

## Case Studies in Economic Sanctions and Terrorism

### Case 2011-1

#### **Australia, Canada, EU, Japan, NATO, United Kingdom, UN, US v. Libya (2011– : Gadhafi, human rights)**

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#### **Chronology of Key Events:**

- 17 December 2010      A young Tunisian, Mohamed Bouazizi, sets himself on fire in protest after police confiscate his fruit and vegetable cart. His death is the catalyst for the uprising in Tunisia that sweeps across the Middle East and North Africa. Tunisians take to the streets two days after Bouazizi dies, protesting the lack of employment and opportunity for youth. In early January 2011 protests spread to Algeria, as citizens react to increasing food prices and high unemployment, and to Egypt where another man sets himself on fire in protest of the country's economic conditions. In the following months unrest spreads to Libya, Yemen, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine, and Iraq, with citizens staging mass demonstrations calling for change, the so-called "Arab Spring."
- 10 January 2011      Libya eliminates all taxes on locally produced food and tariffs on imported food staples, basic necessities, and children's milk products. The decision comes amid unrest in Tunisia and Algeria, where rising food prices serve as a trigger for protests. (*Agence France Presse*, 10 January 2011, Factiva online)
- 14 January 2011      Protests over government corruption break out in the cities of Al Bayda, Bani Walid and Benghazi. Protests are in response to delayed completion of government housing projects. Hundreds of Libyans have been on a waiting list for years, and many have long since signed contracts and paid installments. (*Deutsche Welle*, 17 January 2011, Factiva Online)
- 15 January 2011      After street protests lead to ouster of Tunisian President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, Libya's Muammar Gadhafi criticizes Tunisian protests, saying that "Tunisia is suffering bloodshed and lawlessness because its people were in too much of a rush to get rid of their president." Gadhafi goes on to say that the protestors should have waited until Ben Ali stepped down in three years. Gadhafi also spoke of Tunisia's economic development, praising the health and education

systems, asserting that economic crisis has overtaken Tunisia. (*Reuters News*, 15 January 2011; *BBC Online*, 15 January 2011)

24 January 2011 Human Rights Watch publishes its 2011 global report which highlights Libya as a country where “government control and repression of civil society remain the norm.” The report goes on to say that Libya’s harsh restrictions on freedom of assembly and expression include penal code provisions that criminalize the “opposing of the ideology of the Revolution” and “insulting public officials.” (*Voice of America Press*, 24 January 2011, Factiva online)

27 January 2011 The Libyan government announces the establishment of a \$24 billion fund for investment and local development that will focus on providing housing for its rapidly growing population. The announcement comes a little over a week after hundreds protested against the government, which failed to complete construction of houses promised to thousands of citizens. (*Reuters News*, 27 January 2011, Factiva online)

9 February 2011 Gadhafi warns activists and the media against carrying out actions that “undermine security and caused chaos.” Gadhafi’s announcement comes after the National Conference of Libyan Opposition and political activists opposition called for a “day of anger” to take place February 17; the anniversary of the death of 14 protesters in the 2006 rally against Gadhafi’s regime. The opposition groups leading the call for protests are hoping to draw momentum from the revolutions against the ruling regimes in Tunisia in January, and the ongoing one in Egypt, which eventually leads to ouster of long-time President Hosni Mubarak. (*BBC News Online*, 9 February 2011)

15 February 2011 A statement signed by 213 opposition figures and 13 Libyan opposition associations and political parties is released, demanding the right of Libyans to “take to the streets and express their views in peaceful demonstrations without harassment, provocations, or threats by the regime.” The statement also calls for Gadhafi to step down from power and for all his family members to give up their own powers. (*BBC News Online*, 16 February 2011)

Demonstrators gather in front of police headquarters in Benghazi, chanting slogans against the “corrupt rulers of the country.” Protestors reportedly threw stones at the police, who responded with tear gas, water cannons, and rubber bullets. An estimated 20 protestors were arrested, while another 14 people were injured. Protests began after a human rights lawyer and outspoken critic of the government (Fathi Terbil) was arrested and detained by Libyan security forces. (*Al Jazeera English*, 15 February; *Guardian*, 16 February 2011)

The European Union urges Libyan authorities to allow free expression and listen to protestors. The European Union’s announcement comes after clashes between protestors and security forces, where an estimated 14 Libyans were injured and 4 died. (*Agence France Presse*, 16 February 2011)

- 16 February 2011      Gadhafi seeks to defuse further unrest by releasing 110 prisoners—suspected Islamic militants who oppose Gadhafi—and offering to double government employees’ salaries. (*MSNBC Online*, 16 February 2011)
- 17 February 2011      Protestors gather in the streets of four Libyan cities for a “day of rage.” Violence breaks out in Benghazi, leaving 14 dead after security forces use live ammunition to disperse protestors. A pro-regime rally is held in Tripoli to counter the “day of rage” called by opposition activists. The pro-Gadhafi rally is aired on state television. (*Agence France Presse*, 17 February 2011)
- UN chief Ban Ki-moon condemns the actions of governments in Arab nations trying to suppress the wave of anti-government protests in the Middle East and North Africa. Ban warns that “violence should not be used against peaceful demonstrators and against journalists. It must stop.” (*Agence France Presse*, 17 February 2011)
- 18 February 2011      Libya asks Italy to lift the ban on the supply of weapons, spare parts for planes and helicopters and other military material that has been frozen since a UN embargo against Libya, imposed in 1992. The request comes after Libya set up a joint company with Finmeccanica—an Italian high-tech industrial conglomerate—to assemble helicopters. The company is also interested in importing new military supplies from Finmeccanica. (*BBC News Online*, 18 February 2011)
- Secretary of State Hillary Clinton condemns the violence in Libya and other Arab countries, stating that the United States “strongly opposes the use of violence and strongly supports reform that moves towards democratic institution-building and economic openness.” (*Globe and Mail Online*, 18 February 2011)
- Libya cuts off internet service in a move to stem communication between anti-government protestors organizing revolts. (*Agence France Presse*, 18 February 2011)
- 19 February 2011      Libyan security forces open fire on mourners leaving a funeral for Libyans killed in Benghazi during protests held on the 17th. Reports say dozens are killed but no official figures are released. (*MSNBC Online*, 19 February 2011)
- Britain revokes eight licenses for the export of arms to Libya. (*International Business Times*, 19 February 2011)
- British Foreign Secretary William Hague denounces the violent crackdown on protestors, stating the United Kingdom “condemns the violence in Libya, including reports of the use of heavy weapons fire and a unit of snipers against demonstrators” and calls for an immediate end to the use of force against civilians. (*Agence France Presse*, 19 February 2011)
- 20 February 2011      Gadhafi’s son, Saif al-Islam, gives a speech warning that Libya is on the brink of a civil war. Saif admits that security forces opened fire on protestors in Benghazi, killing 84, but blames Arab and African expatriates for the uprising, claiming that

they are trying to install Islamist rule in Libya. Saif warns against civil war and escalating violence, saying there “would be thousands killed if things got out of control.” He pledges to create a new constitution and new liberal laws, acknowledging that Libya is “at a cross-road” but that they “will not give up an inch.” (*BBC News Online; Agence France Presse* 20 February 2011)

21 February 2011

Libya’s ambassador to India Ali al-Essawi, resigns in protest to his government’s violent crackdown on protestors, and calls for Gadhafi to step down. (*Reuters*, 21 February 2011)

Members of British Parliament call for a reassessment of Britain’s trade relationship with Libya, after it is revealed that Britain gave Libya £2 million (US\$ 3.3 million) in aid. Pressure mounts to impose immediate sanctions and reverse the rapprochement that had taken place over the last few years. (*Daily Telegraph Online*, 21 February 2011)

Ibrahim Dabbashi, Libya’s ambassador to the UN renounces Gadhafi, calling on him to resign. He says Gadhafi is a “genocidal war criminal responsible for mass shootings of protestors.” Dabbashi claims that Gadhafi is recruiting mercenaries from surrounding countries and flying them into Libya to fight. Dabbashi asks the UN to create a no fly zone to prevent foreigners from entering Libya and says the International Criminal Court should investigate Gadhafi for “crimes against humanity and crimes of war” and ensure that countries deny him safe haven. (*New York Times Online*, 21 February 2011)

The Libyan air force bombs airfields and military targets, reportedly “indiscriminately bombing one area after another.” Two Libyan fighter pilots defect to Malta after being ordered to bomb anti-government protestors. (*Reuters*, 21 February 2011)

Gadhafi’s son Saif al-Islam delivers a speech in which he states “the regime would fight to the last man, even the last woman standing to stay in power.” (*Daily Telegraph*, 22 February 2011)

22 February 2011

Foreign press is banned from Libya and the internet is shut down. Reports coming out of Libya say Benghazi remains under rebel control and some army and police officials have defected. The Warfala tribe, one of the largest in Libya, is reportedly backing anti-government protestors. Reports reveal increasing violence as pro-Gadhafi security forces open fire on protestors, using rocket-propelled grenades and machine guns. (*Wall Street Journal Europe*, 22 February 2011)

British Petroleum, OMV, and Statoil temporarily suspend operations in Libya and evacuate employees due to the political unrest in the country. (*International Herald Tribune Online*, 22 February 2011)

The Arab League bans Libya from participating in meetings of the Arab League and affiliated bodies, until Libyan authorities respond to the demands of anti-government protestors. (*Agence France Presse*, 22 February 2011)

The UNSC releases a press statement condemning the violence and the use of force against civilians. Security council members express “grave concern” and call for an “immediate end to the violence and steps to address the concerns of Libyans.” The press statement also calls for “immediate access for international rights monitors and humanitarian agencies.” A few days later, US President Obama echoes the condemnation of the Libyan government and announces his intent to send Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to Geneva to meet with diplomats to discuss possible actions against Gadhafi and his forces, including sanctions. (*USA Today*, 22 February 2011; *New York Times*, 24 February 2011)

23 February 2011      Libya’s Interior Minister, Abdul Fattah Younis al Abidi, resigns and after learning of Gadhafi’s plan to use airstrikes against civilians. Abidi puts his support behind protestors, calling on the Libyan security forces to “join the people in the intifada.” (*CNN*, 23 February 2011)

24 February 2011      Anti-Gadhafi rebel forces take control of the city of Misrata, after pushing out forces loyal to Gadhafi (*Reuters Online*, 4 April 2011)

25 February 2011      Swiss banks block any assets belonging to Gadhafi and 28 members of his regime, including his wife, children, and extended family. The freeze includes real estate and luxury goods and will be in place for three years, effective immediately. (*Wall Street Journal*, 25 February 2011)

The UN Human Rights Council votes unanimously to suspend Libya’s membership. (*New York Times*, 26 February 2011)

26 February 2011      The US implements Executive Order 13566: Blocking Property and Prohibiting Certain Transactions Related to Libya. The announcement comes after pro-Gadhafi forces opened fire on protestors, during the most recent round of demonstrations. Under the sanctions regime the US freezes roughly \$32 billion worth of assets in the US owned by Gadhafi, five of his children, the Libyan central bank and the country’s sovereign wealth fund. Assets will remain frozen until a new government is in power. (*Wall Street Journal*, 26 February 2011; *Executive Order 13566*, Office of Foreign Asset Control, 25 February 2011)

The UNSC imposes Resolution 1970 against the Libyan government, in an attempt to “stop the violence, ensure accountability and facilitate humanitarian aid.” Resolution 1970 gives the International Criminal Court (ICC) jurisdiction over crimes committed in Libya after February 15, allowing the ICC to investigate crimes against humanity. The Resolution also imposes an arms embargo; a freeze on assets; a travel ban on 17 government officials and 6 individuals including Gadhafi and his family; and provides humanitarian assistance. (The US Mission to the United Nations, *Fact Sheet: UNSC Resolution 1970, Libya Sanctions*, 26 February 2011)

- 27 February 2011 The Libyan General People’s Committee announces it will distribute \$400 to each Libyan family as part of a program to redistribute of oil wealth. (*BBC Monitoring*, 27 February 2011)  
A number of countries begin implementing UNSC Resolution 1970. Australia imposes sanctions on Libya, including a travel ban and asset freeze on 22 individuals including Gadhafi and key members of his regime. A day later the United Kingdom freezes an estimated \$19 billion worth of assets owned by Gadhafi, his wife, and his children, and imposes travel bans on certain Libyan officials. Six days later the European Union imposes sanctions against Gadhafi and his regime. Sanctions include a travel ban, an embargo on the sale of arms, and a freeze on assets of 26 Libyans, including Gadhafi, his family, and close government aides. Two days later Japan imposes sanctions against Libya. Sanctions include a freeze of assets of roughly \$4.4 billion belonging to six Libyans, including Gadhafi. Japan also imposes a travel ban on another ten individuals. (*ABC News*, 27 February 2011; *Wall Street Journal*, 28 February 2011; *Wall Street Journal*, 5 March 2011; *BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 7 March 2011)
- 3 March 2011 President Obama demands Gadhafi step down and leave Libya. Obama says the US will “consider a full range of options to stem the bloodshed”, including the imposition of a no-fly zone. This is the first public statement by Obama in which he calls on Gadhafi to resign. (*New York Times*, 4 March 2011)  
  
The secretary for African affairs at the Libyan Foreign Ministry, Jum’ah Amir, denies that there are mercenaries fighting in Libya. Amir also condemns UNSC Resolution 1970, saying “regrettably this resolution was not based on correct and confirmed information.” (*BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 4 March 2011)
- 4 March 2011 The International Criminal Court begins a formal investigation into possible crimes against humanity, focusing on Gadhafi, his sons, and some government officials. (*New York Times*, 4 March 2011)  
  
Libyan security forces capture three crew members of a Dutch naval helicopter that landed in the coastal city of Sirte to rescue European citizens. Negotiations are underway to secure their release. (*New York Times*, 4 March 2011)
- 5 March 2011 The Transitional National Council meets in the city of Benghazi and declares itself sole representative for Libya. The Council states its purpose; to “liberate every part of the Libyan lands” from Gadhafi’s control. The Council establishes itself in Benghazi and claims control of the rebel held city. (*Reuters Online*, 4 April 2011; *The Libyan Interim National Council*, <http://www.ntclibya.org/english/>)
- 8 March 2011 The head of the Libyan Interim Transitional National Court, Mustafa Abdel-Jalil, says that Gadhafi will not be prosecuted if he stops air strikes on the cities of Al-Zawiyah, Misratah and Ras Lanuf and steps down as leader. According to Abdel-al-Jalil the offer will remain in effect for 72 hours. (*BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 8 March 2011)

- 9 March 2011 South Korea bans travel to or stay in Libya. The ban will remain in place for one month. Those who do not comply with the ban face up to one year in prison or a \$2,687 fine. (*BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 9 March 2011)
- 10 March 2011 France recognizes Libyan rebels, the Libyan National Council, as the “sole legitimate representative of the Libyan people.” France says it will exchange ambassadors with the rebel group. (*New York Times*, 10 March 2011)
- Russia bans the sale, supply or transfer of arms and related material to Libya. In addition, all cargo going to or coming from Libya is inspected. Russia’s actions comply with the UNSC embargo on the delivery of all weapons and military equipment to Libya. (*BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 10 March 2011)
- 13 March 2011 The Arab League agrees, by consensus, to ask the UNSC to impose a no-fly zone over Libya. The Arab League has already suspended Libya’s membership and opened contact with the rebels, but has not officially recognized the “shadow government as the country’s legitimate authority.” (*New York Times*, 13 March 2011)
- 14 March 2011 US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton meets with the leader of Libya’s rebel force, Mahmoud Jibril, in Paris. The meeting is behind closed doors and no public statement is given, although reports say the meeting is meant as a show of support and to discuss possible paths forward. (*New York Times*, 15 March 2011)
- 16 March 2011 Pro-Gadhafi forces seize the last city, Ajdabiya, standing between them and the rebel controlled city of Benghazi. Pro-Gadhafi fighter jets bomb Ajdabiya and ground troops overtake rebel forces. Pro-Gadhafi forces also surround the rebel controlled city of Misrata. (*Wall Street Journal*, 16 March 2011)
- 17 March 2011 The UNSC passes Resolution 1973, authorizing “all necessary measures” to protect civilians from Gadhafi’s forces. Resolution 1973 also imposes a no-fly zone over Libya, a freeze on assets and travel ban on certain Libyan individuals and entities determined to have violated Resolution 1970. The Resolution also imposes an arms embargo and a ban on flights of Libyan owned or operated aircraft. It also allows nations to “board ships and planes to enforce an existing arms embargo.” No member opposed the resolution; however Russia, China, Germany, India, and Brazil abstained. (*Wall Street Journal*, 18 March 2011; *The Guardian*, 17 March 2011)
- 18 March 2011 Libyan Foreign Minister, Moussa Koussa, announces a ceasefire of all military operations against rebels stating Libya’s willingness to comply with UNSC Resolution 1973. Kusah asks Greece, Malta and Turkey to help Libya enforce the ceasefire, by sending delegations to monitor it. (*BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 18 March 2011)
- 19 March 2011 US and European forces launch air strikes against Gadhafi’s forces in Benghazi, Tripoli, and Misrata, using fighter jets and missiles to impose the UNSC no-fly

zone. Pro-Gadhafi forces continue to attack rebel forces in Benghazi, despite having declared a ceasefire. (*New York Times*, 20 March 2011; *BBC News Africa*, 20 March 2011)

- 20 March 2011      Airstrikes target Gadhafi's compound in Tripoli. Military officials say the airstrikes are not targeted a Gadhafi himself, but rather the actual compound because it exercises command and control over Libyan forces. (*CNN Online*, March 20 2011)
- 23 March 2011      The European Union adopts legislation to implement UNSC Resolution 1973, which introduces new measures and broadens the scope of restrictive measures against Libya imposed by UNSC Resolution 1970. The new sanctions include a ban on Libyan aircraft from entering EU airspace, an extension of the visa ban and assets freeze to additional persons, including the National Oil Corporation and five of its subsidiaries. (The Council of the European Union, *Libya: EU imposes additional sanctions following the adoption of UNSCR 1973*. 24 March 2011.  
[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/120220.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/120220.pdf))
- 24 March 2011      NATO takes over from the US and assumes leadership in enforcing the no-fly zone over Libya. Days later NATO agrees to take full command of all UN mandated military operations, including the protection of civilians. (*New York Times*, 25 March 2011; *Reuters* 4 April 2011; *Wall Street Journal*, 28 March 2011)
- 28 March 2011      Qatar recognizes Libyan rebel forces as official representatives of Libya. (*Reuters*, 4 April 2011)
- 29 March 2011      Rebels take control of key oil fields and terminals in eastern Libya and try to sell oil in the international market. A US Treasury Department official says the United States will not try to block oil sales by rebels if they can prove the money will not go to Libyan government authorities, the National Oil Corporation, or Gadhafi and his family. (*New York Times*, 29 March 2011)
- 30 March 2011      The leaders of over forty countries and international organization meet in London and agree to set up a group to coordinate efforts to end fighting, get Gadhafi to relinquish power, and coordinate political efforts on a post-Gadhafi Libya. UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon says he will send an envoy to Libya to mediate between Gadhafi's regimes and rebels. (*New York Times Online*, 30 March 2011)
- 31 March 2011      Libya appoints former Nicaraguan foreign minister, Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann, to represent Libya the United Nations after its delegate is denied a visa. (*New York Times*, 31 March 2011)
- 1 April 2011        Gadhafi rejects a UN-mediated offer from the chairman of Libya's National Transitional Council, Mustafa Abdel-al-Jalil, in Benghazi to respect a ceasefire if Gadhafi's forces pull out troops from the besieged cities, including Tripoli,

Misrata, and Sirte. (*BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 1 April 2011; *Wall Street Journal*, 2 April 2011)

- 5 April 2011 The United States drops sanctions against a top Libyan government official after he defects to the United Kingdom. The United States unfreezes former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Moussa Koussa's bank accounts and allows him to conduct business in the United States. (*New York Times*, 5 April 2011)
- 12 April 2011 Libyan rebels reject a ceasefire plan proposed by the African Union and Gadhafi. The peace plan calls for a ceasefire, the delivery of humanitarian aid to conflict areas, the initiation of dialogue between both side and political reform. The plan however does not mention the removal of Gadhafi from power. Rebels say that "any solution must include the departure of Gadhafi and his sons and his inner circle." (*Wall Street Journal*, 12 April 2011)
- 13 April 2011 France and the United Kingdom criticize NATO for not "doing enough to stop Col. Gadhafi's forces from killing civilians in rebel areas." France and the United Kingdom say NATO must be more aggressive in its defense of civilians and that countries should contribute more aircraft and other supplies. NATO chief of operations, General Mark Van Uhm, says NATO "was doing a good job protecting civilians against the regime's 'hit-and-run tactics'." (*Wall Street Journal*, 13 April 2011)
- 14 April 2011 The NATO-led coalition of countries and international organizations meet in Qatar to discuss transferring some of the \$32 billion frozen assets to rebel forces. The coalition agrees to work with the Transitional National Council to set up a mechanism to transfer some of the frozen assets, which may include a deal to provide arms to rebel forces. (*New York Times*, 14 April 2011)
- 21 April 2011 France and Italy say they will join the United Kingdom and send a group of military liaison officers to support rebel forces in Libya. The officers' mission will be to help rebel forces "improve their military organization structures, communications and logistics" but that they will not interfere "on the battlefield." (*Washington Post*, 21 April 2011)
- 22 April 2011 Rebel forces take control of the strategically important Dhuheiba border post. Dhuheiba borders Tunisia and provides a route through which to obtain humanitarian supplies. Hundreds of Libyans have crossed at Dhuheiba into Tunisia to escape the fighting. (*Wall Street Journal*, 22 April 2011)
- 24 April 2011 Gadhafi's forces withdraw from Misrata after two months of siege that killed hundreds of civilians. However forces continue to launch artillery attacks into the city, killing 24 people. (*New York Times*, 24 April 2011)
- 28 April 2011 Gadhafi's forces drive rebel forces from the border post near the town of Wazen. Civilians try to flee to Tunisia while the two sides exchange artillery fire. Tunisia reports that Gadhafi's forces had entered Tunisia "in pursuit of the

rebels while others had fired multiple-launch Grad rockets across the border.”  
(*Wall Street Journal*, 29 April 2011)

30 April 2011

In an address to the nation, Gadhafi says that “Libya welcomes the ceasefire and has announced several times that it agrees to a ceasefire.” Gadhafi goes on to say that the rebels are “terrorist who are not Libyans” and blames NATO for “destroying the wall which has been erected against terrorism and illegal immigration.” Gadhafi makes four requests of NATO: to forget about changing the Libyan political system; not to expect Gadhafi to leave Libya; not to take Libyan oil fields by force, rather Gadhafi invites western companies to come and develop the fields; and abandon their campaign of “occupation” of Libya. (*BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 30 April 2011)

Gadhafi survives a NATO airstrike in Tripoli that kills one of his sons, Seif al-Arab Gadhafi, and three grandchildren. NATO officials say they were not aware that Gadhafi and his family members were in the building that was targeted. (*New York Times*, 1 May 2011)

NATO intercepts Libyan government vessels trying to lay anti-ship mines in the harbor of Misrata. The Libyan government had previously threatened to attack ships carrying humanitarian aid into Misrata. The government also claims that the port is being used to deliver arms to rebel forces. A Libyan government official announces on state television that “any attempt to enter the port will be attacked, regardless of the justification.” (*Washington Post*, A8. 30 April 2011)

2 May 2011

Gadhafi’s forces shell the besieged city of Misrata and vandalize the British and Italian embassies, the UN office, and the US consulate in Tripoli. In response the United Nations withdraws 12 UN employees based in Tripoli and the United Kingdom orders the expulsion of Libya’s ambassador from London. France follows suit and orders the expulsion of 14 Libyan diplomatic officials. (*Wall Street Journal*, 2 May 2011; *New York Times*, 7 May 2011)

9 May 2011

Rebel forces dismiss an appeal by tribal leaders loyal to Gadhafi to engage in peace talks. Rebel forces, protected by NATO airstrikes, have a strong hold on Benghazi and other coastal cities in the east. Leaders respond that “the east is feeling so free, so removed from Gadhafi, that none of this is going to make any difference.” (*Wall Street Journal*, 9 May 2011)

11 May 2011

US Senator John Kerry announces he is drafting legislation to free up the \$32 billion worth of Libyan assets seized in early March. Rebel leaders travel to Washington to seek \$3 billion for six months of operations. (*Wall Street Journal*, 12 May 2011)

Rebel forces take control of the airport in Misrata. The airport was the last remaining territory within Misrata that was controlled by Gadhafi’s forces. (*New York Times*, 12 May 2011)

17 May 2011

The chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Court requests an arrest warrant for Gadhafi, one of his sons (Seif al-Islam), and his intelligence chief

(Abdellah al-Senussi) for alleged crimes against humanity. The chief prosecutor says there is evidence that Gadhafi “personally ordered attacks on Libyan civilians” and that Gadhafi “sat down with his son at formal meetings and plotted murderous violence against a list of Libyan citizens perceived to be enemies.” (*Wall Street Journal*, 17 May 2011)

- 19 May 2011 The Libyan government releases four journalist that were detained for several weeks. A fifth journalist remains unaccounted for. The decision to release the journalist is speculated to be a new effort by Gadhafi’s government to engage in diplomatic negotiations, which have been rebuffed by western governments and rebel forces who insist that Gadhafi must step down as a condition for talks. (*New York Times*, 19 May 2011)
- 21 May 2011 NATO fighter jets attack naval ships and bases in the ports of Tripoli, Sirte, and Al Khums. The attack is aimed at neutralizing Gadhafi navy and includes the interception of an oil tanker believed to be carrying fuel for Gadhafi’s forces, and a facility that constructs the inflatable boats Gadhafi’s forces used to lay explosives in Misrata harbor. (*Wall Street Journal*, 21 May 2011)
- 25 May 2011 NATO strikes 15 targets in Tripoli, in the heaviest attack on the capital since the NATO campaign began. The attacks focus on Gadhafi’s compound, Bab al-Aziziya, and aim to break the stalemate settling over the conflict. (*New York Times*, 25 May 2011)
- The United States invites rebel leaders to open an office in Washington, but does not offer formal recognition. (*New York Times*, 25 May 2011)
- 26 May 2011 The Libyan Prime Minister, Al-Baghadhi Ali al-Mahmudi, says Libya is ready to implement the ceasefire set out by the African Union, and will engage in dialogue with rebel forces. (*BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 26 May 2011)
- 31 May 2011 South African President, Jacob Zuma, arrives in Tripoli to negotiate with Gadhafi’s government in an effort to broker a peace deal. The six-hour negotiations do not produce a breakthrough as Gadhafi declares he “is not prepared to leave his country, despite the difficulties.” (*Wall Street Journal*, 31 May 2011; *New York Times*, 1 June 2011)
- 1 June 2011 NATO resumes airstrikes against Tripoli, in an effort to increase pressure on Gadhafi to step down from power and leave Libya. (*New York Times*, 1 June 2011)
- 2 June 2011 The head of Libya’s National Oil Corporation and former Prime Minister, Shokri Ghanem, announces his defection at a news conference in Rome. Ghanem’s defection comes days after eight army officers, senior diplomats, and former ministers defect. Ghanem says he backs “the choice of Libyan youth to create a modern constitutional state respecting human rights and building a better future for all Libyans.” (*Wall Street Journal*, 2 June 2011)

- 3 June 2011 NATO extends its mission to Libya by 90 days. This includes “the enforcement of a no-fly zone and the use of air power to protect civilians.” (*Daily Telegraph*, 3 June 2011)
- 4 June 2011 Attack helicopters are used for the first time by NATO forces. Targets struck include “military vehicles, military equipment, and fielded forces.” (*Agence France Presse*, 4 June 2011)
- British Foreign Secretary William Hague travels to Benghazi to talk with the leader of the rebel National Transitional Council, Mustafa Abdel-al-Jalil. Mr. Hague says his visit is “to show support for the Libyan people and the National Transitional Council, the legitimate representative of the Libyan people.” Mr. Hague goes on to say that NATO will “stick to the terms of a UN Security Council resolution” and will not “set a deadline” for ending the mission. (*Agence France Presse*, 4 June 2011 and 5 June 2011)
- 10 June 2011 The Nations intervening in Libya (including the United States, Italy, France, and Australia among others) pledge \$1 billion towards supporting the rebel forces and civilians. The \$1 billion comes mostly from the frozen Libyan government assets. The United States will contribute an additional \$26 million in humanitarian aid, which will go to international organizations rather than directly to rebel forces. (*New York Times*, 10 June 2011)
- 14 June 2011 Germany recognizes the rebel-led National Transitional Council, as the “legitimate representative of the Libyan people.” Germany says it will begin diplomatic ties with the group by sending a representative to Benghazi. Other countries that recognize the rebels as “legitimate” include Spain, France, Britain, Qatar, and Canada. (*New York Times*, 14 June 2011)
- 15 June 2011 The Administration delivers a report to Congress asserting that President Obama did not exceed his powers in ordering action in the Libya conflict after a bipartisan group of lawmakers file suit challenging the constitutionality of US action. (*Agence France Presse*, 15 June 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 14 August 2011)
- 16 June 2011 Spain ejects Libya’s ambassador to Madrid due to the Gadhafi regime’s repression of civilians. Gadhafi’s son states Gadhafi has agreed to host elections over the next few months and welcomes supervision by international observers. Libyan rebels and NATO dismiss the statement as a way to buy time. US House Speaker John Boehner says that Congress could cut funding for US military involvement in Libya. NATO planes mistakenly hit Libyan rebel forces near Brega. (*Agence France Presse*, 16 June 2011, Factiva online; *BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 16 June 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters*, 17 June 2011, LBA; *Agence France Presse*, 18 June 2011, Factiva online)

- 19 June 2011 NATO acknowledges responsibility for nine civilian casualties during a bombing raid in Tripoli. (*Agence France Presse*, 19 June 2011, Factiva online)
- 21 June 2011 US tightens financial sanctions by blacklisting nine companies affiliated with Gadhafi's government including Arab Turkish Bank, Tunisia-based North Africa International Bank, Lebanon-based North Africa Commercial Bank, as well as subsidiaries of the Libyan Investment Authority. The Treasury removes sanctions against former oil minister Shukri Mohammed Ghanem following his defection from Gadhafi's government in May. (*Reuters*, 21 June 2011, Factiva online)
- 22 June 2011 Denmark recognizes the National Transition Council (NTC) as the sole legitimate representative of the Libyan people. China receives Libya's NTC chairman of the council's executive board, Mahmoud Jibril, and pronounces the group "an important dialogue partner." (*Agence France Presse*, 22 June 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 23 June 2011, Factiva online ; *BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 23 June 2011, Factiva online; *Wall Street Journal*, 23 June 2011, A8)
- 23 June 2011 The United Nations, Canada, Britain, and the United States authorize the transfer of funds from the sanctioned Libyan government education committee to allow Libyan exchange students relying on Libyan government-funded scholarships to continue schooling. (*Reuters*, 23 June 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters*, 24 June 2011, Factiva online)
- 24 June 2011 The US House of Representatives votes down a resolution to authorize US military action in Libya, while simultaneously voting 238-180 to continue funding US strikes on Gadhafi's forces. Gadhafi releases dozens of rebel supporters in a detainee swap and allows them to return to Benghazi, acts that show signs of weakness. (*Agence France Press*, 24 June 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters*, 24 June 2011, Factiva online)
- 27 June 2011 On the 100th day of NATO's operations in Libya, the ICC issues an arrest warrant for Gadhafi, his son Saif al-Islam, and his brother-in-law, the head of Libyan intelligence, Abdulla al-Senussi, for crimes against humanity. The African Union (AU) and Russian Chairman of the State Duma Committee for International Affairs, Konstantin Kosachev, oppose the decision. The Libyan NTC states that, after the warrant, there is no room for talks with Gadhafi. The UNSC imposes a travel ban and asset freeze against Gadhafi's wife Safia and Planning and Finance Minister Abdulhafid Zlitni. Libyan rebels receive their first international funds—\$100 million loan from Qatar. (*Agence France Press*, 27 June 2011, Factiva online; *BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 27 June 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 28 June 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 27 June 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 29 June 2011, Factiva online)

- 28 June 2011 Bulgaria and Croatia recognize the NTC as a legitimate representative of the Libyan people. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee backs a resolution 14-5 to green light the current US role in Libya for one year. (*Agence France Presse*, 28 June 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Press*, 28 June 2011, Factiva online)
- 29 June 2011 Gadhafi's health minister asks Egyptian officials for medical supplies to meet Libyan shortages. (*Agence France Press*, 29 June 2011, Factiva online)
- July 2011 Libya's rival factions and the United Nations discuss easing international sanctions on Libya for fear of an impending humanitarian emergency due to an acute shortage of medical and other essential supplies. Rebels cut off an oil pipeline that supplies troops loyal to Gadhafi, east of Zenten. (*Agence France Presse*, 8 July 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 10 July 2011, Factiva online)
- 1 July 2011 The AU decides not to execute the ICC arrest warrant for Gadhafi stating that the warrant "seriously complicates the efforts aimed at finding a negotiated political settlement to the crisis." AU leaders offer to host talks on a ceasefire and transition process to a democratic government, between the two Libyan sides. Rebels reject the settlement terms set forth by the AU. In an address relayed to 100,000 supporters in Tripoli's Green Square, Gadhafi threatens to attack Europe. Rebels advance to within 50 miles of the capital and are stopped by rocket fire from government forces. (*Agence France Presse*, 1 July 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 2 July 2011, Factiva online)
- 3 July 2011 Turkey recognizes the rebel NTC as the legitimate representative of the Libyan people a day after writing UN sanctions against Libya into Turkish law. Turkey assigns a new ambassador to Libya and announces \$200 million in aid to the rebels in addition to the \$100 million announced in June. (*Agence France Presse*, 3 July 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 3 July 2011, Factiva online)
- 4 July 2011 NATO steps up strikes on Gadhafi forces in west Libya, including Tripoli. Turkey's banking authorities seize control of Libyan-Turkish bank A&T in line with UN sanctions. (*Reuters News*, 2 July 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 4 July 2011, Factiva online)
- 6 July 2011 Libyan rebels launch an assault 30 miles outside of the capital, and capture the city of Gualish; moving closer to Gharyan, the last major obstacle on the way to Tripoli. (*Agence France Presse*, 6 July 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 10 July 2011, Factiva online)

- 7 July 2011 Polish Foreign Minister Radoslaw Sikorski states that "As of today our ambassador in Libya is residing in Benghazi because we regard the transitional council in Benghazi as the only legitimate partner for talks." US House of Representatives forbids the Pentagon from providing military aid to rebels but rejects the proposal to block defense funds for US participation in Libya. To become law, the measures must be passed by the Senate and signed by the president. Libyan rebels begin negotiations with Russian and Chinese energy firms to take over Italian company ENI's projects in Libya after ENI withdrew its staff due to violence. (*Agence France Presse*, 7 July 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 7 July 2011, Factiva online)
- 8 July 2011 The Kenyan government states it will maintain links with Libya despite international pressure. Turkey reports it has frozen \$1 billion Libyan central bank reserves deposited in Turkish banks. Gadhafi threatens to send hundreds of Libyans to launch attacks in Europe, warning that "Hundreds of Libyans will martyr in Europe. I told you it is eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth. But we will give them a chance to come to their senses." (*BBC Monitoring Newswire*, 8 July 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 9 July 2011, Factiva online)
- 10 July 2011 After a senior official from Canberra visits Libya, Australia vows to keep up humanitarian aid to Libya. Rebels cut off an oil pipeline to the Zuwarah refinery near Khamassa, which supplies oil to troops loyal to Gadhafi. (*Agence France Presse*, 10 July 2011, Factiva online)
- 12 July 2011 Switzerland states it will dispatch a diplomat to rebel-held Benghazi to open an office to strengthen ties with the NTC. The French parliament votes 500 to 27 to continue intervention in Libya. NATO states it will continue bombing Gadhafi's forces through Ramadan in August if Gadhafi's regime continues attacking civilians. (*Agence France Presse*, 12 July 2011, Factiva online)
- 13 July 2011 Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands recognize the NTC as the Libyan people's sole legitimate representative. Russia rejects an offer to take part in contact group of major powers, asserting that the UNSC should play a central role in finding a solution to the crisis. (Along with other permanent members, Russia holds a vet in the UNSC). (*Agence France Presse*, 13 July 2011, Factiva online)
- 15 July 2011 The United States and other members of the Contact Group, including members of NATO, the European Union, and the Arab League, recognize the NTC as the legitimate government of Libya. This opens a possible path towards unfreezing billions in Libyan assets; to be transferred to the country's rebels. (*Reuters News*, 15 July 2011, Factiva online)

- 16 July 2011 Twelve rebels are killed and 178 are injured in an offensive to wrest control of Brega from Gadhafi's troops. (*Agence France Presse*, 16 July 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 14 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 20 July 2011 Libya's foreign minister Abdelati al-Obeidi holds talks with the Russian foreign ministry but states no breakthrough has been reached. After the talks in Moscow, Obeidi tells reporters that "The question of Gadhafi's departure is not up for negotiation." (*Agence France Presse*, 20 July 2011, Factiva online)
- 22 July 2011 NATO authorizes civilian aircraft to use an "air bridge" between the rebel held headquarters of Benghazi and the Nafusa Mountains. An AFP correspondent states that "The planes carry civilians, sometimes NTC members, as well as people who volunteer to work in hospitals, and transport medicine...Never weapons." (*Agence France Presse*, 22 July 2011, Factiva online)
- 24 July 2011 Germany offers \$144 million to the Libyan NTC to help with humanitarian needs and rebuilding. (*Voice of America Press Releases and Documents*, 24 July 2011, Factiva online)
- 25 July 2011 Bulgaria declares the Libyan consular adviser in Bulgaria "persona non grata" and asks Ibrahim al-Furis to leave the country within 24 hours. Al-Furis refuses to leave and states that he and other staff are loyal to the revolution. Britain states that weeks of bombardment have extensively damaged Gadhafi's heavily-fortified compound in Tripoli. Turkey delivers fuel worth \$10 million to aid east Libya and the rebel government. (*Agence France Presse*, 25 July 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 25 July 2011, Factiva online)
- 26 July 2011 NATO warns it will bomb former civilian facilities in Libya which are being used by Gadhafi's forces to launch attacks. (*Agence France Presse*, 26 July 2011, Factiva online)
- 27 July 2011 Britain expels diplomats in London loyal to Gadhafi and invites the NTC to appoint a new diplomatic envoy to take over the Libyan embassy in London. Libyan officials loyal to Gadhafi slam British recognition of NTC as a violation of international law. (*Agence France Presse*, 27 July 2011, Factiva online)
- Libyan rebel leader Mustafa Abdel-al-Jalil states that the offer for Gadhafi to step down and stay in the country has expired. (*Reuters News*, 27 July 2011, Factiva online)
- 28 July 2011 Abdul Fattah Younis, the military chief of staff for the Libyan opposition, along with two senior opposition commanders are fatally shot in Benghazi, unnerving

Western governments who recognize the rebel leadership as Libya's legitimate government. The NTC nominates Mahmud Nacua as its ambassador to London. Libyan rebels seize Al-Ghazaya and Umm Al-Far, two towns near the Tunisian border, as part of a pre-Ramadan offensive. Libya rebels sell the last of their crude oil stockpile in an effort to raise urgently needed funds. (*Washington Post*, 29 July 2011, A12; *Agence France Presse*, 8 August 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 28 July 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 28 July 2011, Factiva online)

- 29 July 2011      Libyan rebels receive a \$200 million loan from Turkey to help with food and monetary aid to fighters and their families. Rebels also receive \$180 million from Kuwait. (*Agence France Presse*, 29 July 2011, Factiva online)
- 30 July 2011      NATO bombs three satellite dishes in Tripoli in an effort to prevent Gadhafi from using television broadcasts to intimidate civilians. Despite the bombing, broadcasts reportedly continue. (*Voice of America Press Releases and Documents*, 20 July 2011, Factiva online; *New York Times*, 31 July 2011, 9)
- August 2011      Norway withdraws its jets and Italy pulls an aircraft carrier from the NATO coalition's role in the war in Libya. (*Agence France Presse*, 29 July 2011, Factiva online)
- 1 August 2011      A Libyan refugee boat arrives on the Italian island of Lampedusa with 271 people on board and 25 dead. Foreign Minister Alain Juppe says France will transfer \$259 million to Libya's NTC after un-freezing Libyan assets in France. (*Agence France Presse*, 1 August 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 1 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 4 August 2011      Libyan rebels seize an oil tanker carrying 73,000 tons of petrol from government control. (*Agence France Presse*, 4 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 5 August 2011      Rebels claim a NATO raid kills Gadhafi's son Khamis and 30 others in the western town of Zlitan. Months later, pro-Gadhafi TV Arrai states that Khamis was killed by NTC fighters on 29 August in Tarhuna while fighting. Government spokesman Moussa Ibrahim states that report of Khamis' death is a ploy to cover up the killing of civilian family in Zlitan. (*Agence France Presse*, 5 August 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 6 August 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 17 October 2011, Factiva online)
- 8 August 2011      Libyan rebel leader Mustafa Abdel-al-Jalil disbands the entire executive branch of the de facto government "in a bid to end a major political crisis caused by the

assassination of” top rebel general Younis. (*Agence France Presse*, 8 August 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 8 August 2011, Factiva online)

- 9 August 2011 Canada expels Libyan diplomats and cuts off access to the embassy’s bank accounts. Denmark expels Libyan diplomats from the country. The European Union sanctions two economic entities, Al-Sharara, which operates in the oil sector, and the Organization for Development of Administrative Centers (ODAC). Forty-two people and 49 entities are now under EU sanctions in Libya. The NTC takes over the Libyan embassy in London. (*Agence France Presse*, 9 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 12 August 2011 President Medvedev signs a decree implementing UN sanctions (UNSCR 1973) that entered into force five months prior. (*Agence France Presse*, 12 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 15 August 2011 Denmark gives \$144.5 million in frozen Libyan assets to the WHO, to distribute medicine to Libyan people. Gadhafi’s interior minister, Nassr al-Mabrouk Abdullah defects to Cairo. (*Agence France Presse*, 15 August 2011, Factiva online; *Voice of America Press Releases and Documents*, 15 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 16 August 2011 Gadhafi forces launch a short-range, surface-to-surface Scud missile on rebel positions, drawing harsh rebuke from NATO. "The use of such missiles presents a direct threat to innocent people," Canadian colonel Roland Lavoie said. US Defense Secretary Leon Panetta states that Gadhafi’s “forces have been weakened and his days appear to be numbered.” (*Agence France Presse*, 16 August 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 17 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 17 August 2011 Libyan diplomat Ali Aujali formally reopens Libya’s mission in Washington and expresses hope that the United States will release billions of dollars in Libyan frozen assets. Aujali served as Gadhafi’s ambassador in Washington until he defected in February. (*Agence France Presse*, 17 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 18 August 2011 Libyan rebels seize a key oil refinery in Zawiya and begin releasing stockpiles within three days. Rebels also capture the western coastal city Sabratha, located between the Tunisian border and Tripoli. (*Agence France Presse*, 18 August 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 20 August 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 18 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 21 August 2011 Tunisia recognizes the rebel NTC as the “legitimate representative of the Libyan people.” Rebels close in on Tripoli, infiltrating the capital by sea from rebel-held

coastal enclave Misrata. (*Agence France Presse*, 21 August 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 22 August 2011, Factiva online)

- 22 August 2011      Libyan rebels enter Tripoli and seize control of the state broadcaster in Tripoli. Rebel arrest Gadhafi's son Mohammed, who later escapes. Egypt, Kuwait, Morocco, and the Palestinian Authority recognize the NTC as the legitimate representative of the Libyan people. (*Agence France Presse*, 22 August 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 22 August 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 22 August 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 23 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 23 August 2011      Bahrain, Greece, Iraq, Lebanon, Malta, Nigeria, and Sudan recognize the NTC as the legitimate representative of the Libyan people. Germany and Turkey call upon other countries to unfreeze Libyan state funds for the NTC. Anti-regime fighters overrun Gadhafi's Tripoli compound, Bab al-Azizya. Whereabouts of Gadhafi and family are unclear but NATO asserts Gadhafi is not a target. (*Agence France Presse*, 23 August 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 23 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 24 August 2011      Libyan rebels state that more than 400 are killed and at least 2,000 injured in the fight to gain control of Tripoli from Gadhafi forces. Rebel leader Jalil states that free elections will be held in eight months and Gadhafi will be tried in Libya, not the ICC. Jalil announces a \$1.7 million reward for Gadhafi, dead or alive, and amnesty for those who hand him over. The US circulates a draft resolution at the UNSC to unfreeze \$1.5 billion of Libyan assets for humanitarian aid. South Africa continues to block the move because the NTC is not fully recognized internationally. Burkina Faso, Chad, Ethiopia, and South Korea recognize the NTC as Libya's legitimate authority. (*Reuters News*, 23 August 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 24 August 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 23 August 2011, Factiva online; *BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 24 August 2011, Factiva online; *BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 23 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 25 August 2011      After talks between Berlusconi and the NTC's second in command, Mahmud Jibril, Italian Foreign Minister Franco Frattini promises to release \$504 million. The Arab League, Bosnia, Ivory Coast, and the Republic of Djibouti recognize the NTC as the legitimate government of Libya. The UNSC agrees to release \$1.5 billion in Libyan assets (*Agence France Presse*, 25 August 2011, Factiva online; *BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 26 August 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 25 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 26 August 2011      Libyan rebels announce their intent to transfer the government from Benghazi to Tripoli. Macedonia recognizes the NTC as the legitimate government of Libya.

- Rebels take control of strategic Ras Jdir post between Libya and Tunisia. The post is a gateway for essential supplies from Tunisia. The rebel commander in Tripoli, Abdel Hakim Belhadj, states at a news conference that "The Military Council announces its intention to dissolve all rebel formations and merge them into state institutions." (*Agence France Presse*, 25 August 2011, Factiva online; *BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 26 August 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 26 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 27 August 2011 Benin, Kosovo, Niger, and Togo recognize the NTC as the legitimate government of Libya. (*Reuters News*, 27 August 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 27 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 28 August 2011 Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Salehi states that Iran provided humanitarian aid to Libyan rebels discreetly before the fall of Tripoli. Rebel commissioner in Misrata, Mohammed al-Fortiya, states that rebels are closing in on Gadhafi's hometown of Sirte. (*Agence France Presse*, 28 August 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 28 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 29 August 2011 Italian energy giant ENI signs an agreement with the NTC to resume operation and restart gas supplies to Libya. France reopens embassy in Libya. Gadhafi's wife, daughter Aisha, and sons Hannibal and Mohammed, along with their children, flee to Algeria. The NTC states that they will seek extradition of Gadhafi's family. The Czech Republic recognizes the NTC as the legitimate authority in Libya. (*Agence France Presse*, 29 August 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 29 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 30 August 2011 The UN's World Food Program sends 600 tons of food and 500 tons of water to western Libya. The UN sanctions committee on Libya approves British application to release \$1.6 billion in Libyan assets for emergency aid. Libya rebels issue a Saturday deadline (3 September) to Gadhafi loyalists to surrender or face military onslaught. (*Agence France Presse*, 30 August 2011, Factiva online; *Voice of America Press Releases and Documents*, 30 August 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 30 August 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 31 August 2011, Factiva online; *BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 31 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 31 August 2011 Italy says its embassy in Tripoli will reopen on Thursday and it will unfreeze \$722 million in Libyan assets for the NTC. (*Agence France Presse*, 31 August 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 31 August 2011, Factiva online)
- 1 September 2011 During a "Friends of Libya" meeting in Paris, the group of roughly 60 countries unfreezes \$15 billion in funds to help rebuild Libya. The European Union lifts sanctions on 28 Libyan firms, including banks and ports, to help the economy

function and provide funds to the NTC. Canada lifts sanctions imposed earlier in the year. Rebels extend deadline for Gadhafi loyalist surrender to 10 September. Romania, Russia, and Ukraine recognize the NTC as the governing authority in Libya, and Turkey reopens embassy in Tripoli. NTC spokesman Mahmoud Shammam states that Libya interim council members will not run for political office for four years. (*Agence France Presse*, 3 September 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 31 August 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 1 September 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 1 September 2011, Factiva online)

2 September 2011      Libyan rebels state that five international oil companies have returned and are starting work to get operations running again. Azerbaijan recognizes the NTC as the governing authority in Libya. Ban Ki-moon urges all nations “to come together to help the Libyan people.” (*Reuters News*, 2 September 2011, Factiva online; *BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 2 September 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 2 September 2011, Factiva online)

3 September 2011      Rebel fighters prepare to launch an offensive on one of the last Gadhafi strongholds, Bani Walid. The NTC establishes a 21-member security committee responsible for security in the capital in an attempt to bring military commanders in Tripoli under one umbrella. (*Agence France Presse*, 3 September 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 3 September 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 4 September 2011, Factiva online; *Washington Post*, 4 September 2011, Factiva online)

5 September 2011      Kazakhstan recognizes NTC as the legitimate governing council. NTC officials state that documents were found suggesting China sought to sell weapons and ammunition to Gadhafi forces in July in violation of the UNSCR 1970. China admits that state-run arms makers spoke with Libyans but denies that arms were delivered to the Gadhafi regime. A convoy of approximately 200 vehicles leaves Libya for Niger, carrying the head of Gadhafi’s security brigade, Mansour Dhao, but not Gadhafi. (*Reuters News*, 5 September 2011, Factiva online; *BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 5 September 2011, Factiva online; *New York Times*, 5 September 2011, Factiva online; *New York Times*, 6 September 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 6 September 2011, Factiva online)

9 September 2011      Clashes erupt in Bani Walid one day ahead of deadline for Gadhafi loyalists to surrender or face military action. Interpol issues an arrest warrant for Gadhafi, Saif al-Islam Gadhafi, and intelligence chief Abdullah al-Senussi. The Netherlands unblock \$2 billion in frozen assets for the NTC while Austria releases \$205.7 million for humanitarian projects and fuel. A new group of 14 Gadhafi officials arrive in Nigeria including two generals; Nigeria vows to cooperate with

- international pressure to hand over those suspected of human rights abuses. (*Agence France Presse*, 9 September 2011, Factiva online; *BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 9 September 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 9 September 2011, Factiva online)
- 10 September 2011 Senior US diplomat Joan Polaschik, along with a small team, returns to Tripoli. The IMF recognizes the NTC as the legitimate governing body in Libya. (*Agence France Presse*, 10 September 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 12 September 2011, Factiva online)
- 11 September 2011 Gadhafi's son Saadi arrives in Niger. Mahmud Jibril states that a new interim government will be formed in Libya within 10 days. (*Agence France Presse*, 11 September 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 11 September 2011, Factiva online)
- 12 September 2011 Libya's interim leader, Mustafa Abdel-al-Jalil, makes first speech to crowd of 10,000 in Tripoli and announces that Sharia law will be "main source for legislation." Libya's oil firm Agoco restarts production at eastern oilfield of Sarir. China formally recognizes the NTC as Libya's government and the NTC vows to uphold deals with China made under Gadhafi regime. (*Reuters News*, 12 September 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 12 September 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 20 September 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 13 September 2011, Factiva online)
- 13-14 September 2011 Canada unfreezes \$2.2 billion in Libyan assets. Norway unfreezes \$370 million of Libyan assets. Spain reopens embassy in Tripoli and releases \$480 million in frozen Libyan assets to rebels. Iran's ambassador returns to Tripoli. (*Agence France Presse*, 14 September 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 14 September 2011, Factiva online)
- 15 September 2011 Libyan rebels launch an offensive on Sirte. In a meeting between British, French, and NTC representatives in Tripoli, UK Prime Minister David Cameron vows to help rebels locate and bring justice to Gadhafi and announces the release of an additional \$944 million in frozen Libyan assets. Britain reduces travel ban to "advice against all but essential travel to certain towns" in Libya. Japan says it will release part of \$4.4 billion in Libyan frozen assets to interim government. Royal Jordanian (national carrier) resumes flights to Libya after an eight month suspension, in order to deliver medical supplies. (*Reuters News*, 15 September 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 15 September 2011, Factiva online; *BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 15 September 2011 Factiva online)

- 16 September 2011 ENI and Gazprom sign deal that transfers 50 percent share of the ENI controlled Libyan oil field, to Russia's Gazprom. The UN General Assembly votes 114 to 17 to give the NTC a seat at the United Nations. The United Nations passes a resolution easing economic and military sanctions on Libya, including on Libyan National Oil Corp, Zueitina Oil Company, the Libyan Arab Foreign Bank, Libyan Investment Authority, and Libyan African Investment Portfolio. Niger states it will not send Saadi Gadhafi back to Tripoli due doubts about a fair trial. Taiwan recognizes Libya's NTC as legitimate government. (*Reuters News*, 16 September 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 16 September 2011, Factiva online; *BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 16 September 2011, Factiva online)
- 18 September 2011 OPEC recognizes NTC as Libyan government. (*Agence France Presse*, 18 September 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 18 September 2011, Factiva online)
- 20 September 2011 Obama calls for 'free and fair' elections and states that NATO's mission in Libya will continue "so long as the Libyan people are being threatened." The AU and South Africa recognize Libya's NTC as the legitimate government. (*Agence France Presse*, 20 September 2011, Factiva online)
- 22 September 2011 The European Union eases sanctions in line with UNSC Resolution 2009, which paves the way for further lifting economic sanctions. Algeria recognizes Libya's NTC as the legitimate government. The United States reopens its embassy in Tripoli. (*Reuters News*, 22 September 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 27 September 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 28 September 2011, Factiva online)
- 23 September 2011 Switzerland lifts sanctions against National Oil Corporation, Zueitina Oil Corporation, and Afriqiyah Airways. French oil giant Total restarts Libyan oil production and states that exports will resume in two weeks (*Agence France Presse*, 23 September 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 27 September 2011, Factiva online)
- 24 September 2011 Libyan rebels, backed by NATO planes, enter Sirte in a "surprise" assault. (*Agence France Presse*, 24 September 2011, Factiva online)
- 25 September 2011 Pro-Gadhafi militias attack southern border town of Ghadames but are pushed back by rebels. NTC states mass grave found with 1,200 bodies killed by Gadhafi security forces in 1996 Abu Salim prison massacre. Pro-Gadhafi TV dismisses mass grave finding as a lie. ENI restarts oil production in the Abu Attifel field in Libya. Germany reopens embassy in Tripoli. (*Reuters News*, 25 September 2011,

Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 25 September 2011, Factiva online; *BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 28 September 2011, Factiva online)

- 28 September 2011 Intense fighting rages on in Sirte and Bani Wali, two of the main remaining Gadhafi strongholds, as rebels suffer significant losses and call for more NATO strikes. Doctors report that supplies of water, electricity, food, and medical supplies are severely lacking in Sirte and aid agencies are unable to enter the city. (*Voice of America Press Releases and Documents*, 28 September 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 28 September 2011, Factiva online)
- 5-6 October 2011 NTC states that it controls more than half of Sirte and believes it will take the city in less than two days, as fighting continues. US Defense Chief Leon Panetta warns NATO alliance members that, in the future, the United States can no longer make up for military shortfalls, as it did in Libya, due to a shrinking US defense budget. Libya's NOC states it will pursue international firms for \$6 billion in unpaid debts due to sanctions. Shell executives meet with Libya's NOC to discuss old and new deals Libya ships first cargo of crude to Asia since Gadhafi's fall. (*Reuters News*, 5 October 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 5 October 2011, Factiva online)
- 13 October 2011 Facing stiff resistance from pro-Gadhafi loyalists, the NTC is forced to retreat in Sirte. ENI announces resumption of Libyan natural gas through Greenstream pipeline to Italy. NATO signs an agreement opening part of Libya airspace to commercial flights to improve accessibility of humanitarian assistance. (*Agence France Presse*, 13 October 2011, Factiva online)
- 17-18 October 2011 The NTC raises the new government's flag and states that Bani Walid has been liberated. US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton meets with NTC leaders in Tripoli, pledges support, discusses "how to integrate Libya fully into the 21st century world economy in transparent ways where Libya's oil wealth is used for the benefit of all of Libya's citizens." (*Agence France Presse*, 17 October 2011, Factiva online *Agence France Presse*, 18 October 2011, Factiva online)
- 20 October 2011 Gadhafi and his son Motassim are killed in a raid as the final bastion of pro-Gadhafi resistance, Sirte, is liberated by the NTC. Saif al-Islam Gadhafi remains on the run. Many western leaders welcome Gadhafi's death and pronounce that the war against tyranny in Libya is over. Conflicting accounts of Gadhafi's demise are put forth by NTC officials as live video and images begin to surface showing Gadhafi shortly before and after his death. UN human rights chief urges an investigation into Gadhafi's death, as does Gadhafi's family. The military leadership in Libya states that circumstances of Gadhafi's killing will be investigated but no autopsy will be conducted. The African Union lifts

suspension of Libya's membership. The Vatican recognizes the NTC as Libya's legitimate representative. (*Agence France Presse*, 20 October 2011, Factiva online; *New York Times*, 21 October 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 20 October 2011, Factiva online; *BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 21 October 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 22 October 2011, Factiva online)

- 21 October 2011 NATO Chief Anders Fogh Rasmussen announces plans to end Libya mission on 31 October. UNSC opens discussions on lifting the no-fly-zone over Libya. (*Agence France Presse*, 21 October 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 21 October 2011, Factiva online)
- 23 October 2011 Tens of thousands of Libyans celebrate liberation from 42 years of Gadhafi's rule in Benghazi, the origin of the rebellion. The NTC officially declares liberation of Libya and states that free Libya will base laws on Sharia. (*Reuters News*, 23 October 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 23 October 2011, Factiva online)
- 24 October 2011 The NTC states formation of next interim government will take place over next two weeks, selecting a new leader to replace Mahmoud Jibril who resigned over the weekend. (*Reuters News*, 24 October 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 24 October 2011, Factiva online)
- 26 October 2011 In a meeting with NATO in Qatar, interim leader Mustafa Abdel-al-Jalil states that NATO should remain in Libya until the end of 2011 to prevent Gadhafi loyalists from leaving the country. Switzerland eases sanctions on Libya in line with the UN decision made last month to unblock some frozen assets and ease a no-fly zone. The IMF estimates Libya's GDP will be halved in 2011 due to the civil war. (*Reuters News*, 26 October 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 26 October 2011, Factiva online)
- 27 October 2011 Due to international outcry over circumstances of Gadhafi's death, Libya's new rulers state that they will prosecute the killers. The UNSC unanimously votes to end Libya military mandate and orders end to no-fly zone from 11:59 pm on 31 October, Libyan time. (*Agence France Presse*, 27 October 2011, Factiva online)
- 28 October 2011 In a meeting in Brussels, NATO ambassadors unanimously declare 31 October to be the end of the Libya mission, stating that "We have fully complied with the historic mandate of the United Nations to protect the people of Libya, to enforce the no-fly zone and the arms embargo." NATO Secretary-General Anders Fogh Rasmussen states that it is "one of the most successful" operations in NATO history. The ICC prosecutor says informal contact is initiated with Saif al-Islam Gadhafi in order to coordinate conditions for his arrest and trial. Pro-

- Gadhafi Al-Ra'y TV denies that Saif is negotiating surrender. (*Agence France Presse*, 28 October 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 28 October 2011, Factiva online; *BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 29 October 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 31 October 2011, Factiva online)
- 31 October 2011 Abdurrahim el-Keib, professor of electrical engineering, is voted head of the transitional government in Libya by the NTC. In a press conference, el-Keib says "We guarantee that we are going to build a nation that respects human rights and does not accept the abuse of human rights. But we need time." El-Keib will be responsible for uniting militias into an army, launching democratic elections, collecting tens of thousands of weapons, and boosting the economy (*BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 31 October 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 31 October 2011, Factiva online; *Washington Post*, 1 November 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 31 October 2011, Factiva online)
- 1 November 2011 The NOC states that Libyan oil production topped 500,000 barrels per day, exceeding initial expectation for oil sector recovery. (*Agence France Presse*, 1 November 2011, Factiva online)
- 2 November 2011 UN Chief Ban Ki-moon meets with NTC officials in Tripoli, for the first time since the conflict began, to offer support, discuss "elections, a new constitution, human rights, public security, and the control of weapons." (*Agence France Presse*, 2 November 2011, Factiva online)
- 8 November 2011 A Tunisian court rules that ex-Prime Minister Al-Baghdadi Ali al-Mahmoudi will be extradited to Libya. Al-Mahmudi applies for political refugee status while Libyan NTC chairman Mustafa Abdel-al-Jalil asserts that al-Mahmudi will receive a "fair trial" in Libya. (*Reuters News*, 8 November 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 11 November 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 10 November 2011, Factiva online)
- 11 November 2011 Niger grants humanitarian asylum to Saadi Gadhafi until he can be assured a fair trial in Libya. (*Agence France Presse*, 11 November 2011, Factiva online)
- 17 November 2011 Commanders who defected from Gadhafi's army unanimously approve Khalifa Haftar as new commander in chief of the national army. The Muslim Brotherhood holds its first public conference, and plan to establish a political party in Libya after being banned under Gadhafi rule for decades. (*Agence France Presse*, 17 November 2011, Factiva online; *BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 18 November 2011, Factiva online)

- 18 November 2011 The UN General Assembly votes to restore Libya to UNHRC. (*Agence France Presse*, 18 November 2011, Factiva online)
- 19-20 November 2011 After three months on the run, Saif al-Islam Gadhafi is arrested in southern Libya by rebels. Abdurrahim El-Keib states that Saif will receive a fair trial according to local and international laws. The ICC prosecutor will arrive in Libya for discussions with the NTC on Saif's trial. Gadhafi's intelligence chief, Abdullah Senussi, who is wanted by the ICC is arrested in Libya. (*Agence France Presse*, 19 November 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 19 November 2011, Factiva online. *Agence France Presse*, 20 November 2011, Factiva online)
- 21 November 2011 Libya's prime minister names Ali Tarhouni as Finance Minister, Osama Al Juwali as Defense Minister, and Ibrahim Dabbashi as Foreign Minister. The new cabinet wins praise from some and angers regions such as Benghazi, and the Berber and Toubou minorities who charge the new government with lack of representation. (*BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 21 November 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 23 November 2011, Factiva online)
- 22 November 2011 The ICC receives a death certificate and formally drops Gadhafi case for crimes against humanity. (*Agence France Presse*, 22 November 2011, Factiva online)
- End-November 2011 Despite the fact that the United Nations authorized the release of \$18 billion in frozen Libyan assets to the NTC, only \$3 billion has been released. UN special envoy to Libya, Ian Martin, states that "The stabilization of the country, the success of the government, and the perception of the international community are all at stake" due to billions still held up in a sanctions tangle. (*Agence France Presse*, 30 November 2011, Factiva online)
- 7 December 2011 OPEC states Libya should return to pre-war oil production levels by June 2012. (*Agence France Presse*, 7 December 2011, Factiva online)
- 10 December 2011 Tripoli holds the first national dialogue conference on "Justice and reconciliation," designed to open the national dialogue on democratic nation building. NTC Chief Mustafa Abdel-al-Jalil states that "Despite what the army of the oppressor did to our cities and our villages, our brothers who fought against the rebels as the army of Gadhafi (did), we are ready to forgive them." (*BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 10 December 2011, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 10 December 2011, Factiva online)
- 14 December 2011 OPEC agrees to oil production ceiling of 30 million barrels per day to make room for higher Libyan supplies. (*Agence France Presse*, 14 December 2011, Factiva online)

- 15 December 2011 Libya and Italy reactivate “friendship” treaty signed by the late dictator Gadhafi and former premier Berlusconi. The treaty granted billions of euros in contracts for \$5 billion in compensation for colonial rule over 25 years. Italy pledges to unfreeze more Libyan funds. (*Agence France Presse*, 15 December 2011, Factiva online)
- 16 December 2011 The UNSC lifts sanctions against the Central Bank of Libya and the Libyan Foreign Bank. The United States lifts “most” sanctions on Libya, and unblocks more than \$30 billion in Libyan assets. (*Agence France Presse*, 16 December 2011, Factiva online; *Reuters News*, 16 December 2011, Factiva online)
- 17 December 2011 US Defense Secretary Panetta visits Libya, warns of “long and difficult transition.” (*Reuters News*, 17 December 2011, Factiva online)
- 21-23 December 2011 The European Union, Switzerland, and Austria lift sanctions and unfreeze all funds and assets of the Central Bank of Libya and the Libyan Arab Foreign Bank. (*Agence France Presse*, 21, 22 and 23 December 2011, Factiva online)
- 26 December 2011 “The Union of Libyan Thwars (revolutionaries), which claims to represent 70 percent” of ex-rebels, calls on the NTC to grant them 40 percent of its seats. (*Agence France Presse*, 27 December 2011, Factiva online)
- 2 January 2012 The NTC publishes a guide for electing a planned constitutional assembly. The guide includes an electoral law stating that 10 percent of a 200 member Congress will be reserved for women, drawing harsh rebuke from human rights organizations. The NTC scraps the law two weeks later due to negative feedback from the public. (*Agence France Presse*, 2 January 2012, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 20 January 2012, Factiva online)
- 10 January 2012 The ICC gives the NTC a 23 January deadline, to decide whether to extradite Saif al-Islam Gadhafi to the Hague on charges of mismanagement of public funds, homicide, and rape. (*Agence France Presse*, 10 January 2012, Factiva online)
- 11 January 2012 The NTC approves appointment of board of trustees for the Libyan Investment Authority (LIA), a \$65 billion investment fund which will be used to finance reconstruction. (*Reuters News*, 11 January 2012, Factiva online)
- 20 January 2012 Three thousand Libyans demonstrate in Benghazi, demand Islamic Sharia law to be source of Libya’s future constitution. (*Agence France Presse*, 20 January 2012, Factiva online)

- 23 January 2012      Libyan Justice Minister Ali H'mida Ashur says the ICC accepts that Saif al-Islam Gadhafi will be tried in Libya; however the ICC denies this claim. (*Reuters News*, 23 January 2012, Factiva online, *Agence France Presse*, 23 January 2012, Factiva online; *The New York Times*, 26 January 2012, Factiva online; *Agence France Presse*, 28 January 2012, Factiva online)
- 28 January 2012      The NTC adopts a new electoral law to form its first constituent assembly in June. Provisions of the law include a requirement that two-thirds of congress hail from political groups while the rest go to independents, and that political parties must have equal numbers of men and women on their candidate lists. (*Agence France Presse*, 28 January 2012, Factiva online)
- 4 February 2012      Libya Sufis parade through Tripoli in honor of Prophet Mohammad's birthday, the first since the fall of Gadhafi who kept religion under strict control. The division between traditional Sufis and Salafis is a key chasm in post-Gadhafi Libya. (*Reuters News*, 4 February 2012, Factiva online)
- 5 February 2012      Libya initiates the first legal proceedings against 41 pro-Gadhafi fighters. However the proceedings are postponed due to pleading of defense attorneys who argue that the case should be tried in the civil judiciary, not the military court. (*Reuters News*, 5 February 2012, Factiva online)

### **Goal of Sender Country**

In reaction to the violent suppression of protests in Libya in late February 2011, Australia, Canada, the European Union, Japan, United Nations, and United States impose sanctions on Muammar Gadhafi and his regime. The first objective was to stop attacks on cities where large numbers of civilians could be injured or killed; the second objective, not explicitly shared by the UNSC, was to remove Gaddafi, his family, and associates from power.

#### *United States*

##### *Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton*

"We join the international community in strongly condemning the violence in Libya [...] the government of Libya has a responsibility to respect the universal rights of the people, including the right to free expression and assembly. Now is the time to stop this unacceptable bloodshed." (*US Department of State Press Statement*, Hillary Rodham Clinton, February 21, 2011)

##### *President Barack Obama*

"The goal is to make sure that the Libyan people can make a determination about how they want to proceed and that they'll be finally free of 40 years of tyranny and they can start creating the institutions required for self-determination." (*New York Times*, 27 May 2011)

"In Libya, the death of Muammar Gaddafi showed that our role in protecting the Libyan people, and helping them break free from a tyrant, was the right thing to do." (*Reuters News*, 22 October 2011,

Factiva online)

### *European Union*

*EU Parliament President Jerzy Buzek*

"We must be prepared not only to assist the changes in Libya. We must also ensure that contingency plans are in place to respond to a possible humanitarian crisis. Our obligation is to defend the dignity of the people, defend the dignity of human life. The EU's ultimate goal is to ensure that our neighbors have a future of liberty and prosperity in their own country. They should no longer have to flee from an oppressive regime. We should support them to build a free and democratic country."  
(*European Parliament*, February 23, 2011)

"I am happy I will be visiting a country fully liberated from a dictator who has imposed his iron fist for more than 40 years. Now Libya can truly turn the page." (*Agence France Presse*, 20 October 2011, Factiva online)

### *United Nations*

*UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon*

UN sanctions "are a necessary step to speed the transition to a new system of governance that will have the consent and participation of the people." Sanctions send "a strong message that gross violations of basic human rights will not be tolerated, and that those responsible for grave crimes will be held accountable" and the UNSC is "determined to uphold its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security." (*UN News Centre*, February 26, 2011)

"The road ahead for Libya and its people will be difficult and full of challenges. Now is the time for all Libyans to come together...Combatants on all sides must lay down their arms and come together in peace. This is a time for rebuilding and healing." (*Agence France Presse*, 20 October 2011, Factiva online)

### *Canada*

*Prime Minister Stephen Harper*

On Gadhafi: "the only acceptable course of action for him is to halt the bloodshed and to immediately vacate his position and his authority." (*The Globe and Mail*, 27 February 2011)

"With the shadow of Kadhafi now lifted from their land, it is our hope that the Libyan people will find peace and reconciliation after this dark period in the life of their nation, and we look forward to working with them." (*Agence France Presse*, 20 October 2011, Factiva online)

### *Australia*

*Minister of Foreign Affairs Kevin Rudd*

"The time has come for Australia to reflect its grave concern by enacting these practical measures. " Autonomous sanctions "are a concrete demonstration of Australia's support for the people of Libya."  
(*The Honorable Kevin Rudd MP, Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs Media Release*, 26 February 2011)

## France

### *Foreign Minister Alain Juppe*

"The announcement of the death of Gadhafi and the collapse of Sirte is the end of a very difficult period for the Libyan people. It's the end of 42 years of tyranny, of a military conflict that has been very difficult for the Libyan people." (*Agence France Presse*, 20 October 2011, Factiva online)

"I think we can say that the military operation is finished, that the whole of Libyan territory is under the control of the National Transitional Council and that, subject to a few transitory measures in the week to come, the NATO operation has arrived at its end." (*Agence France Presse*, 21 October 2011, Factiva online)

## Attitude of Other Countries

### *Brazil*

#### *Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations, Maria Luiza Riberio Viotti*

Brazil stands "in solidarity with all movements in the region expressing their legitimate demands for better governance," but "we are not convinced that the use of force [...] will lead to the realization of our common objective—the immediate end of violence and the protection of civilians." Brazil is "concerned that measure approved today might have the unintended effect of exacerbating the current tensions on the ground." (*Security Council Department of Public Information, 6498<sup>th</sup> Meeting*, 17 March 2011)

#### *Presidential Adviser for International Affairs Marco Garcia*

Brazil condemns "the violations and excesses of the crusader NATO alliance regarding Security Council resolutions 1970 and 1973" against Libya and Gadhafi. (*BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 6 August 2011, Factiva online)

### *Russia*

#### *Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations, Vitaly Churkin*

Russia's position opposes "violence against civilians in Libya" but are not "convinced that an immediate ceasefire was the best way to stop the loss of life." (*Security Council Department of Public Information, 6498<sup>th</sup> Meeting*, 17 March 2011)

#### *Permanent Representative at NATO, Dmitriy Rogozin*

"I think that the most serious conclusions should be drawn by the United Nations, with which NATO has now clearly placed itself on the same level, and which it by no means regards as the only force capable of making decisions to start or end a war. (*BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 22 August 2011, Factiva online)

### *India*

#### *Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations, Manjeev Singh Puri*

India abstains from the UNSC vote to adopt Resolution 1973, condemning Libyan and implementing sanctions. Mr. Puri says "there must be certainty before such wide ranging measures are adopted" and that "political efforts must be the priority in resolving the situation." (*Security Council*

*Department of Public Information, 6498th Meeting, 17 March 2011)*

*China*

*UNSC President Li Baodong*

"The current crisis must be ended through peaceful means. China was always against the use of force when those means were not exhausted." (*Security Council Department of Public Information, 6498th Meeting, 17 March 2011*)

*Vice Foreign Minister Zhai Hun*

"China is ready to grant reconstruction aid to Libya... and hopes that the TNC will take into account China's concerns, respect its commitments and guarantee the interests of Chinese business interests in Libya." (*Agence France Presse, 3 September 2011, Factiva online*)

*Iran*

*President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad*

"NATO forces intervened under the pretext of helping Libyans ... and have turned Libya into ruins ... and under the pretext of reconstructing Libya, they want to plunder its wealth." (*Agence France Presse, 25 October 2011, Factiva online*)

### **Response of Target Country**

*Government spokesman, Musa Ibrahim*

The Libyan government "denounces" UN sanctions and NATO airstrikes, stating that they "contravene the laws of those countries taking part in the bombing" and are "harming the NATO proclaimed efforts to establish peace in Libya." (*BBC Monitoring Newsfile, 25 April 2011*)

*Colonel Muammar Gadhafi*

In response to the imposition of UN sanctions Gadhafi states that "it is not a legitimate resolution, because the Security Council is not mandated. It has no jurisdiction to look into such a case." Commenting on protests and the use of force against civilians, Gadhafi states that there "are no demonstrations" and that "no one is against us [...] My people are with me, they love me all. They will die to protect me." (*BBC Online, Excerpts: Gadhafi Interview, 1 March 2011*)

Gadhafi states that "Libya will be practicing its right of self-defense according to clause 51 of the UN Charter. Unfortunately, according to this, civilian and military targets in the air and sea will be liable to serious danger." (*BBC Monitoring Newsfile, 19 March 2011*)

*Libyan Rebels provisional government, Fathi Terbil*

We "want a civil government, separation for powers, a free media, and a modern state of institutions." (*Wall Street Journal, 21 March 2011*)

*Interim Transitional National Council*

Requests the United Nations to declare the rebel-controlled city of Misrata an "internationally protected zone" urging them to "use all necessary measures to avert an anticipated massacre of men, women, and children." (*Bloomberg News, 12 April 2011*)

*Defense Minister Jalal al-Dughayli*

“The final goal is rebuilding this homeland so that it will be a modern homeland based on the constitution, law, party pluralism, justice, democracy, and freedom. These are the things that were absent from this country during the past period. They are among the goals that should be achieved in this country so that the people can live a modern life and be able to integrate into the contemporary international community. After this stage, we hope that the Libyan people will turn their attention to our internal situation. This situation requires many efforts and sacrifices. First among these is ending the security chaos that has happened with the spread of weapons in streets and cities. We hope that the people will positively respond to the ruling authorities and comply with the instructions issued by the Transitional National Council and the Executive Bureau on the work the people should do about security chaos in terms of handing in weapons, including heavy and light weapons as well as the four-wheel drive vehicles. All these are needed to equip the Libyan Army and the forces that are going to be established after reorganizing the army to defend Libya.” (*BBC Monitoring Newsfile*, 21 October 2011, Factiva online)

## **Legal Notes**

*United Nations*

### **UNSC Resolution 1970**

On February 26, 2011 the UNSC unanimously adopted Resolution 1970, which demands an immediate end to the violence and calls for steps to fulfill the legitimate demands of the population. The four main pillars of Resolution 1970 are:

1. Referral of the situation in Libya since February 15, 2011 to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court.
2. Arms embargo
  - UN member states shall immediately take the necessary measures to prevent the direct or indirect supply, sale, or transfer to Libya, from or through their territories, by their citizens, using their vessels of aircraft, any arms and related material, including technical assistance, training, financial, or other assistance. This measure does not apply to the supply of non-lethal military equipment intended for humanitarian and protective use, as approved by the UN Committee.
  - Requires member States to inspect all cargo to and from Libyan in their territory and allows them to seize and dispose of any unauthorized material.
3. Travel ban
  - All member states shall prevent the entry into or transit through their territories of 16 individuals, including Gadhafi, nine family members, the Head of the Liaison Office of the Revolutionary Committees, Head of Gadhafi's personal security, the Defense Minister, and the Secretary of Utilities.
4. Asset freeze
  - All member states shall freeze all funds, other financial assets, and economic resources which are on their territories and directly or indirectly owned and controlled by the aforementioned 16 individuals or individuals designated by the Committee.
  - This measure applies to individuals and entities involved in or complicit in ordering, controlling, or directing the commission of serious human rights abuses against persons in Libya.

- Permits the exemption of payments, interest, or other earnings on accounts that pre-existed the resolution.

### **UNSC Resolution 1973**

On March 17, 2011 the UNSC adopts Resolution 1974. Brazil, China, India, Germany, and Russia abstain from voting. Resolution 1973 introduces three new measures:

1. The UNSC demands an immediate cease-fire and a complete end to violence and all attacks against, and abuses of, civilians.
2. Authorizes member states to take all necessary measures to protect civilians and civilian populated areas under threat of attack in Libya, including Benghazi.
  - This provision excludes a foreign occupation force of any form on any part of Libyan territory.
  - Request the cooperation of the League of Arab States in matters related to the maintenance of international peace and security and the protection of civilians.
3. Establishes a ban on all flights in the airspace of Libya as a measure to protect civilians. This ban does not apply to flights whose sole purpose is humanitarian.
  - Authorizes all members states to take all necessary measures to enforce compliance.

Resolution 1973 amends Resolution 1970 in the following areas:

1. Enforcement of the arms embargo
  - Authorizes all member states to use *all measures* commensurate to the specific circumstances to carry out inspections.
2. Travel ban
  - Decides that all member states shall deny permission to *any* aircraft registered in Libya, and owned or operated by Libyan nationals or companies to take off from, land in, or overfly their territory unless the particular flight has been approved.
3. Asset freeze
  - All member states shall ensure that any funds, financial assets, or economic resources are prevented from being made available by their nationals or by any individuals of entities within their territories, to or for the benefit of the Libyan authorities, or individuals or entities acting on their behalf, as designated by the UN Committee.

### **UNSC Resolution 2009**

On September 16, 2011 the UNSC unanimously adopts Resolution 2009. Resolution 2009 introduces one new measure:

1. The United Nations establishes a United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) for an initial period of three months, whose mandate is to assist and support Libyan national efforts to:
  - Restore public security and order and promote rule of law;
  - undertake inclusive political dialogue, promote national reconciliation, and embark upon the constitution-making and electoral process;
  - extend state authority, including through strengthening emerging accountable institutions and the restoration of public services;
  - promote and protect human rights, particularly for those belonging to vulnerable groups, and support transitional justice;
  - take the immediate steps required to initiate economic recovery; and
  - coordinate support that may be requested from other multilateral and bilateral actors as appropriate.
  -

Resolution 2009 amends Resolutions 1970 and 1973 in the following areas:

1. Arms Embargo
  - Paragraph 9 of resolution 1970 (2011) shall not apply to supply, sale, or transfer of arms, related material, and assistance intended for security or disarmament to Libyan authorities with advanced notification to the Committee;
  - Small arms, light weapons, and related material, temporarily exported to UN personnel, media representatives, humanitarian and development workers and their associates with advanced notification to the Committee.
2. Asset Freeze
  - Libyan National Oil Corporation (LNOC) and Zueitina Oil Company are no longer subject to asset freeze
  - With respect to Central Bank of Libya, the Libyan Foreign Bank (LAFB), the Libyan Investment Authority (LIA), and the Libyan Africa Investment Portfolio (LAIP)
    - Measures imposed in paragraphs 17 of resolution 1970 (2011), states are no longer required to ensure that funds, assets, or resources are prevented from being made available, with advanced notice to the committee for humanitarian needs; fuel electricity, and water for civilians; resumption of Libyan production and sale of hydrocarbons; funds needed for institutions of civilian government or public infrastructure; funds for banking sector or international trade.
3. Ban on Flights
  - Overturns paragraph 17 of resolution 1973 (2011) requiring states to deny permission to aircraft registered in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya or owned and operated by Libyan nationals and companies to take off from, land in, or overfly their territory.

#### **UNSC Resolution 2016**

On October 27, 2011 the UNSC adopts Resolution 2016. Resolution 2016 amends Resolutions 1970 (2011), 1973 (2011) and 2009 (2011) in the following areas:

1. Protection of civilians
  - Recalls authority of Member States to take all necessary measures to protect civilians under the threat of attack in Libya, excluding a foreign occupation force on Libyan territory;
  - Recalls recognition of role of League of Arab States in maintenance of international peace and security in the region.
2. No Fly Zone
  - Eliminates paragraphs 6 to 12 of resolution 1973 (2011) establishing ban on all flights in Libyan airspace and authorizing member states to take necessary measures to enforce compliance.

#### **UNSC Resolution 2017**

On October 31, 2011 the UNSC adopts Resolution 2017. Resolution 2017 asks Libya's interim authorities to ensure proper custody of missiles and other weapons. States in region and appropriate bodies are called upon to help.

#### **UNSC Resolution 2022**

On December 2, 2011 the UNSC adopts Resolution 2022, amending paragraph 12 of resolution 2009 (2011) in the following way:

1. United Nations Support Mission in Libya
  - Extends the UNSMIL mandate until 16 March 2012;

- Extends the UNSMIL mandate to include supporting Libyan national effort to address threats of proliferation of arms, missiles, and other weapons.

### *United States*

#### **Executive Order 13566**

Adopted February 26, 2011, EO 13566 imposes sanctions against Gadhafi, his family members, and his regime, including the following measures:

1. Asset freeze
  - All property and interests in property that are in the United States, come within the United States or come within possession or control of any US persons are blocked and may not be transferred, paid, exported, or withdrawn.
  - This measure applies to Gadhafi, his family members, any senior official of the Libyan government, or any person responsible for or complicit in ordering, controlling, or directing the commission of human rights abuses related to political repression in Libya.
  - This measure also applies to the government of Libya, its agencies and the Central Bank of Libya.
  - This measure does not exempt payments pursuant to contracts that pre-dated the order.
2. Prohibition of certain transactions
  - Prohibits all US citizens, US companies, and others acting in the United States to directly or indirectly engage in transactions in which the Libyan government, government controlled entity, or a designated person has an interest;
  - Exempts transactions involving banks that are controlled by the Libyan government if the banks are organized under the laws of a country other than Libya and the transactions do not involve other blocked persons.

#### **OFAC General License No. 4**

On April 8, 2011, OFAC issued General License No. 4 pursuant to Executive Order 13566 of February 25, 2011. General License No. 4 provides guidance with respect to investment funds in which there is a blocked non-controlling minority interest of the Government of Libya. US persons are authorized to continue normal operations of funds but may not transfer blocked property without OFAC authorization.

#### **OFAC General License No. 5**

On April 26, 2011, OFAC issued General License No. 5 pursuant to Executive Order 13566 of February 25, 2011. General License No. 5 authorizes transactions related to certain oil, gas, or petroleum products exported from Libya involving Qatar Petroleum or Vitol group under the auspices of the NTC, provided that the Government of Libya nor any other sanctioned individual is involved, with the exception of Agoco, operating under the auspices of the NTC.

#### **OFAC General License No. 6**

On August 19, 2011, OFAC issued General License No. 6 pursuant to Executive Order 13566 of February 25, 2011. In light of the 15 July 2011 US recognition of the NTC, General License No. 6 authorizes all transactions involving the NTC that do not involve persons, property, or interests that are blocked under E.O. 1566 or the Gadhafi regime and persons on the "SDN list."

**OFAC General License No. 7A**

On September 19, 2011, OFAC issued General License No. 7A pursuant to Executive Order 13566 of February 25, 2011. General License No. 7A authorizes transactions involving the Libyan NOC and its' entities, provided that transactions do not involve sanctioned persons, property, or interests.

**OFAC General License No. 8A**

On September 23, 2011, OFAC issued General License No. 8A pursuant to Executive Order 13566 of February 25, 2011. General License No. 8A, effective September 19, 2011, authorizes all transactions involving the Government of Libya, provided that transactions do not involve funds, accounts, or precious metals blocked by E.O. 13566, or any persons listed on the Annex to General License No. 8A.

**OFAC General License No. 9**

On November 18, 2011, OFAC issued General License No. 9 pursuant to Executive Order 13566 of February 25, 2011. General License No. 9 unblocks all funds, accounts, and precious metals of the General National Maritime Transport Company.

**OFAC General License No. 10**

On December 1, 2011, OFAC issued General License No. 10 pursuant to Executive Order 13566 of February 25, 2011. General License No. 10 unblocks all property and interests in property of Arab Turkish Bank and North African International Bank.

**OFAC General License No. 11**

On December 16, 2011, OFAC issued General License No. 11 pursuant to Executive Order 13566 of February 25, 2011. General License No. 11 unblocks all property and interests in property of the Government of Libya, its agencies and controlled entities, and the Central Bank of Libya and Libyan Arab Foreign Bank. All funds, securities, accounts, and precious metals of Libyan Investment Authority and entities owned or controlled by the LIA blocked on September 19, 2011 shall remain blocked.

*European Union***EU Council Decision 2011/137/CFSP**

February 28 the Council of the European Union adopted Decision 2011/137/CFSP that instructs EU members to impose sanctions against Libya, along the lines of UNSC Resolution 1970. Sanctions include the following:

1. Arms embargo
  - Prohibits the direct or indirect supply, sale, transfer of arms, related material of all types and any technical training and financial to Libya by nationals of EU member states or from/through their territory, using their flag vessels or aircraft.
  - This measure exempts the supply, sale, or transfer of non-lethal military equipment, arms and related material, and technical and financial assistance intended solely for humanitarian and protective use.
  - Requires all member states to inspect all cargo to and from Libya in their territory and authorizes them to seize and dispose of any prohibited item.
2. Travel ban
  - Prohibits the entry into or transit through their territories of persons listed in UNSC Resolution 1970 and persons involved in or complicit in the commission of serious human rights abuses against persons in Libya.

### 3. Asset freeze

- Freezes all funds, financial assets, and economic resources owned or controlled directly or indirectly by those individuals listed in UNSC Resolution 1970 or individuals acting on their behalf and persons and entities involved in or complicit in ordering, controlling, or directing the commission of serious human rights abuses against persons in Libya.
- Exempts payments pursuant to contracts entered into prior to the adopted of Decision 2011/137/CFSP.

#### **EU Council Regulation No. 204/2011**

March 2, 2011 the European Council adopted Regulation No. 204/2011 allowing the implementation and uniform application by all member states of the measures set out in Decision 2011/137/CFSP.

#### **EU Council Decision 2011/178/CFSP**

The Council of the European Union adopted legislation on March 23, 2011 to implement UNSC Resolution 1973, broadening the sanctions against Libya imposed under UNSC Resolution 1970.

Amendments include the following:

##### 1. No-fly zone

- Member states shall take the necessary measures to prevent flights by aircraft under their jurisdiction in the airspace of Libya;
- Member states shall deny permission to any aircraft registered in Libya and owned or operated by Libyan nationals or companies to take off from, land in or overfly their territory.

##### 2. Travel ban

- Extends the travel ban to additional persons listed in UNSC Resolution 1973.

##### 3. Asset freeze

- Extends the freeze on assets to individuals and new entities listed in UNSC Resolution 1973, including the Libyan National Oil Corporation and five of its subsidiaries as designated by the European Union.

#### **EU Council Decision 2011/332/CFSP**

The Council of the European Union adopted legislation on June 7, 2011, broadening sanctions on Libyan government entities. The sanctioned entities include: port authorities of Tripoli, Khoms, Brega, Ras Lanuf, Zawia, and Zuwara.

#### **EU Council Decision 872/2011**

The Council of the European Union adopted legislation on September 1, 2011 removing a list of select entities and bodies from the list subject to restrictive measures set out in Regulation (EU) No. 204/2011.

#### **EU Council Decision 925/2011**

The Council of the European Union adopted legislation on September 15, 2011 removing Afriqiyah Airways from the list of sanctioned entities and bodies that are subject to restrictive measures set out in Regulation (EU) No. 204/2011.

#### **EU Council Decision 941/2011**

The Council of the European Union adopted legislation on September 22, 2011 in line with Council Decision 2011/625/CFSP, amending Decision 2011/137/CFSP, removing Libyan National Oil Corporation and Zuietina Oil Company from the list of sanctioned entities and bodies that are subject to restrictive

measures set out in Regulation (EU) No 204/2011 and moving EU legislation in line with UNSCR 2009 (2011).

### EU Council Decision 2011/625/CFSP

The Council of the European Union adopted legislation on September 22, 2011 to implement UNSC Resolution 2009, amending measures imposed by UNSCR 1970 (2011), UNCSF 1973 (2011), and Decision 2011/137/CFSP. Amendments include the following:

1. Arms embargo
  - Arms and related material intended for security or disarmament assistance to the Libyan authorities is no longer prohibited;
  - Small arms, light weapons, and related material may be temporarily exported to Libya for UN personnel, media, and humanitarian and development workers;
2. Assets freeze
  - Authorizes member states to unfreeze funds, if notice is provided to the Committee, of the Central Bank of Libya, Libyan Arab Foreign Bank, Libyan Investment Authority, and Libyan Africa Investment Portfolio for purposes related to: humanitarian needs, fuel/electricity/water for civilian uses, production and sale of Libyan hydrocarbons, establishing/strengthening civilian government and infrastructure, facilitating resumption of banking sector and international trade.

**Table 1 Economic indicators**

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Population (millions)	5.9	6.0	6.2	6.3	6.4	6.6
GDP (billions of current US dollars)	44.0	56.5	71.6	88.9	60.2	71.3
FDI Inflows (billions of current US dollars)	1.0	2.0	4.7	4.1	2.7	3.8

FDI = foreign direct investment

Source: UNCTAD 2011; IMF WEO April 2011

**Table 2 Top ten export markets (billions of US dollars)**

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
<b>World</b>	<b>29.0</b>	<b>39.4</b>	<b>43.6</b>	<b>61.6</b>	<b>35.1</b>	<b>42.2</b>
Euro area	21.5	28.7	33.1	45.6	25.2	29.9
China	0.9	1.5	1.4	2.3	2.9	4.1
United States	1.5	2.4	3.2	4.0	1.8	2.0
United Kingdom	0.6	1.0	1.1	1.6	1.2	1.7
India	0.0	0.1	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.7
Tunisia	0.5	0.7	0.6	1.0	0.5	0.7
Turkey	1.8	2.1	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4
Switzerland	1.0	1.2	1.3	2.8	0.6	0.4
Australia	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
Egypt	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3

Source: IMF DOT, 2012

**Table 3 Top ten import sources (billions of US dollars)**

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
<b>World</b>	<b>8.8</b>	<b>10.3</b>	<b>13.0</b>	<b>19.6</b>	<b>21.2</b>	<b>22.0</b>
Euro area	4.2	4.4	5.4	8.3	8.4	8.1
China	0.4	0.8	0.9	1.8	2.2	2.3
Turkey	0.4	0.5	0.7	1.2	2.0	2.1
Korea	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.9	1.4	1.6
Egypt	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.9	1.1	1.4
Tunisia	0.5	0.7	0.8	1.0	0.9	1.1
United States	0.1	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.7
United Kingdom	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.5
Japan	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4

Source: IMF DOT, 2012

## Assessment

### NATO

*Director of the NATO Office of Security Major General Stephen Smith*

“We are grinding down the regime [...] Gadhafi will never be able to turn a large army on his people again, because it’s gone.” (*New York Times*, 25 May 2011)

*Secretary-General of NATO Anders Fogh Rasmussen*

“NATO is enforcing an historic United Nations mandate to protect the people of Libya, and we will keep up the pressure until we meet our objectives: an end to all attacks against civilians, the withdrawal of all regime and paramilitary forces to bases, and full and unhindered humanitarian access to people in need across Libya.” (*Wall Street Journal*, A13, 13 May 2011)

“I expect the time to end our mission will come soon [...] Gaddafi’s forces are fighting for a lost cause. The threat to civilians is fading away.” “We stand ready to terminate [it] when the political and military conditions are fulfilled.” (*Reuters*, October 6, 2011; *Washington Post*, October 7, 2011).

### United States

*The Obama Administration*

“We’re pushing the NTC to be able to show the Libyan people that they’re serious in their commitments to transition, that they’re serious in their commitments to rule of law, that they’re serious about getting to those elections.” (*Reuters*, October 18, 2011)

“It is going to be a challenge for them to make sure that in all cases they are able to have fair judicial procedures that meet international standards [...] the intentions certainly strike us as being sincere—we have positive examples—but there’s definitely going to be a challenge going forward.” (*New York Times*, October 19, 2011).

*Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton*

“We are encouraged by the commitments of the National Transitional Council to take the steps necessary to bring the country together” but “one fact we know has to happen is unifying the various militias into a single military,” and “getting a national army under civilian command is essential.” (Reuters, October 19, 2011)

### **United Kingdom**

*British Chief of Defense General Sir David Richards*

“The vise is closing on Gadhafi, but we need to increase the pressure further through more intense military action.” NATO’s bombing campaign has been “a significant success” but “we need to do more. If we do not up the ante now there is a risk that the conflict could result in Gadhafi clinging to power.” (New York Times, 16 May 2011)

*British Defense Secretary Liam Fox*

“We will continue with the methods we have to degrade his command and control, to degrade his supplies so that we can carry out what we have been asked to do under the UN resolution.” (Agence France Presse, 4 June 2011)

### **France**

*Foreign Minister Alain Juppe*

Gadhafi is “increasingly isolated [...] there have been more defections by people close to him and we are receiving messages from his close entourage, which is well aware that he has to leave power.” Europe has adopted “sanctions that we are [...] ready to strengthen should the need arise.” (BBC Monitoring Newsfile, 3 June 2011)

### **European Union**

*President of EU council of member states, Herman Van Rompuy*

“The reported death of Muammar Gaddafi marks the end of an era of despotism and repression from which the Libyan people have suffered for too long. [...] We call on the National Transitional Council to pursue a broad based reconciliation process which reaches out to all Libyans and enables a democratic, peaceful, and transparent transition.” (Reuters, October 20, 2011)

## Authors' Summary

### Overall assessment

- ❑ Policy result, scaled from 1 (failed) to 4 (success) 4
- ❑ Sanctions contribution, scaled from 1 (negative) to 4 (significant) 2
- ❑ Success score (policy result times sanctions contribution) scaled from 1 (outright failure) to 16 (significant success) 8

### Political and economic variables

- ❑ Companion policies: J (covert), Q (quasi-military), R (regular military) R
- ❑ International cooperation with sender, scaled from 1 (none) to 4 (significant) 4
- ❑ International assistance to target: A (if present) 4
- ❑ Cooperating international organizations UN, NATO
- ❑ Sanction period (years) 1+
- ❑ Economic health and political stability of target, scaled from 1 (distressed) to 3 (strong) 2
- ❑ Pre-sanction relations between sender and target, scaled from 1 (antagonistic) to 3 (cordial) 1
- ❑ Regime type of target, scaled from 1 (authoritarian) to 3 (democratic) 3
- ❑ Type of sanction: X (export), M (import), F (financial), Z (asset freeze) X, F, Z
- ❑ Cost to sender, scaled from 1 (net gain) to 4 (major loss) 3

## Authors' Comments

The international sanctions imposed on the Gadhafi regime were fourfold. A no-fly zone, travel ban, asset freeze, and arms embargo were imposed to protect Libyan civilians with the secondary goal, not universally shared by all sanction senders, of removing Gadhafi from power. A detailed examination of the international coalition's response to the repression of anti-Gadhafi demonstrators in Libya illustrates the centrality of international sanctions and NATO military intervention. The rapid deployment of international economic sanctions constrained the Gadhafi regime, both by reducing access to assets held abroad and by crippling the energy sector. NATO military intervention effectively undermined the military grip held in Gadhafi's strongholds. Sanctions and military intervention, combined with international condemnation and the rapid worldwide recognition of the National Transitional Council as the legitimate governing authority of Libya, placed significant pressure on pro-Gadhafi supporters and members of the Gadhafi regime to defect and join the opposition.

Until Gadhafi's death, pro-Gadhafi forces launched artillery attacks against civilians. Numerous attempts from the United Nations, NATO, the Arab League, and the African Union to broker a ceasefire and peace plan were rejected by Gadhafi. Gadhafi refused to relinquish power, a condition insisted by rebel forces and many foreign countries to accept a ceasefire and engage in negotiations.

Early into the revolution, Germany, France, Britain, Spain, the European Union, the United States, the United Nations, Malta, Qatar, and Canada established diplomatic ties with the National Transitional Council, including setting up diplomatic offices in the besieged city of Benghazi. All of these countries recognized the National Transitional Council as the legitimate representative of the Libyan people.

By October, rebel forces had taken command of nearly every city aside from Sirte and Bani Walid, the last remaining pro-Gadhafi strongholds. With the assistance of NATO air strikes, rebel fighters were able to capture Gadhafi and his son Motassim on 20 October 2011 in Sirte. The second, and not universally shared objective, of removing Gadhafi and his associates from power was achieved, but the protection of civilians in Libya was not fully realized. Following Gadhafi's death, the NTC to faces a tremendous challenge of disarming rival militias nationwide and uniting them under one national security force.

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