

Project to Enhance the Profile of Libya and Muammar Qadhafi

Executive Summary of Phase 1

Goal of the Project

According to the proposal agreed on July 4th 2006, the goal of the project was defined as follows:

“The project is a sustained, long term program to enhance international understanding and appreciation of Libya and the contribution it has made and may continue to make to its region and to the world. It will emphasize the emergence of the new Libya and its ongoing process of change.”

During the course of the project a second important goal was introduced by the client. This goal is to introduce Muammar Qadhafi as a thinker and intellectual, independent of his more widely-known and very public persona as the Leader of the Revolution in Libya.

Libya has a unique positioning in the world, driven in particular by its history of the last forty years as well as by the high profile of the Leader. Libya is in the midst of a transition from an era when stringent sanctions isolated the country. Part of the strategy for the transition towards enhanced national economic development and security involves simultaneously upgrading the world’s understanding of Libya, as well as Libya’s understanding of the world.

The strategy for achieving the goals of this program involves introducing to Libya important international figures that will influence other nations’ policies towards the country and make a contribution to the economic development of the country. Monitor anticipated that, by visiting Libya, these figures would become more informed about the country, develop a more sensitive understanding of the challenges that it is striving to overcome, as well as become part of a network building bridges between Libya and the rest of the world. In turn, through the process of direct contact and conversations with these figures, key Libyan decision-makers and stakeholders would develop a better understanding of the mindset of outsiders. Meaningful and deep relationships will

be built in time as a result of personal connection, the development of trust, the recognition of mutual areas of interest and compatible ideas, as well as a willingness to collaborate to achieve common goals.

The long-term nature of the program is informed by the fact that it will take time to change perceptions of Libya that are largely based on stereotypical characterisations. Changing these perceptions will involve sharing thoughtful, accurate, honest, perceptive and in many cases surprising data with the international community.

In the first phase of the long-term program, dialogues were initiated between the Libyan leadership, and key international figures and high-end media outlets.

Summary of Outcomes of the Project

There have been a number of key outcomes as a result of the activities associated with this project:

Firstly, there is an **enhanced international understanding of Libya** manifested in a growing network of influential international policy-makers, politicians (including both Democrats and Republicans in the United States), government officials, thought-leaders, academics, journalists and economic actors who have developed a sensitive understanding of the country, and are willing to talk openly with a range of audiences including each other, other leading actors, the international media and students. This network remains interested in developing relationships with Libyan counterparts.

Secondly, there has been **increased media coverage of Libya** in leading international outlets. This coverage has been **broadly positive and increasingly sensitive** to the Libyan point of view, drawing attention to key recent developments in the country. In addition, there has been a degree of movement away from the stereotyped or caricatured portrayals of the Leader.

Third, there is an **enhanced understanding in Libya** of the needs, priorities, mindset and protocols **of the international community**, as well as an understanding of how Libya can play a constructive role in global and regional issues.

Finally, there has been a **positive contribution towards economic development** through the introduction of potential foreign investors who are major economic actors with impressive international networks. These actors are prepared to commit significant capital to projects in Libya while showing an interest in and commitment to developing human capacity in the country.

Action Plan for the Project

As outlined above, the strategy for accomplishing the goal focused on bringing to Libya a group of leading individuals and creating the context for dialogue between them and senior Libyan stakeholders, including the Leader, while having a first-hand experience of Libya. These dialogues, which occurred with some of the world's foremost scholars and influencers, were designed to elevate Libya's agenda to a more prominent global position, and to establish the foundation for stronger links in the West and elsewhere. The approach was augmented with a media strategy designed to elevate and clearly communicate Libya's goals and agenda for the future.

Visitors

Visitors had the opportunity to meet and exchange ideas with Libyan individuals including the Leader, Saif al-Islam al-Qadhafi, senior government officials, leading political scientists and academics, and prominent members of the business community.

Each visitor described how their visit challenged some of their pre-conceived notions about the country. Each individual articulated his or her desire to remain connected to Libya, to visit again, to meet the Leader again (or for the first time in some cases) in order to pursue their dialogue. All remained convinced that the role they were playing was to encourage Libya to continue on its path of increasing interaction with other nations, developing its economy to create greater prosperity for all Libyans, and finding a way for Libya to contribute productively to regional and global issues.

These visits also provided a unique and privileged account of conversations between Qadhafi and international thought-leaders. The conversations between Qadhafi and some of the most renowned and influential scholars and philosophers of recent history were deeply personal, congenial, and thought-provoking. The account of these conversations is extraordinarily valuable because it reflects aspects of the Leader that are little known to most outsiders, sheds valuable insight into governance in Libya, and informs a more profound and thoughtful understanding of Libya.

A number of the visitors delivered public lectures in Tripoli during their visits. These were all very well-attended with at least 200 people in the audience. There was active dialogue between the public and the speakers which often exceeded the time allotted for the lectures.

Ultimately most visitors had the opportunity to meet a cross-section of Libyan people, an experience which each one of them acknowledged was meaningful.

Many of the visitors Monitor brought to Libya have individually briefed all levels of the United States government including specifically the President, Vice President, Heads of National Security and Intelligence as well as the Secretary of State.

To accompany this document we have assembled a binder containing the “Output and content of Phase 1”. Section 2 of this binder includes the materials associated with the visits to Libya of each individual.

Identification of relevant visitors

Monitor undertook to work with the client to identify appropriate individuals. The client provided a list of preferred individuals which Monitor supplemented with additional visitors. In addition, over the course of the project Monitor developed an extensive list of high-caliber individuals who could visit Libya in the future. In the next phase of the project Monitor and the client should work closely to develop a strategy to further develop Libya’s international network. This requires jointly identifying relevant individuals of interest.

Recruitment of visitors

Each individual was recruited through Monitor’s extensive international network. The Monitor team personally contacted individuals and encouraged them to visit Libya. To-date only Danielle Pletka declined to visit Libya. All other individuals either agreed to a date or indicated their interest in collaborating as well as a potential visit in the future.

Client briefing

Monitor undertook to brief the Libyan client on the individuals they would meet, to summarise relevant texts and indicate potential areas of discussion.

Visitor briefing and debriefing

Monitor briefed each individual on Libya; planned their visit and accompanied them to Libya; debriefed the individuals in order to delineate clear opportunities for follow-up and collaboration, as well as to help them make sense of their experience. Monitor provided the client with a report summarising the visits to Libya of the individuals.

Ongoing dialogue with visitors

Monitor continues to act as a conduit between the visitors and Libya, maintaining regular and active contact with all of the individuals. This is a vital contribution towards reinforcing the

network and ensuring that it continues to develop and flourish. In the future the goal will be to have this dialogue sustained by key Libyan stakeholders.

As part of this project, 12 individuals made a total of 15 visits to Libya from July 2006 through June 2007.

***Visitors who met with Qadhafi as part of the
Project to Enhance the Profile of Libya and Muammar Qadhafi***

Richard Perle

Perle is an American political advisor and lobbyist. A former assistant Secretary of Defense (Reagan administration) Perle worked on the Defense Policy Board Advisory Committee (1987 to 2004) and was Chairman of the Board under the second Bush Administration (2001 to 2003).

Perle made two visits to Libya (22-24 March and 23-25 July 2006) and met with Qadhafi on both occasions. He briefed Vice President Dick Cheney on his visits to Libya.

Anthony Giddens

Giddens is widely recognised as the most widely-cited contemporary sociologist in the world. He is the author or editor of more than 34 books, translated into 35 different languages and 200 articles. He popularised the notion of the “third way” in political thinking, and his ideas have influenced social domestic parties across the world. His advice has been sought by political leaders including former British Prime Minister Tony Blair and American President Bill Clinton.

Giddens made two visits to Libya. The first visit took place from 28-30 July 2006, and the second as a participant in the March 2nd event in Sebha (1-3 March 2007). Giddens published 2 articles – one after each visit Libya. The first was published in the *New Statesman*, *El Pais* and *La Repubblica*¹ and the second in the *Guardian*². Giddens has done a number of interviews with the international media. He also met with Saif al-Islam in London on September 12th 2006. Giddens was contacted by the Middle East Association (MEA) in London and invited to speak at their seminar on Libya in London on July 17th (At the suggestion of Giddens, Monitor was invited to present the work done on the National Economic Strategy at the MEA seminar). In addition,

¹ “The colonel and his third way” by Anthony Giddens in *The New Statesman* August 28, 2006 (also *El Pais* and *La Repubblica*). (See Section 3 in the Binder – Output and Content of Phase 1)

Giddens regularly plays tennis with George Soros, and they are known to have discussed Libya a number of times. Giddens was instrumental in introducing Anthony Richter of Soros' Open Society Institute to Saif al-Islam. Richter and Saif al-Islam met in London on May 2nd 2007.

Francis Fukuyama

Fukuyama is a philosopher, political economist, and the author of several best-selling books and more than 100 articles on politics and development. He is the Bernard L. Schwartz Professor of International Political Economy at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins University (in Washington D.C.) where he is also Director of the International Development Program. In addition, he is a member of the advisory board of the National Endowment for Democracy, responsible for oversight of the Endowment's Middle East programs.

Fukuyama made two visits to Libya (14-17 August 2006 and 12-14 January 2007). On his second visit Fukuyama delivered a lecture at the Green Book Centre. Fukuyama designed and taught a class on Libya as part of the "Development Strategies" course he teaches at The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University. Fukuyama also hosted an off-the-record session about Libya for the Middle East Perspectives Club at SAIS. The session was titled "My Conversations with the Leader". This is the first time that "The Green Book" has been required reading for students at one of the leading public policy schools in the world. Monitor met with Fukuyama in Washington in June 2007. Fukuyama indicated that he was contemplating writing about his experiences in Libya, including a frank assessment of "The Green Book" and the way that the philosophy of "The Third Universal Theory" has had a direct impact on governance in Libya.

Nicholas Negroponte

Negroponte is the founder and director of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Media Lab and Jerome B. Wiesner Professor of Media Technology. He is also the Founder and Chairman of One Laptop Per Child (OLPC) – a non-profit organization that aims to design, manufacture, and distribute laptops that are sufficiently inexpensive to provide every child in the world access to knowledge and modern forms of education. Negroponte's brother is John Negroponte who is currently serving as the United States Deputy Secretary of State. Prior to serving in this capacity, he was the first ever Director of National Intelligence. Nicholas Negroponte briefed his brother and other senior officials in the White House upon his return from Libya.

² "My chat with the colonel" by Anthony Giddens in the *Guardian* March 7, 2007 (See Section 3 in the Binder – Output and Content of Phase 1)

Negroponte made a number of visits to Libya following his first visit when he met with Qadhafi in Sebha (16-18 August 2006). Negroponte drew attention to Libya in the international press with an article in *Fortune*³ that covered Libya's participation in the OLPC project. Following Negroponte's meeting with Qadhafi, Libya was added to the list of pilot countries for the OLPC project, replacing Egypt. On October 31st, 2007 Intel and Microsoft announced that Libya's Ministry of Education had agreed to buy 150,000 laptops for children in Libya.

Sheikh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani

Sheikh Kabbani is a prominent Sufi Muslim. In 1997 Kabbani founded The Islamic Supreme Council of America (ISCA) to provide a voice for mainstream Islam, which Kabbani believes is being marginalized by extremist-controlled Muslim groups, in particular the Wahhabis.

Kabbani made one visit to Libya (15-18 August 2007) and is planning to make a second visit to Libya in 2008.

Bernard Lewis

Lewis has been described as "the most influential post-war historian of Islam and the Middle East". He has been an advisor to the Bush Administration, in particular to Vice President Dick Cheney. During World War Two, Lewis served in the British Army in the Royal Armoured Corps and Intelligence Corps in 1940-41, before being seconded to the Foreign Office. He speaks Arabic, Aramaic, French, German, Hebrew, Persian, Latin, and Turkish.

Lewis made one visit to Libya (19-21 December 2006). Lewis indicated that he was interested in reading Qadhafi's thinking on "Isratine". Monitor forwarded a copy of the "White Book" to Lewis and at Lewis' request also to Richard Jones (U.S. Ambassador to Israel).

Lewis briefed Richard Jones (U.S. Ambassador to Israel) and the entire political and economic staff at the U.S. Embassy in Israel on his visit to Libya. According to Lewis, the staff was very interested in what he had to say about Libya and said that they were not familiar with either the National Economic Strategy or the "White Book". Lewis also briefed key individuals in Washington.

³ "This tech boom has legs" by David Kirkpatrick in *Fortune*, October 26, 2006 (See Section 3 in the Binder – Output and Content of Phase 1)

David Frost

Frost is considered the world's most renowned interviewer, and has been on the frontline of television for over 40 years. He currently presents "Frost over the World" on Al Jazeera International. Frost is the only person to have interviewed all of the past six British prime ministers and the past seven American presidents. His interview of Richard Nixon was the most widely-watched news interview in the history of television.

Frost made one visit to Libya as the host of the March 2nd event in Sebha (1-3 March 2007). Frost, has repeatedly requested the opportunity to interview Qadhafi, in a program that would be broadcast to a global television audience. A date has not yet been agreed.

Visitors who met with Qadhafi as part of the National Economic Strategy

An additional 3 individuals met with Qadhafi as part of the National Economy Strategy's (NES) "Network of Experts". [The content of the NES visits were incorporated into and informed this project, although the preparation, execution and costs of the visits were covered by the NES.]

Benjamin Barber

Barber is Distinguished University Professor of Civil Society at the University of Maryland. He is a Senior Fellow at the USC Center on Public Diplomacy. Barber consults regularly with political and civic leaders in the United States and Europe, including Bill Clinton, Howard Dean, former Senator Bill Bradley, and former President Roman Herzog of Germany. He writes frequently for *Harper's Magazine*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Atlantic*, and many other scholarly and popular publications in America and Europe. He is also a distinguished Senior Fellow at Demos and Director of CivWorld, an organization which aims to develop an international civic infrastructure.

Barber made 3 visits to Libya (4-6 November 2007, 12-14 February and 1-3 March 2007). On his first visit Barber delivered a lecture at the Green Book Centre. His third visit was as a participant in the March 2nd debate in Sebha. Barber has done a number of interviews with the international media – including *National Public Radio*⁴ in the United States, and also published an article in the *Washington Post*⁵ which drew the attention to Libya of *60 Minutes* one of the leading programs on American television. *60 Minutes* currently have an outstanding request to produce a feature

⁴ "U.S. should enlist Libya's help" by Benjamin Barber in Marketplace on *American Public Media*, December 11, 2006 (See Section 3 in the Binder – Output and Content of Phase 1)

⁵ "Gaddafi's Libya: An Ally for America" by Benjamin R. Barber in *The Washington Post* August 15, 2007 (See Section 3 in the Binder – Output and Content of Phase 1)

program on Libya. Barber remains one of the most vocal supporters of a continued dialogue and engagement with Libya.

Joseph Nye

Nye is Sultan of Oman Professor of International Relations at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Previously, Nye was Dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government (1995 – 2004), Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, (1994-5) and Chairman of the National Intelligence Council (1993-4). In his 2004 book, “Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics”, Nye developed the concept he first coined in the late 1980s. The concept of “soft power” came into widespread usage following articles Nye wrote in *Foreign Policy* and *Foreign Affairs* in the early 1990s.

Nye made one visit to Libya (8-11 February 2007). He delivered a lecture at the Green Book Centre.

Robert Putnam

Putnam is described as “the most influential academic in the world today”. He is currently the Peter and Isabel Malkin Professor of Public Policy at Harvard University where he teaches courses in American politics, international relations, comparative politics, and public policy. He has authored or co-authored 12 books and more than 30 scholarly articles published in 17 languages. Putnam is a member of the American National Academy of Sciences

Putnam made one visit to Libya (15-21 January 2007). He delivered a lecture at the Green Book Centre. Putnam encouraged Slaughter and Moravcsik to accept Monitor’s invitation to visit Libya. He also represented the National Academy of Sciences to Qadhafi.

Visitors who did not meet with Qadhafi

Anne-Marie Slaughter and Andrew Moravcsik

Slaughter is Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University, one of the leading public policy schools in the world. Slaughter has published 7 books and nearly 100 articles on topics including U.S. National Security, international law, global governance and human rights. She is a leading expert on American foreign policy, global governance, and international criminal law. She is an influential advocate for a more multilateral approach to U.S. foreign policy, most recently advising Barak Obama. She co-directed The

Princeton Project on National Security, a bi-partisan, multi-year initiative to develop a long-term national security strategy for the United States. She is commonly referred to as a potential cabinet member, possibly Secretary of State, if the Democrats win the White House in the 2008 Presidential election.

Moravcsik is Professor of Politics and Director of the European Union Program at Princeton University, a Non-Resident Senior Fellow of the Brookings Institution, regular contributor to *Newsweek*, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and an Academic Advisor on Western Europe at Freedom House.

Slaughter and Moravcsik made one visit to Libya (29 April – 3 May 2007). Moravcsik published two articles following their visit. Moravcsik wrote two articles after his visit to Libya. The first in *Newsweek*⁶, and the second in the *Financial Times*⁷. On the basis of his article in the *Financial Times* Moravcsik was contacted by the Saltzburg Global Seminar (SGS) and as a result Libyan candidates are likely to participate in the forthcoming program that SGS offers to international candidates. Slaughter and Moravcsik are currently on sabbatical in Shanghai. They have indicated to Monitor that they have discussed their visit to Libya with senior Chinese officials. Slaughter and Moravcsik have indicated their willingness to return to Libya.

Hernando de Soto

De Soto is a world-famous Peruvian economist known for his work on property rights and the informal economy. He is the founder, President and CEO, of the Institute for Liberty and Democracy (ILD), a think-tank that aims to facilitate the transition of developing nations to an inclusive market economy and the rule of law. De Soto was the personal representative and principal advisor to the Peruvian president Alberto Fujimori and also the Governor of Peru's Central Reserve Bank.

De Soto made one visit to Libya (30 May – 1 June 2007). While in Libya, De Soto delivered a lecture at the Al Mahari hotel. A direct result of this visit is that the Libyan Economic Development Board has recently agreed with De Soto's Institute for Liberty and Democracy on a project for legal reform in Libya. De Soto has indicated his willingness to return to Libya in January 2008 as part of a visit to the Middle East.

⁶ "A Rogue Reforms" by Andrew Moravcsik in *Newsweek*, July 16, 2007 (See Section 3 in the Binder – Output and Content of Phase 1)

⁷ "Triumph in Libya for tough choices of soft power" by Andrew Moravcsik in the *Financial Times*, July 30, 2007 (See Section 3 in the Binder – Output and Content of Phase 1)

Craig Kennedy and Ron Asmus (German Marshall Fund of the United States)

Kennedy is President of the German Marshall Fund (GMF) a non-partisan public policy and grant-making institution dedicated to promoting greater cooperation and understanding between the United States and Europe. Under Kennedy's leadership, the GMF has focused its activities on bridging U.S.–European differences on foreign policy, economics, immigration and the environment.

Asmus is Executive Director of the Transatlantic Center of the German Marshall Fund in Brussels. Prior to joining the GMF in 2002, Asmus worked as a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. He served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs in the Clinton Administration. During that time he played a key role in developing Alliance policy at the Madrid and Washington NATO summits. Asmus has also worked as a senior analyst at RAND Corporation and Radio Free Europe.

Kennedy and Asmus made one visit to Libya (31 October – 2 November 2007) where they met with a number of senior Libyans. The GMF indicated that they were interested in pursuing a relationship with Libya that would include round-table conversations between senior Libyans and their European and American counterparts. After their visit to Libya, both Kennedy and Asmus had extensive conversations with senior government officials in various agencies in both Washington D.C. (including the White House, State Department, Department of Defense and various other agencies) and the European Union. The GMF have signalled that they are exploring how best to raise funds for these proposed activities. In parallel, Craig Kennedy spoke with Richard Holbrooke who indicated that he would be interested in visiting Libya in 2008.

Monitor's ongoing dialogue with leading individuals

At a critical time when the United States was debating its recognition of Libya, Monitor met with senior officials in the United States government to share its perspectives on Libya. In coordination with the client Monitor briefed officials and various agencies of the United States government.

Monitor continues to advocate on Libya's behalf with a range of leading individuals. Many of these individuals have indicated a willingness to engage with Libya and visit in the future. This contact is an essential element of the long-term success of the program because it keeps the network vital and relevant while continually shaping the dialogue on Libya.

These individuals include:

Lee Kuan Yew

Lee was the first Prime Minister of the Republic of Singapore from 1959 to 1990, a period in which Singapore grew into one of the most developed nations in Asia, despite its small population, limited land space and lack of natural resources. Lee currently holds the specially created post of Minister Mentor.

Monitor approached Lee through Ho Chin the Chief Executive of Tamasek, Singapore as well as through Lee's private secretary. Ho introduced Monitor to the Singaporean Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Monitor set up and facilitated the visit to Libya of Foreign Minister George Yeo and a Singaporean delegation. Although the Singaporean leadership decided that it was not yet appropriate for Lee to visit Libya, a number of positive steps have been taken towards building a relationship between Libya and Singapore. An invitation for Saif al-Islam to visit Singapore in June 2007 was extended. In September 2007 Mahmoud Gebril and Said Hoderi of the Libyan Economic Development Board visited Singapore where they met with counterparts from the Singapore Economic Development Board to discuss potential areas of collaboration.

George Soros

Soros, a leading global financier and philanthropist, is founder and chairman of the Open Society Institute and the Soros foundations network. He is also the chairman of Soros Fund Management LLC.

Monitor approached Soros directly to facilitate a visit to Libya. In addition, Soros regularly plays tennis with Anthony Giddens, and they are known to have discussed Libya a number of times. Although Soros has not yet committed to visiting Libya he did encourage Anthony Richter, the Associate Director of the Open Society Institute to meet Saif al-Islam in London on May 2nd 2007.

Rusal

UC Rusal is one of Russia's leading businesses, and a global leader in its core industry. The company is the sole Russian producer of aluminium metal, an activity which is considered strategic by the Russian government. The shareholders of UC Rusal are high profile individuals in the country. They have deep ties in the economic and political establishment, and are bound by personal friendship to President Putin.

Frank Carlucci and David Rubenstein, The Carlyle Group

Carlucci is Chairman Emeritus of The Carlyle Group, and is on the Board of Directors of The RAND Corporation among other institutions. He was the U.S. Secretary of Defense (1987-89) and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs during the Reagan administration.

Rubenstein is a Co-Founder and Managing Director of The Carlyle Group. Rubenstein is on the Board of Directors or Trustees of various institutions including: Johns Hopkins University, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and Freedom House. He is also a member of: The Visiting Committee of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, the Dean's Council at the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton, the Advisory Board of the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research, the International Business Council of the World Economic Forum, and the Trilateral Commission. Rubenstein is a personal friend of the Bush family.

Monitor introduced The Carlyle Group to Libya. The Carlyle Group is one of the biggest private equity investment firms in the world with \$56 billion under management from 29 offices around the world.

Fareed Zakaria

Zakaria is Editor of *Newsweek International* and was formerly managing editor of *Foreign Affairs*, the leading journal of international politics and economics. He has also taught international relations and political philosophy at Harvard and Columbia universities. He serves on the boards of Yale University, the Trilateral Commission, and the Council of Foreign Relations among others. Zakaria has also authored a number of books, most recently "The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad."

Monitor approached Zakaria who said that he is very interested in travelling to Libya in order to meet with the Leader.

Thomas Friedman

Friedman, is a world-renowned author and journalist. He is a three-time Pulitzer Prize winner, who has reported extensively on the Middle East conflict, the end of the cold war, U.S. domestic politics and foreign policy, international economics, and the worldwide impact of the terrorist threat. His foreign affairs column, which appears twice a week in the *New York Times*, is syndicated to seven hundred other newspapers worldwide.

Monitor approached Friedman who said that he was interested in travelling to Libya at some point in the future.

Media

A vital component to the overall strategy was establishing a dialogue with the international community through the media. The strategy was to use media channels to inform key audiences of Libya's changing image. This was done by projecting Libya's future vision and views on its own growth and development, on the region more broadly, as well as showcasing and leveraging Libya's links to some of the world's influential thinkers.

In order to action this element of the strategy, Monitor proposed that the client employ a world-class public relations firm. Racepoint Group began working in February 2007 in preparation for the March 2nd event in Sebha.

During the course of the project we accomplished two specific outcomes by productively, thoughtfully and proactively engaging with key international media:

1. We effectively initiated a public portrayal of an evolving Libya, communicating the ideas and points of view of its leadership through influential media outlets; and
2. We leveraged the reputation of key influencers engaged in conversation with the Leader in highly public forums (e.g. the March 2nd event where Qadhafi, Barber, Giddens and Frost engaged in a lively dialogue).

March 2nd event

The March 2nd event, in particular, leveraged some of the world's most widely-read media. The strategy for the event was to use renowned media outlets with the widest distribution to communicate Qadhafi's views and portray Libya's evolving image. Outlets included the leading wire services *Reuters* and *Associated Press*, the most influential newspaper in the United States, *The New York Times*, and broadcast leader the *BBC*. In addition, a website was developed (www.libyaintheglobalage.com) that made available edited footage of the event.

The strategy had a fourfold effect:

1. It gained immediate global coverage of this important event with major articles in the leading broadsheets, and hundreds of articles appearing on the internet from the United States to China. More than 250 media outlets around the world covered the story. The high level and diversity of online coverage was a result of the choice to include *Reuters* and *Associated Press*. In

addition, the *BBC* ran the clip of the interview with Qadhafi as part of the international news headlines that were broadcast around the world every hour from 9pm EET on March 2nd. On the basis of total circulation reach of these 250 media outlets (particularly the broadcast audiences of the BBC across multiple geographies) it is estimated that as many as 6 billion unique individuals would have had access to the coverage of the event.

2. It created key dialogues and pressures on certain governments vis-à-vis their relationships with Libya (most notably several media wrote editorials sympathizing with the Libyan position on its treatment by the United States following the Libyan decision to give up their WMD programs and, it led to a reporter questioning a U.S. State Department official on the issue. This was broadcast on CSPAN, the leading political cable channel in the US);
3. It created the groundwork for leading media from across the globe to want to visit Libya and chronicle its continuing evolution and views; and
4. It shifted the tone of the coverage of the Leader and Libya, as noted in a report by an independent media expert. The tone of the March 2nd coverage was more sensitive to Libyan issues, than for example, media coverage after the “Prospects for Democracy” conference at Columbia in March 2006.

Media campaign following the release of the Bulgarian medics

Monitor proposed a media campaign following the release of the Bulgarian medics. By actively talking to the media, Libya was able to focus the coverage on positive issues and away from coverage of the medics and their stories of torture. The coverage of the interviews with Saif al-Islam in July 2007 generated much interest in Libya and has led to the most balanced article to-date in the *Economist* (“A Seif Pair of Hands”, September 20th, 2007). Again, in these cases, a carefully messaged program with hand-picked media was essential to accomplishing key goals. This included hand-picking media with the greatest distribution and influence in the west, including: *Reuters*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, and the *BBC*, among others. Outcomes included:

1. A full 30 minute broadcast on the *BBC* outlining the Libyan position on the medics and nurses;
2. High profile pieces in *Newsweek* and the *New York Times*. The *Newsweek* piece also led to coverage on MSNBC.com, one of the United States’ most influential online news websites.

On the basis of total circulation reach of these (X) media outlets (particularly the broadcast audiences of the BBC across multiple geographies) it is estimated that as many as (X) unique individuals would have had access to the coverage of the event. *Note: we are awaiting data from Racepoint in the U.S. This has been delayed by the Thanksgiving holiday but we expect the data by Tuesday 27 November.*

In addition to providing a venue for communicating the Libyan position, these media events created a strong appetite in influencer media to learn more about Libya's agenda and communicate it to readers and viewers,. This is a critically important outcome and can be one of the keystones to enhanced understanding and appreciation of Libya.

Ongoing dialogue with the media

Monitor continues to speak directly to the media about Libya, and is willing to be quoted in the international press. Monitor has briefed leading international titles, including the *Economist*, *Business Week*, *National Public Radio*⁸, the *Financial Times*⁹, *Associated Press*¹⁰, the *New York Times*¹¹, the *New Republic*, and *Vanity Fair*. In some instances, Monitor's insight into Libya has encouraged journalists to look beyond stereotypical portrayals of the country.

As a direct result of this ongoing dialogue with the media, major international outlets including *CNN*, the *New Republic*, *60 Minutes*, *Vanity Fair* all have outstanding requests for feature articles on Libya. It is vital that Libya takes a more programmatic approach to media relations and external image management. This means implementing ongoing media and public relations programs that ensure Libya's vision and views are consistently and constantly communicated to key constituents.

Ad hoc support

Monitor remains willing to commit resources to support the client in major endeavours, like for example, supporting the "Committee for August 20th" with the design and production of the event for Libyan youth in Benghazi on August 20th 2007. Monitor was the linchpin between the Committee and the international vendors that were recruited to stage the event. The International Visual Communications Association recently awarded the event "The Entertainment Experience

⁸ "A Glimpse of Life Under Libyan Leader Gadhafi" hosted by Debbie Elliott of *National Public Radio*, September 1, 2007 (See Section 3 in the Binder – Output and Content of Phase 1)

⁹ "New fund deployed by Libya", by Roula Khalaf, in the *Financial Times*, October 18, 2007 and "Bank shake-up points way for Libyan reforms", by Roula Khalaf, in the *Financial Times*, October 19, 2007 (See Section 3 in the Binder – Output and Content of Phase 1)

¹⁰ "Libya opens door to tourists but obstacles remain in the former pariah country" by Anna Johnson in *Associated Press*, October 9, 2007 (See Section 3 in the Binder – Output and Content of Phase 1)

Award, for the creation of an experience or event whose purpose is to entertain members of the public." This acknowledgement is extraordinary in light of the fact that the event was produced in under 2 months and that it achieved a world-class standard previously unseen in Libya. Ordinarily, an event of this kind is produced over 6 months. Although the event was prematurely ended due to difficulty with crowd control and security, all of the vendors involved had very positive experiences while in the country and they have signalled their willingness to return to Libya and stage similar events.

¹¹ "Leader's son is an up-and-coming force", by Elisabeth Rosenthal in The International Herald Tribune, September 21, 2007 (See Section 3 in the Binder – Output and Content of Phase 1)

The Future of the Program

Phase 1 of the project has built a solid platform from which to continue this unique program to enhance international understanding and appreciation of Libya. It has also introduced the idea to an international policy elite that there is more to Qadhafi than historically-biased perceptions. As discussed in this document, many of the fundamental foundations for shaping and shifting perceptions of the country and Qadhafi are in place. The network of influential international policy-makers, politicians, government officials, thought-leaders, academics and journalists and economic actors must be added to, deepened and broadened through a systematic approach of communicating with individuals through an investment of time and effort by leading Libyan stakeholders. In parallel, a systematic and thoughtful programme to introduce Qadhafi and his ideas should be developed.

It would be a tremendous lost opportunity if having begun to build relationships with important international figures the client chose to shut down this network and not to pursue the program to enhance international understanding and appreciation of Libya. In addition, having piqued media interest by opening up and sharing privileged and insightful information with an international audience, Libya should actively engage with media requests from key international outlets.

We have no doubt that this program will contribute towards the future national security and prosperity of the Libya people. It develops strategic options for the country in terms of the key issues that it can voice opinions on, share insight into as well as help shape in dialogues with leading individuals *who influence public policy in other countries*. Having these options will support Libya as it continues its challenging transition out of isolation at a moment in world affairs when other important transitions are taking place.