

**THE NORMALIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES-LIBYA  
RELATIONS, 2003–2006**

**AHMEID MOHAMED AHMEID**

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**THE NORMALIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES-LIBYA  
RELATIONS, 2003–2006**

**By  
Ahmeid Mohamed Ahmeid**

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to examine and analyze the factors leading to the normalized relations between the United States (U.S.) and Libya in 2003–2006. The theoretical framework of this study was the rational actor model of foreign policy decision making, which held that the foreign policy decisions were made in such a way as to maximize benefits while minimizing costs. The study was divided into three parts. The first part looked at the political factors leading to the normalized relations between the two countries. These factors include the diplomatic, leadership and media. The second part looked at the economic factors such as the oil and economic sanctions. The last part looked at the security factors including terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, and the Libya's attitudes towards Israel. The data for this study were collected mainly from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources included documents, agreements, and treaties that signed by Libya with the U.S. In addition, the researcher analyzed the outputs of the U.S. and Libyan policy-makers and institutions relating to the research topic, such as speeches, official correspondences, decrees, and decisions of both governments relating to each other. Interviews with knowledgeable people were also conducted. The secondary sources included books, journals, magazines and newspapers. Key findings over the period studied indicated the importance of the political, economic, and security factors in forwarding the U.S. policy options towards the normalization of the U.S. - Libya relations in 2006. Furthermore, this study also concluded that the success of the normalized relations was a product of intertwining of these factors together through their influences on policy-makers of both countries to take flexible attitudes to resolve outstanding issues between them.

**Keywords:** Foreign Policy, Libya, Normalized Relations, Rational Actor Model, United States

## Abstrak

Kajian ini bertujuan menguji dan menganalisis faktor-faktor yang memulihkan semula hubungan antara Amerika Syarikat (AS) dengan Libya pada tahun 2003–2006. Kerangka kerja teori bagi kajian ini ialah model aktor rasional dalam penggubalan keputusan dasar luar yang berpegang pada ketetapan bahawa keputusan dasar luar dibuat dengan kaedah yang memaksimumkan faedah sambil mengurangkan kos. Kajian ini terbahagi kepada tiga bahagian. Bahagian pertama melihat pada faktor-faktor politik yang memulihkan hubungan antara kedua-dua buah negara. Faktor-faktor politik ini termasuklah faktor diplomatik, kepemimpinan, dan media. Bahagian kedua melihat pada faktor-faktor ekonomi seperti sekatan minyak dan ekonomi. Bahagian terakhir pula melihat pada faktor-faktor keselamatan termasuklah keganasan, senjata pemusnah massa, serta sikap Libya terhadap Israel. Data untuk kajian ini dikumpul khususnya daripada sumber primer dan sekunder. Sumber primer termasuklah dokumen, perjanjian, dan persetujuan yang ditandatangani oleh Libya dengan AS. Selain itu, penyelidik turut menganalisis output yang berkaitan dengan topik kajian. Output berkenaan dipetik daripada dokumen perbincangan antara pembuat dasar dan institusi AS dengan Libya, seperti ucapan, surat rasmi, dekri, dan keputusan kedua-dua kerajaan yang berkaitan antara satu sama lain. Temuramah dengan orang mempunyai mempunyai maklumat tentang topik kajian ini turut dijalankan. Sumber sekunder termasuklah buku, jurnal, majalah, dan akhbar. Dapatan utama sepanjang kajian ini dijalankan menunjukkan peri pentingnya faktor-faktor politik, ekonomi, dan keselamatan dalam membuat pilihan dasar AS demi memulihkan hubungan AS-Libya pada tahun 2006. Selanjutnya, kajian ini turut merumuskan bahawa kejayaan memulihkan hubungan berkenaan ialah hasil daripada jalinan antara faktor-faktor ini melalui pengaruhnya terhadap pembuat dasar daripada kedua-dua buah negara untuk menyesuaikan dengan sikap masing-masing dalam usaha untuk menyelesaikan isu-isu tertangguh antara kedua-duanya.

**Kata kunci:** Amerika Syarikat, Libya, Pemulihan Hubungan, Model Aktor Rasional, Dasar Luar

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## **List of Abbreviations**

AEE	Atomic Energy Establishment (Libya)
ANO	Abu Nidal Organization
AU	The African Union
AUA	Union Authority
AUC	African Union Commission
CBL	Central Bank of Libya
CEN-SAD	The Community of Sahel-Saharan States
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency of the U.S.A
EIA	Energy Information Administration
EPSA	Exploration and Production Sharing Agreement
EU	European Union
GICDF	Gaddafi International Charity and Development foundation
GWOT	Global War on Terrorism
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ILSA	Iran and Libya Sanctions Act
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRA	Irish Republican Army
JANA	Jamahiriya News Agency
JSO	Jamahiriya Security Organization
LAP	Libya Africa Investment Portfolio
LD	Libyan dinars
LIA	Libya Investment Authority

LIFG	Libyan Islamic fighting group
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NOC	National Oil Corporation
MTRC	Missile Technology Control Regime
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
OXY	Occidental Petroleum Corp
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
RAM	Rational Actor Model
RCC	Revolutionary Command Council
RSQ	RascomStar-QAF, it's a Communication Company
SAE	Libyan Secretariat of Atomic Energy
SISMI	Italian Military Intelligence Service
TNRC	Tajura Nuclear Research Centre
U.K	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States of America
VPAF 103	Victims of Pan Am Flight 103
WICS	World Islamic Call Society
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WTO	World Trade Organization

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

The purpose of this study is to examine and analyze the political, economic and security factors that led to normalized relations between the United States (U.S.) and Libya during the period between 2003 and 2006. The U.S. - Libya relations have witnessed a great development from the status of alliance and cooperation in the early years of Libya's independence in 1951 to a status of hostility after the Libyan revolution in 1969. The history of hostilities between the two countries is grounded in their conflicting efforts to spread influence in Libya, Africa, and Middle East during the Cold War and beyond. Moreover, "the hostilities only grew as a result of both states looking for vengeance" (Gosa, 2011, p. 5).

From the U.S. Government's perspective, this problematic relation was fueled by Libya's relations with the former Soviet Union, the alleged large financial support for extremist groups, its opposition to Israel, the Lockerbie incident in 1988 and its desire to possess nuclear weapons. While from the Libyan Government's perspective, it is a small vulnerable oil-rich country in the world system in which energy-hungry powerful nations dominate. "The end of the Cold War left Libya isolated, which provoked the Libya's government to re-evaluate its relations with key powerful states during the end of 1990's" (Gosa, 2011, p. 5). However, the early 2003s represented the beginning of the rapprochement efforts while 2006 was the formal restoration of diplomatic ties between the states.

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