

# **The War for the Oil of Libya**

**1955-2015**



**Iakovos Alhadeff**

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# Introduction

Libya is the richest African country in oil reserves and one of the richest in the world. The following seven chapters are independent essays that were written on different dates, and therefore you should not expect some kind of connection between the chapters. On the other hand all chapters deal with same issue, i.e. the Libyan energy industry, her foreign policies, and her wars for oil, and therefore they are somehow connected.

I.A.

13.2.2016

# The Arab Spring in Libya

The region occupied today by Libya was controlled by the Ottoman Empire from 1551 to 1912. In 1912 the Italians took control of the region, after the Italian-Ottoman war of 1911-1912. In 1951, the Arab Islamist King Idris, with the help of the British, whom he had helped against the Germans and the Italians during the Second World War, declared the independent monarchy of Libya. In 1959 big oil fields were discovered in Libya, and in 1969, the Arab socialists, with the help of the Soviet Union, under Muammar Qaddafi, overthrew the King and came to power, imposing a socialist dictatorship.

Picture 1



Muammar Qaddafi, like all other socialist dictators of the Middle East and North Africa, was a Russian ally, and he was getting his arms from the Soviet Union. But these dictators were following a very different socialist model than the one followed by the Russian socialists. Russian socialists

were following socialism and internationalism, because they were facing very different populations in their colonies of Central Asia and Eastern Europe. The Russian socialists were Christian Orthodox, and they had to united under their leadership the Turkic populations of Central Asia, the Christian Catholics, the Christian Protestants, but also the Muslims of Eastern Europe and the Balkans. There were also Slavic and non-Slavic populations in their colonies.

Therefore the Russian socialists had to eliminate the ethnic and religious factors, in order to absorb the population of their colonies. That's why they banned religion and they emphasized the working class, demonizing the ethnic factor. Today, that Russia has lost her colonies in Central Asia and Europe, Putin is using Slavism and Christianity aggressively, in order to promote the Russian energy policies in Europe.

On the other hand, the Arab socialist dictators were facing a very different situation. They were facing a very homogeneous population, with the Arab and the Muslim factor being dominant. Therefore the Arab socialist dictators invested a lot in socialism and Arab nationalism. Gamal Nasser, the Russian ally and socialist dictator of Egypt, used Arab nationalism (Panarabism), together with the Syrian socialists, in order to unite the Arabs of the Middle East under his leadership, and gain control of the oil of the Persian Gulf. See "The Intra-Arab War for Oil 1950-1970".

<https://iakal.wordpress.com/2015/06/09/the-intra-arab-oil-war-1950-1970/>

Muammar Qaddafi, the Libyan socialist dictator and Russian ally, used socialism and Arab nationalism, in order to united Morocco, Algeria, Libya

and Tunisia, under an Arab Islamic Republic, which would give the Arabs of North Africa more bargaining power over their European customers, who were buying their oil and gas. Even though this kind of unions are very difficult, because there is always the issue of who will have the power, the Arab Islamic Republic makes some sense, because Algeria is very rich in natural gas, Libya is very rich in oil, and Morocco and Tunisia are of strategic importance for transferring the oil and natural gas of Northern Africa to Europe.

Muammar Qaddafi managed to reach some understanding with Tunisia, as you can read at the following Wikipedia link, titled “Arab Islamic Republic”.

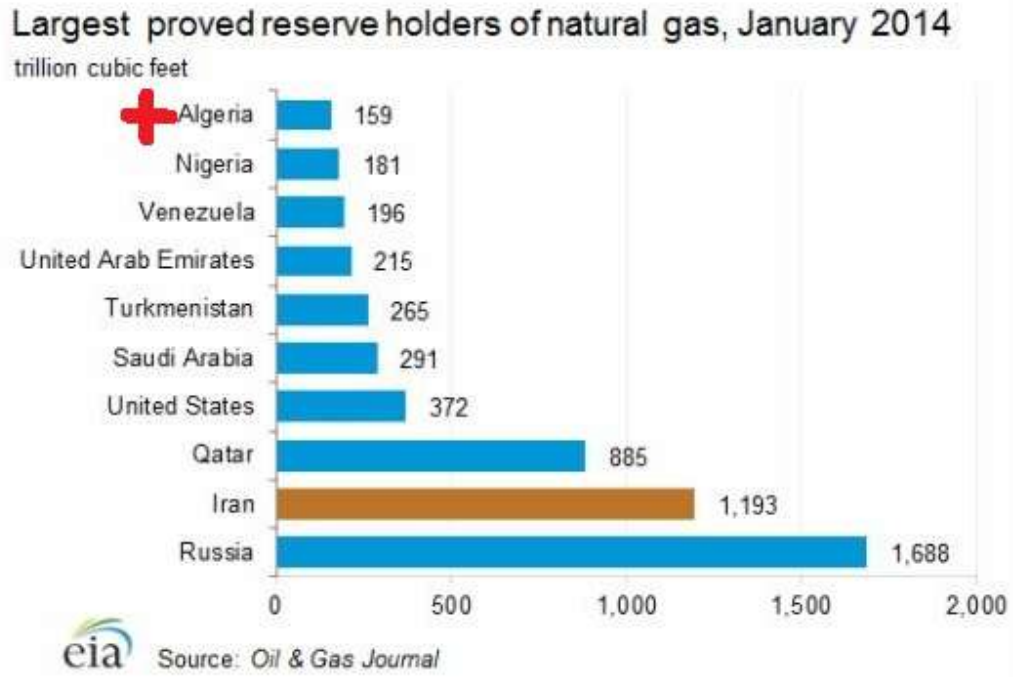
1<sup>st</sup> Paragraph

*The Arab Islamic Republic (Arabic: الجمهورية العربية الإسلامية al-Jumhūrīyah al-‘Arabīyah al-Islāmīyah) was a proposed unification of Tunisia and Libya in 1974, agreed upon by then Libyan head of state Muammar Gaddafi and Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba. Additional countries — Morocco and Algeria — were later included in the proposal, which was never implemented.*

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab\\_Islamic\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_Islamic_Republic)

However Qaddafi, as was the case with Nasser, did not manage to unite North Africa under his leadership. In the same way that Gamal Nasser failed to unite the Arabs of the Middle East under his leadership, Muammar Qaddafi failed to unite the Arabs of North Africa under his leadership. Please check the following two tables from the Energy Information Administration, which show the richest countries in natural gas and oil reserves.

Picture 2



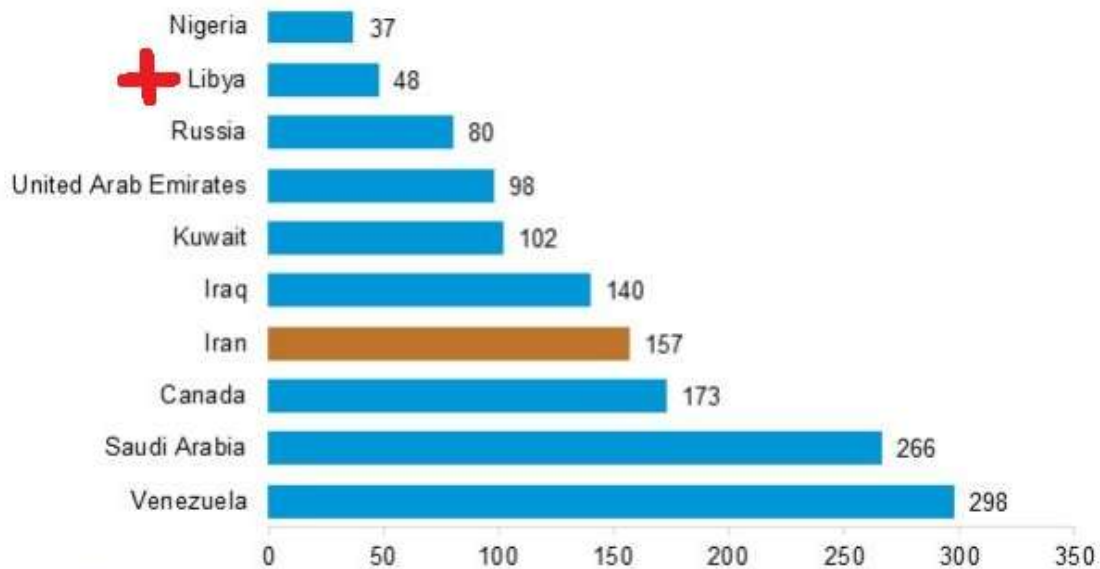
**Iran's natural gas infrastructure**

Picture 3



## Largest proved reserve holders of crude oil, January 2014

billion barrels



Source: *Oil & Gas Journal*

As expected, Qaddafi was very hostile towards the United States. But Qaddafi did not have problematic relations only with the US and England, but also with France, a country with great tradition in socialism and anti-Americanism. Qaddafi did sell oil to France, and the other countries of Southern Europe, but he did not really have any other choice, since Russia did not need his oil. That's why it is said that Qaddafi had good economic relations with France, but very poor political relations.

Two were the main problems in the relations between France and Qaddafi. The first one was that France was the main ally of Israel from 1948 till the 60s, because France and Israel had common enemies. France was at war with the Algerian socialists and islamists, because Algeria was a French colony until 1962. Moreover the Egyptian socialist dictator Gamal Nasser,

who was a Russian ally who rose to power in 1952 till his death in 1970, was threatening to close the Suez Canal, and he was a great problem for France and England.

Picture 4



Therefore Israel was very useful for France, since the two countries had common enemies. Many people believe that it was the US which was the main supporter of Israel in its early years. But this is not true. France was supplying Israel with more arms than the US, and Germany was supplying Israel with more money than the US in its early years, as reparations for the Holocaust. It was in the 60s, starting with the American President John Kennedy, that Israel and the US became the allies that everybody talks about today. Even though today there is a big crisis in the American-Israel alliance.

Moreover, in 1956, when Gamal Nasser wanted to close the Suez Canal, it was France, England and Israel that invaded the Sinai Peninsula, and were ready to overturn Nasser. The famous Suez Crisis. But the United States opposed the military operation, and the three countries had to leave Egypt humiliated. It was clear that England and France, the two main powers and rivals of Africa, were not the main players anymore. The United States and the Soviet Union had taken their place.

To make a long story short, France continued to supply Israel with arms, but after France lost Algeria, and after the United States took control of the Middle East, Israel was not very useful for France anymore. Therefore France started making energy and arms deals with the Arabs, and gradually France became a very pro-Arab country, with very high levels of anti-Semitism. Today French Jews have to leave France because they are not safe anymore.

England is a not a very pro-Israel country either, as many people believe. Even though Israel owes a lot to England, because England helped a lot in the creation of Israel. But England has been a traditional ally of the Arabs, and the Arabs helped the English to beat the Ottomans in the Middle East during the First World War. Actually from 1982 to 1994, England imposed on Israel an embargo on arms sales, as you can read at the following Independent article, titled “Britain lifts arms embargo against Israel”, May 1994.

2<sup>nd</sup> Paragraph

*Britain, along with its European partners, imposed its arms embargo on Israel in 1982 in protest at its invasion of Lebanon.*

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/britain-lifts-arms-embargo-against-israel-1438791.html>

But from the 60s onwards, with the rise of the pro-Russian socialist dictators in the Middle East and North Africa, and with the Persian Gulf playing a growing role in the American foreign policy, the Americans used the Turks and the Israelis as their main allies against the Soviets.

The other problem that Qaddafi had with the French, which I think was even more important than the one with Israel, was that the French had great influence over Africa, and Qaddafi believed that the African countries near Libya belonged to his sphere of influence. Therefore he accused the French of being colonialists. Therefore Libya's good economic relations with France were not accompanied by good political relations, and it is not very surprising that the French were the protagonists in the attacks against Qaddafi.

The truth is that Qaddafi had too many enemies and almost no friends. The United States and the English were his enemies. Many times in the past Qaddafi had used socialist terrorists against these two countries. The French had a very problematic relation with Qaddafi too, and the islamists Arabs of the Persian Gulf wanted him gone, because he was a Russian ally who had always been against them. That's why Qatar and Saudi Arabia were very active in the operations against Qaddafi. Even Russia and China abstained from the United Nations meeting that imposed a non-fly zone on Libya, as you can read at the following Guardian article, titled "Libya no-fly resolution reveals global split in UN", March 2011.

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/mar/18/libya-no-fly-resolution-split>

Picture 5



It is true of course true that the Russians did not want Qaddafi dead, and they were very angry when that happened. But the Russians turned their back on Qaddafi, and did not veto the UN resolution because they did not want to go against the French. In 2011 relations between France and Russia were good. The Russians had given France small stakes in the Russian natural gas pipelines, and they had also ordered two Mistral war ships from France, with the prospect of buying another two. This was the largest ever military order between a non-Nato and a NATO country.

Moreover the Russians believed that Qaddafi would finally have to go, and they did not want to be in bad terms with the new leadership, because that would harm the Russian and the Chinese energy companies operating in

Libya. See the Guardian article, titled “G8 summit: Gaddafi isolated as Russia joins demand for Libyan leader to go”, March 2011, which mentions that Qaddafi was isolated when Russia turned her back on him.

1<sup>st</sup> Paragraph

*Colonel Gaddafi has been left diplomatically deserted after Russia, his sole international interlocutor joined the rest of the G8 nations in declaring the Libyan leader had lost all legitimacy and had to go.*

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/may/27/g8-gaddafi-libya-russia>

Moreover there is a big difference between North Africa and Syria as far as Russia is concerned. Syria is Russia's playground, which is not the case with North Africa. The countries of Southern Europe import most of their energy from North Africa, and the countries of North Africa export most of their energy to these countries. Therefore even though the socialist dictators of North Africa were Russian allies, Putin had to take into account the Europeans when dealing with them, and the socialist dictators had to take into account the Europeans when dealing with the Russians.

The countries of the Middle East and North Africa are run by socialist or Islamist dictators, and they cannot achieve economic progress. They have to rely on the exports of their raw materials. The same is true for Russia, Venezuela, and all other socialist and Islamist countries. China is an exception, because due to her rivalry with the Soviet Union, China allowed western companies to enter China in 1980, and she managed to progress. Before 1980 China was like all other socialist and Islamic countries.

But let me return to the subject. As you can read at the following Reuters article, titled “ENI leads Libya oil race; Russia, China may lose out”, August 2011, if Russia and China were to support Qaddafi to the very end, they would take the risk of being excluded from energy projects by the next regime, which could not forgive their support. The article mentions that Qatar and the French Total, together with the Italian ENI, could be the big winners in post-Qaddafi Libya.

### 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Paragraphs

*“Italian oil company Eni led the charge back into Libya on Monday as rebels hailing the end of Muammar Gaddafi's rule warned Russian and Chinese firms that they may lose out on lucrative oil contracts for failing to support the rebellion”.*

*Gaddafi's fall will reopen the doors to Africa's largest oil reserves and give new players such as Qatar's national oil company and trading house Vitol the chance to compete with established European and U.S. oil majors.*

*“We don't have a problem with Western countries like the Italians, French and UK companies. But we may have some political issues with Russia, China and Brazil,” Abdeljalil Mayouf, information manager at Libyan rebel oil firm AGOCO, told Reuters*

### 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Paragraphs

*About 75 Chinese companies operated in Libya before the war, involving about 36,000 staff and 50 projects, according to Chinese media.*

*Russian companies, including oil firms Gazprom Neft ([SIBN.MM](#)) and Tatneft TATN3.MM, also had projects worth billions of dollars in Libya. Brazilian firms such as Petrobras ([PETR3.SA](#)) and construction company Odebrecht were also in business there.*

*“We have lost Libya completely,” Aram Shegunts, director general of the Russia-Libya Business Council, told Reuters. “Our companies will lose everything there because NATO will prevent them from doing their business in Libya.”*



## 21<sup>st</sup> Paragraph

*Wintershall said restarting production could be done within several weeks: "This of course depends on the state of the export infrastructure as well as a stable security situation in the country," it said. Analysts and industry observers have said Eni and Total could emerge as the big winners in post-war Libya due to their countries' heavy support for the rebels.*

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/08/22/us-libya-oil-idUSTRE77L1QU20110822>

I must also say that in the beginning Italy was also reluctant to participate in the operations against Qaddafi, because the Italian ENI was the foreign company that had most of the projects in Libya. But Italy was worried that France could get most of the energy projects in post-Qaddafi Libya, if Italy supported Qaddafi, and the Italians started bombing Qaddafi too. Moreover the Italians were very mad when Qaddafi said that he would give ENI's projects to Russia and China, if the Russians and the Chinese were to increase their support to the Qaddafi regime, as you can read at the following Reuters article, titled "Italy's Berlusconi exposes NATO rifts over Libya", July 2011.

## 1<sup>st</sup> Paragraph

*Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi said on Thursday he was against NATO intervention in Libya but had to go along with it, an admission that exposed the fragility of the alliance trying to unseat Muammar Gaddafi.*

## 16<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*Potentially adding to the pressure on Italy to review its stance on Libya, a senior Libyan government spokesman said negotiations had begun with Russian and Chinese firms to take over the role of Italian energy firm ENI in oil and gas projects.*

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/07/07/us-libya-idUSTRE7270JP20110707>



But as I said, because ENI was the largest foreign company in Libya, Italy was not very willing to participate in the operations against Qaddafi in the beginning. At least Italy did not have the motives that the French, the English and the Qataris had to overturn Qaddafi. As you can read at the following Wall Street Journal article, titled “Eni, Repsol Expatriates Evacuated from Libya”, July 2014, the Italian ENI and the Spanish Repsol were the largest investors in Libya.

### 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Paragraph

*Oil giants Eni SpA and Repsol SA have evacuated expatriates from Libya following escalating violence at Tripoli's airport, Libyan oil officials said over the weekend.*

*The move by the country's two largest foreign oil and gas investors, which comes after France's Total SA also pulled out its foreign staff, comes as capital's worst fighting in six months threatens Libya's fragile oil recovery.*

<http://www.wsj.com/articles/eni-repsol-expatriates-evacuated-from-libya-1405893922>

A very good article about the role of England and France in the Libyan war is Forbes' “France, U.K. Have Differing Motives For Intervening In Libya”, March 2011. The article says that France and England were from the first ones to attack Qaddafi but each one for different reasons. The English had very bad relations with Qaddafi, and they were hoping to improve their presence in a post-Qaddafi Libya.

The French, according to the Forbes, even though they were importing oil from Libya, since the French Total was very active in Libya, had the chance to enhance their military cooperation with the English, in order to isolate Germany in Europe. The article mentions the military agreement between France and England in November 2010, which according to the Forbes was

an effort by the English and the French to isolate Germany in Europe. And the article continues, that the French Total had many projects in Libya, but not as many as the Italian ENI and the German Wintershall. I must add that ENI and Wintershall are the Italian and German companies which got the large shares in the Russian natural gas pipelines. The Forbes concludes that the French companies would enjoy a greater role after Qaddafi's overturn.

Moreover the Forbes mentions that the French were supplying Qaddafi with arms, but the Italians had managed to sell more arms to Libya. In a sense the article implies that the French were not very happy with Libya, because she was aligned with the axis of Germany, Italy and Russia. In both World Wars, Italy started on one side and finished on the other. It is not clear on which side Italy will be if the Third World War breaks out.

### 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Paragraphs

*France and the United Kingdom have led the charge on the intervention in Libya. For a month, both pushed the international community toward an intervention, ultimately penning U.N. Security Council Resolution 1973 authorizing the no-fly zone on March 17. Paris' and London's interests in waging war on Libya are not the same, and Libya carries different weight with each. For the United Kingdom, Libya offers a promise of energy exploitation. It is not a country with which London has a strong client-patron relationship at the moment, but one could develop if Moammar Gadhafi were removed from power. For France, Tripoli already is a significant energy exporter and arms customer. Paris' interest in intervening is also about intra-European politics. Paris has been the most vociferous supporter of the Libya intervention. French President Nicolas Sarkozy made it his mission to gather an international coalition to wage war on Libya, and France has been at the vanguard of recognizing the legitimacy of the Benghazi-based rebels.*

## 6<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*The domestic political story is fairly straightforward. At the onset of the unrest in the Middle East, Paris stalled on recognizing the protesters as legitimate. In fact, then-French Foreign Minister Michele Alliot-Marie offered the Tunisian government official help in dealing with the protesters. Three days later, longtime Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali was forced to flee the country*

## 10<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*The intervention in Libya therefore is a way to reassert to Europe, but particularly to Germany, that France still leads the Continent on foreign and military affairs. It is a message that says if Europe intends to be taken seriously as a global power, it will need French military power. France's close coordination with the United Kingdom also is an attempt to further develop the military alliance between London and Paris formalized on Nov. 2, 2010, as a counter to Germany's overwhelming economic and political power in the European Union.*

## 12<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*As for interests in Libya, France has plenty, but its situation could be improved. French energy major Total SA is involved in Libya but not to the same extent as Italian ENI or even German Wintershall. Considering Libya's plentiful and largely unexplored energy reserves, French energy companies could stand to profit from helping rebels take power in Tripoli. But it is really military sales that Paris has benefited from thus far. Between 2004 — when the European Union lifted its arms embargo against Libya — and 2011, Tripoli has purchased approximately half a billion dollars worth of arms from France, more than from any other country in Europe. However, the Italian government was in negotiation for more than a billion dollars worth of more deals in 2010, and it seemed that the Rome-Tripoli relationship was overtaking Paris' efforts in Libya prior to the intervention.*

## 16<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*London has another significant interest, namely, energy. British energy major BP has no production in Libya, although it agreed with Tripoli to drill onshore and offshore wells under a \$1 billion deal signed in 2007. The negotiations on these concessions were drawn out but were finalized after the Scottish government decided to release convicted Lockerbie bomber Abdel Baset al-Megrahi on humanitarian grounds in August 2009. He was expected to die of prostate cancer within months of his release but presumably is still alive in Tripoli. The Labour government in power at the time came under heavy criticism for al-Megrahi's release. British media speculated, not entirely unfairly, that the decision represented an effort to kick-start BP's production in Libya and smooth relations between London and Tripoli. BP announced in 2009 that it planned to invest \$20 billion in Libyan oil production over the next 20 years.*

<http://www.forbes.com/sites/energysource/2011/03/29/france-u-k-have-differing-motives-for-intervening-in-libya/>

The war in Libya is not over. Today there are two governments in Libya, one recognized by the international community in Tobruk, and the islamist one in Tripoli, supported by Turkey, Qatar and some other countries. As you can read at the following Reuters article, titled "Libyan PM says Turkey supplying weapons to rival Tripoli group", February 2015, Libya's Prime Ministers accused Turkey and Qatar of supplying with arms the islamists of Tripoli.

### 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Paragraphs

*Libya's internationally recognized Prime Minister Abdullah al-Thinni said his government would stop dealing with Turkey because it was sending weapons to a rival group in Tripoli so that "the Libyan people kill each other".*

*Two administrations, one in the capital and Thinni's in the east, have been battling for power since the armed group Libya Dawn seized Tripoli in July and reinstated lawmakers from a previous assembly, four years after Muammar Gaddafi was ousted.*

## 10<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*In the CBC interview, Thinni said Turkish firms would be excluded from contracts in territory controlled by his government, adding that any outstanding bills would be paid.*

## 13<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*Thinni also accused Qatar of giving "material" support to the rival side in the Libyan conflict. He did not elaborate.*

## 17<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*The Brotherhood has a presence in the rival parliament in Tripoli and western Libya.*

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/27/us-libya-security-turkey-idUSKBN0LV1S120150227>

As you can read at the following Financial Times article, titled “Tripoli authority sacks prime minister”, March 2015, the head of the Islamists in Libya publicly praised ISIS.

## 5<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*Mr Hassi had emerged as the face of the Islamist-leaning authority in Tripoli but became a liability once he publicly praised predecessor groups of Isis, including the UN-listed terror group Ansar al-Sharia. He said these were partners in the effort by his National Salvation Government to crush armed forces loyal to the government that is internationally recognised and holed up in the eastern city of Tubruq.*

<http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/806d5e6e-d7e6-11e4-80de-00144feab7de.html#axzz3jBuJwhKT>

This is war.

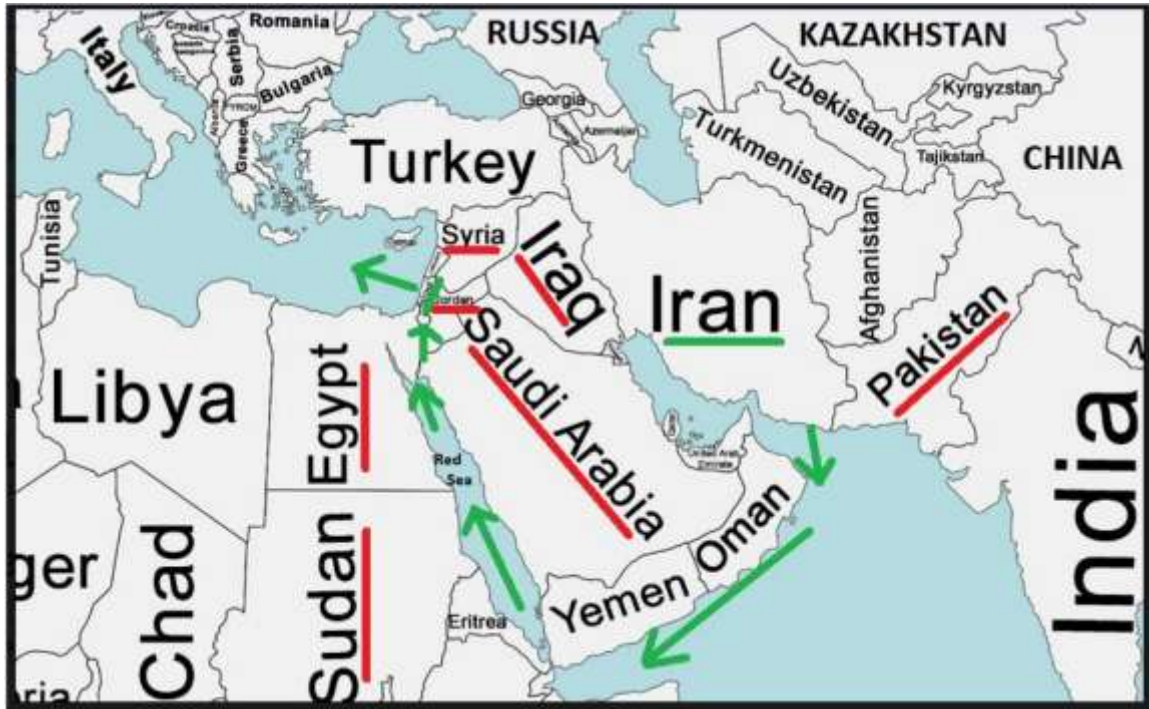
# Libya & Syria : Iran's Arab Allies

Muammar Qaddafi, or Gaddafi, became the dictator of Libya in 1969. Qaddafi continued the tradition of socialist dictators of North Africa and the Middle East, who overturn the pro-West monarchs and aligned their countries with the Soviet Union. Right from the start of his dictatorship Qaddafi started helping the other socialist dictators i.e. Gamal Nasser, Hafez Assad, Yasser Arafat etc, in their efforts to overturn the Iranian King i.e. the Shah of Iran. The Shah of Iran was the strongest American ally in the Middle East. And as I have said in the past in 1968 the Iranians and the Israelis managed to construct the Eilat-Ashkelon Pipeline, after they had defeated the Arabs in the war of the 1967 i.e. the Six Day War.

With the Eilat-Ashkelon Pipeline the Iranians managed to overcome the Arab territorial blockade of Syria and Iraq, and the sea territorial blockade of Egypt and the Suez Canal, and reach the Mediterranean Sea and Europe through Israel. At the same time the Israelis were earning commissions, and they had access to oil, since the Arabs had not recognized Israeli and were not willing to sell oil to Israel. See "The Intra-Arab War for Oil 1950-1970".

<https://iakal.wordpress.com/2015/06/09/the-intra-arab-oil-war-1950-1970/>

Map 1 The Eilat-Ashkelon Pipeline 1968



When the Iranian Islamists finally did overturn the Iranian Shah, and they nationalized the western oil companies, they no longer had the protection of the West. As I have already said in the past, Saddam Hussein grabbed the chance and invaded Iran, among other things in order to annex the rich in oil Khuzestan Province. For Saddam's invasion of Iran and the Iran-Iraq War see "Saddam Hussein : The Father of ISIS in Iraq".

<https://iakal.wordpress.com/2016/01/08/saddam-hussein-the-father-of-isis-in-iraq/>

But while all the Arabs, together with the Americans and the Soviets, were supporting Saddam Hussein and Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War, two Arab countries i.e. Libya and Syria, were supporting Iran together with China and North Korea.

## Syria

The socialist Syrians, with Hafez al Assad as their leader, the father of the current dictator Bashar al Assad, supported Iran during the Iran-Iraq War of 1980-1988 because their efforts to form one country with Iraq in the 70s had failed due to Saddam Hussein's rise to power in 1979. The Syrians had almost reached an agreement with Saddam's predecessor Hassan al Bakr, in order for the two countries to become one, and export Iraqi oil to the Mediterranean Sea through Syria. However Saddam Hussein threaten al Bakr with a military coup and became president of Iraq. Saddam Hussein's terms were much tougher than Bakr's i.e. he wanted the Iraqi army in Syria before Syria and Iraq were to form a single country, something not accepted by Hafez Assad. See "Iraq-Syria Relations : Baathist Iraq and Syria".

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq%E2%80%93Syria\\_relations#Ba.27athist\\_Iraq\\_and\\_Syria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq%E2%80%93Syria_relations#Ba.27athist_Iraq_and_Syria)

As a result a great rivalry was developed between Assad and Hussein, and the two men started accusing each other for allegedly plotting a coup against their regimes. Therefore even though both Syria and Iraq were Soviet allies, even though Iraq was very rich in oil and Syria was not, the two countries did not reach an agreement because it was difficult to decide how to split the power between the Syrians and the Iraqis.

Remember that Syria had already lost Egypt, when Egypt became an American ally in the 70s, and then also recognized Israel, and in 1979 Syria also lost Iraq with the Assad-Hussein rivalry. Therefore the Syrian Arabs



decided to turn to Iran, both for funding against a common enemy i.e. Iraq, but also hoping that the Iranians would win the Iran-Iraq war, and the Shiite (Shia) Arab majority of Iraq would come to power. In that case the Iranians and the Iraqis could send their oil and gas to the Mediterranean Sea through Syria. Something that Gazprom undertook to do after many decades in order to block the Qatar-Turkey pipeline i.e. the Iran-Iraq-Syria pipeline.

Map 2 Pipelines Iraq-Syria and Iran-Iraq-Syria (1979)



## Libya

Muammar Qaddafi on the other hand was an admirer and supporter of the Egyptian socialist dictator and Soviet ally Gamal Nasser. Gamal Nasser was threatening to block the Arabs of the Gulf from reaching the Mediterranean Sea through the Suez Canal, in order to ask for higher commissions and more influence for him over the Arab World. According to Nasser's plan

Egypt would conquer Israel and Syria would conquer Lebanon, and together they would totally block the Arabs of the Gulf. Nasser was trying to do what today Erdogan and Turkey are trying to do to the Arabs of the Gulf.

Gamal Nasser's aggression towards the Arabs of the Gulf was quite convenient for Qaddafi, because the Gulf countries were his competitors in the European oil markets. Moreover Saudi Arabia was a US ally and it was much harder to jointly reduce oil production in order to increase prices. When Anwar Sadat succeeded Gamal Nasser as the Egyptian socialist dictator, and decided to steer Egypt towards the United States, Libya and Egypt went to war i.e. the Libyan-Egyptian War of 1977. Egypt and Libya broke diplomatic ties for many years. For the Egyptian-Libyan War of 1977 see Wikipedia "Libyan-Egyptian War"

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libyan%E2%80%93Egyptian\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libyan%E2%80%93Egyptian_War)

Anwar Sadat was Egypt's number 2, and he was Gamal Nasser's vice president. After Nasser's death in 1970 Sadat became the next socialist dictator and continued Nasser's legacy, by fighting the 1973 war with Israel. However after Egypt's defeat in 1973 Sadat decided that Egypt should change direction, and aligned his country with the United States. Egypt started receiving huge economic and military aid from the US. Only Israeli was receiving more than Egypt. Israel receives approximately 3 billion dollars per year and Egypt receives 1 billion. I believe that the Iranian Islamists and the Libyan socialists must have played a role in Sadat's assassination in 1981. Iran actually named a street after the assassin's name. Only recently Iran decided to rename the street in order to improve relations with Egypt. See BBC "Iran and Egypt to restore ties", January 2004.

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/3371545.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3371545.stm)

Therefore Qaddafi had every reason to align himself with the Iranians, whom he knew would be blocked from the Western oil markets and would not compete with him. Moreover the Iranian Islamists would cause many problems in the Gulf and would make life very hard for the Arabs of the Gulf. As a result Qaddafi was one of the strongest supporters of Iran during the Iran-Iraq War of the 80s.

However, when Qaddafi fell the Iranian Islamists rushed to salute the Libyan Islamists who were fighting Qaddafi, because they wanted to compete for influence with the Turks and the Saudis. After all the war in Libya reduced dramatically Libya's oil production, something good for the Arabs, the Iranians and the Russians. Remember that not even Russia vetoed the military intervention in Libya at the UN Security Council of 2011. Russia preferred to abstain from the vote. See "Libya no-fly resolution reveals global split in UN", March 2011.

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/mar/18/libya-no-fly-resolution-split>

I would not go as far as saying that Russia wanted Qaddafi gone. Maybe the Russians did not want to go against Nicholas Sarkozy who had excellent relations with Vladimir Putin. Remember that at the time Sarkozy and Putin made the agreement for the sale to Russia of the French Mistral warships, which was the largest military contract between a NATO member and a non-NATO member. Note that the French were the first to attack Libya.

Of course it is also true under Nicholas Sarkozy France joined NATO after 33 years of absence. Sarkozy wanted to protect France from Germany, because Germany had Russia as an ally, and France needed the US. Sarkozy knew that the economic interests between Germany and Russia were more aligned than the economic interests between France and Russia. Remember that recently Putin said that Sarkozy is the next president of France. See “Sarkozy's Putin visit sparks controversy at home”, October 2015

<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-russia-sarkozy-idUSKCN0SN2GL20151029>

Note also that Angela Merkel is trying to balance between USA and Russia. On one hand Merkel promotes the energy deals between Russia and Germany, but on the other hand she accepts to the sanctions against Russia, in order not to worry too much the Americans, the French and the English, who are already worried. Merkel is trying to prevent the total break up of NATO, which could mean great problems for Europe.

Things got a bit better after the Russians included in Nord Stream 2 the Germans, the French, the British, the Dutch and the Austrians. Now only the Italians are angry.

Map Nord Stream 2



I must also say that Libya and Iran were both trying to develop their nuclear programs, and the Western countries were trying to prevent them from doing so. The two countries both wanted the uranium of Western Africa which was mainly used by the French. Therefore the Libyans and the Iranians both had a motive to cooperate against the French in West Africa. Also see “France VS Muammar Qaddafi”.

<https://iakal.wordpress.com/2016/01/24/muammar-gaddafi-vs-france/>

### **Libya+Algeria**

I want to also say a few words about the Libyan-Algerian relations. Qaddafi managed to have working relations with Algeria, even though both countries are exporting energy to Europe. It is true that both were Soviet allies, it is true that Algeria is very rich in gas and Libya is very rich in oil, it is true that

Algeria sells mainly to France and Libya sells mainly to Italy, but still nobody would be surprised if Libya and Algeria had very hostile relations.

I believe that one of the reasons Libya and Algeria managed to have working relations is the common threat of Morocco. Algeria and Morocco have very problematic relations because Algeria supports the independence of Western Sahara, currently under Moroccan control. Not only Western Sahara is rich in oil and gas, not only Morocco is a US ally, but moreover the oil and gas of Senegal and Mauritania could travel to Europe through Morocco and Western Sahara. Nigeria could also send oil and gas to Europe through Western Sahara and Morocco, and Nigeria is one of the richest countries in the world in terms of oil and gas reserves. Libya, which could also be hurt by Morocco, supports Algeria on the issue of Western Sahara.

Before proceeding I would like to bring to your attention some articles about Western Sahara and West Africa.

“Cairn confirms Senegal oil discovery”, October 2014

<http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/33fbcf52-4e2f-11e4-bfda-00144feab7de.html#axzz3yzZcvEAY>

“Kosmos finds gas in Mauritania as regional exploration picks up”, April 2015

<http://af.reuters.com/article/investingNews/idAFKBN0NJ0FB20150428>

“Kosmos Energy Makes Second Major Gas Discovery Offshore Mauritania”, November 2015



<http://www.reuters.com/article/tx-kosmos-energy-idUSnBw125162a+100+BSW20151112>

“Oil: Western Sahara's future”, March 2003

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/2758829.stm>

Map 4



Map 5 Western Sahara





## Articles

“Iran hopes Gaddafi domino will fall the right way”, August 2011

<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-iran-idUSTRE77O39V20110825>

“Iran hails death of long-time ally Qaddafi as great victory”, October 2011

<https://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/10/21/172895.html>

“Dislike for Qaddafi Gives Arabs a Point of Unity”, March 2011

<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/22/world/africa/22arab.html>

“Iran in a dilemma over Libya”, March 2011

[http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle\\_East/MC15Ak05.html](http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle_East/MC15Ak05.html)

“Iran and Egypt to restore ties”, January 2004

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/3371545.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3371545.stm)

“Anwar Sadat”

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anwar\\_Sadat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anwar_Sadat)

“Arab League Relations with Libya”

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab\\_League%E2%80%93Iran\\_relations#Libya](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_League%E2%80%93Iran_relations#Libya)

[a](#)

“Tehran switches gear in its relationship with Tripoli after Qaddafi’s death”,

October 2011

<http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/10/22/173060.html>

“Quds Force”

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quds\\_Force](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quds_Force)

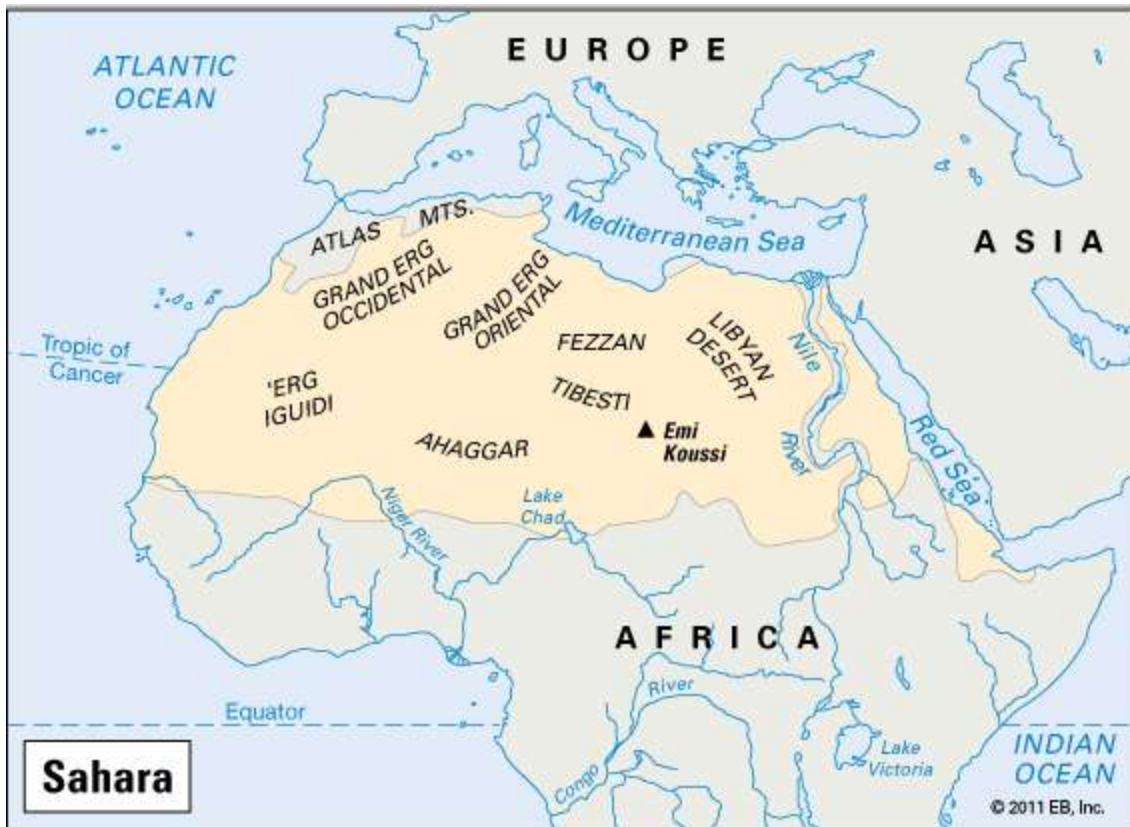
“Libyan Leader Delivers a Scolding in U.N. Debut”, September 2009

<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/24/world/24nations.html>

# The Bush-Qaddafi Alliance

Libya is a part of Sahara, the largest desert in the world. See the following Britannica and Wikipedia maps.

Map Sahara (Britannica)



<http://media.web.britannica.com/eb-media/26/113726-004-20D4A662.gif>

Map 2 Sahara (Wikipedia)



[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/2/21/Africa\\_satellite\\_orthographic.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/2/21/Africa_satellite_orthographic.jpg)

The overwhelming majority of the Libyan people live at the northern coasts, with Tripoli (west) and Benghazi (east) being the two urban centers.

Map 3 Tripoli and Benghazi



<http://www.yourchildlearns.com/Where%20Maps/images/benghazi-map.gif>

Map 4 “List of cities in Libya”

No. ↕	City	Population ↕
1	Tripoli	2,220,000 <sup>[1]</sup>
2	Benghazi	1,001,000 <sup>[1]</sup>
3	Misrata	350,000 <sup>[2]</sup>
4	Bayda	250,000 <sup>[3]</sup>
5	Zawiya	234,000
6	Zliten	200,000 <sup>[4]</sup>
7	Ajdabiya	184,820
8	Tobruk	108,771
9	Sabha	103,743
10	Khoms	88,317
11	Derna	80,000 <sup>[1]</sup>
12	Sabratha	80,000
13	Zuwara	75,893
14	Kufra	68,940
15	Marj	62,894
16	Tajura	60,681
17	Tarhuna	50,715
18	Sirte	48,504
19	Gharyan	46,455
20	Msallata	46,160

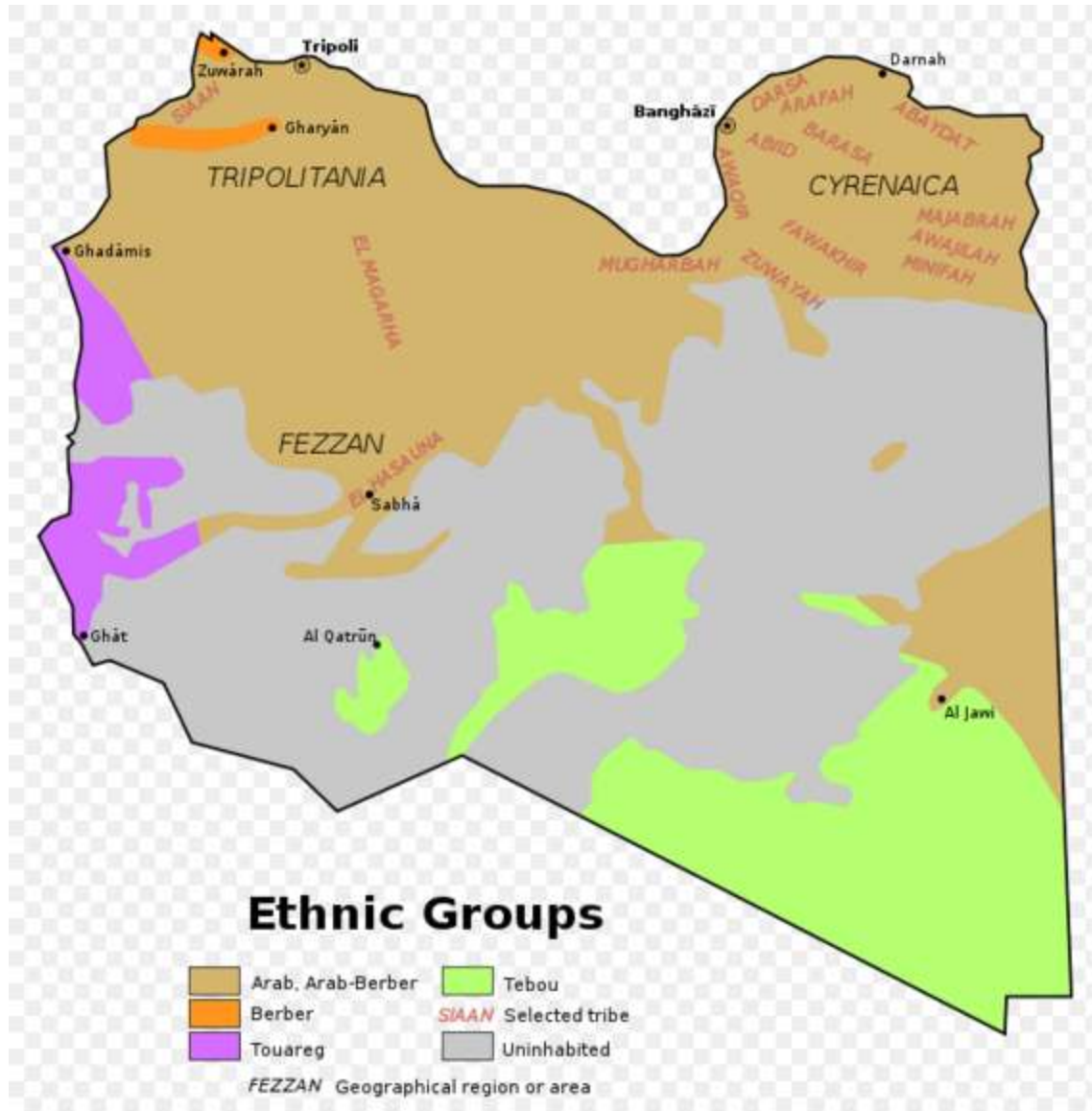
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_cities\\_in\\_Libya](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_cities_in_Libya)

Libya is not divided to Sunni, Shia and Alawite Muslims, as it is the case with Syria and Iraq. Sunnis constitute the overwhelming majority of the Libyan population. The Arabs, who live at the Mediterranean coasts, also constitute the overwhelming majority of Libya. With brown on the following map you can see the Arab regions of Libya, with purple the ones with the Tuaregs, with Green the ones with the Tabu, and with gray the uninhabited



ones. But as I already said most of the population lives at the Mediterranean coasts (Arabs).

Map 5 Demographic Map of Libya



[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libya#/media/File:Libya\\_ethnic.svg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libya#/media/File:Libya_ethnic.svg)

Libya never existed as “Libya” in history. During the last centuries she was mainly under Ottoman control, and from 1911 she was an Italian colony. In

1951 Libya became an independent state. There are various Arab tribes living in Libya. A basic separation can be made between the three main Libyan provinces i.e. Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Fezzan. Tripolitania, with Tripoli as its center, and Cyrenaica, with Benghazi as its center, are the highly populated areas. Sahara desert separates the three provinces, and it is one of the reasons the different tribes did not become homogeneous over time.

Map 6 Provinces of Libya





[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fezzan#/media/File:Map\\_of\\_traditional\\_provinces\\_of\\_Libye-en.svg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fezzan#/media/File:Map_of_traditional_provinces_of_Libye-en.svg)

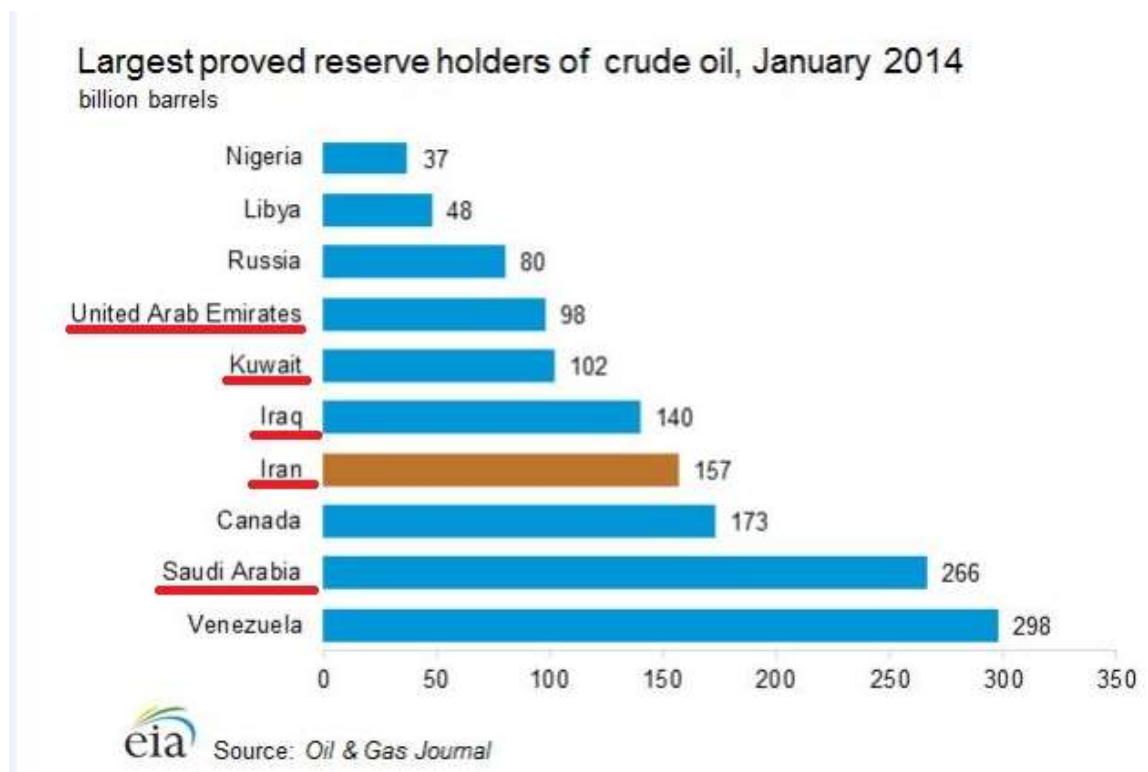
These three provinces were for the first time administratively united by the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini, something which was not very appreciated by the local tribes that were not used to have any central authority. Tripolitania and Cyrenaica were mostly operating on the north-south axis and not on the west-east axis i.e. the emphasis was not on communicating with each other. Maybe the reason was that they were separated by 650

kilometers of desert, or maybe because they had many differences, or a combination.

The first Libyan oil fields were discovered in 1956, and the largest Libyan oil fields were discovered in 1959. See “National Oil Corporation : History” [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Oil\\_Corporation#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Oil_Corporation#History)

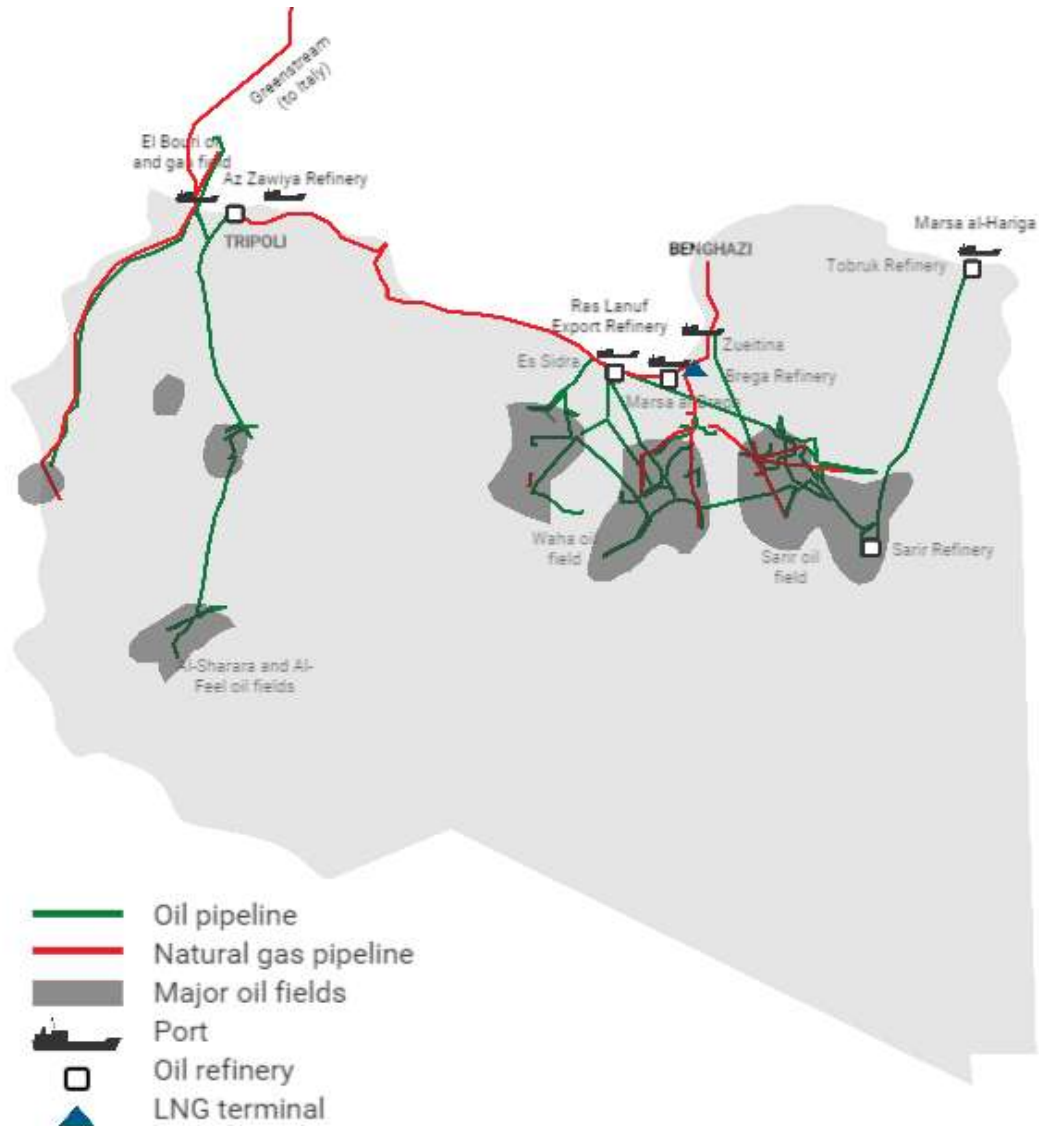
Libya, with 48 billion barrels of oil reserves, is the richest African country in oil reserves, and the 10<sup>th</sup> richest in the world, with a population of only 6 million people. See Energy Information Administration.

### Map 7



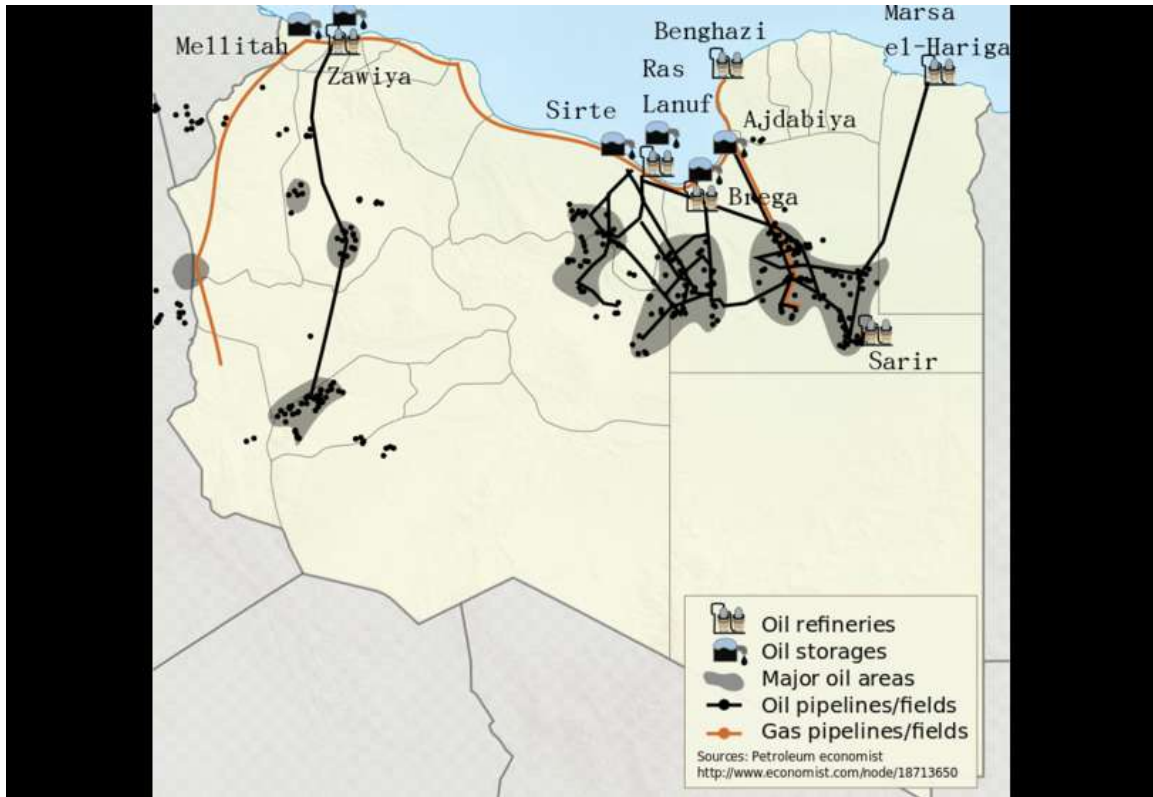
As you can see at the following maps from Al Jazeera and Wikipedia, Cyrenaica is the richest region of Libya in terms of oil.

Map 8 Libyan Oil Fields and Pipelines (Al Jazeera)



<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2015/02/battle-libyas-oil-150219124633572.html>

Map 9 Libyan Pipelines Wikipedia



[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libya#/media/File:Libya\\_location\\_map-oil %26 gas 2011-en.svg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libya#/media/File:Libya_location_map-oil_%26_gas_2011-en.svg)

The strong tribe of Cyrenaica has traditionally been the Senussi or Sanusi. See Wikipedia “Senussi”.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Senussi>

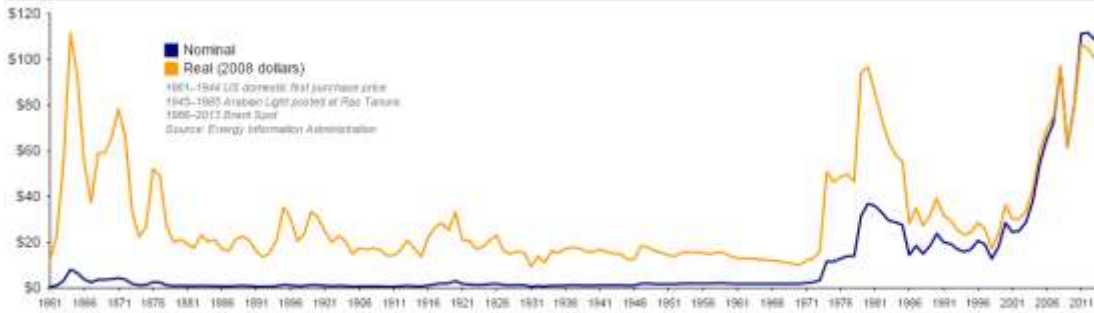
The Senussi fought the Italians during World War Two on the side of the British, and in exchange the British promised that in case of victory they would make sure that Cyrenaica wasn't controlled by the Italians. The British kept their promises and in 1951 Libya became an independent state, with the leader of the Senussi tribe as her King (King Idris). King Idris considered Cyrenaica to be his homeland, and he was actually not very enthusiastic about governing Tripolitania and Fezzan too.

King Idris was a pro-Western king, and Muammar Qaddafi, a Soviet ally, used King Idris alignment with the West in order to attack him and eventually overturn him in 1969. Qaddafi overturned King Idris in 1969, ten years after the main Libyan oil fields were found. Qaddafi used socialist and Arab nationalism to homogenize the population of Libya, and he often used violence to achieve his goal. Qaddafi was from Syrtis (Tripolitania) and favored the Tripolitarians, and the people of Cyrenaica were frustrated by that. Remember that Cyrenaica is richer in oil than Tripolitania.

However Qaddafi rose to power in 1969, and he appointed approximately 70% of Libyans as civil servants, in order to keep them happy and calm. Qaddafi was lucky because the oil prices were high during the 70s, due to the embargo on the oil sales that was imposed on the United States by the Arab members of the international oil cartel (OPEC). The Arabs did that to retaliate for the US support to Israel during the Arab-Israeli War of 1973. I guess the high oil prices were for the Arabs very convenient too.

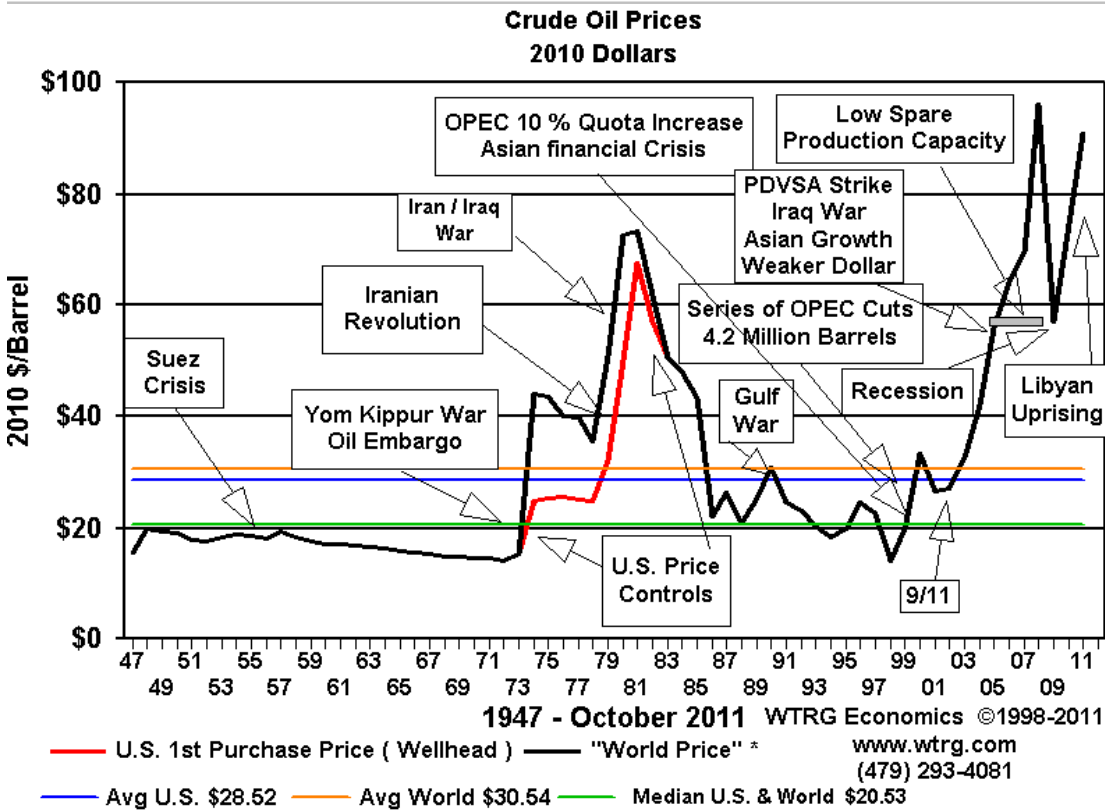
However during the 80s, when oil prices were lower, it became tougher for Qaddafi to keep the various Libyan tribes happy, especially the ones from Cyrenaica, who were very often oppressed by him.

Map 10 “Oil Prices Since 1861”



[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/2f/Oil\\_Prices\\_Since\\_1861.svg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/2f/Oil_Prices_Since_1861.svg)

Map 11



[http://www.wtrg.com/oil\\_graphs/oilprice1947.gif](http://www.wtrg.com/oil_graphs/oilprice1947.gif)

The Arabs of the Persian Gulf took advantage of the frustration of the people of Cyrenaica, in order to promote Islamism and attack Qaddafi. Remember

that Qaddafi and the Arabs of the Gulf were competitors in the European and African oil markets, and Qaddafi was a Soviet ally while the Arabs of the Gulf were American allies. Qaddafi was using socialists to attack the monarchs of the Gulf, and the Arabs of the Gulf were using Islamists to attack Qaddafi. Also remember that Qaddafi, who was an Arab, supported Iran during the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988), while all other Arabs with the exception of Syria supported Iraq. For the reasons that Qaddafi supported Iran and not Iraq see “Libya and Syria : The 2 Arab Allies of Iran”.

<https://iakal.wordpress.com/2016/02/02/libya-syria-the-2-arab-allies-of-iran/>

As you can read at the following article from the Council of Foreign Relations, which is a center-left American think-tank, Muammar Qaddafi helped organize many assassinations, or assassination attempts, against pro-Western leaders in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Chad, Zaire, Tunisia. Moreover, as you can read at the same article, Qaddafi was running an academy for training socialist terrorists. Members of the most famous socialist terrorist organizations were trained in Qaddafi’s academy i.e. members of IRA (Ireland), the Red Brigades (Italy), ETA (Spain), PLO (Palestine). Qaddafi had also supported the overturn of pro-Western leaders, for example the overturn of the Shah of Iran, who was a very strong US ally, and who was overturn by the Islamists in 1979. For the terrorist academies of Qaddafi see “The Rebellion of the Tuareg Desert Warriors in 2012”.

<https://iakal.wordpress.com/2016/01/27/the-rebellion-of-the-tuareg-desert-warrior-in-2012/>

Even though Qaddafi was a very enthusiastic supporter of terrorism, he never supported Al Qaeda, and he was the first one to issue an international warrant against Osama bin Laden. The reason was that in the same way Qaddafi was using socialists to attack the Arabs of the Gulf, the Arabs of the Gulf were using Islamists to attack Qaddafi during the 42 years of his dictatorship. Many Libyan Islamists who were on the run ended up in Afghanistan in the 80s, where they fought against the Soviets during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Some of these fighters later became Al-Qaeda members after the Soviets left from Afghanistan, and the ones from Libya were in 2011 among the protagonists when the Arab Spring broke out in Libya. It was no surprise that the Arab Spring in Libya started from Cyrenaica. For the article of Council of Foreign Relations see “How Libya Got Off the List”, October 2007.

### 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Paragraph

*On May 15, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice announced that the United States was removing Libya from its list of state sponsors of terrorism and would soon resume normal diplomatic relations with the one-time pariah. Rice said the move was in response to "historic decisions taken by Libya's leadership in 2003 to renounce terrorism and to abandon its weapons of mass destruction (WMD) programs." Yet the resumption of diplomatic ties remains unsettling to some Americans. Though Libya has made a concerted effort to enter the good graces of the international community, leader Muammar el-Qaddafi has amassed a bad human-rights record since he took power in 1969.*

*In the early 1970s, Qaddafi established terrorist training camps on Libyan soil, provided terrorist groups with arms, and offered safe haven to terrorists, say U.S. officials. Among the groups aided by Qaddafi were the Irish Republican Army, Spain's ETA, Italy's Red Brigades, and Palestinian groups such as the Palestine Liberation Organization. Libya*



*was also suspected of attempting to assassinate the leaders of Chad, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Tunisia, and Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo).*

### 5<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*One group that Libya never supported was al-Qaeda. As Libya expert Lisa Anderson told CFR.org's Bernard Gwertzman, al-Qaeda regards Qaddafi as "no better than the Saudi government, no better than any of these other governments that they hate." In fact, Qaddafi issued the first Interpol warrant for Osama bin Laden in 1998 for the killings of two German counterterrorism agents in Tripoli four years earlier.*

### 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> Paragraphs

*At the same time, Qaddafi increasingly moved to cut Libya's ties to terrorism. Starting in 1999, Qaddafi expelled the Abu Nidal Organization, closed Libya's terrorist training camps, cut ties to Palestinian militants, and extradited suspected terrorists to Egypt, Yemen, and Jordan. In the 2002 edition of the state sponsors of terrorism list, the State Department said Qaddafi had "repeatedly denounced terrorism."*

*In August 2003, after protracted negotiations with UN, U.S., and UK representatives, Libya finally agreed to pay some \$2.7 million in compensation to the victims of the Pan Am 103 bombing. Days later, Libya delivered a letter to the UN Security Council accepting responsibility for the attack.*

<http://www.cfr.org/libya/libya-got-off-list/p10855>

I must also say that in 1990 the Libyan Islamists created the “Libyan Islamic Fighting Group”, an Islamist organization that was cooperating with Al-Qaeda, and which carried out 3 assassination attempts against Qaddafi. As a result, when the United States started having problems with the Saudis, and Al-Qaeda started attacking the Americans, Qaddafi saw in the US a potential ally against the Islamists.

As you can read at the following article from the American think-tank Jamestown Foundation, after the Al-Qaeda attack at the Twin Towers in September 2001, Qaddafi started cooperating with George Bush against Al-Qaeda. At the same article you can read that CIA agents, and agents from the British Intelligence (MI6) met in London the head of the Libyan Intelligence, and he gave them files with the details of the members of the “Libyan Islamic Fighting Group”. For the article see “The Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG)”, May 2005.

### 1<sup>st</sup> Paragraph

*Colonel Muammar Qadhafi's decades-long confrontation with the West has never given him much purchase among militant Islamists in Libya. In fact, the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG – Al-Jama'a al-Islamiyyah al-Muqatilah fi-Libya) has waged a violent insurgency for ten years – with a hostility toward the eccentric dictator so implacable that it refuses even to negotiate with his envoys. Ironically, this internal challenge has led Qadhafi to abandon his quixotic defiance of the United States and join the Bush administration's war on terror, while the prospect of a LIFG takeover in Libya has facilitated American and European forgiveness of past transgressions.*

### 3<sup>rd</sup> Paragraph

*So long as oil revenues remained plentiful, however, clerical angst did not inspire broad-based challenges to Qadhafi's rule. With the decline of oil prices in the 1980s, however, educated Libyans began to deeply resent the regime's heterodox religious orientation, conspicuous corruption and economic mismanagement. Adding fuel to the fire, Saudi Arabia stepped up its support for radical Wahhabi militants in the 1980s, nine of whom (including three army officers), were executed by the regime in 1987. As in other Arab states, government repression at home led many militant Libyan Islamists (estimated to be at least 500) to join the mujahideen fighting Soviet forces in Afghanistan. Some returned to Libya in the early 1990s; others traveled to the Sudan, where Osama bin*

*Laden had begun building what would become the al-Qaeda terrorist network, or took up residence in Britain.*

### **7<sup>th</sup> Paragraph**

*Qadhafi demanded that the Sudanese government expel Libyan operatives from his camps and began ejecting thousands of Sudanese workers from the country. Under pressure from his hosts, bin Laden reluctantly informed his Libyan compatriots that they had to leave and gave them \$2,400 each and plane tickets out of the country for their families. "Most of them, they refused the offer...they were very upset and angry," a Moroccan member of al-Qaeda later recalled.*

### **13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> Paragraphs**

*Following 9/11, Qadhafi jumped at the opportunity to collaborate in the Bush administration's war on radical Islamist terrorism. Just weeks after the attacks, a CIA team flew to London to meet face to face with the man believed to have planned the 1988 Lockerbie bombing – Musa Kusa, the head of Libyan intelligence. Kusa provided the CIA (and also Britain's MI6 foreign intelligence service) with the names of LIFG operatives and other Libyan Islamists who trained in Afghanistan, as well as dossiers on LIFG leaders living in the UK. In light of the central role of Libyan Afghans in al-Qaeda, this was a major intelligence windfall for the Bush administration.*

*The American government, for its part, officially designated LIFG as a terrorist organization. Although LIFG does not have a presence in the United States, the Bush administration's designation is not merely symbolic. For starters, it means that any state providing assistance to LIFG can potentially be designated a state sponsor of terrorism by the U.S. State Department. More importantly, it means that any member of LIFG living in undemocratic countries backed by the United States (e.g. Pakistan, Egypt) runs the risk of arrest and "rendition" back to Libya.*

[http://www.jamestown.org/single/?tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=308#.Vr2XxfI95dg](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=308#.Vr2XxfI95dg)

Qaddafi's cooperation with the US and England was a great geopolitical change, given that in the past they have been bitter enemies. As you can read at the following Guardian article there it is possible that the British Intelligence had in the past helped the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group in its attempts to assassinate Qaddafi. See "The Libyan Islamic Fighting Group – from al-Qaida to the Arab spring", September 2011.

1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> Paragraphs

*British intelligence and security service interest in Libya has focused for 20 years on the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG), whether it was opposing Muammar Gaddafi and working with al-Qaida, later renouncing its old jihadi worldview – or taking part in the armed uprising that has now overthrown the regime.*

*Founded in 1990 in eastern Libya and accused of attempting to kill Gaddafi three times – according to unconfirmed claims with help from MI6 – the LIFG was effectively defeated on its home turf by 1998. Its cadres fled first to Sudan and Afghanistan and Iraq where hundreds joined al-Qaida. It was officially disbanded in 2010.*

*According to Noman Benotman, a former LIFG commander who fought with Osama bin Laden, at its peak the group had 1,000 active members, training camps in Afghanistan and a network of supporters and fundraisers in Libya, the Middle East and Europe. Benotman now works as an analyst for the Quilliam Foundation, a UK government-funded counter-radicalisation thinktank in London.*

*Other top ex-LIFG figures remain in al-Qaida. Its chief of operations, Atiyah Abd al-Rahman, a Libyan, was killed two weeks ago in a CIA drone strike. His likely successor, Abu Yahya al-Libi, is also Libyan.*

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/sep/05/libyan-islamic-fighting-group-leaders>

Their cooperation against Al Qaeda was one of the reasons the Americans were initially reluctant to intervene in Libya after the Arab Spring broke out

in 2011, even though in the end they followed the French. See “The American General Wesley Clark and NATO’s Intervention in Libya”.

<https://iakal.wordpress.com/2016/02/09/the-american-general-wesley-clark-and-natos-intervention-in-libya/>

Wesley Clark, the American General, was probably right when he was saying that an intervention in Libya could make things even worse. Today there are two separate governments in Libya, an Islamic one in Tripoli, supported by Turkey and Qatar, and a socialist one in Tobruk (east), supported by Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Egypt.

## Articles

“Revealed: how Blair colluded with Gaddafi regime in secret”, January 2015

1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Paragraphs

*Tony Blair wrote to Colonel Muammar Gaddafi to thank him for the “excellent cooperation” between the two countries’ counter-terrorism agencies following a period during which the UK and Libya worked together to arrange for Libyan dissidents to be kidnapped and flown to Tripoli, along with their families.*

*The letter, written in 2007, followed a period in which the dictator’s intelligence officers were permitted to operate in the UK, approaching and intimidating Libyan refugees in an attempt to persuade them to work as informants for both countries’ agencies.*

*Addressed “Dear Mu’ammarr” and signed “Best wishes yours ever, Tony”, the letter was among hundreds of pages of documents recovered from Libyan government offices following the 2011 revolution and pieced together by a team of London lawyers.*

*The lawyers are bringing damages claims on behalf of a dozen Gaddafi opponents who were targeted by the two countries' agencies during the covert cooperation. The claimants were variously detained and allegedly mistreated in Saudi Arabia, rendered from Mali to Libya, or detained and subjected to control orders in the UK.*

### **10<sup>th</sup> Paragraphs**

*Blair's letter from Downing Street was written on 26 April 2007, to inform Gaddafi that the UK was about to fail in its attempts to deport two Libyans allegedly linked to an Islamist opposition organisation, the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG). The following day the court of appeal handed down a judgment in which it said LIFG associates could not be deported to Libya as they could be tortured, regardless of any assurances offered by Gaddafi. Lawyers representing the two men did not know at that time that the intelligence assessments of their clients were based in part on information extracted from victims of the UK-Libyan rendition operations.*

### **17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> Paragraphs**

*Blair's letter was written following several years of rapprochement between the UK and Libya, a process that gathered pace after the al-Qaida attacks of 9/11.*

*The UK can point to a number of achievements that arose from the relationship, including Gaddafi's decision in 2003 to abandon his attempts to develop weapons of mass destruction.*

<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/jan/23/-sp-blair-gaddafi-letter-thanks-spy-cooperation-libya-uk-dissidents>

**“Why is the Iran deal bad? Think North Korea”, July 2015**

### **2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> Paragraphs**

*Libya is the shining success story of negotiated disarmament — one of the very few. On Dec. 19, 2003, following nine months of secret talks with the United States and Britain, Moammar Kadafi agreed to give up his entire arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. The component parts were to be either destroyed or shipped abroad.*

*Only a few months later, American officials were able to display at Oak Ridge, Tenn., nuclear equipment taken from Libya. Tons of chemical weapons and weapons precursors*

*were destroyed. Kadafi even turned over to the U.S. for "safekeeping" five Scud-C missiles as part of his pledge to get rid of any missiles with a range longer than 300 kilometers. Earlier, Kadafi had renounced terrorism and agreed to pay \$2.7 billion in compensation to the families of victims of the 1988 Pan Am 103 bombing over Lockerbie, Scotland.*

<http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-boot-is-iran-more-like-north-korea-or-libya-20150721-story.html>

## Libyan Islamic Fighting Group

### 3rd Paragraphs

*However the organisation has a troubled history being under pressure from Muammar Gaddafi and shortly after the 9-11 attacks, LIFG was banned worldwide (as an affiliate of al-Qaeda) by the UN 1267 Committee.<sup>[4][6]</sup> Listed at the Foreign Terrorist Organizations,<sup>[7]</sup> the group has denied ever being affiliated with al-Qaeda, stating that it refused to join the global Islamic front Osama bin Laden declared against the west in 1998*

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libyan\\_Islamic\\_Fighting\\_Group](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libyan_Islamic_Fighting_Group)

“France, U.K. Have Differing Motives For Intervening In Libya”, March 2011.

### 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*France and the United Kingdom have led the charge on the intervention in Libya. For a month, both pushed the international community toward an intervention, ultimately penning U.N. Security Council Resolution 1973 authorizing the no-fly zone on March 17. Paris’ and London’s interests in waging war on Libya are not the same, and Libya carries different weight with each. For the United Kingdom, Libya offers a promise of energy exploitation. It is not a country with which London has a strong client-patron relationship at the moment, but one could develop if Moammar Gadhafi were removed from power. For France, Tripoli already is a significant energy exporter and arms customer. Paris’ interest in intervening is also about intra-European*

*politics. Paris has been the most vociferous supporter of the Libya intervention. French President Nicolas Sarkozy made it his mission to gather an international coalition to wage war on Libya, and France has been at the vanguard of recognizing the legitimacy of the Benghazi-based rebels.*

### **6<sup>th</sup> Paragraph**

*The domestic political story is fairly straightforward. At the onset of the unrest in the Middle East, Paris stalled on recognizing the protesters as legitimate. In fact, then-French Foreign Minister Michele Alliot-Marie offered the Tunisian government official help in dealing with the protesters. Three days later, longtime Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali was forced to flee the country*

### **10<sup>th</sup> Paragraph**

*The intervention in Libya therefore is a way to reassert to Europe, but particularly to Germany, that France still leads the Continent on foreign and military affairs. It is a message that says if Europe intends to be taken seriously as a global power, it will need French military power. France's close coordination with the United Kingdom also is an attempt to further develop the military alliance between London and Paris formalized on Nov. 2, 2010, as a counter to Germany's overwhelming economic and political power in the European Union.*

### **12<sup>th</sup> Paragraph**

*As for interests in Libya, France has plenty, but its situation could be improved. French energy major Total SA is involved in Libya but not to the same extent as Italian ENI or even German Wintershall. Considering Libya's plentiful and largely unexplored energy reserves, French energy companies could stand to profit from helping rebels take power in Tripoli. But it is really military sales that Paris has benefited from thus far. Between 2004 — when the European Union lifted its arms embargo against Libya — and 2011, Tripoli has purchased approximately half a billion dollars worth of arms from France, more than from any other country in Europe. However, the Italian government was in negotiation for more than a billion dollars worth of more deals in*



*2010, and it seemed that the Rome-Tripoli relationship was overtaking Paris' efforts in Libya prior to the intervention.*

### 16<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*London has another significant interest, namely, energy. British energy major BP has no production in Libya, although it agreed with Tripoli to drill onshore and offshore wells under a \$1 billion deal signed in 2007. The negotiations on these concessions were drawn out but were finalized after the Scottish government decided to release convicted Lockerbie bomber Abdel Baset al-Megrahi on humanitarian grounds in August 2009. He was expected to die of prostate cancer within months of his release but presumably is still alive in Tripoli. The Labour government in power at the time came under heavy criticism for al-Megrahi's release. British media speculated, not entirely unfairly, that the decision represented an effort to kick-start BP's production in Libya and smooth relations between London and Tripoli. BP announced in 2009 that it planned to invest \$20 billion in Libyan oil production over the next 20 years.*

<http://www.forbes.com/sites/energysource/2011/03/29/france-u-k-have-differing-motives-for-intervening-in-libya/>

“Italy's Berlusconi exposes NATO rifts over Libya”, July 2011.

### 1<sup>st</sup> Paragraph

*Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi said on Thursday he was against NATO intervention in Libya but had to go along with it, an admission that exposed the fragility of the alliance trying to unseat Muammar Gaddafi.*

### 16<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*Potentially adding to the pressure on Italy to review its stance on Libya, a senior Libyan government spokesman said negotiations had begun with Russian and Chinese firms to take over the role of Italian energy firm ENI in oil and gas projects.*

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/07/07/us-libya-idUSTRE7270JP20110707>

“Eni, Repsol Expatriates Evacuated from Libya”, July 2014.

1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> Paragraph

*Oil giants Eni SpA and Repsol SA have evacuated expatriates from Libya following escalating violence at Tripoli's airport, Libyan oil officials said over the weekend.*

*The move by the country's two largest foreign oil and gas investors, which comes after France's Total SA also pulled out its foreign staff, comes as capital's worst fighting in six months threatens Libya's fragile oil recovery.*

<http://www.wsj.com/articles/eni-repsol-expatriates-evacuated-from-libya-1405893922>

“Libya: Turkey's troubles with Nato and no-fly zone”, March 2011

2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> Paragraphs

*It would be absurd, unthinkable, he said. It should not even be discussed. Two weeks later he repeated that view. Nato intervention would be useless, he said, and would have dangerous consequences.*

*But this week, Turkish policy towards Libya appears to have done a complete U-turn. Criticising the French government for taking the lead role in air attacks on Col Gaddafi's forces, Turkey has insisted that command of the operation be handed over to Nato, and Nato alone. For this to happen, the agreement of Turkey - a Nato member since 1952 - is essential.*

12<sup>th</sup> Paragraphs

*So when the Arab uprisings began, Mr Erdogan was presented with a dilemma.*

*His political success in Turkey is partly due to his finely-tuned populist instincts. As a politician who has loudly stood up to Israel, he is something of a hero both among his largely Islamic constituency at home and among Arab populations elsewhere. So he wanted to do the popular thing by supporting the uprisings. But doing so put the profitable relationships his government had nurtured with the governments confronted by these uprisings at risk.*

20<sup>th</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup> Paragraphs

*It was also spurred on by seeing France take the lead. Relations between France and Turkey are badly strained over French objections to eventual Turkish membership of the European Union. There was outrage in Turkey over President Sarkozy's first official visit last month, when he stayed only six hours. There was further outrage when Turkey was not invited to the summit meeting on Libya that Mr Sarkozy convened after the UN vote. French air attacks on Libyan ground forces were denounced by the Turkish Foreign Minister as going beyond what the UN had authorised. So when France objected to Nato taking command, Turkey instinctively pushed the other way.*

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12864742>

“Libya after Gaddafi”, July 2011

<http://www.ies.be/files/documents/JMCdepository/Saksia%20van%20Genugten,%20Libya%20after%20Gadhafi.pdf>

“Libyan PM says Turkey supplying weapons to rival Tripoli group”,  
February 2015

1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Paragraph

*Libya's internationally recognized Prime Minister Abdullah al-Thinni said his government would stop dealing with Turkey because it was sending weapons to a rival group in Tripoli so that "the Libyan people kill each other".*

*Two administrations, one in the capital and Thinni's in the east, have been battling for power since the armed group Libya Dawn seized Tripoli in July and reinstated lawmakers from a previous assembly, four years after Muammar Gaddafi was ousted.*

10<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*In the CBC interview, Thinni said Turkish firms would be excluded from contracts in territory controlled by his government, adding that any outstanding bills would be paid.*

13<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*Thinni also accused Qatar of giving "material" support to the rival side in the Libyan conflict. He did not elaborate.*

17<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*The Brotherhood has a presence in the rival parliament in Tripoli and western Libya.*

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/27/us-libya-security-turkey-idUSKBN0LV1S120150227>

“Libyan PM says Turkey supplying weapons to rival Tripoli group”,  
February 2015

1<sup>st</sup> Paragraph

*Libya's internationally recognized Prime Minister Abdullah al-Thinni said his government would stop dealing with Turkey because it was sending weapons to a rival group in Tripoli so that "the Libyan people kill each other".*

4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*A spokesman for Turkey's Foreign Ministry strongly denied Thinni's allegations.*

*"Instead of repeating the same baseless and untrue allegations, we advise them to support U.N. efforts for political dialogue," ministry spokesman Tanju Bilgic said.*

*"Our policy vis-a-vis Libya is very clear. We are against any external intervention in Libya and we fully support the ongoing political dialogue process under U.N. mediation."*

10<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*In the CBC interview, Thinni said Turkish firms would be excluded from contracts in territory controlled by his government, adding that any outstanding bills would be paid.*

13<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*Thinni also accused Qatar of giving "material" support to the rival side in the Libyan conflict. He did not elaborate.*

<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-security-turkey-idUSKBN0LV1S120150227>

“Libyan PM accuses Qatar of sending planes with weapons to Tripoli”,  
September 2014

1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Paragraph

*Libyan Prime Minister Abdullah al-Thinni said on Sunday Qatar had sent three military planes loaded with weapons to a Tripoli airport controlled by an armed opposition group, accusing a second country of interfering in the lawless oil producer.*

*The government had already accused Sudan of having tried to arm an Islamist-leaning group which seized Tripoli last month, forcing senior officials and the elected parliament to relocate to the east, part of a growing state of anarchy.*

<http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-libya-security-qatar-idUKKBN0H90WE20140914>

“Pakistan releases 'father' of nuclear bomb from house arrest”, February 2009

1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Paragraph

*Abdul Qadeer Khan, the Pakistani scientist accused of selling nuclear secrets, was today freed from five years of house arrest by a court and immediately declared that he can now "lead a normal life".*

*Khan, lionised as the "father" of Pakistan's atomic bomb, confessed in 2004 to selling nuclear secrets to Iran, North Korea and Libya. He was immediately pardoned but detained in his home.*

5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> Paragraphs

*Khan was detained in early 2004 after making a televised confession to nuclear proliferation, following intense international pressure on Pakistan. His nuclear trading network had been discovered by western intelligence agents.*

*A national hero in Pakistan for spearheading the country's nuclear weapons programme, Khan subsequently retracted his confession.*

*He said that, aside from having to maintain guards around him, he had been freed with the "blessing" of the government, which had been "very helpful".*

11<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*Pakistan has prevented foreign investigators from questioning Khan, insisting it has passed on all relevant information about nuclear proliferation. That bar is likely to remain.*

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/feb/06/nuclear-pakistan-khan>

“In U.S.-Libya Nuclear Deal, a Qaddafi Threat Faded Away”, March 2011

9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Paragraphs

*The cache of nuclear technology that Libya turned over to the United States, Britain and international nuclear inspectors in early 2004 was large — far larger than American intelligence experts had expected. There were more than 4,000 centrifuges for producing enriched uranium. There were blueprints for how to build a nuclear bomb — missing some critical components but good enough to get the work started.*

*The whole package of goods came from a deal the Qaddafis struck with Abdul Qadeer Khan, one of the architects of Pakistan’s nuclear weapons program, who built the world’s largest black-market network in nuclear technology. The \$100 million to \$200 million that the Central Intelligence Agency later estimated that Libya spent on the nuclear project has never been recovered. For their part, the Libyans could never get the system working; many of the large centrifuges were still in their wooden packing crates when they were turned over.*

<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/02/world/middleeast/02arms.html>

“Turkey’s Secret Proxy War in Libya”?

3<sup>rd</sup> Paragraphs

*The Libyan Civil War, which began after Qaddafi’s fall, is often described as a proxy war, with Egypt and the United Arab Emirates reportedly backing al-Thinni and the officially recognized government in Tobruk, and Qatar and Turkey reportedly backing the Islamists and other opposition factions. Turkey has made no secret about backing the country’s Islamists after Qaddafi’s fall in 2011, and it openly liaises with the self-declared Islamist government in Tripoli. Yet Turkey’s Libyan envoy complains that these latest allegations are a “dangerous smear campaign.”*

<http://nationalinterest.org/feature/turkeys-secret-proxy-war-libya-12430>

## Saudis Detail Alleged Libyan Murder Plot”, March 2005

*Saudi Arabia has concluded that a Libyan plot to assassinate the kingdom's de facto ruler in late 2003 was cloaked to look like an al Qaeda-inspired domestic revolt and was broken up only days before it was to have been carried out, according to Saudi officials and documents that detail the investigation.*

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A28178-2005Mar11.html>

## “US to renew full ties with Libya”, May 2006

### 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> Paragraphs

*The US is to renew full diplomatic relations with Libya after deciding to remove it from its list of countries that support terrorism.*

*The US has not had normal relations with Libya since 1980, and blamed it for the 1988 Lockerbie bombing.*

*It lifted many economic sanctions and restored some ties in 2004 after Libya renounced weapons of mass destruction.*

*The US secretary of state said Libya had since shown a "continued commitment to its renunciation of terrorism".*

*Announcing the move to renew diplomatic ties, Condoleezza Rice praised Libya for its "excellent co-operation" in the US-led war on terror.*

### 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> Paragraphs

*The announcement comes more than 25 years after diplomatic relations were severed following the 1979 sacking of the US embassy in Tripoli by protesters.*

*The US carried out air attacks on Libya in 1981 and 1986 and Tripoli was held responsible for the 1988 bombing of a Pan Am flight over Lockerbie, Scotland, which killed 270 people.*

*In 2003 Libya accepted legal responsibility for the attack and has since paid compensation to relatives of the victims.*

*It is also reported to have helped Western intelligence agencies with information about the Pakistan underground nuclear network.*

*In September 2004 President Bush ordered the end of many economic sanctions against Libya and allowed air flights between the two countries.*

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4773617.stm>

“Libya indignant over Saudi rebuke”, December 2004

17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> Paragraphs

*Relations between the two states have a history of tension ever since Colonel Muammar Gaddafi overthrew the Libyan monarchy in 1969 and declared himself a revolutionary leader committed to fighting conservative Arab regimes - with Saudi Arabia at the top of the list - says the BBC's Arab affairs analyst Magdi Abdelhadi.*

*Ties improved during the 1980s but nosedived again during the run-up to the Iraq war, he says.*

*Then, in a summit spat broadcast live on Arab satellite television, Colonel Gaddafi publicly accused the Saudis of betraying their Arab brethren and of being subservient to the Americans. Crown Prince Abdullah reacted angrily, calling him a liar.*

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/4119719.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4119719.stm)

“Libya compensates terror victims”, October 2008

1<sup>st</sup> Paragraph

*Libya has paid \$1.5bn into a US compensation fund for relatives of victims of terror attacks blamed on Tripoli, the US state department says.*

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7703110.stm>

“Italy's Bad Romance: How Berlusconi Went Gaga for Gaddafi”, February 2011

1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> Paragraphs

*The longest underwater pipeline in the Mediterranean runs from the coast of Libya to the Italian island of Sicily. Inaugurated in 2004 by Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi and Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, the 323 miles (520 km) pipeline and its*



*northward flow of gas might as well be a symbol of the relationship between the two countries.*

*Of all the mutual back-scratching among Europe's rich democracies and North Africa's strongmen, Italy's dependency on Gaddafi stands apart. Libya is Italy's largest supplier of oil, providing for roughly a third of the country's energy consumption. The dictator's government owns a substantial share of the Milan stock market, including 7.5% of Unicredit, Italy's largest bank; 2% of the Italian oil company ENI; 2% of the country's second largest industrial group, Finmeccanica; and 7% of the Turin-based Juventus soccer club. Libya also provides a critical market for its northern neighbor's struggling construction firms. And, since 2008, when Italy agreed to invest \$5 billion in Libya, Gaddafi has kept a tight grip on the attempts by his citizens and other African migrants to take ships northward on the Mediterranean.*

#### **4<sup>th</sup> Paragraphs**

*The two countries — which are geographically close and connected by a history of colonialism, with complementary economies — have long had tight ties. But under Berlusconi, the relationship reached new levels of chumminess. Whenever Gaddafi visited Italy, he was paraded as a guest of honor. In 2009 he was given a seat at the table during the G-8 summit in Italy. At one point, Berlusconi was even filmed kissing the dictator's hand.*

#### **6<sup>th</sup> Paragraphs**

*Today the Italian approach seems to have backfired. Libya risks sliding into civil war and anarchy. Hundreds of Libyans have lost their lives. Italian citizens are being evacuated. Europe is bracing itself for a new round of immigration. And investors have been racing to sell off shares of companies like ENI, which are strongly invested in Gaddafi's Libya.*

<http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2053363,00.html>

## Wesley Clark and Libya

The Arab Spring in Libya, and the subsequent NATO intervention, is one of the building blocks of many communist and nazi conspiracy theories. The statements of the American General Wesley Clark, regarding NATO's interventions around the world, are also an integral part of these conspiracy theories. General Clark supposedly said that NATO wants to break the world into pieces and things like that, accusing the United States.

Picture Wesley Clark



I must say that Wesley Clark is a member of the Democrats and not a member of the Republicans, and that his father was of Jewish origin, even

though he is a Christian, like his mother. See Wikipedia “Wesley Clark : Early Life”.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wesley\\_Clark#Early\\_life\\_and\\_education](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wesley_Clark#Early_life_and_education)

What Wesley Clark did actually say is that the US should not intervene in Libya, because the US is not buying oil from Libya, and therefore the US had weak interests in Libya and should not get involved in a new war with the Iraq and Afghanistan wars still open. See the 10<sup>th</sup> paragraph of the following Washington Post article “Gen. Wesley Clark says Libya doesn't meet the test for U.S. military action”, March 2011.

#### 10<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*How do we apply this test to Libya? Protecting access to oil supplies has become a vital interest, but Libya doesn't sell much oil to the United States, and what has been cut off is apparently being replaced by Saudi production. Other national interests are more complex. Of course, we want to support democratic movements in the region, but we have two such operations already underway - in Iraq and Afghanistan. Then there are the humanitarian concerns. It is hard to stand by as innocent people are caught up in violence, but that's what we did when civil wars in Africa killed several million and when fighting in Darfur killed hundreds of thousands. So far, the violence in Libya is not significant in comparison. Maybe we could earn a cheap "victory," but, on whatever basis we intervene, it would become the United States vs. Gaddafi, and we would be committed to fight to his finish. That could entail a substantial ground operation, some casualties and an extended post-conflict peacekeeping presence.*

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/03/11/AR2011031103244.html>

Moreover what you will never hear from communist and nazi propaganda is that once the Arab Spring broke out in Libya, the Arab League i.e. the

council of the Arab countries, was putting a lot of pressure on NATO asking for an intervention, while the United States was too hesitant to get involved in a new war. See Huffington Post “Arab League Asks UN For Libya No-Fly Zone”, March 2011.

### 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> Paragraphs

*The Arab League called Saturday for the U.N. Security Council to impose a no-fly zone over Libya, a surprisingly rapid and aggressive move for a bloc known more for lengthy deliberations than action.*

*Analysts said the call reflected both a widespread dislike of Libyan autocrat Moammar Gadhafi and member nations' attention to the wave of pro-democracy protests sweeping the Middle East, which has toppled leaders in Tunisia and Egypt and threatens others.*

*The 22-member Arab bloc, which had already barred Libya's government from taking part in League meetings, said Gadhafi's government had "lost its sovereignty." It also said the bloc would establish contacts with the rebels' interim government, the National Libyan Council, and called on nations to provide it with "urgent help."*

*Western diplomats have said Arab and African approval was necessary before the Security Council could vote on a no-fly zone that would be imposed by NATO nations such as the U.S., France, Britain and Italy to protect civilians from air attack by Gadhafi's forces.*

*The U.S. and other countries have expressed deep reservations about any action that could draw them into the conflict. U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates has cautioned that establishing a no-fly zone would require an attack to take out Libya's anti-aircraft capabilities, but on Saturday he said setting up a restricted zone was possible.*

### 15<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*That stance appeared to be part of an attempt to win over the deeply Arab nationalist government of Syria, which has smarted against foreign intervention into Arab affairs. Still, Syria voted against the no-fly zone, as did Libya's neighbor Algeria and Mauritania in West Africa.*

[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/03/12/arab-league-asks-un-for-libya-no-fly-zone\\_n\\_834975.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/03/12/arab-league-asks-un-for-libya-no-fly-zone_n_834975.html)

I must also say that the Arab countries had forbidden Muammar Qaddafi from attending the meetings of the Arab League. As you can read at the above Huffington Post article, the only two Arab countries that did not want a NATO intervention in Libya were Syria and Algeria. Syria I guess due to her alliance with Iran, and Algeria due to her alliance with Libya against Morocco, on the issue of the independence of Western Sahara, which could allow Morocco to send to Europe oil and gas from Western Africa. Morocco was an economic threat for both Libya and Algeria.

Map 1 Western Sahara



Remember that Syria and Libya were the only Arab countries that supported Iran during the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988). For the reasons Syria and Libya, two Arab countries, supported Iran and not the other Arab countries, see “Libya and Syria : The 2 Arab Allies of Iran”.

<https://iakal.wordpress.com/2016/02/02/libya-syria-the-2-arab-allies-of-iran/>

Also remember that it was the French and not the Americans that were leading the attacks against Qaddafi in Libya. See Washington Post “France fires first shots against Libya after Gaddafi’s forces enter Benghazi”, March 2011.

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/us-allies-prepare-military-action-against-libya-as-gaddafi-forces-continue-attacks/2011/03/18/ABLAOfs\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/us-allies-prepare-military-action-against-libya-as-gaddafi-forces-continue-attacks/2011/03/18/ABLAOfs_story.html)

Also remember that Turkey was very upset about the French lead, and insisted that NATO should be in charge. Turkey was afraid that France could have a greater influence in post-Qaddafi Libya. See Financial Times “Turkey attacks France on Libya crusade”, March 2011.

<http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/fe514f9c-5631-11e0-8de9-00144feab49a.html#axzz3zgafAfdJ>

Therefore how can communist and nazi propaganda be accurate, when it says that the Arab Spring in Libya was an American conspiracy, when it was the Arab League that insisted on NATO’s attack against Qaddafi, and when it was France leading the attack? One might say “ok, the Arab Spring was not an American conspiracy, but it was a French conspiracy”.

But how could that be true, when we know what happened in 2010 during the Arab Spring in Tunisia? In Tunisia the French supported the Tunisian socialist dictator Ben Ali, a strong French ally, and also an ally of Saudi Arabia, and the French had to apologize to the Muslim World after Ben Ali was overthrown and had to flee to Saudi Arabia. The post Ben Ali Tunisia did not forget the French support to Ben Ali, and Nicholas Sarkozy had to apologize publicly for his support to Ben Ali. See Guardian “Sarkozy admits France made mistakes over Tunisia”, January 2011.

1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Paragraphs

*Nicolas Sarkozy today admitted he had underestimated the anger of the Tunisian people and the protest movement that ousted President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali.*

*France's support for the dictator right up to the moment he fled has caused outrage in Tunisia and weakened the former colonial power's diplomatic standing in the region.*

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/24/nicolas-sarkozy-tunisia-protests>

The wrong French calculations about Tunisia, made Sarkozy to quickly support the rebels when the Arab Spring broke out in Libya, in order to prove to the Muslim World that France was a strong supporter of democracy, hoping that France would be treated favorably by the post-Qaddafi regime. Remember that Libya is the richest African country in oil reserves, and the 10<sup>th</sup> richest country in the world in terms of oil reserves. Libya was very important for France, and Sarkozy did not want to repeat the mistakes he made in Tunisia. See Time magazine “How Libya Became a French and British War”, March 2011.

1<sup>st</sup> Paragraph

*As the military action against Libya to give teeth to U.N. Security Council resolution 1973 began, one question kept nagging away: Why, precisely, were the governments of Britain and France in the lead? Why were their armed forces taking part in the military action, and why had their diplomats done the grunt work in the negotiations that led to adoption of the resolution?*

### **7<sup>th</sup> Paragraph**

*Getting back in people's good books? Sarkozy started off on the wrong side of the Arab Spring, his government staying cozily entwined with that of Tunisia when the street had turned against it. I've heard it suggested that he's taking the lead on Libya so as to recover France's reputation in the Arab world. If so, this is a mighty risky way of going about it: military intervention in Libya is not guaranteed to be a success, and nor is it uniformly popular among Arabs, even those who have been demonstrating for democracy around the region.*

<http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2060412,00.html>

I hope that all the above will be enough to convince silly people who read communist and nazi propaganda, many times without even realizing what they read, that the Arab Spring is mainly a Muslim thing, and it mainly involves the conflicts and the power struggle of the Muslim World.

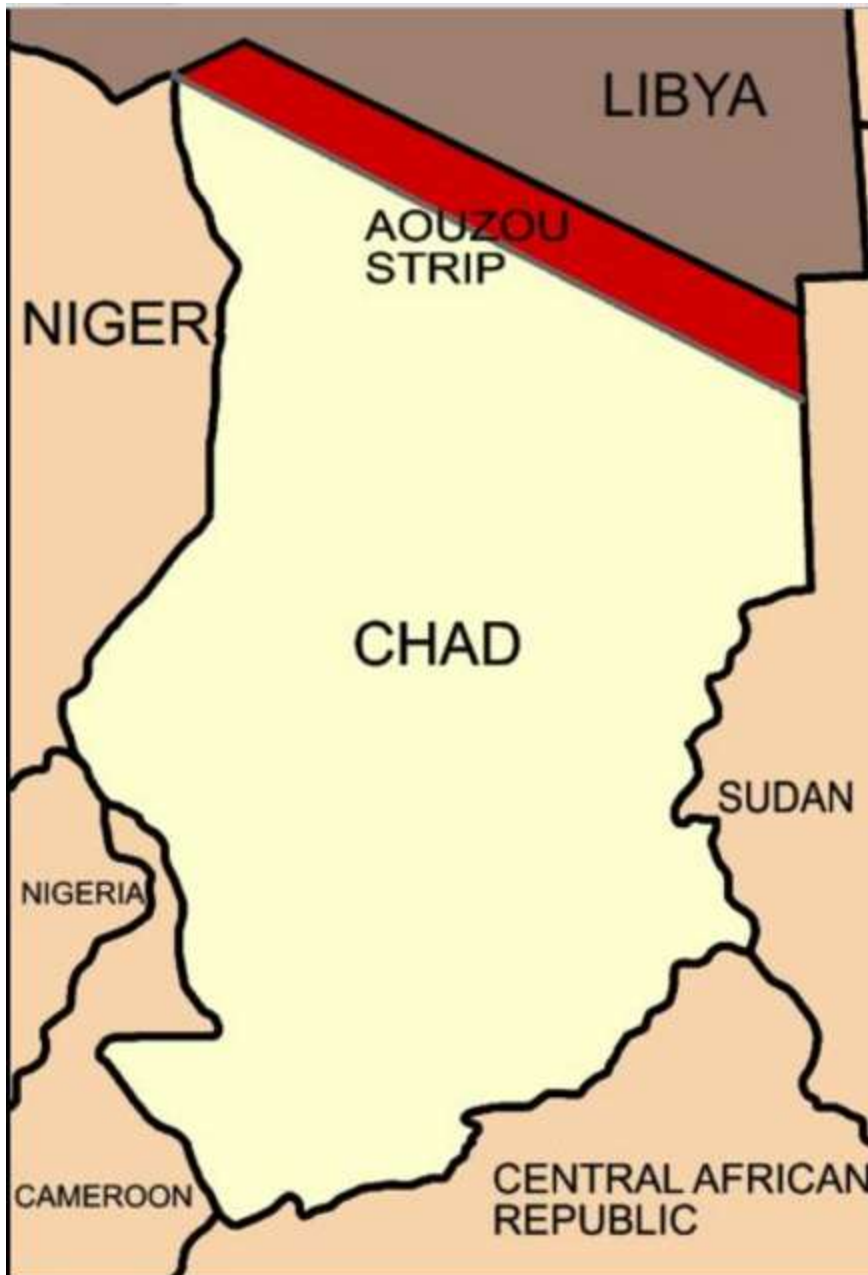


# France VS Qaddafi

Muammar Gaddafi's Libya had economic relations with France, because Southern Europe is the ideal importer of Northern Africa's raw materials. But there was also traditional rivalry between the two countries, because Colonel Gaddafi did not like France's great influence over North Africa. One of the thorns in the French-Libyan relations was that Libya wanted to annex the rich in uranium Aouzou Strip at the Libyan-Chad borders.

France imports most of her uranium from North Africa, and France and Gaddafi were at the opposite sides during the wars between Libya and Chad and during Chad's civil war. Libya managed to annex the Aouzou Strip in 1976, but Chad's army pushed the Libyan army away in 1987, I guess with French support too.

Map 1 Aouzou Strip



[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign\\_relations\\_of\\_Libya\\_under\\_Muammar\\_Gaddafi#/media/File:Map\\_of\\_Aouzou\\_stip\\_chad.PNG](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign_relations_of_Libya_under_Muammar_Gaddafi#/media/File:Map_of_Aouzou_stip_chad.PNG)

I guess that Gaddafi was not happy with the French present in Niger either. France gets most of her uranium from Niger.

Map 2



It is not a coincidence that when in 2011 the Arab Spring broke, the French were the first ones to attack Gaddafi. Sometime before the attack, during his public appearances in Libya, Gaddafi was saying that he had given money to Sarkozy, and that Sarkozy was a retard.

The alliance between Gaddafi, Berlusconi and Putin at the time definitely played a role in France's decision to attack Libya. It was the time that Berlusconi and Putin had agreed on the South Stream Pipeline, and the Italian ENI would get a large take in this project. The Italian public is ENI's largest shareholder. Now things have changed, because the South Stream Pipeline has been cancelled, and it was replaced by the Nord Stream 2 Pipeline. In Nord Stream 2 the Russians gave a stake to the French (ENGIE) but they left the Italians out (ENI), and the Italians are not very happy.

# The Rebellion of the Tuareg in 2012

The Tuareg are tough nomads who live in the Sahara Desert, in Algeria, Libya, Niger, Nigeria and Mali. See the following Wikipedia map.

Map 1 The Tuareg Region

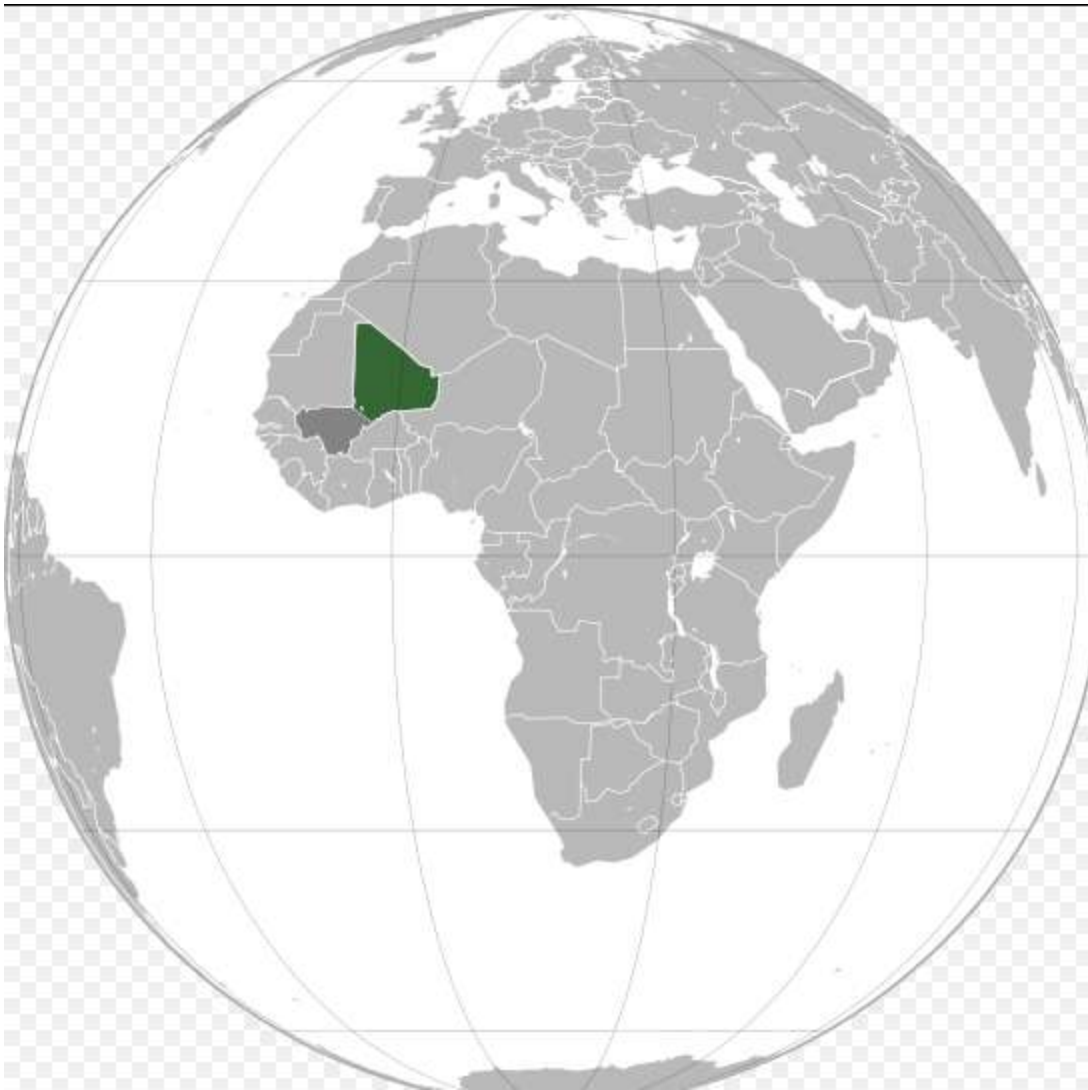


[http://i.dailymail.co.uk/i/pix/2015/06/24/08/29E2A55200000578-3131511-Boundaries\\_The\\_Tuareg\\_travel\\_across\\_countries\\_but\\_it\\_has\\_become\\_a-7\\_1435129465760.jpg](http://i.dailymail.co.uk/i/pix/2015/06/24/08/29E2A55200000578-3131511-Boundaries_The_Tuareg_travel_across_countries_but_it_has_become_a-7_1435129465760.jpg)

The Tuareg were traditionally financed by Muammar Gaddafi, the socialist dictator of Libya. As you can see from the map the Tuareg live in a very

small part of Libya and they were no threat for the Libyan dictator. The Tuareg want to create an independent state, the Azawad. Azawad is the northern part of Mali, as you can see on the following Wikipedia map.

Map 2



[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Azawad#/media/File:Azawad\\_\(orthographic\\_p  
rojection\).svg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Azawad#/media/File:Azawad_(orthographic_projection).svg)

“Azad”

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Azawad>

For Gaddafi the Tuareg were very useful, first because they were causing turmoil in a region that Gaddafi was confronting the French. France traditionally had great influence over West Africa. With red on the following map you can see the French colonies in Africa, and with blue the British. Libya has been traditionally under Italian control. France traditionally had stronger economic ties with Algeria and Italy with Libya.

Map 3 African Colonies in 1914





<http://www.saburchill.com/history/chapters/empires/images/0090.jpg>

Muammar Gaddafi always claimed a part of the French influence in West and North Africa, and he trained terrorists that were against the French, or against governments friendly to France. The Tuareg were among the ones trained in the Gaddafi terrorist academy, the World Revolution Center at Benghazi. At Benghazi Gaddafi was training socialist terrorists from all over the world. See Metro “Revealed: Colonel Gaddafi’s school for scoundrels”, March 2011.

<http://metro.co.uk/2011/03/15/revealed-colonel-gaddafis-world-revolutionary-center-644456/>

Map 4 Benghazi



<http://www.yourchildlearns.com/Where%20Maps/images/benghazi-map.gif>

I often say that the French rely on nuclear energy and they import 25% of their uranium from Niger, and Niger borders Libya, and is also home to a

significant Tuareg population. See World Nuclear Association “Nuclear Power in France”, November 2015.

#### 65<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*France uses some 12,400 tonnes of uranium oxide concentrate (10,500 tonnes of U) per year for its electricity generation. Much of this comes from Areva in Canada (4500 tU/yr) and Niger (3200 tU/yr) together with other imports, principally from Australia, Kazakhstan and Russia, mostly under long-term contracts. Areva perceives the front end of the French fuel cycle as strategic, and invests accordingly.*

<http://www.world-nuclear.org/info/country-profiles/countries-a-f/france/>

Other than causing troubles for the French in Africa, the Tuareg were also useful to Gaddafi because they made difficult the construction of the Trans-Saharan Pipeline, which would connect Nigeria and Algeria through Niger, and which would hurt Libya’s economic interests. As you can read at the following Reuters article, the Trans-Saharan has been on the table since the 70s, and it was finally agreed on 2009. See Reuters “Nigeria, Algeria agree to build Sahara gas link”, July 2009

#### 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Paragraphs

*Nigeria, Algeria and Niger on Friday signed an agreement to build a multi-billion dollar gas pipeline across the Sahara that could send up to 30 billion cubic metres a year of supplies to Europe.*

*The idea of piping gas thousands of kilometres across the Sahara was first dreamt up more than 30 years ago, but the project remained on the drawing board pending a concrete agreement between neighbouring states and a clear funding plan.*

#### 7<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*France's Total (TOTF.PA), Royal Dutch Shell (RDSa.L) and Russia's Gazprom (GAZP.MM) have all expressed interest in helping Nigeria's state-run NNPC and Algeria's counterpart Sonatrach in the project.*



*Gazprom and NNPC agreed to invest at least \$2.5 billion to explore and develop Africa's biggest oil and gas sector, including building the first part of the Trans-Sahara pipeline. [ID:nLO549518]*

*Some analysts see Russia's keen interest in Nigeria as an attempt to maintain its grip on Europe's natural gas supplies.*

<http://uk.reuters.com/article/nigeria-algeria-pipeline-idUKL345766620090703?sp=true>

Map 5 Trans-Saharan Pipeline



[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trans-Saharan\\_gas\\_pipeline#/media/File:Gas\\_pipelines\\_across\\_Mediterranee\\_and\\_Sahara\\_map-en.svg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trans-Saharan_gas_pipeline#/media/File:Gas_pipelines_across_Mediterranee_and_Sahara_map-en.svg)

The French Total, the Anglo-Dutch Shell and the Russian Gazprom offered to help Nigeria and Algeria with the construction of the Trans-Saharan, and the Europeans accused Gazprom for trying to control the European energy market. See “NATO VS Gazprom: The War for Europe”.

<https://iakal.wordpress.com/2015/08/19/gazprom-vs-nato-the-war-for-europe/>

The Trans-Saharan also hurt the economic interests of the Arabs of the Gulf, the Iranians and the Turks, and as a result the Tuareg allied with the Jihadist organizations like Al-Qaeda. See “France urges talks with Mali rebels, unity against al Qaeda”, April 2012.

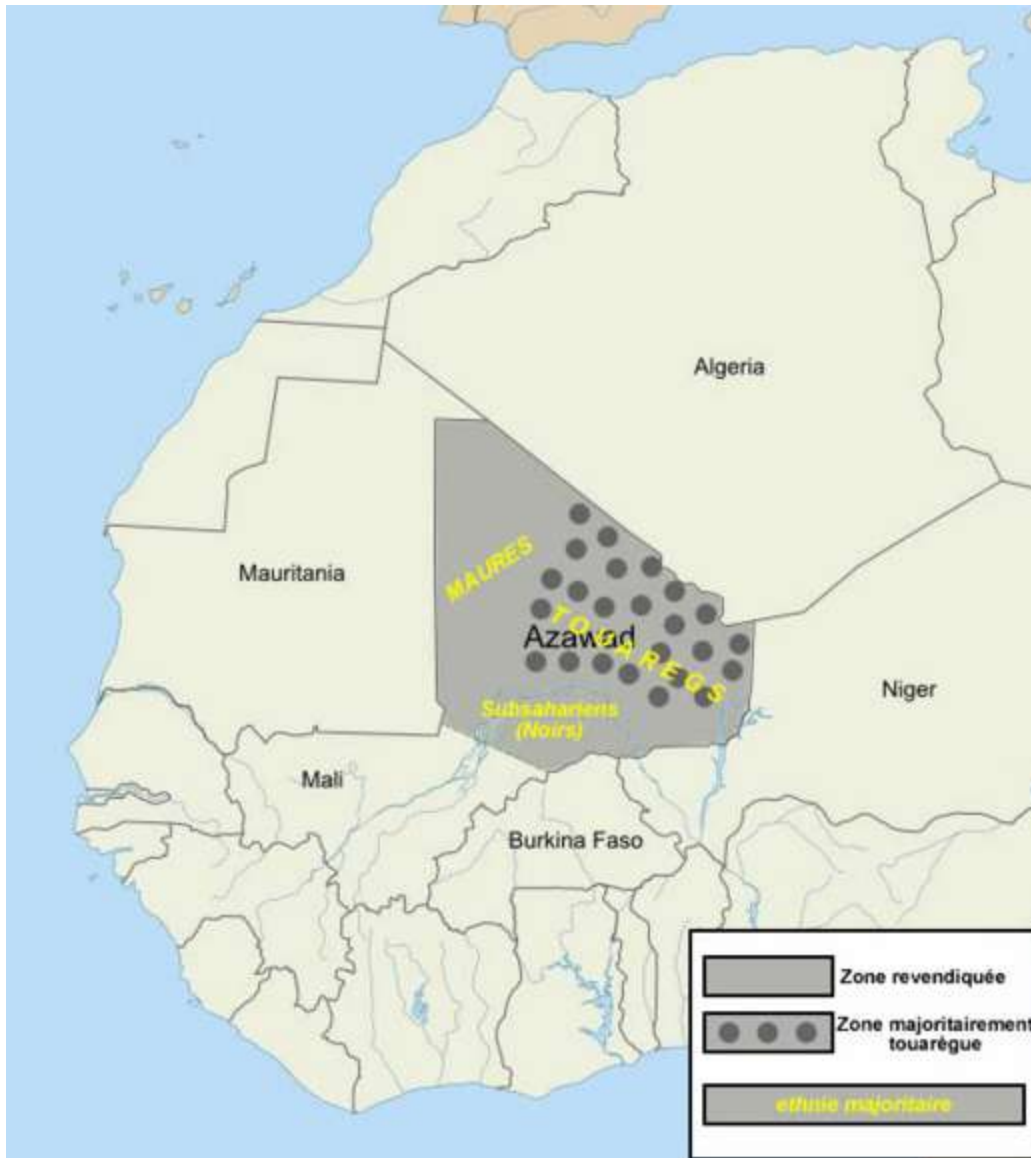
<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-tuareg-idUSBRE8340JT20120405>

The above were definitely one of the reasons that the French grabbed the chance and attacked Gaddafi when the Arab Spring broke out. See “France VS Muammar Gaddafi”.

<https://iakal.wordpress.com/2016/01/24/muammar-gaddafi-vs-france/>

When the Arab Spring broke out, Gaddafi once more hired the Tuareg to defend him. But this time Gaddafi fell, and the Tuareg were left with the arms provided to them by Gaddafi. When they went back home they used their enhanced arsenal to claim independence in Mali, and the result were the Mali War of 2012.

Map 6 The Tuareg Rebellion



[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tuareg\\_rebellion\\_\(2012\)#/media/File:Azawad\\_in\\_context.JPG](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tuareg_rebellion_(2012)#/media/File:Azawad_in_context.JPG)

Tuareg rebellion (2012)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tuareg\\_rebellion\\_\(2012\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tuareg_rebellion_(2012))

For the Tuareg funding by Gaddafi see also the following two articles from the BBC and the New York times.

“Gaddafi's influence in Mali's coup”, March 2012

2<sup>nd</sup> Paragraph

*The trouble began when hundreds of Malian combatants who had fought to defend the late Libyan leader, Muammar Gaddafi, fled back home with weapons at the end of last year and formed the most powerful Tuareg-led rebel group the region has known - the Azawad National Liberation Movement (MNLA).*

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-17481114>

“Qaddafi's Weapons, Taken by Old Allies, Reinvigorate an Insurgent Army in Mali”, February 2012

2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Paragraph

*Hundreds of Tuareg rebels, heavily armed courtesy of Colonel Qaddafi's extensive arsenal, have stormed towns in Mali's northern desert in recent weeks, in one of the most significant regional shock waves to emanate directly from the colonel's fall.*

*After fighting for Colonel Qaddafi as he struggled to stay in power, the Tuaregs helped themselves to a considerable quantity of sophisticated weaponry before returning to Mali. When they got here, they reinvigorated a longstanding rebellion and blossomed into a major challenge for this impoverished desert nation, an important American ally against the regional Al Qaeda franchise.*

19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*In some ways, the aggressive new Tuareg campaign represents the kind of support the rebels had long sought from Colonel Qaddafi, who for years alternately aided and betrayed the desert warriors, according to a recent study by Mr. Boilley. After the great regional droughts of the 1970s and 1980s, young Tuaregs migrated north to the colonel's military training camps, to later fight for him in places like Chad, while at the same time destabilizing the governments in Niger and Mali.*

[http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/06/world/africa/tuaregs-use-qaddafis-arms-for-rebellion-in-mali.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/06/world/africa/tuaregs-use-qaddafis-arms-for-rebellion-in-mali.html?_r=0)

# The Black Market for Nuclear Weapons

The nuclear physicist Abdul Qadeer Khan is considered to be the father of the nuclear program of Pakistan, and in Pakistan he is treated like a national hero. Note that Pakistan is the only Muslim country that is a nuclear power, and it was helped by its ally China to develop its nuclear program. During the Soviet era China and Pakistan were facing India and the Soviet Union as their rivals, and the Soviets were helping India with her nuclear program, while China was helping Pakistan.

In 2004, following US pressures on Pakistan, Khan admitted that he had sold nuclear technology and equipment to North Korea, Iran and Libya. Khan was jailed in Pakistan, but he was later released and changed his position, saying that he has been used as a scapegoat. Pakistan never allowed US officials to question Khan, saying that all relevant details had already been given to the US by the Pakistani authorities. See Guardian “Pakistan releases 'father' of nuclear bomb from house arrest”, February 2009.

Image 1



As you can read at the following New York Times article, Khan had set up the largest network in the world for selling nuclear technology and equipment in the black market. See New York Times “In U.S.-Libya Nuclear Deal, a Qaddafi Threat Faded Away”, March 2011.

I think it is reasonable to assume that it would have been impossible for Khan to set up this nuclear network in the black market without the support of some members of the Pakistani government and the Pakistani army. Moreover it does not seem to be a coincidence that it was in 2004 that Khan confessed that he was selling nuclear technology and equipment to Libya, Iran and North Korea. Note that in 2003, after the US attack on Saddam Hussein and Iraq, the Libyan socialist dictator Muammar Qaddafi had agreed to abandon his nuclear program, and to pass his nuclear equipment to NATO countries. And he actually did that in 2004.

According to the New York Times article, most of Qaddafi's equipment was bought from Khan's nuclear network. And the same year Qaddafi gave his nuclear equipment to NATO, and after the US pressure on Pakistan, Khan confessed that he was selling nuclear technology to Libya and he was imprisoned. All these must be connected.

## Articles

“Pakistan releases 'father' of nuclear bomb from house arrest”, February 2009

### 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Paragraph

*Abdul Qadeer Khan, the Pakistani scientist accused of selling nuclear secrets, was today freed from five years of house arrest by a court and immediately declared that he can now "lead a normal life".*

*Khan, lionised as the "father" of Pakistan's atomic bomb, confessed in 2004 to selling nuclear secrets to Iran, North Korea and Libya. He was immediately pardoned but detained in his home.*

### 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*Khan was detained in early 2004 after making a televised confession to nuclear proliferation, following intense international pressure on Pakistan. His nuclear trading network had been discovered by western intelligence agents.*

*A national hero in Pakistan for spearheading the country's nuclear weapons programme, Khan subsequently retracted his confession.*

*He said that, aside from having to maintain guards around him, he had been freed with the "blessing" of the government, which had been "very helpful".*

### 11<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*Pakistan has prevented foreign investigators from questioning Khan, insisting it has passed on all relevant information about nuclear proliferation. That bar is likely to remain.*



<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/feb/06/nuclear-pakistan-khan>

“In U.S.-Libya Nuclear Deal, a Qaddafi Threat Faded Away”, March 2011

9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> Paragraph

*The cache of nuclear technology that Libya turned over to the United States, Britain and international nuclear inspectors in early 2004 was large — far larger than American intelligence experts had expected. There were more than 4,000 centrifuges for producing enriched uranium. There were blueprints for how to build a nuclear bomb — missing some critical components but good enough to get the work started.*

*The whole package of goods came from a deal the Qaddafis struck with Abdul Qadeer Khan, one of the architects of Pakistan’s nuclear weapons program, who built the world’s largest black-market network in nuclear technology. The \$100 million to \$200 million that the Central Intelligence Agency later estimated that Libya spent on the nuclear project has never been recovered. For their part, the Libyans could never get the system working; many of the large centrifuges were still in their wooden packing crates when they were turned over.*

[http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/02/world/middleeast/02arms.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/02/world/middleeast/02arms.html?_r=0)