, Italy invaded and occupied Libya during a conflict with the Ottoman Turks and their Sanusi allies, and in 1912, annexed Libya after the Ottomans declared the territory independent. The Sanusis continued the war against the Italian invaders, which placed them on the side of the Central Powers and against the Allies in World War I. When the Sanusi leader Ahmad fled to Turkey after losing a battle against Italian and British forces, his nephew Idris assumed command of the Sanusis and signed a truce with Britain in 1917. A 1920 Italian-Sanusi agreement recognized Idris as the Amir of the Libyan interior, and an autonomous subject of the Italians along the Mediterranean coast. Despite the arrangement, armed Sanusi resistance to Italian rule continued until 1931, when the Italians executed Umar al-Mukhtar, a guerrilla leader and ally of Idris. In 1940, Libyans from the interior declared their support for the Allies when Italy entered World War II on the German side. After the war, the Allies could not agree on Libya's fate, eventually agreeing in 1949 to a United Nations General Assembly Resolution calling for Libya's independence in January 1952.
- In 1954, Libya agreed to accept U.S. economic assistance in exchange for U.S. rights through 1970 for an air base (Wheeler) near Tripoli. The United Kingdom made similar arrangements for access to Tubruk, and other military facilities in Libya. Ten years later, after the discovery of oil and the end of Libya's need for U.S. and British aid, King Idris requested that the United States and the United Kingdom surrender all military bases, and the British began moving from some of their facilities in 1966. After the 1969 coup, both Britain and the United States agreed to leave Libya in 1970.
- On September 1, 1969, some 70 Libyan army officers and enlisted men seized control of the government, abolished the monarchy, and declared Libya a republic. A 13-man Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) appointed a mixed civilian-military cabinet of technocrats to administer the country under the collegial guidance of the RCC.

- **Government**

The 1951 constitution established a federal system of government with the central authority vested in King Idris I, a Prime Minister and a Council of Ministers, and a bicameral legislature composed of an elected 103 member Chamber of Deputies and a one-half appointed, one-half elected 24 member Senate. The first election was held in February 1952, one month after independence. In 1963, King Idris replaced the Federal system of government with a unitary monarchy that gathered more power to the throne and diminished the authority of the states. The 3 states of the federal system, Fezzan, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaica, were replaced by 10 governorates. One of the first acts of the Revolutionary Command Council after the September 1, 1969 coup was to abolish the monarchy and proclaim a republic.

- In December 1969, the RCC issued a constitutional proclamation that replaced the constitution and confirmed the RCC as the supreme legislative and executive authority in Libya. In 1973, Col. Muammar al-Qadhafi, leader of the RCC, proclaimed a "Popular Revolution" that was intended to involve the people in government through "Peoples' Committees" to take over government agencies and run the country. Peoples' committees were created in geographical areas, such as urban neighborhoods, rural villages, and rural zones beyond the villages, and in institutions, such as broadcasting, hospitals, companies, factories, schools, or universities. Zone, urban area, and village peoples's committees elected municipal and regional peoples' committees, which in turn elected provincial

or governorate peoples' committees. By mid-1973, there were 2,000 peoples' committees in Libya. In 1976, al-Qadhafi issued the first volume of the three volume "Green Book" that outlined his vision of the government and economic system for Libya.

On March 2, 1977, Qadhafi officially changed the country's name to the Great Socialist Peoples' Libyan Arab Jamahiriya -- Qadhafi coined the word Jamahiriya to mean "state of the masses" or "peoples' authority." On February 18, 1994, Qadhafi announced that Sharia (Islamic) law would be implemented in Libya, but it is not known how the change from secular to religious law will affect the country.

- **Political Dynamics**

The Revolutionary Command Council ruled Libya as dictators for the first 4 years after the 1969 coup. Much of the tribal and confederation politics present under the monarchy carried over to the new regime. Qadhafi's creation of the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) in 1971, the "Cultural Revolution" and the creation of the people's committees in 1973, his surrendering of all his titles to become the revolutionary leader and guide in 1974, and the appearance of the "Green Book" in 1976, provided the structure for the popular democracy that Qadhafi expected to rule Libya, and, eventually, the Arab world. Qadhafi asserted that the ASU, copied from its Egyptian parent, would reflect Egyptian President Nasir's Arab socialism and Arab unity, which would merge with Qadhafi's linking of populism, Islam, socialism, and Arab nationalism, to produce perfect social justice in Libya. Qadhafi maintained there was no need for legal protection of freedom of speech because the people would exercise complete freedom of speech in their ASU and Peoples' Committee debates on the issues; everything would be discussed openly in the Peoples' Committees, leaving nothing unsaid that would require another forum with guaranteed freedom of expression.

- But, Qadhafi was disappointed that the Libyan people did not seize these opportunities to govern themselves, and did not demonstrate a proper enthusiasm for the new structure. Also, the other RCC leaders, among them Abd al-Salam Jallud, who assumed many of Qadhafi's titles, and Abu Bakr Yunis Jabir, Mustafa Karrubi, and al-Kuwaylidi al-Humaydi Qadhafi, the 3 who controlled the military, continued to operate as they had in 1969, as RCC dictators, often disagreeing among themselves and resorting to the tribal politics of old. Despite the popular democracy structure and the multilayered Peoples' Committees, Libya is governed by the members of the RCC (although the RCC was dissolved officially in 1979).

- **Opposition Groups**

The leading opposition group appears to be the Libyan National Salvation Front, founded in 1981 and led by Muhammad al-Muqaryif, and its military wing, the Libyan National Army, led by former Libyan army colonel Abd al-Ghassim Khafilifa Haftar. Col. Haftar was captured in March 1987 during the Chad fighting and renounced by Qadhafi, which prompted Haftar to join the LNSF opposition and begin preparing an army to march on Libya. LNSF is in exile with many of its members in the United States; according to some sources, the United States provides money and training for the LNSF. (See *al-Shira* of Beirut, August 16, 1993, reprinted in FBIS, August 23, 1993, and *The Middle East*, June 1992).

- Some sources attribute the anti-government uprising in March 1996, to Haftar's forces. Another group, the Libyan Opposition Coordinating Committee, (also known as the Libyan National Salvation Committee or the National Alliance) is led by former Libyan army Col. and RCC member Abd al-Munim al-Huni, reportedly living in Cairo since he led a 1975 coup attempt, along with Maj. Umar al-Muhayshi (later executed, according to reports). In 1988, it was reported that the National Alliance fragmented over whether or not to approach RCC members to overthrow Qadhafi. A third group, the Libyan Constitutional Union, apparently broke up after the death of former crown prince Hassan Ridha al-Sanusi in April 1992.

The remains of the Libyan branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, a fourth opposition group, is headquartered in London because most of its members are in jail in Libya. According to press accounts, Qadhafi has locked up about 1,000 Islamic activists who he views as misguided (*The Middle East*, May 1992). Qadhafi and the RCC launched the 1969 coup in part to restore Libya to a correct Islamic path and have demonstrated little patience with other Muslim revivalists who challenge the RCC's Islamic credentials.

- **Muammar al-Qadhafi, A Profile**

Muammar al-Qadhafi was born into a humble Arabized Berber nomadic tribe, educated at Muslim schools as a boy, graduated from the Benghazi military academy, studied at Britain's Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst, and led the September 1969 RCC overthrow of the Libyan monarchy as a 27-year-old army captain. Qadhafi remains the most visible member of the RCC and the one most often identified with the regime. He usually is described as Libya's dictator, despite the egalitarian and collegial nature of the RCC and Qadhafi's shared leadership responsibilities. Many of his actions are paradoxical to Westerners: on one hand he introduced participatory democracy in Libya, provided for a more equitable distribution of Libya's wealth, espoused family and religious values, has maintained high personal moral standards as a model for Libya, and advocated Arab world unity; but on the other hand, he intervened in the internal affairs of Sudan, Egypt, Chad, Zaire, Tunisia, and other countries, supported terrorist and revolutionary groups, dispatched assassination teams to kill Libyan dissidents, and with his RCC colleagues ran Libya as a private fiefdom despite the democratic facade. At times, he is flamboyant and gregarious, and at other times reclusive and retiring. He promoted himself from Captain to Colonel but shunned the title of President. Rumors circulate periodically that he suffers from and is treated for manic depression, schizophrenia, or narcotics addiction.

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Economics

Qadhafi wanted Libya to become a socialist state with all state-owned, state-run businesses and industries operated through People's Economic Committees. A good example of Qadhafi's new economic plan were the state-owned supermarkets that were to replace individually owned small shops. But the supermarkets suffered from

stock shortages, poor selection, bad organization, and bad management, and by the late 1980's, were being replaced by small, individually owned free enterprise shops. Qadhafi and the RCC envisioned a Libyan economy operated by Libyans, but Libya continues to depend upon foreign workers for many menial jobs eschewed by Libyans and for high tech positions where there is a dearth of trained and experienced Libyans.

• Oil

Commercial oil was discovered in Libya in 1957. In 1970, Libya was 6th in world oil production (behind the United States, the Soviet Union, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela). Libya opened two-year negotiations with its 20 foreign operating companies in January 1970, to negotiate an increase in the posted price upon which its oil revenues were calculated. Previously, oil companies set posted prices, so the Libyan move to negotiate the price, and other concessions won by Libya, such as freight, gravity, and sulfur differentials or training and investment set-asides, established new standards for the industry.

- The Libyan change coincided with other early 1970s oil industry changes: Indonesia, Venezuela, and Algeria had acquired a share of oil production from their operating companies, and Saudi Arabia was about to embark on a similar course; oil consumers began diversifying their supply to avoid being totally dependent upon one, perhaps unstable, supplier; oil transportation patterns changed after the 1967 war because the Suez Canal and eastern Mediterranean oil pipeline terminals were closed and oil tanker prices rose; the major oil companies were losing their dominance over the international market to independent and government-owned companies; and oil producing states wanted a share of oil refining and marketing, and training for indigenous oil workers and technicians. The 1970-1971 Libyan negotiating victories also placed Libya in the continuing role as a price leader -- some would say "price hawk" -- among other oil producing and exporting nations.
- In 1992, Libya ranked 13th in oil production. Oil revenue represents one-third of Libya's GDP (\$29 billion in 1990), provides 99% of Libya's export earnings (\$11 billion in 1990), but employs only 10% of Libya's workforce. 95% of Libya's oil is exported to Europe. Libyan oil is "sweet"; that is, high specific gravity and low sulphur (high specific gravity oil refines into larger quantities of high-in-demand light fuels -- gasoline, kerosene, naphtha, etc. -- and low amounts of sulphur and other minerals means less refining to remove the impurities). European nations with their refineries built to process Libyan sweet crude will not be enthusiastic about joining a boycott of Libyan oil.

• Agriculture

Agriculture employs 20% of the 1 million person workforce, but produces only 5% of the GDP. Libya imports 75% of its food. 95% of Libya is desert, with only 5% of the land fit for cultivation. Of the total land, only 1% currently is arable, but it is the goal of the government to expand cultivation through irrigation; at present only 10% of the cultivated land is irrigated. Libya's primary crops are wheat, barley, olives, dates, citrus fruits, and peanuts.

• Water

To ease the chronic water shortage, Qadhafi launched the Great Man-Made River Project in November 1983. When the 5-stage project is completed in 25 years, the \$25 billion scheme will carry 6 million cubic meters of water from 270 deep wells in the Sahara through a 4,040 kilometer long, 13 feet diameter, pipeline system to some 37,000 model farms along the Mediterranean coast. The first stage, inaugurated in August 1991, was intended to irrigate some 280,000 hectares (700,000 acres). Critics suggest that the project is too expensive for the very limited expected return, may waste ground water assets that could be used more efficiently, and may produce environmental problems. Others claim the project will be economical and efficient.

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Military

Within a couple of years after the 1969 coup, the RCC more than tripled the size of the army from 6,000 up to 22,000 and began shopping in the Soviet Union for modern weapons. It became apparent by the mid-1970s that Libya's still-growing army could not use all the equipment purchased from the Soviet Union, and it was feared that Libya was becoming an arms depot for a Soviet military excursion into Africa or the Middle East. Libya began conscription in 1978, perhaps in part to provide numbers of troops adequate to man the over abundance of Soviet equipment.

- The Libyan military fought the Egyptians in a series of 1977 border clashes, and buttressed Idi Amin in Uganda in 1972 and 1978, but without distinction in either case. Libyan troops were credited with providing the advantage to the Government forces that held the capital of Chad in 1980-1981, but were less successful during the 1983 and 1986 clashes. In 1986, many Libyans were killed by their own mine fields while fleeing the French supported Chad forces, and the Libyans were compelled to bomb their own abandoned tanks and equipment rather than see them fall to the Chad forces.
- There have been numerous reports over the years of military coups attempts or military plots against the RCC and Qadhafi. The most recent occurred in late March 1996, when disgruntled military personnel and escaped prisoners clashed with loyal armed forces in the eastern provinces.
- It was reported during the 1986 fighting in Chad that Libya used chemical weapons. Also, it has been reported that Libya sought access to nuclear weapons technology and tried to buy nuclear weapons from China and India. Qadhafi told Arab leaders in the mid 1980's that the Arabs should have a nuclear weapons to match Israel's.

Into the unknown

<http://www.ottawacitizen.com/news/Into+unknown/6173271/story.html>

• Into the unknown

By David Pugliese, Ottawa Citizen February 18, 2012

- - Story
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On October, Foreign Minister John Baird toured the former fortified compound of Moammar Gadhafi in Tripoli, the first visit by a foreign minister to the compound since it was seized by Libya's rebel forces.

Photograph by: Sean Kilpatrick, Reuters , Ottawa Citizen

- When the Libyan people rose up against Moammar Gadhafi one year ago this week, his regime's retaliation was immediate, and brutal. The world reacted almost as swiftly. Western leaders lined up to condemn the colonel they had once wooed and backed the rebels with warm words of support and relentless airstrikes. In Part 1 of a three-part series, David Pugliese looks at why we went to war - and what was missed in the rush to act.
- Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird beamed with pride last summer as he signed a Canadian bomb that would soon be dropped on Libya. "Free Libya. Democracy," he wrote on the weapon.

Baird was on a trip to visit Canadian aircrews in Italy as well as the leaders of Libya's rebel forces, his first major international visit in the Foreign Affairs portfolio. He returned to Ottawa full of praise for both.

Canada, he pointed out, was at the forefront of the NATO mission in Libya. As for the rebel leaders, the minister said, they were just ordinary people - doctors, engineers and parents - trying to overthrow Libyan strongman Moammar Gadhafi.

In Gadhafi's place would come democracy, the rebels had assured Baird. "I can honestly say their courage and their resolve are remarkable," he wrote in the Citizen in July.

- Defence and political analysts, media commentators and newspaper editorialists have portrayed Canada's military intervention in Libya as a great victory. Canadian Lt.-Gen. Charles Bouchard, who led the NATO mission, has been hailed as a hero.

But almost a year after Canada went to war to bring what it called freedom and democracy to Libya, the African nation is in a state of turmoil.

- The National Transitional Council that Baird praised at the true representative of the Libyan people is ignored in many areas of the country. Gun battles have broken out as rebel fighters carve out pieces of land for their own tribes or organizations.
- The rebels, who would not have come to power if it weren't for NATO's bombing, and who once complained about the brutality of Gadhafi's regime, are now themselves brutalizing others.
- Prisoners - more than 8,000 men, women and children were thrown behind bars by the victorious forces - are being tortured and killed.

Last month Médecins Sans Frontières pulled its staff out of prisons in Misrata after they were told to provide medical aid to prisoners so they could be tortured again. This week, Amnesty International reported it had documented the torturekillings of at least 12 detainees held by rebel militias.

Human rights agencies have gathered evidence about the ethnic cleansing by anti-Gadhafi forces of towns populated by black Libyans and African workers.

- Months after the fighting stopped, new questions are being raised about Libya's future. It is becoming evident that the coming years will test Baird's earlier boast about the rebels: "The one thing we can say categorically is that they couldn't be any worse than Col. Gadhafi."
- From the day Gadhafi seized power in a 1969 coup, he was a thorn in the side of western nations.

He forced petroleum companies to pay higher royalties on Libyan oil, bringing billions more into the country's coffers. And while Gadhafi and his supporters ensured they had more than their share of that wealth, living a lavish lifestyle, the colonel also used the oil revenue to significantly improve Libyans' lives.

When he seized power, life expectancy was 51 years. Under his regime it increased to 74. Literacy grew to 95 per cent for men, 78 per cent for women, and the per capita income increased to \$16,300.

- But like many Arab and African leaders, Gadhafi ruled the country of six million with an iron fist. His secret police arrested and tortured dissidents. In the 1970s and '80s his regime conducted show trials and televised executions. His forces brutally put down an uprising at a Tripoli prison in 1996, killing 1,200 political prisoners.

Gadhafi promoted anti-U.S. views, funding a variety of terrorist organizations, from the IRA to guerillas in Colombia. His agents were behind the bombing of a German disco that killed and injured U.S. military personnel and his regime was responsible for the Lockerbie bombing, which killed 270 people. U.S. president Ronald Reagan labelled him a "mad

dog."

- But some in Africa had a different view of Gadhafi. He was seen as a leader who stood up to the western colonial powers, demanding they compensate the continent's nations for the raw resources they had extracted over the decades.
- Gadhafi provided hundreds of millions of dollars in aid for countries in the region and campaigned against apartheid in South Africa. He promoted the idea of a United States of Africa, a proposal that would eventually lead to the creation of the African Union.
- Gadhafi had a reputation for eccentric behaviour, but he was a keen tactician who had honed his survival skills over the decades. In the 1990s, he began a campaign to re-establish relations with the U.S. and the West, eventually offering up compensation to families of victims of the Lockerbie bombing and agreeing to dismantle his chemical and nuclear weapons programs.

Western nations welcomed Gadhafi back with few questions asked. They offered to sell him weapons and courted his officials. It didn't hurt that Gadhafi's Libyan Investment Authority had an estimated \$70 billion to spend.

Prince Andrew dined with Gadhafi in November 2008, promoting Britain's oil interests. The British military sent members of its elite Special Air Service to provide training for the dictator's commandos, part of the growing relationship between the two nations.

In April 2009, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton warmly greeted one of the colonel's sons during high-level talks in Washington. "We deeply value the relationship between the United States and Libya," she said.

Less than three months later, Gadhafi himself was shaking hands with U.S. President Barack Obama during a G8 summit in Italy.

- Canada also moved to get in on the action. But it already had a head start since Canadian companies had a long history of involvement in Libya, even when Gadhafi was considered an international pariah. Although former diplomats would try to downplay the extent of the relationship once the war against Libya began, an estimated 70 Canadian firms were active in the country, mainly in gas and oil production.

In the late 1980s, Canadian firms, with the backing of the Conservative government, pursued Libyan contracts. In 1989, Calgary-based Husky Oil and its partners spent nearly \$100 million, entering into exploration and production-sharing agreements.

In December 2004, then Liberal prime minister Paul Martin headed a delegation to visit Gadhafi and improve trade.

- By early 2011, Suncor Energy of Calgary had almost \$1 billion in assets tied up in Libya and the Quebec engineering firm SNC Lavalin had won contracts valued at more than \$800 million. SNC, with 2,000 employees in the country, was building a massive pipeline that Gadhafi envisioned would bring water in the south across the desert to cities in the north. It had also been awarded a contract to build a new airport in Benghazi and a \$275-million prison in Tripoli.

Stephen Harper's Conservative government also forged links with the Libyan strongman. The government asked for - and received - the Libyan leader's help in freeing kidnapped Canadian diplomats Robert Fowler and Louis Guay, who had been kidnapped by al-Qaeda's affiliate in northwest Africa in 2008. During a trip to Libya the next year, then-foreign affairs minister Lawrence Cannon thanked the Gadhafi regime for using its extensive intelligence network and connections on the abduction case.

- Cannon had originally intended to give Gadhafi a dressing down over his decision to give a hero's welcome to the Libyan convicted in Lockerbie bombing, but that tough stance quickly evaporated after Libya threatened to shut down oil production by Canadian firms. Instead, Cannon flew to Tripoli to make amends and to remind Gadhafi that Canada was one of his supporters. The Conservatives had stood behind his bid to join the World Trade Organization as well as to get a seat on the International Atomic Energy Agency. In turn, Gadhafi had supported Canada's bid for a UN Security Council seat.
- Equally important for the West was the fact Gadhafi had become a valuable ally in the war on terror.

Canadian Defence Department reports from 2002, 2003, and 2006 obtained by the Citizen outline the extent Gadhafi supported U.S. efforts against al-Qaeda, noting he was the most vocal Arab leader in denouncing terrorism and supporting American retaliation against Islamic extremists.

In addition, Libya supplied intelligence to the U.S. on Islamic extremists as well as al-Qaeda affiliates operating in the Philippines, according to the reports.

As a thank you for Gadhafi's support, the CIA had arranged the 2004 capture in Asia of Abdel Hakim Belhadj, a Libyan terrorist alleged to have ties to al-Qaeda. Belhadj, who would later rise to play a key role in the 2011 rebellion against Gadhafi, was put on one of the CIA's "rendition flights" and turned over to Libya's security agency.

- Gadhafi had his own reasons for cooperating with western intelligence agencies, according to DND's reports. He faced a growing threat from the al-Qaeda-linked Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, or LIFG. Its members had fought in Afghanistan in the 1990s but then turned their attention to their native country. They launched attacks on Libyan security forces and tried twice to assassinate Gadhafi.

Islamists saw the Libyan leader as an infidel for not strictly adhering to the values of Islam. In turn, his regime perceived "radical Islam as its mortal enemy," one of the DND reports pointed out.

The Libyan leader responded to the LIFG threat with a brutal crackdown; his troops conducting attacks throughout the northeast of the country, known as a hotbed of Islamic extremism.

Gadhafi had also had other uprisings to deal with in the northeast; in 1980 he crushed a Libyan army mutiny in Tobruk and in 1993 he faced a similar uprising after soldiers based in Misrata rebelled because their particular tribe was not well represented within the leadership ranks.

Because of that, it came as no surprise to some intelligence analysts that last year's uprising against Gadhafi was centered in the region. Unemployment there was high, and corruption among Libyan officials was rampant.

- The so-called Arab Spring, where demonstrators in nations from Yemen to Egypt took to the streets to demand better living conditions and government, was about to come to Libya.

On Feb. 15, 2011, citizens in Benghazi organized what they called a Day of Anger march. The demonstration soon turned into a full-scale battle with police.

At first, security forces used tear gas and water cannons. But as several hundred protesters armed with rocks and Molotov cocktails attacked government buildings, the violence spiralled out of control. Demonstrators chanted, "No God but Allah, Moammar is the enemy of Allah."

Protests spread to several other towns and cities and security forces responded with gunfire, killing demonstrators.

Five days later, Gadhafi's son, Saif al-Islam, called for negotiations between the two sides, with Libyan authorities making a belated offer to improve living conditions. Saif warned that the country was on the verge of a civil war and without discussions between the two sides, "rivers of blood" would flow.

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Around the world, politicians warned Gadhafi not to respond with violence. But the colonel urged supporters to seek out and destroy those who opposed his regime, calling the rebels "rats" and "scum."

Human rights activists warned that Libyan security forces were about to commit genocide and unconfirmed reports would later claim that Gadhafi's air force was being used to strafe and bomb protesters.

- In Canada, Conservative Senator Hugh Segal and Liberal Senator Roméo Dallaire joined forces to call on the government to build a coalition for "rapid engagement" against Libya.

In a Feb. 25 opinion piece in the Citizen, the senators raised the spectre of genocides of previous decades and wrote that Canada had a "responsibility to protect" and stop crimes against humanity. "It's about being on the right side of history by saving human lives," they wrote.

But the situation in Libya was no Rwanda, where hundreds of thousands of unarmed people had been slaughtered. The Libyans fighting against Gadhafi's regime had raided military barracks, and while outgunned, they were armed.

Gen. Abdul Yunis, once Gadhafi's close confidant, defected in late February and opened up army installations to the rebels. Yunis' defection brought with him a unit of Libyan special forces troops. Mustafa Abdel Jalil, the country's justice minister, defected shortly after. Two weeks later, some 6,000 soldiers switched sides to support the rebels. They were equipped with tanks and anti-aircraft guns.

Only months after NATO went to war against Libya would a clearer picture start to emerge of the uprising, and questions were raised about the veracity of claims made by rebel supporters and western politicians that the Gadhafi regime had engaged in genocide.

- "Much Western media coverage has from the outset presented a very one-sided view of the logic of events, portraying the protest movement as entirely peaceful and repeatedly suggesting that the regime's security forces were unaccountably massacring unarmed demonstrators who presented no security challenge," noted a June 2011 report produced by the International Crisis Group.

The report from the group, headed by Canadian Louise Arbour, the former UN high commissioner for human rights, noted that while Gadhafi's forces reacted brutally, "there are grounds for questioning the more sensational reports that the regime was using its air force to slaughter demonstrators, let alone engaging in anything remotely warranting use of the term 'genocide.'"

- By early March a number of cities were controlled by rebel forces, which had also scored some successes by shooting down government aircraft.

Still, some troops defecting to the rebel side were not sure how far they wanted to take the rebellion. Maj. Ahmed Qetrani, a defector who commanded 2,000 soldiers who had switched their allegiance, told journalists he questioned the value of an all-out war against Gadhafi's forces. "It would create two Libyan armies, it would make (civil war), it would ruin our infrastructure and set our country back 100 years," he said.

[The Libya mission one year later: Into the unknown](http://www.ottawacitizen.com/news/Libya+mission+year+later+Into+unknown/6172099/story.html)

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• The Libya mission one year later: Into the unknown

By David Pugliese, The Ottawa Citizen February 17, 2012

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- At the Pentagon there was little appetite to become involved in yet another war in a Muslim country. Robert Gates, then the U.S. secretary of defence, opposed the establishment of a no-fly zone, saying to do so would require an attack on Libya. He argued the U.S. had interests in the region, but no vital interest in Libya.

Gates, however, was overruled by Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, who pushed Obama to intervene, arguing it was in the U.S.'s interests to do so.

- French President Nicolas Sarkozy was also seen as a major force behind convincing western leaders to agree to an attack on the Gadhafi regime. Left-wing celebrity activist Bernard-Henri Levy had helped persuade Sarkozy to back the rebels early on; France was the first nation to formally recognize the opposition forces as the country's government, even though they were only in control of a handful of towns and cities.

It was an abrupt change in attitude for the French leader, who just four years earlier had greeted Gadhafi with open arms, hosting him in Paris. Just months before Sarkozy's decision to embrace the rebels, the French had invited one of Gadhafi's sons to come to France to examine Rafale fighter aircraft they hoped the Libyans would purchase.

- But political commentators in France saw Sarkozy's strong support for the rebels squarely anchored in domestic politics. The president was facing an election in 2012 and had already been criticized for his government's close ties to autocratic governments. This was his moment to portray himself as a strong president who fought for human rights.

In the halls of power in Canada, there too was genuine concern about what Gadhafi might do to the civilians in Benghazi and rebel-held towns.

- But Harper, like Sarkozy, would also benefit politically from decisive action on Libya. Nelson Wiseman, a University of Toronto political science professor, said intervention in Libya gave Harper the opportunity to stand prominently on the world stage as the "leader of the people," an image that would serve him well as he headed into a federal election in May.

A poll taken for the Defence Department during the war would later show that Canadians strongly approved of the government's decision to intervene in Libya.

- Some in the Canadian Forces, however, don't subscribe to the argument that concern for civilians or shoring up political fortunes at home had much of a role to play. They say it all came down to relations with the U.S. Once Canada's closest ally had decided to intervene, the Canadian government agreed to go to war.

At National Defence headquarters, military planners were already hard at work, looking over various scenarios on how to respond to the government's request to take part in a Libyan mission.

HMCS Charlottetown had left Halifax on March 2 to support efforts to get Canadians out of Libya. With that already accomplished, the warship would be reassigned to take part in a maritime blockade.

- On March 16, Canadian Air Force personnel were given a 48-hour notice that they too would be involved, according to documents obtained by the Citizen. A day later that was upgraded to 24 hours. On March 18th CF-18 fighter jets and other aircraft headed off to war.

On March 19, the largest international military attack on an Arab country since the 2003 invasion of Iraq began with waves of U.S., British and French aircraft launching strikes across Libya. Less than 48 hours earlier, the United Nations had passed resolutions to establish a no-fly zone and to protect civilians in Libya.

- The opening salvo included attacks by stealth bombers and more than 120 cruise missiles fired from submarines and ships. Overnight, Gadhafi's air force was all but wiped out.

The documents obtained the Citizen note that Canada's air force soon found itself under pressure from the government "to fly (its) first mission" and join in on the war.

On March 21, even before Parliament approved combat in Libya, Canadian CF-18s had flown their first mission. Two days later, they would drop their first bombs.

- "We are compelled to intervene," said Defence Minister Peter MacKay.

In Washington there was much discussion among lawmakers about whether the war against Libya was actually legal. But in Canada there was little debate. Parliament was firmly behind Prime Minister Harper, who highlighted the protection of civilians as justification to commit the Canadian Forces to its second war in a decade.

Like with the deployment of combat troops to Kandahar in 2005, no one in the military or government had much of an

idea about how long the conflict could last. There were few details on its cost, or even what yardstick would be used to declare the mission accomplished.

- But Harper confidently predicted Gadhafi would be finished off quickly. The French Foreign Minister, Alain Juppé, echoed that optimism; at most the war would last several weeks, he said.

But western leaders had misjudged, and the popular rebellion they envisioned would occur against Gadhafi didn't materialize. Elders of key tribes in the country still remained loyal to the colonel. Gadhafi had a warning for the U.S. and NATO "crusaders" as he called them. Prepare, he said, for a long war.

- For the Canadian Forces and government, the war was also chance to show the country's leadership on the world stage. In late March, NATO announced that Canadian Lt.-Gen. Charles Bouchard would oversee the alliance's combat operations. From the beginning, the Conservatives portrayed Bouchard's appointment as a sign of the high esteem Canada was held in by alliance nations. Bouchard's appointment, said MacKay, "is an international recognition of the role that Canada plays in the world."

But defence sources suggest the appointment was one of convenience for the Americans. The U.S. had invaded Iraq in 2003 and had been fighting in Afghanistan since 2001. Pentagon officials didn't want an American to be seen at the helm of yet another attack on a Muslim country. At the same time, the Americans were keen to offset French influence over the mission.

- Bouchard, an able Canadian officer with connections to the U.S. through his work at NORAD, was the perfect candidate. "I was also a known entity to many of the leaders around," Bouchard would later acknowledge.

The Canadian general would have his work cut out for him though. Besides trying to dislodge Gadhafi's well-entrenched forces, NATO war planners were dealing with another problem: They had no idea who the rebels were.

Former CIA operatives acknowledged the agency had little ability to collect intelligence within Libya. Canada was worse off since it was getting most of its information from the U.S. and Britain.

- Shortly after the bombing started, some in the Pentagon started to worry about the involvement of Islamic extremists and members of al-Qaeda within the rebellion.

In late March, Admiral James Stavridis, NATO's supreme allied commander for Europe, told U.S. lawmakers the military coalition was still trying to determine who were the players in the rebel organization. "We have seen flickers in intelligence of potential al-Qaeda, Hezbollah," he acknowledged.

- Chad's president, Idriss Deby Itno, who called the international military intervention a "hasty decision," went one step further and warned that al-Qaeda's North African branch, known as AQIM, was playing an active role in the uprising.
- Similar claims had already been made by Gadhafi, who said the rebellion had been organized by AQIM and his old enemies the LIFG, who had vowed to overthrow the colonel and return the country to traditional Muslim values, including Sharia law.
- An estimated 500 LIFG members had fought in Afghanistan in the 1990s, some allied with Osama bin Laden, while extremists, centred in Benghazi and Darna, would later supply a steady flow of suicide bombers to fight U.S. forces in Iraq.

Gadhafi's brutal crackdown on LIFG throughout the 1990s had been welcomed by the Americans and by 2009, Libya had forced LIFG to agree to a truce. The group publicly renounced violence and any links to al-Qaeda. In return, the Libyan government released more than 100 LIFG fighters from prison.

Now they were on the front lines, leading the rebellion against Gadhafi's regime.

- In Darna, the rebel militia was led and trained by jihadists who had fought in Afghanistan, including one who spent six years as a detainee in Guantanamo Bay.

One of the men, Abdel Hakim al-Hasady, an Islamic preacher, oversaw the recruitment of about 300 rebel fighters. He told journalists he thought bin Laden was a "good Muslim."

- And his view of the U.S. had changed somewhat since American warplanes started bombing Gadhafi's troops. "If we hated the Americans 100 per cent, today it is less than 50 per cent," he explained.

In mid-April, Gadhafi's forces ambushed and killed another seasoned jihadist turned rebel, Abdel-Moneim Mokhtar. Mokhtar had learned many of his skills fighting in Kandahar province under Jalaluddin Haqqani, an Afghan warlord who had fought Russian, and later, Canadian and U.S. troops.

Other LIFG operatives also came to the forefront of the rebellion. Abdel Hakim Belhadj, who would later become one of the most powerful men in the new Libya as military commander of Tripoli, was a key one. Branded as a terrorist by the Americans, he had been taken into custody by the CIA in Malaysia in 2004, interrogated and then turned over to Gadhafi who immediately imprisoned him.

- Now being supported by NATO, Belhadj denied the LIFG was ever linked to al-Qaeda and said the group's area of operations was always Libya. Asked to explain, then, how he came to fight in Afghanistan with al-Qaeda, he suggested serendipity played a major role.

"It happened that we found ourselves in the same place at the same time as al-Qaeda: in Afghanistan, where we sometimes fought next to them it was to liberate the country, but we were never at their service," he told the French publication Le Monde.

Although some Canadian military officers in private jokingly referred to the NATO jets bombing Gadhafi's troops as "al-Qaeda's air force" there was no concerted effort in Canada to raise concerns about Islamic extremists within the rebel ranks.

- In fact, Lt.-Gen. Bouchard dismissed outright the idea that jihadists were involved. Those on the front lines, he told journalists, were lawyers, doctors and taxi drivers, all fighting for their freedom.

It would be six months after the war started that Canada's ambassador to Libya, Sandra McCardell, acknowledged to

parliamentarians the presence of jihadists in rebel ranks.

The Canadian government, it seemed, had little real information about what was actually happening in Libya.

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

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• **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*.

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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 – **peace-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.

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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.

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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.**

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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.]

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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.

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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.

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<http://www.ipppmedia.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 general 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 Organization (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 Union (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 minister to protect investment in Zamtel | Reuters](http://af.reuters.com/article/investingNews/idAFJOE80U00X20120131)

<http://af.reuters.com/article/investingNews/idAFJOE80U00X20120131>

• Libya minister to protect investment in Zamtel

Tue Jan 31, 2012 7:04am GMT

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- 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.

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

<http://www.bernama.com/bernama/v6/newsindex.php?id=642643>

[Libya cancels Guinea's US\\$24m debt](http://www.africanmanager.com/site_eng/detail_article.php?art_id=16261)

http://www.africanmanager.com/site_eng/detail_article.php?art_id=16261

- Libya cancels Guinea's US\$24m debt
PANA
- Libya has cancelled a debt of US\$24 million owed by Guinea, according to the Libyan national television, following the recent working visit of President Alpha Conde to the north African nation.

Libyan leader Muammar Kadhafi has also promised to supply Guinea with hydrocarbons, buses and tractors, after which a strong Libyan delegation will travel to Conakry to discuss the modalities for the proposed High Joint Cooperation Committee between the two countries.

- The delegation will also discuss the construction in Kipe, a suburb of Conakry, of a 5-star hotel to be financed by Libya, which has also promised, from 2012, to make available 30 scholarships for Guinean students.

The Guinean head of state said he took advantage of his trip to discuss with his host ways to support his struggle for the achievement of African unity.

Libya was the first country to give financial and material aid to Guinea after the military junta led by Captain Moussa Dadis Camara took power 23 Dec. 2008.

Kadhafi was also the first president to travel to Guinea in 2009, after the military grabbed power in the wake of the death of President Lansana Konte

[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)

<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

[Libya S.O.S.: Green Book](http://libyasos.blogspot.com/p/green-book.html)

<http://libyasos.blogspot.com/p/green-book.html>

• **THE BLACKS**

The blacks will prevail in the world. The latest age of slavery is the white race's enslavement of the black race. The black man will not forget this until he has achieved rehabilitation. This tragic and historic event, the resulting bitter feeling, and the search for satisfaction derived from rehabilitating a whole race, constitute a psychological motivation in the movement of the black race to vengeance and domination, which cannot be disregarded.

Added to that is the inevitability of the social historical cycles including the yellow race's domination of the world when it marched from Asia against the rest of the continents. Then came the role of the white race, when it carried out a wideranging colonialist movement covering all the continents of the world. Now comes the black race's turn to prevail.

The black race is now in a very backward social situation. But such backwardness helps to bring about numerical superiority of the blacks because their low standard of living has protected them from getting to know the means and ways of birth control and family planning. Also their backward social traditions are a reason why there is no limit to marriage, leading to their unlimited growth, while the population of other races has decreased because of birth control, restrictions on marriage and continuous occupation in work, unlike the blacks who are sluggish in a climate which is always hot.

[AFP: AU wants to turn the page with Libya post-Kadhafi](http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5iOaJlv5rLanFd0eUKNOJa5sA1kw?docId=CNG.384a2765838b6cbd605175bf201e33f8.581)

<http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5iOaJlv5rLanFd0eUKNOJa5sA1kw?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."

[AU Summit To Decide Fate of Libyan Assets Held in Member States](http://tripolipost.com/articledetail.asp?c=1&i=7601)

<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 - The execution of Gaddafi and the attempted humiliation of Africa](http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/77459)

<http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/77459>

• Features

• The execution of Gaddafi and the attempted humiliation of Africa

Horace Campbell

2011-10-27, Issue [554](#)

<http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/77459>

- Horace Campbell reconstructs 'the decision at the highest levels' to execute Libya's Colonel Gaddafi and considers 'the urgency for organising to oppose the remilitarisation of Africa.'
- The inability of the Western media and other "information" sources to manage the news of the execution of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi was compounded by the news, according to the New York based Human Rights Watch, that 53 supporters of the ousted regime were executed at a hotel in Sirte with their hands tied behind their backs ([Huffington Post](#) October 26, 2011). Wall-to-wall news bulletins of the demise of Colonel Gaddafi, which should have been a moment of victory for the imperial forces, has now turned into a public relations disaster and nightmare for those military planners who want to distance themselves from the gruesome details of the execution.

Gaddafi had vowed to fight to the end. Thus, the outcome of his death was not surprising. But the NATO forces tried to capitalize on Gaddafi's cockiness and delusions by trying to re-package his death as a result of a firefight. But they could not cover up the truth. Video footage taken on camera phones show a wounded Colonel Gaddafi being dragged, beaten and tortured but very much alive. In the next set of footages he is dead. The videos are [strong evidence that the Geneva Convention was violated](#).

- According to international law, Gaddafi's death would constitute a war crime because he was killed while in captivity. [Article Three of the Convention \(III\) Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War \(Third Geneva Convention\)](#), explicitly prohibits "the passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court, affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized peoples."

The immoral and illegal actions by the NATO-backed military forces and private contractors in Libya were further exacerbated by the lack of respect shown towards the religious and cultural traditions of the Libyan people when the mortal remains of Colonel Gaddafi and his son, Muatassim, were kept in a meat locker until the bodies started to decompose.

- Moreover, a supposedly secret burial failed to resolve the tussle amongst those who had hijacked the body in the on-going struggle inside the National Transitional Council (NTC) between the three centers of power, Tripoli, Benghazi and Misrata. These three factions fear each other and they have lost the one factor that had united them - hatred for Gaddafi. Fearing the other factions in the NTC, the Benghazi section had called for the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to extend the mandate of the no-fly zone until December 31, 2011. However, on Thursday, October 27, 2011 the UNSC voted to end the NATO no-fly zone over Libya by October 31, 2011.

The manner in which Gaddafi died has now highlighted the goal of the Western world (in particular, Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States) to use the cover of protecting civilian lives to effect regime change in order to gain control of the oil, gas and water resources of Libya. In a moment of revolutionary upheavals all over the world, the leaders of France, Great Britain and the United States had intervened in Libya to divert attention from their problems and to derail the wave of revolutionary change that is now underway internationally. Italy which is in the throes of a profound crisis tagged along to protect its colonial heritage and oil contracts in Libya.

- On Tuesday October 25, 2011 the [Los Angeles Times](#) reported that Libya had more than US \$200 billion in reserves. As outlined in my article, ["Global NATO and the Recolonisation of Africa"](#) it is no secret that leaders such as Nicholas Sarkozy of France deeply want to get their hands on this money to save the banks in Europe and to save the Euro. But the crisis in the Eurozone area is too far gone and the depth of the structural and systemic crisis is too extreme to save the politicians who oversaw this military campaign inside Libya. Eight days after the execution of Colonel Gaddafi, The New York Times indicated that, "Western security, construction and infrastructure companies that see profit-

making opportunities receding in Iraq and Afghanistan have turned their sights on Libya”, thus exposing the true purpose of the NATO intervention in Libya.

[The article further reported that](#), “A week before Colonel Qaddafi’s death on Oct. 20, a delegation from 80 French companies arrived in Tripoli to meet officials of the Transitional National Council, the interim government. Last week, the new British defense minister, Philip Hammond, urged British companies to ‘pack their suitcases’ and head to Tripoli.”

- The truth is now out.

Gaddafi was an obstacle to the wholesale looting of Africa. This author has in the past critiqued the limited Pan – African vision of Gaddafi, but even with these limitations, the Western bankers and oil companies were afraid of his pan African vision taking concrete material form. His schemes for communications, energy, irrigation and independent pan-African financial institutions posed a real threat to western financial interests. Back in June of this year, [The Washington Post’s](#) article, “Conflict in Libya: U.S. Oil Companies Sit on Sidelines as Gaddafi Maintains Hold” detailed the soured relationship between the Gaddafi regime and the oil companies.

Decent elements within the armed forces of western societies want to join the 99 per cent movement that is seeking another world in this moment. In this submission, we seek to reconstruct the decision at the highest levels to execute Colonel Gaddafi and to analyze the urgency for organizing to oppose the remilitarization of Africa.

- THE PLANS TO EXECUTE COLONEL GADDAFI

When on Sunday, October 23, 2011, Secretary of State Hilary Clinton said on the US television Channel NBC’s “Meet the Press” that she backed a proposal that the United Nations investigate Gaddafi’s death and requested that Libya’s National Transitional Council also look into the circumstances, it was clear that the execution had backfired. This was the height of hypocrisy or what would be called a preemptive strike to protect her own reputation. Earlier in this same week, Clinton had met with the NTC in Libya and called for Gaddafi to be captured or killed. This blood thirsty statement from a high-ranking and influential official from the United States was a tacit endorsement to kill Colonel Gaddafi.

- Security planners and military strategists of the Obama White House are now cowering in shame on the fallout from the failure of the Libyan quagmire and the exposure of the bankruptcy of the US military and imperial logic. We now know from the reports in the [New York Times](#) that, on October 19, 2011, the National Security Council of the White House had debated the execution of Colonel Gaddafi. The article, “Before Qaddafi’s Death, U.S. Debated His Future”, stated that the White House considered “The killing of Colonel Qaddafi ... [as] one of the three scenarios considered last Wednesday.” The article also said, “Putting the colonel on trial, either in Libya or The Hague, was one of a host of situations for which the administration planned.”

The mere fact that the United States pre-planned for what to do with Gaddafi if he were captured alive strongly supports the perception that the US had great influence with the anti-Gaddafi forces. Although the New York Times, article took great pains to indicate that there were different scenarios under deliberation at this meeting, it ended with the ominous point that the outright killing of Gaddafi was considered. The day after this 90-minute meeting at the White House, Colonel Gaddafi was killed. It is now known and documented through video footage that Gaddafi was captured alive thus begging the question: Why was he killed?

- GADDAFI’S ESCAPE FROM TRIPOLI

The details of the escape of Colonel Gaddafi from Tripoli and the attempted escape from Sirte has been provided for posterity by Mansour Dhao Ibrahim, an aide to Gaddafi who survived the NATO attack on the convoy ferrying Gaddafi from Sirte. Dhao, head of the People’s Guard, was with Gaddafi during his final days and told Human Rights Watch officials on Saturday how he was wounded and Gaddafi was killed. [According to Dhao](#):

“[T]he decision for Gaddafi to stay in Sirte was based on Muatassim, the colonel’s son. ... Gaddafi’s son and the military entourage had “reasoned that the city, long known as an important pro-Qaddafi stronghold and under frequent bombardment by NATO airstrikes, was the last place anyone would look.”

It was further revealed that:

“The colonel traveled with about 10 people, including close aides and guards. Muatassim, who commanded the loyalist forces, traveled separately from his father, fearing that his own satellite phone was being tracked. Apart from a phone, which the colonel used to make frequent statements to a Syrian television station that became his official outlet, Colonel Qaddafi was largely ‘cut off from the world.’”

- It was this satellite phone that was tracked so that when Sirte was bombed to smithereens, there was only one option left for Gaddafi, and that was to make a run to escape.

British news reports from both the Telegraph and The Independent UK since August 21, 2001 had been reporting that British SAS forces and U.S. Special Forces had been scouring the Sirte area for Gaddafi, unable to find him. According to these reports, when the resistance continued for two months, the British and US Special Forces on the ground disguised as Libyan NTC fighters had been coordinating the bombing campaign of Sirte. These SAS forces synchronized the bombing and one or two weeks before the execution, “NATO had pinpointed Gaddafi’s position after an intelligence breakthrough.” Once the SAS and the coordinating forces confirmed Gaddafi’s position, “an American drone and an array of NATO eavesdropping aircraft had been trained on his Sirte stronghold to ensure he could not escape.”

This was around the same time the debates on execution intensified and the drones were deployed to ensure that Gaddafi did not escape from Sirte. This military operation to block anyone leaving Sirte (essentially a no-drive zone) ensured that hundreds of innocent civilians were killed. For NATO and their surrogates of the NTC, the no-fly zone to protect civilians did not extend to the citizens of Sirte.

- US DRONES AND FRENCH JETS: PINPOINTING GADDAFI’S LOCATION

“About two weeks ago, as the former rebels stormed the city center, the colonel and his sons were trapped shuttling between two houses in a residential area called District No. 2. They were surrounded by hundreds of former rebels, firing at the area with heavy machine guns, rockets and mortars. “The only decision was whether to live or to die,” Mr. Dhao said. Colonel Qaddafi decided it was time to leave, and planned to flee to one of his houses nearby, where he had been born. On Thursday, a convoy of more than 40 cars was supposed to leave at about around 3 a.m.”

With the voice recognition technology picking up any call made by Gaddafi, the drones were called in when the convoy carrying Gaddafi was pinpointed by the drone.

- [he Daily Telegraph](#) reported that:

"They built up a normal pattern of life picture so that when something unusual happened this morning such as a large group of vehicles gathering together, that came across as highly unusual activity and the decision was taken to follow them and prosecute an attack. Electronic warfare aircraft, either an American Rivet Joint or a French C160 Gabriel, also picked up Gaddafi's movements as he attempted to escape."

Hilary Clinton had flown to Tripoli on Tuesday, October 18, 2011 to debate Gaddafi's future. It was then that Clinton made her position clear that she wanted Gaddafi killed or captured. Was this a clear message to the Special Forces on the ground that the NATO forces wanted Gaddafi killed?

- "In a Toyota Land Cruiser, Colonel Qaddafi traveled with his chief of security, a relative, the driver and Mr. Dhao. The colonel did not say much during the drive. NATO warplanes and former rebel fighters found them half an hour after they left. When a missile struck near the car, the airbags deployed, said Mr. Dhao, who was hit by shrapnel in the strike. He said he tried to escape with Colonel Qaddafi and other men, walking first to a farm, then to the main road, toward some drainage pipes. "The shelling was constant," Mr. Dhao said, adding that he was struck by shrapnel again and fell unconscious. When he woke up, he was in the hospital."

Sensitive to the repercussions of this attack on the convoy, the British media declared early that the Royal Air Force had not been involved in the aerial attack. Contrastedly, and with great bravado, the French took credit for firing the missile that stopped the car carrying Colonel Gaddafi. French Defence Minister Gerard Longuet revealed that a French Mirage-2000 fired a warning shot at a column of several dozen vehicles fleeing Sirte.

Despite the views of Hilary Clinton and French Defence Minister Gerard Longuet, it is now evident that the bombing of the innocent civilians in Sirte was a violation of the Geneva Conventions. The nature of the killing of Gaddafi is also a clear violation of the Geneva Conventions on the humane treatment of prisoners. Hence, there is the continued effort to manage the information on the circumstances surrounding the last days of Gaddafi.

- MANAGING THE NEWS OF THE EXECUTION OF GADDAFI

Video footage after the airstrike shows that Gaddafi was wounded and alive. Later footage showed a bloodied, bruised dead Gaddafi. There is also video footage of the humiliating sodomization of the wounded Gaddafi.

Additionally, there is video footage of Mutassim, Gaddafi's son alive and then dead. He was smoking a cigarette and drinking water and then the next video he had a wound on his chest that was clearly not there before.

In stumbling and clumsy attempts to control the story, the re-packaged story was that Gaddafi was killed in crossfire. But the inconsistencies were so blatant that it was embarrassing for the psychological warfare experts of NATO. Was it crossfire, was it stray bullet, was it an assassination? There were too many cell phone images of what transpired for the western intelligence agencies to attempt to cover the clear violation of international law.

- From the time of the war against the people of Vietnam, the US military had consciously worked with the pliant corporate media so that the main news networks in the United States were integrated into the disinformation and psychological warfare units of the US military. In the past, Cable News Network (CNN) and National Public Radio (NPR) have acknowledged that members of the US Army 4th Psychological Operations (PSYOPS) Group served as interns in their news divisions and other areas during the Kosovo war. PSYOPS is a highly specialized unit of the military whose personnel are trained in the production and dissemination of US government propaganda, including on television and radio programs. This form of psychological warfare was deepened during the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. In order to justify the military buildup in Africa, news organizations have been supporting the general line that Africa is a breeding ground for terrorism. News organizations such as those controlled by the Murdoch Empire were willing accomplices of this psychological warfare against citizens of the West during the Afghanistan and Iraq wars and this aspect of the war was so important that Al Jazeera was bombed in Iraq and some of their journalists killed. In the case of the war of regime change in Libya, the disinformation services had been working overtime, 'to not just fabricate events but to create.'
- As [Lizzie Phelan had reported for Pambazuka News](#) and other media, NATO had been willing and able to confuse and disorient those civilians in Libya who did not support the NTC. One example was when the news reported the capture of one of the sons of Gaddafi, only to have this son turn up to show that this was part of a disinformation campaign.

The fabrications now failed and it was clear that the manner of the killing of Gaddafi was meant to humiliate him. One does not have to support Gaddafi to realize that this kind of killing will not lay any basis for a society free from revenge killings. Revenge and perpetual violence only serves to postpone peace and reconstruction. From the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to the post war efforts in Burundi and Sierra Leone, long drawn out phases of reconciliation proved more beneficial to society than revenge killings.

Throughout the world, the management of the news of the execution of Colonel Gaddafi has backfired; even those who had disapproved of Gaddafi's antics in Africa were now also opposed to the wanton disregard for international law by the military forces. The same US military that had been appalled by the treatment of its soldiers in Mogadishu in October 1993 was now silent as the NATO machine violated international law.

- From all corners of the world, NATO and the United States Africa Command were being condemned. Despite efforts by western news agencies to place a microphone before those who would parrot the western line, the disregard for law and the hypocrisy of those who had used the mandate of the "responsibility to protect" to carry out executions were too blatant. The Russians called for an end to the NATO mission and called for the UN Security Council to end the mandate of the no-fly zone. At the United Nations, Russian Ambassador Vitaly Churkin, who had repeatedly accused NATO of exceeding its U.N. mandate in Libya, has called for ending the mandate of the no-fly zone on October 31, 2011. Churkin said extending the U.N. authorization beyond this date would be "unrealistic."

In Africa, even those who had been opposed to Gaddafi, especially when he called his people rats, were now seeing the real criminal actions being carried out by NATO. [Former Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu condemned the killing of Gaddafi](#), saying mob justice and violence should always be deplored.

"The manner of the killing of Muammar Gaddafi on Thursday totally detracts from the noble enterprise of instilling a culture of human rights and democracy in Libya," "... the people of Libya should have demonstrated better values than those of their erstwhile oppressor."

- The same managers of disinformation realized that this manner of the execution revealed the true nature of the NATO/AFRICOM operations so the New York Times editorialized on October 20, 2011 that:

"But a gruesome video broadcast on Al Jazeera — apparently showing him being dragged, beaten and then, perhaps, shot to death by armed men — is deeply troubling, if it is real.

Libyans must resist further reprisals and channel their passion into building a united, free and productive country. If

not, they risk even more chaos and suffering."

Here the servile American media was seeking to distance itself from the celebratory role as more and more information continue to emerge as to the scale of the revenge killings and murders that were carried out in Sirte.

Recently, the government of Qatar has admitted that it sent hundreds of ground troops to support the "rebels" who overthrew the Gaddafi regime. Previously, Qatar had only acknowledged that its air-force took part in the NATO operations. Now that it is in the open record that Qatari troops were on the ground responsible for training, communications and strategy. It is only a matter of time before the details of other foreign ground forces will come out in the open.

- Internationally, the information of the indiscriminate bombing of the people of Sirte is seeping out and from all corners of the world. There were now Human Rights reports calling for an investigation into the manner of the Colonel Gaddafi's and Mutassim's killings. Bloggers and writers are reminding the imperialists that [Article 13 of the Third Geneva Convention](#) clearly states: "Prisoners of war must at all times be protected, particularly against acts of violence or intimidation and against insults and public curiosity."

[The Geneva Convention \(IV\) Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War \(Fourth Geneva Convention\)](#) which pertains to civilians in areas of armed conflict and occupied territories states that, "Protected persons are entitled, in all circumstances, to respect for their persons, their honor, their family rights, their religious convictions and practices, and their manners and customs. They shall at all times be humanely treated, and shall be protected especially against all acts of violence or threats thereof and against insults and public curiosity." The [discovery of the 53 corpses at the Mahari hotel](#), and another ten dumped in a nearby reservoir reveal a glimpse of the bloodletting and indiscriminate killings and blatant disregard for the rule of law.

Africans from sub-Saharan Africa were being particularly targeted, and the opposition to the NTC intensified all over the continent, if not over the world. Seumas Milne a writer from the UK's Guardian sums up best the NATO operation in Libya: "If the Libyan war was about saving lives, it was a catastrophic failure."

- CAN NATO CONTROL LIBYA?

From the start of the war against the peoples of Libya in March 2011, NATO exceeded its mandate with indiscriminate bombing and disinformation as to what was happening on the ground. Those decent humans who had been offended by the leadership of the Libyan society calling their people rats and feared for a massacre were soon shown the reality that it was the NATO bombing that was a greater threat. The shelling of civilian communities by NATO jets that destroyed homes, and cities and displaced people (refugees) will take years to rebuild. The city of Sirte has now been reduced to rubble and throughout the country, people are asking whether Libya is better off after the destruction of its infrastructure than before, pre-NATO intervention.

The NATO-led air campaign had been launched in March under a United Nations mandate to protect civilians from Gaddafi's forces trying to crush popular protests. It was clear that the objective of NATO was not to protect civilians and there was opposition to this NATO operation. Eight months after the operation to protect civilians five times more persons were killed by the NATO bombing and by the bloodletting of the NATO supported forces on the ground than by the Gaddafi military in February and March. The destruction of Libya was meant to ensure greater western control over that society.

- Throughout the war, the African Union spoke with one voice and called for a roadmap that would establish an inclusive government. From countries like Burundi and the work of The Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation and The Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory there is sufficient expertise and experience in Africa to bring about reconciliation. Clearly, the actions of the United States, France and Britain, suggest that they do not want peace and reconstruction in Libya. France continues to ensnare China in the spoils of war by promising reconstruction contracts. But if the BRICS societies (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) support the African Union, there will be no contracts to be given out by France. The National Transitional Council (NTC) Chairman, Mustafa Abdul Jalil, would like the UNSC to extend the mandate of the no-fly zone on the grounds of controlling surplus weapons. However, Jalil has no means to exercise political leadership.

The NTC is divided. There are Islamist factions supported by the Qatari forces, others supported by the Bashir regime in the Sudan with other factions supported by the British, French, Italians and US oil companies. Three months after Tripoli was "liberated" the leaders in Benghazi are still afraid to move to Tripoli. The Misrata elements of the "uprising" hijacked the body of Gaddafi and his son and kept the bodies in a meat freezer in Misrata. Humiliation was piled upon total disrespect for religious and traditional customs as the bodies were made a public spectacle. When the bodies started to decompose, they could no longer keep the bodies and Gaddafi and his son were buried in the desert.

- AFRICAN UNITY CANNOT BE HALTED

Fifty years after Patrice Lumumba was assassinated in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 1961, we now have another gruesome execution of an African leader with the objective of halting the liberation and independence of Africa. While this author does not want to make comparisons between these two leaders, the one key fact that link the two assassinations is that there must be an impartial international inquiry into the assassination of Gaddafi. In normal circumstances NATO commanders, United Nations personnel, point persons for the Arab League, and other imperial actors would be required to testify before an impartial enquiry in order to justify their role if any in these atrocities. It required the tenacious work of peace loving persons to ensure that Belgium and the United States were named as the murderers of Patrice Lumumba.

Today, international law can only be enforced by a new international alliance of societies that want to avoid total destructions. Progressive persons must take seriously the warning of Samir Amin that the West may want to turn Libya into another Somalia.

- In the midst of this crisis, the criminal actions carried out in Libya point to the reality that we are not in normal circumstances. How can the United Nations or NATO investigate crimes committed on their watch? Under the cover of providing security from the air for the NTC, NATO, the UN, and the other imperial actors in this campaign, granted themselves the alibi now being espoused for cold blooded murder. It is unthinkable to believe that NATO and the UN did not know what the NTC and other Special Forces were doing on the ground. Given the turn of events in Libya, which erupted in the cold blooded bloodletting, what seems to be emerging is some kind of sinister plot to obliterate any remnants of the former regime. There is no justification for such bloodletting. These people, including Gaddafi should have been captured and brought to trial under international law. International law cannot be exercised in a piecemeal manner to suit the whims and fancies of big powers. International law must be applied equally in all circumstances and in all areas of the world.

What has emerged in Libya is a double standard and NATO has been exposed as the face of terrorism in Africa.

The same leaders who proclaim themselves as upholders of human rights applauded the humiliation and execution of Gaddafi. Decent human beings all over the world were outraged and it is now clearer that the decision to execute Gaddafi was made to silence one voice for anti-imperialism. Far from humiliating and silencing Africans, there is now a realization that the work for the freedom and unity of Africa must be engaged with even more clarity.

The execution had the opposite effect and the work for expelling foreign military forces from Africa will be now more intense.

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

<http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/77468>

• NATO murdered Gaddafi

Demba Moussa Dembélé

2011-10-27, Issue [554](#)

<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.

[Pambazuka - Musings on the death of Gaddafi](http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/77448)

<http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/77448>

[Gaddafi was an African 'icon' – Dr Alabi | Daily Guide Newspaper](http://www.dailyguideghana.com/?p=30329)

<http://www.dailyguideghana.com/?p=30329>

• **Gaddafi was an African 'icon' – Dr Alabi**

Posted on [October 20, 2011](#)



An image captured off a cellular phone camera shows the arrest of Libya's strongman Moamer Kadhafi in Sirte on October 20, 2011

A consultant to the African Union, Dr. Nii Alabi, has described the death of the former Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi as "unfortunate" calling him an "iconic figure" of Africa.

According to Dr. Alabi, Col. Gaddafi was one of the few African leaders who could stand up to the Western nations and tell them in the face how they have been unfair in treating Africa.

Official reports from the Libyan National Transitional Council (NTC) have confirmed that the nation's beleaguered leader has been killed on the streets of his hometown, Sirte, in Libya.

Gaddafi is reported to have died of wounds he sustained Thursday dawn from fighters who battled him for eight-month to overthrow his regime.

Meanwhile, Dr. Alabi has told **Citi News** the death of Gaddafi, if proven to be true will mean Africa has lost one of its iconic figures who symbolises the proud moments of the continent.

- "I think it is just unfortunate that one of the iconic figures, and I am using iconic advisedly because he has symbolised some of the proud moments of Africa by daring the West, telling them to the face that they have not treated us well even though his terrorist credentials cannot be something I would ever subscribe to," Dr. Alabi said.



"Having said that I think for Africa, we have lost somebody, who tried to say that yes I love this continent.

"Gaddafi symbolised a lot of things but his stand for the United States of Africa is something that Kwame Nkrumah stood for, is something that really endeared him to many other Pan-Africanists," he added.

Col Gaddafi, who was wanted by the International Criminal Court on charges of ordering the killing of civilians, was toppled by rebel forces on August 23 after a 42-year-rule over the oil-producing North African state.

Source: *Citifmonline*

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

<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 Brazzaville, 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

WOULD AFRICA MISS GADDAFI IF HE WENT? | The Ghanaian Times

<http://newtimes.com.gh/story/would-africa-miss-gaddafi-if-he-went>

- 1st March, 2011

WOULD AFRICA MISS GADDAFI IF HE WENT?

By Cameron Duodu

- Right now, Gaddafi is a big danger to Africa. Any black person found in Libya is likely to be given very short shrift by the white-skinned section of the Arab population, which believes that Gaddafi has imported --- or is importing ♦ blacks from Chad, Nigeria, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Liberia and anywhere else that he has followers, to go and fight for him.

And ♦fighting♦ for him means sitting in cars and letting off gunfire from automatic weapons into unarmed crowds. I am, of course, not in Libya, thank God, and so cannot vouch for the way Gaddafi♦s black ♦mercenaries♦ are said to be going on killing sprees.

But in an insurrectionary situation, truth spreads very fast ♦ simply because people need it to survive. When you are running for your life and someone asks you why, you normally don♦t have enough time to weave a propaganda web and toss it at him. Your human instinct tells you to warn him of exactly the danger that is making you run.

The question is: what should the rest of Africa think of Gaddafi♦s troubles? I shall give you three quotes ♦ one from South Africa, one from Nigeria, and one from Ghana ♦ which should help you to determine whether you want Gaddafi to continue unleashing untold bloodshed on Libya, in order to rule Libya (after having had 41 good years of autocratic rule) or not.

This is what Mr Mondli Makanya, former editor-in-chief of the Johannesburg Sunday Times (and currently, one of the most fearless columnists of the paper) wrote last Sunday, 27 February 2011:

- QUOTE:
♦So why did the world's political community, which normally does not suffer fools, tolerate this madman?
Short answer: he paid a lot of people good money.
He had many presidents, prime ministers and kings on his payroll. He also filled the coffers of some nations and financed the election campaigns of many parties.

If you ventured into downtown Johannesburg and visited some important political buildings you may well have heard interesting stories about bags that were brought back from visits to Tripoli.

It explains Africa's failure to loudly condemn the slaughter on the streets of Libyan cities - and the mealy-mouthed statements from a certain building in central Johannesburg about the Libyan government and the people "seeking a political solution", when civilians were being butchered. It is not easy to condemn a paymaster without qualifying your condemnation.

A lunatic like Gaddafi should never have been allowed to hide behind the fig leaf of national sovereignty and rule an oil-rich nation for more than 40 years. We may all laugh at him and condemn him, but we should be laughing at and condemning ourselves.

UNQUOTE

That is quite unequivocal: Mr Makhanya is suggesting that the South African ruling party, the ANC, had obtained a great deal of largesse from Gaddafi and so was prepared to close its eyes to the wanton killings that Gaddafi♦s militias were directing at the people of Libya.

That is a damning verdict on the ANC, which, we all know, gained a lot of sympathy world-wide, when bloodshed was unleashed on the black people of South Africa at Sharpeville on 21 March 1960 and in Soweto on 16 June 1976. These are but two of the very bad dates for black South Africans that should make the ANC more concerned about bloodshed unleashed on unarmed people anywhere.

- And now we come to the quote from Nigeria:
QUOTE:
♦Lagos Guardian, 13 February 2009:
♦One wonders about this sudden enthusiasm [for a United States of Africa] which has overtaken Gaddafi, given the fact that his government has been involved in brutality against Africans from other countries who found themselves legally or illegally in Libya.

◆A lot of Nigerians and other Africans in search of greener pastures have been brutalised, dehumanised and tortured; some killed while the lucky ones got deported. If Gaddafi had shown some iota of mercy to these Africans who sneaked into Libya, maybe we would not have read [too] much [hidden] meaning into this idea being touted by him.◆
UNQUOTE

Again, the importance of the quote cannot be over-emphasised. One of the most prestigious publications in Africa◆s most populous country, had drawn attention to the contradiction between Gaddafi◆s words and his deeds◆ especially as concerned Africans, the alleged ultimate beneficiaries of his efforts aimed at achieving a◆United States of Africa◆. I could go on and give chapter and verse about Gaddafi◆s similar standing in countries like Uganda◆ where his arrogant bodyguards were nearly engaged in a shootout with Ugandan security personnel◆ but let me come home to Ghana.

Before giving you the quote, let me make you laugh a little◆ laughter is like gold in these rotten days in Africa. When the regime of the PNDC became closely associated with Libya in the early days of 1982, I was having lunch with a couple of ladies one day when, out of the blue, one of them asked me:◆So what are you going to do about it?◆

- ◆About what?◆ I asked.

◆Gaddafi taking over Ghana,◆ she said.

◆Nonsense,◆ I answered.◆There is no Ghanaian who is going to sit down and allow a Libyan to dictate anything to him or her. How many◆Green Books◆ have you seen in Ghana?◆

She said, quite seriously,◆It is not the Green Book I am worried about. He is going to order all you uncircumcised Ghanaian men to get yourselves circumcised!◆

I howled so loudly with laughter that everyone in the restaurant stared at me as if I had gone bonkers.

- ◆Gaddafi circumcise us? Let him come and try!◆ I said, wiping the tears from my eyes. And then I looked her in the eye and said,◆Libya cannot even beat us at football. In the African championships that are coming up, we shall well and truly beat them, and even if Jerry Rawlings were to go himself to plead with our boys to allow Libya to beat us, they would turn a deaf ear to him and beat Libya very well. You cannot fool around with Ghanaians when it comes to their --er -- scabbarded◆swords' or 'sticks◆! And -- their football◆

I haven◆t had such a good laugh for many years. (By the way, we did beat Libya in that CAF football cup final on 19 March 1982◆ but the result was arrived at in such a tortuous manner that at one stage, there were real fears that our boys were going throw the match◆ under political direction! The full 90 minutes of play yielded a 1-1 draw, after which there were penalties, which Ghana just managed to win 6-5, bringing the total tally and final result to 7-6! Had we lost, those two ladies would have run me out of town and claimed that mass circumcision of Ghana males by hordes of sword-waving wansams from Libya was coming next!)

Okay◆ to the final quote. It is from the Daily Graphic of 17 December 2004, and confirms clearly that the methods adopted by the Libyan authorities in dealing with the citizens of other African states who fall short of the behaviour expected of them, while they are on sisterly Libyan territory, is almost always deplorable:

- ◆The Libyan Government has deported another batch of 132 Ghanaians living in that country.◆This brings to 6,027, the total number of such deportees since the Libyan Government began the exercise◆ The deportees had been coming in on regular intervals of between two weeks and one month. They were brought in◆aboard a cargo flight◆.

◆Airport sources said that◆apart from the first batch, which was brought in aboard a passenger plane, the rest had always been on cargo planes which had no seats◆ In an interview, some of the deportees alleged that the conditions at the camp had been dehumanising, since there were no sleeping places.

◆◆There were only canopies stretched across a vast area of land and we were not fed regularly. We had to stay without water for over a day or two,◆ the deportees said, adding that there was overcrowding at the camp◆◆The source said that a particular batch had been kept at the camp for 17 days and so they were very exhausted.◆◆
UNQUOTE

Is it any wonder then that only politicians who have taken Gaddafi◆s shilling, have any tears to shed for him on his day of reckoning with his own people? To anyone else, especially those 6,000 or more Ghanaians who were sent back to Ghana as mere cargo, Gaddafi's fall is to be welcomed as good riddance to good rubbish.

[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)

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• Africa: Tripoli Tries Diplomacy Again

January 29, 2008

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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 [Muammar 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**.

[Opinion: It's Time to Create the United States of Africa](#) By Dr. Fathi El-Shihibi

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

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Opinion: It's Time to Create the United States of Africa
By Dr. Fathi El-Shihibi
06/12/2010

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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.
- 4. 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 states 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.

• **About The Author**

The writer is a professor at the Department of Philosophy and Religion, Northeastern University, Boston, Massachusetts, USA. He contributed this article to The Tripoli Post.

• 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 "horrific" 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)

<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)

<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.

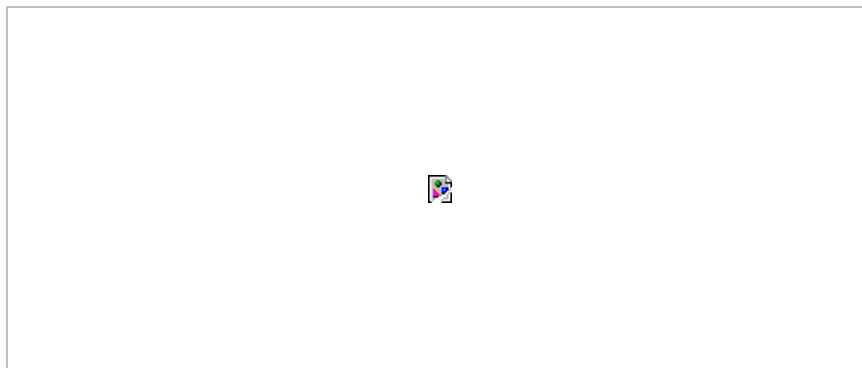
It would be silly to trust the man much farther than you can see him. Yet there is a convincing argument for giving him a chance, lightening the American bonds, even if not fully releasing him. Mr Qaddafi still needs to be pressed hard on many matters, not least on those nasty weapons he is suspected 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.

['We miss Gaddafi' say Chadians | The Observers](http://observers.france24.com/content/20111122-we-still-regret-gaddafi%E2%80%99-death)

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

- 22/11/2011 / CHAD

'We miss Gaddafi' say Chadians

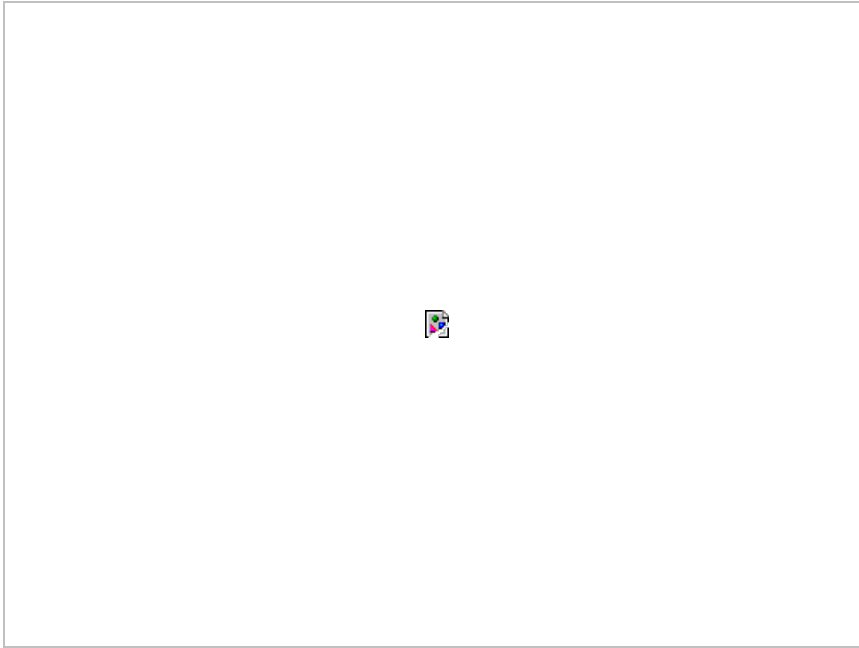


The entrance to N'djamena's old racetrack, which the former Libyan leader had planned to turn into an Islamic centre. Photo sent by our Observer Richard Mbatna.

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.

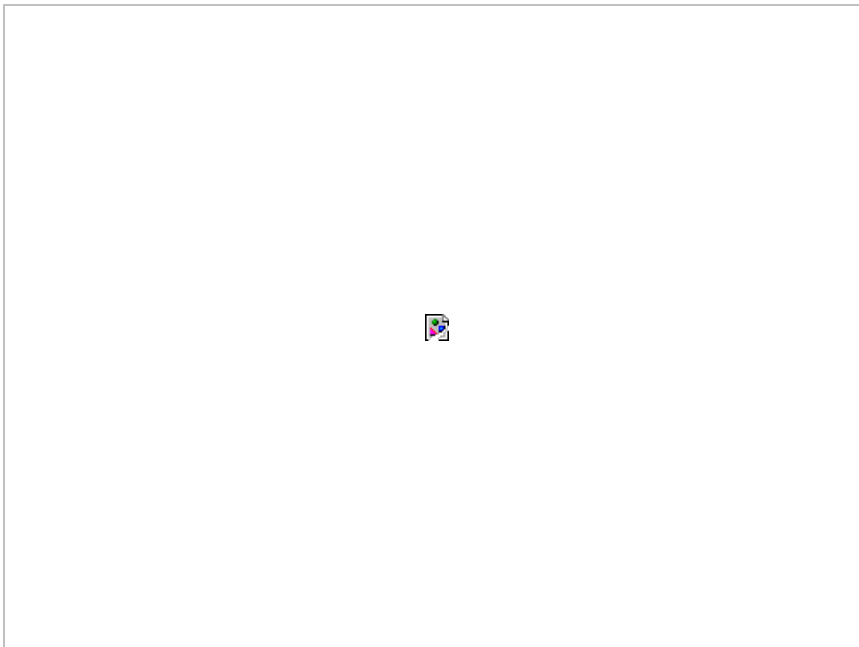
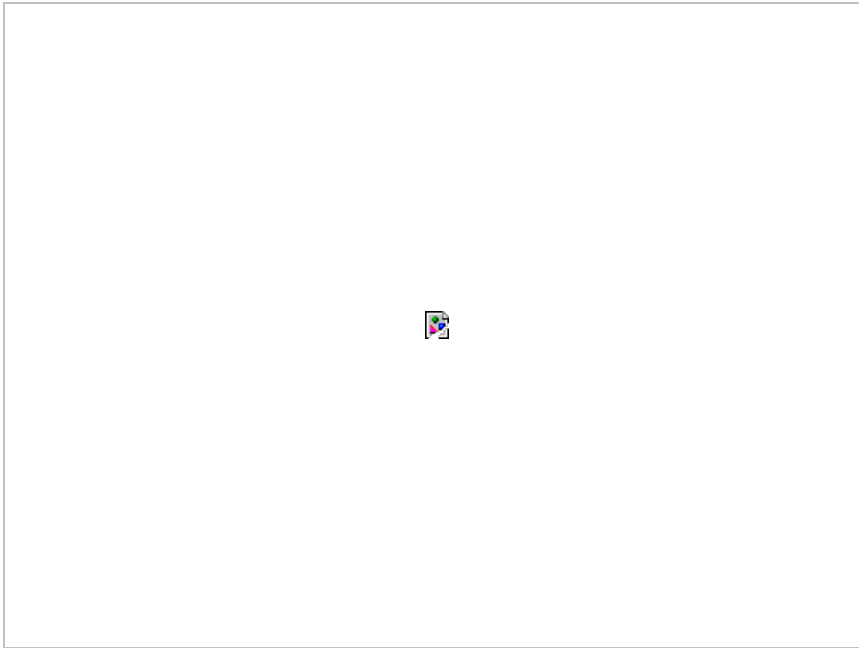
- The Chadian president Idriss Déby Itno has officially recognised Libya's ruling National Transitional Council, even though he long supported Gaddafi against the rebels. According to a report by the International Crisis Group, a Brussels-based NGO focused on conflict resolution, relations between Chad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

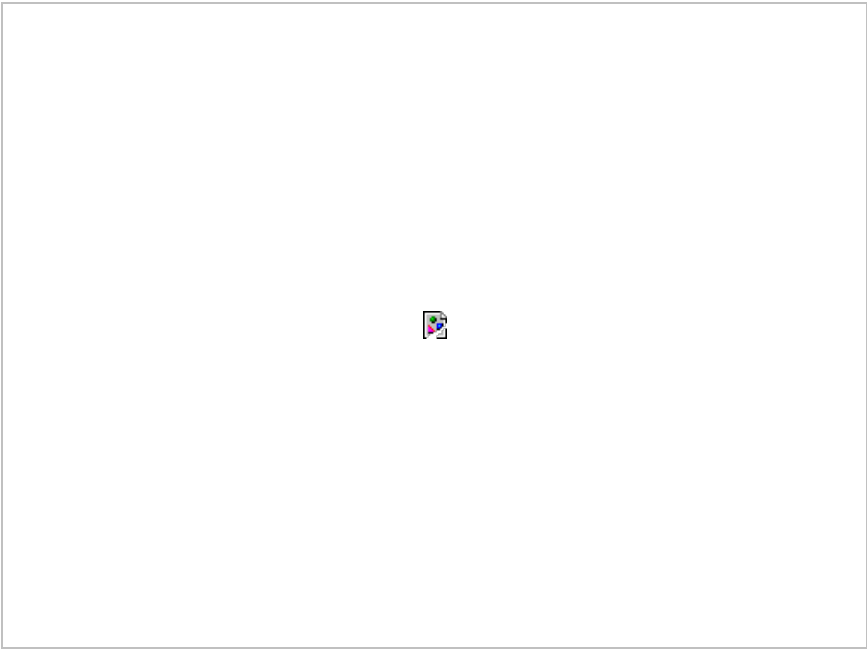
- **“With his billions of dollars, I wonder why Gaddafi didn’t invest in his own country”**

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.