

MONITOR GROUP
TWO CANAL PARK
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02141

MARK B. FULLER
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

RAJEEV SINGH-MOLARES
DIRECTOR

3 July, 2006

For the attention of Mr. 'Abd Allah al-Sanusi

Dear Sir,

Following Rajeev Singh-Molares' meeting on June 20, 2006 with Dr. Bukhres we wanted to provide a revised outline of the specifics of the program of action discussed when we met with you in Tripoli on May 31. In light of the original proposal and subsequent discussions with yourself and Dr. Bukhres, the purpose of this letter is to provide a foundation for concluding the terms of reference for our work going forward.

1. Program Aims

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.

Libya has suffered from a deficit of positive public relations and adequate contact with a wide range of opinion-leaders and contemporary thinkers. This program aims to redress the balance in Libya's favor.

Monitor is not a lobbying organization. Our ability to introduce important, influential visitors to Libya's advantage depends on our experience, prestige, networks and reputation for independence. We are deeply committed to helping you with this program.

2. Action Plan

Visitors

We will create a tailored program to introduce and bring to Libya a meticulously selected group of independent and objective experts. The aim of this exercise is for you to have exposure to world-class expertise on a number of critical issues, including but not limited to, US-Libya relations, geopolitical issues, economics, policy-making, international relations, diplomacy and the role of media and NGOs in the modern state.

To this end:

- We will jointly identify relevant policy-makers and influencers, politicians (both Democratic and Republican), government officials, thought-leaders and academics and journalists. These individuals will be of the highest caliber in their respective professions and circle of influence. The determination of the selected individuals will be based on a dialogue between us regarding:
 - The appeal of their ideas, and the relevance of these to Libya's own global policy;
 - The strength of their influence in guiding US foreign policy.
- We will ensure a regular flow of high quality visitors for the duration of the program. We will endeavor to bring as many of the most relevant people as possible. We anticipate that over the course of the project there will be at least one visitor per month.
 - We must emphasize that visitors of this importance have extremely busy calendars and it may take some time to schedule the most influential visits. Approaching these individuals with the appropriate message through trusted intermediaries is usually the most important step in ensuring that they respond positively to our invitation. This is a process that must be executed with patience. As stated above, we will make every effort to ensure a regular stream of visitors within the context of visitor and client schedules.
 - We would also like to emphasize the important role that you will play in arranging and confirming the relevant meetings for each visitor. Confirming the schedule of meetings ahead of each visit will be essential to ensure that the visitors are well-briefed and have a positive experience of Libya.
- We will brief each visitor prior to their visit to Libya.
- We will debrief each visitor on their return from Libya to ensure the most positive learning experience and exchange of views.
 - These debriefing sessions will provide information for a detailed assessment of each visitor's meetings in Libya. The assessment will form the basis of a specific action plan for each visitor that will include potential outcomes such as:
 - Developing new ideas that have arisen;

- Collaborating on texts, articles, workshops;
 - Identifying potential additional visitors.
- We will actively facilitate follow-up conversations and meetings with each visitor to ensure that positive action takes place, and that rich and ongoing discussions are maintained.

Tailored Education and Information Program

- We will develop a series of educational and informative materials drawing from books, papers and articles that we deem important for your review. These will be summarized where relevant and translated into Arabic.
- We will focus this program on subject matters including US-Libya relations, geopolitical issues, economics, policy-making, international relations, diplomacy and the role of media and NGOs in the modern state

US Network and Action Program

- We will create a network map to identify significant figures engaged or interested in Libya today.
- We will map the critical figures (and their current involvement in Libya) among policy makers, government, media, think tanks, academics, journalists, private sector companies and lobby groups.
- This map will highlight the relevant audiences that need to be approached with specific and appropriate messages to enhance their understanding and appreciation of Libya.
- We will coordinate with your existing lobbyists to ensure an integrated program

Written Materials

- We will identify the relevant American and international publications that target the specific audiences of interest identified in the network map.
- We will provide operational support for publication of positive articles on Libya in these publications. For example:
 - Wall Street Journal, New York Times, Washington Post, Economist, International Herald Tribune, Financial Times, Weekly Standard, National Interest, Public Interest, Foreign Affairs etc.
- We will identify and encourage journalists, academics and contemporary thinkers who will have interest in publishing papers and articles on Libya.
- We will identify and arrange contact or visits for journalists who wish to conduct interviews or “question and answer” pieces for publication.

Collaborative Work

- We will compile a list of think-tanks with expertise and interest in collaborating with Libya and will introduce you to them.
- We will compile and contact lobbying organizations that can help with your objectives.
- We will seek out opportunities to create seminars on relevant issues both in Libya and abroad.

3. Integration and Follow-up

The Action Plan is designed to provide a foundation and guidance for the project. It is important to emphasize, however, that the Plan is an integrated, flexible and iterative program. The outputs of each of the components outlined above will inform the next action steps. In regular meetings, the project team will continuously assess the success and effectiveness of the Action Plan and adjust it as appropriate.

4. Project Team

In order to ensure that we benefit from the learning generated by our work in Libya to date, the Project Team will refer, where necessary to the work conducted by the NES project team.

Rajeev Singh-Molares will lead the day-to-day management of the Monitor project teams that will be located in the US and the UK. Additional members of the team will be drawn from our senior people, depending on the particular requirements of each activity. Given the importance of this project, the team will report to Mark Fuller personally.

As with the NES project, we believe that the success of this program will be increased if the Monitor team can work directly with dedicated resources in Libya. The Monitor team will build key capabilities and transfer knowledge and skills to their Libyan counterparts.

We believe that your commitment to creating a program of mutual education and relationship building with the United States remains of critical importance at this turning point in Libyan history. We remain privileged to be trusted with this work.

We very much look forward to hearing from you with any questions or comments that you may have.

Yours,

Mark B Fuller / Rajeev Singh-Molares

Appendix 1: *Progress to date*

Visitors

We continue to invest in contacting key individuals that you have identified as interesting for the program to enhance international understanding of Libya. As Dr Bukhres may have informed you, we are delighted that:

- Richard Perle has agreed to return to Tripoli in July for his second visit (24-31 July).
- After a number of conversations, Lord Giddens has now accepted our invitation to visit Libya in July (26-31 July).
- Professor Philip Bobbitt has also agreed to visit in July (10-12 or 24-26 July) or August (9-12 August).
- George Soros and Francis Fukuyama have also expressed a willingness to visit Tripoli and we will stay in contact with their offices to confirm potential dates.

We are in the process of contacting either directly or through a variety of trusted intermediaries the other individuals you identified on the list we received during our last meeting on May 31. We are investigating additional individuals that may be of interest, and are compiling biographies on all the potential visitors to Libya. I have shared a preliminary list of suggestions with Dr. Bukhres. I look forward to discussing this with you shortly and jointly deciding on priorities for our work.

We believe that these above cited visits demonstrate our commitment to this project, our ability to deliver on what we promised, and our willingness to invest in this program.

Tailored Education and Information Program

We continue to identify relevant texts and articles informed by both the subject matters outlined above.

Deliverables

- Regular visits by independent and objective experts (at least one visitor per month)
 - Regular reports on the outcomes and recommendations made by visitors to Libya, to be translated and delivered to you in Arabic within 2 weeks of their return and subsequent debriefing with members of the Monitor project team. These reports will:
 - Summarise the insights, ideas and comments of each visitor's experience in Libya;
 - Capture any action items or follow-ups that have been agreed during meetings with you and others;
 - Include a process for managing specific action plans for each expert to ensure rich and ongoing discussions.
- Delivery of education and information materials twice a month in Arabic. These will be summarized where relevant and translated into Arabic.
 - Critical articles, op-eds and coverage on Libya or relating to relevant key issues in influential American and international press.
 - These articles will be drawn from a weekly scan of relevant American and international publications, including the Wall Street Journal, New York Times, Washington Post, Economist, International Herald Tribune, Financial Times, Weekly Standard, National Interest, Public Interest, Foreign Affairs etc.
 - Summaries or memos of key books, articles or papers. For example,
 - Introduction to the most recent writings of Philip Bobbitt.
- Monthly briefing on the progress of the program. The meetings will take place in Tripoli and will be designed to allow you to provide feedback on the project and to ensure that we adapt and enhance the deliverables on an ongoing basis. The meetings will include a full review of:
 - the visitors program;
 - education and information program;
 - assessment of the US network and action program;
 - operational support for publication of positive articles on Libya; and
 - progress on collaborative work with think-tanks, lobbying organizations and seminars.

Libyan suggestions

NGOs/think tanks

Laurent Murawiec

Senior Fellow Hudson Institute

Senior international policy analyst with the RAND Corporation until 2002

Author of 'The Mind of Jihad'

James Woolsey

Foreign policy specialist

Former Director of Central Intelligence of the CIA (1993-1995)

Trustee at the Center for Strategic and International Studies

Member of the Project for the New American Century

Danielle Pletka

Vice-president for Foreign and Defense Policy Studies at the American Enterprise Institute

US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (1992-2002)

Staff writer Insight Magazine (1987-1992)

Nina H. Shea

Director Center for Religious Freedom, Freedom House (1986-present)

Member of U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom

Human rights lawyer and an international religious freedom advocate

Author of 'In the Lion's Den'

Stephen Schwartz

Executive Director of the Center for Islamic Pluralism which produces Wahabi Watch

Author of 'The Two Faces of Islam: Saudi Fundamentalism and Its Role In Terrorism'

Associate of the Faculty of Islamic Studies, Sarajevo

Published in major international newspapers

Robert Spencer

Director of Jihad Watch

Writer and researcher

Author of 'The Politically Incorrect Guide to Islam (and the Crusades)'

Business experts

George Soros

Financial speculator, stock investor, liberal political activist, philanthropist and philosopher
Chairman of Soros Fund Management
Chairman of the Open Society Institute
Former member of the Board of Directors of the Council on Foreign Relations
Author of books, articles and essays on politics, society, and economics

Thought leaders

Lord Anthony Giddens

Director of the London School of Economics
One of the world's most influential academics, he is the author of over 30 books
Pioneered the notion of the Third Way in politics
Had a major impact upon the evolution of New Labour in the United Kingdom

Francis Fukuyama

Author of 'The End of History and the Last Man', and 'After the Neocons'
Bernard L. Schwartz Professor of International Political Economy at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University
Active in the Project for the New American Century
Member of the President's Council on Bioethics (2001-2005)

Media

Daniel Pipes

Founder and director of the Middle East Forum
Prize-winning columnist and commentator on the Middle East
Previous member of the board of the U.S. Institute of Peace

Deroy Murdock

Commentator and journalist
Advisory board member of Project 21, a Washington-based network of black free-market advocates
Contributing editor National Review Online

Gerald Posner

Investigative journalist and author of several books
Author of 'Secrets of the Kingdom: The Inside Story of the Secret Saudi-US Connection' and 'Why America Slept' (al-Qaeda and 9/11)

David Frum

Journalist and contributing editor to National Review

Former special assistant to President Bush for economic speechwriting (2001-2002)

Author of 'Dead Right', 'The Right Man: the Surprise Presidency of George W. Bush' and co-author with Richard Perle of 'An End to Evil: What's Next in the War on Terror'

Thomas Friedman

World-renowned author and journalist

Served as chief diplomatic, chief White House, and international economics correspondents with *The New York Times*

Author of 'From Beirut to Jerusalem', now published in more than 27 languages

Additional Monitor suggestions***NGOs/think tanks*****Sam Nunn**

Co-Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Nuclear Threat Initiative

Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies

Served as a United States Senator from Georgia years (1972-1996)

Robert Kagan

Senior associate and director of the U.S. Leadership Project at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Served in the State Department (1984-1988)

Author 'Of Paradise and Power'

Government / Policy Makers**Edward P Lazear**

Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors (February 2006 – present)

Jack Steel Parker Professor of Human Resources Management and Economics, Stanford University (1995 – present)

Morris Arnold Cox Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution

Author of more than one hundred published papers

George Tenet

Former United States Director of Central Intelligence (1997-2004), and previously acting director and deputy director of the agency

Staff director for the Senate Intelligence Committee (1988 to 1993)

National Security Council staff (1993 to 1995)

Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy at Georgetown University

Thought leaders

Philip Bobbitt

A.W. Walker Centennial Chair in Law at the University of Texas at Austin

Leading constitutional theorist and military strategist

Served as Associate Counsel in the White House, the counselor on International Law at the State Department and legal counsel to the Senate Iran-Contra Committee

Served as the director for Intelligence, senior director for Critical Infrastructure and senior director for Strategic Planning at the National Security Council

Author of 'The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace and the Course of History'

Robert Cooper

Senior British diplomat and advisor to Tony Blair

Director-General for External and Politico-Military Affairs at the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union (2002 – present)

Head of the Policy Planning Staff at the Foreign Office (1989 to 1993)

The United Kingdom's Special Representative in Afghanistan until mid-2002

Author of 'The Post-Modern State' and 'The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century'

Lt. Gen. Paul Van Riper

Military strategist and scholar of warfare

Served more than 41 years in the United States Marine Corps (Vietnam, Operation Desert Storm)

Former president of the Marine Corps University

Lecturer at the National defense University

Chosen to lead Team Red, the 'enemy forces' in Millennium Challenge 02, a \$250 million war game designed by the Department of Defense's Joint Forces Command

Media

William Kristol

Editor of the Weekly Standard

Leading political analyst and commentator

Chairman and Co-founder of the Project for the New American Century

Chief of Staff to Vice President Dan Quayle during first Bush Administration

Appendix 4: *Contractual terms of agreement*

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 May 1, 2006 for a period of one year. 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 will charge the Client a retainer of 250,000 US dollars per month, payable in advance in 3 month installments – representing a sum of 750,000 US dollars per quarter.

Monitor began work on this program on 15th February 2006 following discussions with the Client in Tripoli, to arrange the briefing, debriefing and follow-up work with the first visitor to Libya. Monitor will waive the fees for February, March and April to show our commitment to the Client on this initiative.

Expenses

Given the nature of this project – particularly the shared ambition of bringing a number of eminent people to Libya – Monitor will request an open expense budget to accommodate travel to and from Libya and to and from sites in the US and the UK. The expense budget will cover the honorarium or fees charged by visitors and relevant advisors that Monitor needs to retain. Monitor will request written authorization in advance from you for any extraordinary expenses.

On completion of this agreement, Monitor will send the Client an invoice for the retainer for the first quarter (from 1 May to 31 July 2006) and an invoice for the period from 1 August to 31 October 2006. Thereafter, Monitor will submit quarterly invoices to the Client for payment in advance.

Monitor will submit immediately an invoice of expenses incurred to date for the sum of 400,000 US dollars. In addition, Monitor requires an advance sum of 200,000 US dollars to cover imminent expenses. Thereafter, future expenses will be submitted for payment on a quarterly basis. The total expenses for this project will not exceed 2,500,000 US dollars.

Monitor requests immediate payment of the first invoices (750,000 US dollars fees and 600,000 US dollars expenses).

I accept in full the terms of this agreement:

Accepted and Signed:

Date:

Signed

Mr Mark B Fuller / Mr Rajeev Singh-Molares

Date: