A Proposal for Expanding the Dialogue around the Ideas of Muammar Qadhafi
Monitor Group Foreign Government Services LLC

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Introduction

Muammar Qadhafi is, and has been for decades, an important actor on the world-stage. Qadhafi has played a major role not only in Libya, but in the Middle East, the Arab and Islamic worlds, as well as in Africa. He has been a notable and newsworthy person during all this time—one of the most recognizable individuals on the planet. In addition to being a man of action, Qadhafi has also been a man of ideas. He has made significant efforts to think through many of the critical political and philosophical issues of the day, and to publish his thinking to a broader audience. As is the case of many individuals who are prominent actors in the world, Qadhafi is well known but is poorly understood, particularly in the West. It is important that he be better understood, particularly so that the West gains a more accurate and balanced understanding of his actions and ideas. Increased understanding will further a more open dialogue with benefit to all the parties involved.

In an effort to gain this better understanding, there should be a real campaign to enhance the quality of the communication about Qadhafi's political and philosophical views. Monitor, in concert with a number of independent academics and intellectuals, began this process of dialogue in 2006-2007 with a program that included visits of renowned academics to Libya for direct conversations with Muammar Oadhafi, increasing the dialogue directly and through the accompanying media coverage and publications.. In the spirit of building upon what has been achieved, the following proposal seeks to further the process on two tracks. First, this proposal presents an action plan to enhance and deepen the dialogue by re-engaging selected expert thinkers, some who visited Libya on the previous program, and some who have not yet had the opportunity to come to Libya. Secondly, this proposal presents a plan to research, write and publish a book about Muammar Qadhafi, the man and his ideas, with some likely ancillary publications as well. While there have been publication efforts in the past, most have fallen short of the mark. The time has come to realize this goal in a systematic, high-quality way with the best dialogue partners and supporting research. This proposal defines a campaign that combines a limited but renewed program of expert visits with the creation of a book designed to be a signature text on Muammar Qadhafi and his ideas. This campaign is designed to achieve maximum effectiveness through the combination of the network of leading thinkers with the publication of the book in time for the fortieth anniversary of the Libyan revolution in September 2009.

Proposal

Objectives

1: Book on Muammar Qadhafi, the Man and His Ideas

This aim of the project is to produce a book manuscript that will be the definitive text for the international community on the political philosophy of Muammar Qadhafi. The book will enable the international intellectual and policy-making elite to understand Qadhafi as an individual thinker rather than leader of a state. The book will allow the reader to hear Qadhafi elaborate in his own words, and in conversation with renowned international experts, his core ideas on individual freedom, direct democracy vs. representative democracy, the role of state and religion, the challenge of implementing direct democracy in the modern world and other topics.

The book will include insights from direct interviews with Qadhafi that provide the political, international, cultural, religious and personal context that shaped the development of his ideas.

To achieve this aim, the manuscript will be based on a rigorous analysis of Qadhafi's speeches and writings since 1969, his conversations with prominent international experts (including inclusion of major portions of their direct conversations in the text), supplemented by insights on the context that shaped his thinking based on 2-3 direct personal interviews.

2: Additional Expert Visits

The project will include further visits of key experts for direct conversations with Muammar Qadhafi. For example:

- Benjamin Barber will return to clarify several questions from previous conversations with Muammar Qadhafi, including the problems with the Western term 'civil society' which suggests a separate, autonomous sphere separate from the sovereignty of the people.
- Lord Anthony Giddens will visit to deepen understanding of the merits and problems of direct democracy vs. representative democracy
- Frank Fukuyama remains very enthusiastic about the project and could be invited for a future visit to talk further about the challenges of direct democracy and Libya's approach.
- We will also arrange additional visits by new experts. We have had positive preliminary conversations with Professor Cass Sunstein (Constitutional Advisor to Barack Obama) and others.

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3. Additional Interviews

We will arrange additional interviews with several leaders in Africa, focusing initially on Nelson Mandela.

Program to achieve results and associated costs

1: Manuscript on Qadhafi, the Man and His ideas

The primary deliverable of the project is a completed draft manuscript ready to submit to a major publisher. The manuscript will be delivered 10 months from signing of this proposal (1 July 2009). This should allow publication to coincide with the 40th anniversary of the Libyan revolution in September 1969.

We have already referenced almost 60 texts and articles written about Qadhafi (see *Addendum 5: Bibliography of sources referenced to-date*). Many of these texts take an extreme point of view – ranging from hagiographical to cynical. In contrast, this manuscript will provide a balanced exploration of Qadhafi's thinking on direct democracy, individual freedom and community, liberty vs. material equality and other topics noted below.

The manuscript will present Qadhafi's authentic voice on issues of genuine world importance, in particular the challenges of building a democratic, egalitarian and prosperous society in post-colonial Africa and the Middle East.

The manuscript will fill a void in the literature about Qadhafi because it will provide a balanced perspective through extensive use of material from his conversations with renowned expert visitors (Benjamin Barber, Anthony Giddens, Shayk Kabbani, Bernard Lewis, Joseph Nye, Robert Putnam) and others, subject to the legal consent of the visitors permitting them to be quoted. It is of pivotal importance to the credibility of the project that both points of agreement and disagreement between Qadhafi and prominent experts be identified and explored.

The audience for this manuscript will be the international foreign policy elite – politicians, academics and thought-leaders, influential individuals working in global businesses – who are interested in Libya and the region.

The book should be authored by those with serious academic credentials, a reputation for fairness, and ideally by those who actually know Qadhafi and have spent time with him. One option is for the manuscript to be authored by Bruce Allyn and Mark Fuller. Allyn and Fuller have excellent academic credentials, a deep and meaningful insight into the Libyan context through Monitor's work in the country since 2004, and perhaps most importantly have a thoughtful view of Qadhafi as a man and thinker. However, the client will make the final decision on authorship in the course of the work, and alternate options for authorship can be explored to achieve the client's aims.

We will target a leading publisher such as Polity Press¹, PublicAffairs² or a leading university press, with the aim of selling approximately 50,000 copies. We would expect the book to be reviewed by the most prestigious international publications including *The New York Times*, *The Economist*, and *The London Review of Books*

This project will differ fundamentally from the most recent similar project---the 2005 book *My Vision* sold less than 3,000 copies. In Monitor's opinion, this was most likely because the book was poorly written, the tone was sufficiently sycophantic that even the most sympathetic reader would have questioned its credibility, and finally, it was published by a smaller, less known publisher.

We will be happy to provide a copy (in Arabic) of an executive summary (51 pages) of the draft manuscript for this book with an English copy of the full manuscript (134 pages). The executive summary outlines a possible structure for the book, and reflects the way in which the content from the conversations between Qadhafi and thought-leaders will be incorporated into the text. This draft manuscript has been written by Bruce Allyn and Mark Fuller. A copy of this manuscript was given to the Client in July 2007.

Genuine collaboration with Qadhafi as well as the Client's involvement in and support of the manuscript-writing project are vital to its success.

This Proposal does *not* include the actual publication of the manuscript (though we will identify and work with a target publisher), nor the launch and marketing of the book once it has been published. See *Addendum 3: Optional additional activities related to the Manuscript*.

Activities and resources associated with the Manuscript:

1. Monitor team researching Qadhafi, developing and writing the manuscript

The team of consultants will include Bruce Allyn , as well as a significant allocation of Mark Fuller's time, plus sub-contractors including Benjamin Barber, who will provide feedback on the manuscript at all stages. .

The activities of the team will include:

- a. Conversations between Qadhafi, Mark Fuller and Bruce Allyn (and others, as appropriate)
 - i. Monitor anticipates that at least 3 conversations should be scheduled for Qadhafi, Mark Fuller and Bruce Allyn. The number of conversations will be determined by the progress made in each conversation.
 - ii. In order to maximise the productivity of these conversations, Mark Fuller and Bruce Allyn will submit in advance in Arabic a list of key questions with supporting background material.
- b. Preliminary analysis to prepare for conversations with Qadhafi

¹ Published "The Third Way" by Anthony Giddens

² Published "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics" by Joseph Nye

- i. Analysis of Qadhafi's public speeches from the "National Record Encyclopaedia' Issue Copy" on the following themes:
 - 1. Qadhafi's views on the meaning of the individual, freedom and equality;
 - 2. Qadhafi's writing of *The Green Book*, his ideas on democracy and the development of the Third Universal Theory;
 - 3. Qadhafi's thinking on the market and competitiveness (including the trade-off between liberty versus material equality, and the impact of globalization and reform in Libya.
 - 4. Qadhafi's perspective on Africa and the future for a united Africa
 - 5. Qadhafi's beliefs about the role of religion, and the problem of the politicization of Islam;
 - 6. Qadhafi's sources of inspiration individuals and texts;
- ii. Analysis of a comprehensive library of texts and media articles written about Qadhafi and Qadhafi's public speeches from the "National Record Encyclopaedia' – Issue Copy" to develop an understanding of perceptions of Qadhafi.
- iii. The team's ongoing analysis will be driven by the outcome of conversations between Qadhafi and Mark Fuller and Bruce Allyn. New areas of research will be identified and investigated.
- c. Writing the manuscript
 - i. The existing manuscript is a preliminary draft which will be developed further.
 - ii. Bruce Allyn will take the lead in writing the manuscript, working closely with Mark Fuller. An editor will be subcontracted. The team will provide support through ongoing analysis.

2. Libyan scholar(s) working closely with the Monitor team

Monitor suggests that a Libyan scholar who is familiar with Qadhafi and his thinking be allocated to work directly with the team. The scholar would play a crucial role in providing the Libyan perspective, as well ensuring that the Libyan side could highlight sources in Arabic that it deems especially important.

The activities of the scholar will include:

- a. Reviewing the team's analysis to ensure that all facts are accurately represented;
- b. Providing historical context, data, and analysis about the Libyan context;
- c. Analysis of important texts and media articles in Arabic that will provide another critical dimension to the team's analysis of Qadhafi.

3. Leading international thinkers to visit Libya for discussions with Qadhafi

One of the ways to develop further ideas and aspects of Qadhafi's thinking is to witness interactions with additional visitors.

The activities of the Monitor team related to visitors will include:

- a. Identify potential visitors through research of individuals that may be of interest to Qadhafi as dialogue partners.
 - i. Analysis of potential visitors identified in Phase 1 of the project and cross reference these individuals against the themes outlined above in section 1(a)(i)(1).
 - ii. Development of short list of potential visitors based on which individuals are most likely to be good dialogue partners because they have overlapping areas of interest or potential areas of discussion with Qadhafi.
 - iii. Presentation of short list of potential visitors to the Client for decision about which visitors Qadhafi would like to meet.

b. Approaching visitors

- i. Mark Fuller, Bruce Allyn will leverage Monitor's extensive network to approach potential visitors. This process involves:
 - 1. Telephone calls or one-on-one conversations with individuals.
 - 2. Description of the opportunity to visit Libya and meet Qadhafi.
 - 3. Dealing with any questions or concerns that the potential visitors may have about visiting Libya or meeting with Qadhafi.
 - 4. Putting the individuals in touch with previous visitors in order that they might ask questions or discuss the experiences of previous visitors.
 - 5. Investigating potential dates when the individuals might come to Libya.
 - 6. Sending the individuals a set of background briefing documents introducing Libya and Qadhafi.
- c. Development of detailed briefing documents for Qadhafi on each visitor

i. Similar to the model used in Phase 1, the Monitor team would develop detailed briefing documents on each visitor. These documents are usually prepared in two weeks (including translation into Arabic) by at least one consultant working full-time on the research, writing and coordinating with the translators.

d. Brief and debrief visitors

- i. Before their visit to Libya, each visitor will be brought to the Monitor offices in London where they will spend at least 4 hours with senior members of the Monitor team and our advisors. During these sessions the Monitor team will answer any questions the visitors might have about the background briefing documents and what they know or think about Libya. From the experience in Phase 1 of the project, these discussions include:
 - 1. Who the visitors are likely to meet in Libya;
 - 2. What work Monitor has done in Libya and why Monitor is involved in this project;
 - 3. What Libya is trying to achieve through this project.
- ii. After their visit to Libya, each visitor will meet with senior members of the Monitor team to:
 - 1. Share their reflections on the visit;
 - 2. Clarify potential areas of confusion
 - 3. Diffuse any areas of concern or misunderstanding
 - 4. Outline potential areas of collaboration and next steps.
- e. Production of a detailed report on the visitor's experience in Libya

Similar to the model used in Phase 1, the Monitor team would develop detailed visit report summarising the experience that the visitor has had in Libya. These documents are usually prepared in two weeks (including translation into Arabic) by at least one consultant working full-time on the writing and coordinating with the translators.

f. Follow-up with visitors.

This is an ongoing process that involves senior members of the Monitor team checking in with visitors at least once every two months to discuss their thoughts on Libya, answer any questions that they might have and follow up on agreed areas of collaboration.

g. Processing of honoraria and travelling expenses for visitors.

Most visitors in Phase 1 were paid an honorarium for their visit to Libya. In addition, all their travel expenses were reimbursed. A Monitor consultant works closely with the Monitor Finance Department to ensure that visitors'

honoraria and expenses are paid in a timely manner. Deliverables associated with the Manuscript:

- 1. Three additional drafts of the Manuscript for review by the Client.
 - a. The first draft of the manuscript was an output of Phase 2 of the National Economic Strategy. A summary of this draft in Arabic, and a copy of the draft itself, were delivered to the in 2007..
 - b. The second draft of the manuscript will be delivered in the first week of December 2008.
 - c. The third draft of the manuscript will be delivered in the last week of April 2009.
 - d. The fourth draft of the manuscript will be delivered in the middle of June 2008.
- 2. One final Manuscript that can be delivered to a publisher for publication.
 - a. The final draft of the manuscript will be delivered in the last week of July 2008.
- 3. Regarding additional expert visitors, please refer to the Visitors' Program (page X) for deliverables.

Working process

Regular reviews

Both the Client and Monitor commit to regular reviews of the project to ensure that:

- 1. Progress is being achieved against agreed deliverables;
- 2. Any difficulties are identified in a timely manner and addressed.

The reviews will take place at the end of October 2000, January, April and July 2009 and will be attended by the senior leadership of the Monitor team. The exact dates of the reviews will be confirmed in discussions between Monitor and the Client.

One week before each review Monitor will deliver to the client a summary report. This document will act as a discussion point for the review.

Roles and responsibilities

Client's responsibilities

- 1. To identify and make available valuable research material and information on Qadhafi. For example,
 - a. Any material that the Client believes is significant (for example, copies in print, video, radio broadcasts) that covers what Qadhafi has said directly: speeches, media interviews, articles particularly over the last 10 years and through the 1970s. In particular material available from 1 September 2006 would be required since the "National Record Encyclopaedia" Issue Copy" that was provided by The International Centre for the Study and Research of the Green Book only covers what Qadhafi has said up to 30 August 2006.
 - b. Collections of Qadhafi's thoughts on particular topics. One example is Khutab wa Ahadith al-Qa'id al-Diniyah.
 - c. Other relevant books on Qadhafi in Arabic that we have not identified.
 - d. Further relevant material that reflects Qadhafi's philosophy on Africa.

Monitor's responsibilities

- 1. Manage the project and all of the activities outlined in this proposal.
- 2. Provide overall project management for the research and writing of the manuscript.

- 3. Act as the primary interlocutor between the Client and international visitors until such time as independent relationships have been established.
- 4. Provide the Client with written reports of the key findings of the project and to maintain written materials to support these findings.

Monitor fees and expenses

The total cost of the project is US \$2.9 million in Monitor fees and expenses

	US \$ MM	Included in the price
Manuscript	2.45	
Fees	1.65	 Mark Fuller, Bruce Allyn, 3 Monitor consultants Purchase of research materials
Expenses	0.8	 Subcontractor fees for Libyan scholar/research associate Sub-contractor fees for Benjamin Barber Sub-contractor fees for manuscript editor Travel to Libya
Visitor Program	.45	
Expenses	.45	 Purchase of research materials Honoria for visitors Travel expenses for briefings in London Travel cost of visits to Libya including special arrangements Debrief cost (occasionally the team will travel to the visitor) Follow-up costs

ACCEPTED AND AGREED, the 26th of June 2008
For the Client
For Monitor Company Group Limited Partnership

Appendices

Appendix 1: Summary of and timeline for deliverables

Manuscript

- 1. Three additional drafts of the Manuscript for review by the Client.
 - a. The first draft of the manuscript was an output of Phase 2 of the National Economic Strategy. A summary of this draft was delivered to the Client on 4th July 2007.
 - b. The second draft of the manuscript will be delivered in the first week of December 2008.
 - c. The third draft of the manuscript will be delivered in the last week of March 2009.
 - d. The fourth draft of the manuscript will be delivered in the second week of June 2009.
- 2. One final Manuscript that can be delivered to a publisher for publication.
 - a. The final draft of the manuscript will be delivered to the Publisher on 15 June 2009.

Expert Visitors

- 1. In total there will be a minimum of 4 and a maximum of 6 individuals that will visit Libya as part of the program to support the book manuscript.
- 2. List of proposed participants on each of the categories listed below. In total Monitor will propose the names of 50-80 individuals who might visit Libya.
 - a. Meetings with Qadhafi
 - b. Meetings with Saif al-Islam
 - c. Meetings with senior Libyans
- 3. Approach each potential visitor with the aim of securing their visit to Libya. The timing of all visits will depend upon the availability of Qadhafi and the schedules of the visitors.
- 4. Briefing documents (in English and Arabic) for Qadhafi on each of the visitors.
- 5. Briefing pack (in English) for each visitor on the Forum.
- 6. Debriefing meeting between senior Monitor team members and each visitor.

7. Detailed report (in English and Arabic) describing the visitor's experience in Libya and summarising agreed next steps of collaboration.

Official Interviews

There will be 2-3 interviews with African political leaders and/or scholars, with an initial focus on Nelson Mandela.

Appendix 2: Proposed contractual terms of agreement for Phase 2

The Monitor Group ("Monitor") and Mr 'Abd Allah al-Sanusi (the "Client") agree to pursue the program of work set out above on the following terms.

Term of the agreement

This agreement commences on July 1, 2008 for a period of 12 months. The agreement may be terminated by either party with two months notice in writing.

Delivery of the program

Monitor undertakes to carry out the program as set out above and to employ the required resources to ensure timely and effective delivery of the program.

Fees

Monitor began work on this program on 1st May 2007 following the end of the first phase of the project on 30th April 2007. Monitor allocated consultant resources through September 2007 to ensure continued responsiveness, delivery and support of the Client. As a gesture of goodwill, Monitor will not charge the Client for work performed in 2007.

The total fees for the project will be 1,750,000 US dollars. The Client agrees to make a pre-payment of 1,000,000 US dollars by 15th July 2008. The remaining fees will be released to Monitor in three parts. The second transfer of 250,000 US dollars will take place on 15th November 2008. The third transfer of 250,000 US dollars will take place on 15th March 2009. The final payment of 250,000 US dollars will be made on 15th July 2009.

Expenses

We do not envisage that the total expenses for this project will exceed 1,150,000 US dollars. In the event that we jointly agree to pursue additional activities that will incur any additional expenses we will ensure your prior approval.

The Client agrees to place the full amount of 1,150,000 US dollars in escrow no later than 1st August 2008. The expenses will be released to Monitor in three parts. The first transfer of 400,000 US dollars will take place on 15th November 2008. The second transfer of 400,000 US dollars will take place on 15th March 2009. The final payment of 350,000 US dollars will be made on 15th July 2009.

ACCEPTED AND AGREED, the 26th of September 2007
For the Client
For Monitor Company Group Limited Partnership

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