

# Digital Annex I – Chronology of the Libyan Crisis 2011

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# Abbreviations

<b>ACHPR</b>	African Court on and Human and People's Rights
<b>AHHLIC</b>	Ad hoc High-Level Committee of the AU PSC
<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>BBC</b>	British Broadcasting Corporation
<b>CNN</b>	Central News Network
<b>DSG</b>	Deputy Secretary-General
<b>DRC</b>	Democratic Republic of the Congo
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>FM</b>	Foreign Minister
<b>GCC</b>	Gulf Cooperation Council
<b>HR</b>	High Representative
<b>ICC</b>	International Criminal Court
<b>LAS</b>	League of Arab States
<b>LCG</b>	Libya Contact Group
<b>LSF</b>	Libyan Security Forces
<b>MANPAD</b>	Man Portable Air Defense System
<b>NAC</b>	North Atlantic Council
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NFZ</b>	No-fly zone
<b>NTC</b>	National Transitional Council
<b>OIC</b>	Organization of Islamic Cooperation
<b>OUP</b>	Operation Unified Protector
<b>PM</b>	Prime Minister
<b>POW</b>	Panel of the Wise
<b>PSC</b>	Peace and Security Council
<b>SG</b>	Secretary-General
<b>SRSR</b>	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNGA</b>	United Nations General Assembly
<b>UNHRC</b>	United Nations Human Rights Council
<b>UNSC</b>	United Nations Security Council
<b>UNSG</b>	United Nations Secretary-General
<b>UNSMIL</b>	United Nations Support Mission in Libya
<b>US</b>	United States of America
<b>USG</b>	Under-Secretary-General

# February 2011

## February 15:

- Arrest of Lawyer → early unrest in Libya (Farer 2016: 11).

## February 17:

- Security forces open fire in Benghazi (Omorogbe 2012: 157).

## February 18:

- Security forces open fire in Misrata (Omorogbe 2012: 157).

## February 20:

- Rebellion spreads to first city beyond eastern Libya (Kuperman 2013: 116), intensified by speech of Saif al-Islam al-Gaddafi (Cole/ Khan 2015: 56) and protestors take control of Benghazi (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 7).
- EU and US call for end of violence against protestors (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 7).

## February 21:

- LSF bombs protesters in Tripoli (Omorogbe 2012: 157).
- Defection of Libyan Deputy Permanent Representative Ibrahim Dabbashi asked by France and UK (Adler-Nissen/ Pouliot 2014: 899) to write a letter to the UNSC President and asks for urgent meeting of UNSC (UN 2011n). He claims that Gaddafi's previous speech could trigger a genocide, called for a NFZ and asked the UNSC to refer the Gaddafi regime to the ICC (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 7).
- Rebels in control of all cities of eastern Libya (Farer 2016: 11).
- PM and son of Gaddafi Saif al-Islam announces that "rivers of blood will flow through Libya" (Heisbourg 2016: 28).
- UNSG outraged at press reports of violence against protesters (UN 2011u).
- NATO SG condemns "indiscriminate use of violence" by Libya in a statement (NATO 2011aj).
- Libya's representative to the LAS resigns (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 7).

## February 22:

- Former UK FMs calls for NFZ (Kuperman 2013: 124).
- LAS has meeting (Adler-Nissen/ Pouliot 2014: 898) and suspends Libya from further meetings (Omorogbe 2012: 157).
- OIC SG condemns use of force by Libyan government (Ahmad 2012: 2).
- China begins evacuation of Chinese nationals (Ding 2016: 100).
- **6486<sup>th</sup> UNSC meeting (closed)** (Adler-Nissen/ Pouliot 2014: 898): Briefing of UNSC by USG for Political Affairs (B. Lynn Pascoe) and Permanent Representative of Libya at the UN Ibrahim Dabbashi. Statement of meeting: expresses "grave concern" with situation in Libya (Chivvis 2014: 28-29) and condemns violence (UN 2011aw).
- UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (Pillay) argues that there may be the need for a NFZ, if reports are true and speaks of possible "crimes against humanity" (Nebehay 2011).
- Group of anonymous French diplomats criticize President Sarkozy's Foreign Policy (Bouin 2011).

## February 23:

- **261<sup>st</sup> AU PSC meeting:** condemns use of excessive force (AU 2011v: par. 2, 6; Omorogbe 2012: 158; Gelot 2016: 276). It was more cautious than that of the LAS, since, according to O'Brien and Sinclair (2011: 7), Libya was among the five top contributors to the AU, that stemmed nearly two-thirds of the AU's funds. Therein it also decides to dispatch a mission of the Council to Libya, to assess the situation, but the mission was never dispatched (Apuuli 2012: 146).
- Chairperson of the AU Commission condemns use of excessive force (AU 2011ax).
- French President Sarkozy calls for NFZ, not supported by Cameron {questionable that Sarkozy would express the wish that NATO should enforce it} (Watt/ Wintour 2011).
- UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (Pillay) tells reports that NFZ may be necessary (Therolf 2011).
- EU and US vow to impose sanctions (Jordans et al. 2011).
- Reports of indiscriminate killing in Tripoli (Farer 2016: 11).

**February 24:**

- EU meeting on Libya (Adler-Nissen/ Pouliot 2014: 898).
- UK engages with NATO SG Rasmussen to discuss possible NATO involvement (Goulter 2016: 51) via UK Defense Secretary Liam Fox (phone conversation) – agree that NATO has useful capabilities (inter alia for human relief) (Chivvis 2014: 34).
- NATO SG makes statement, that there is neither a plan for an intervention, nor has NATO received a request to do so. Emphasizes need for UN mandate (NATO 2011r).
- UK begins evacuations of its citizens from Libya (Goulter 2016: 49).
- Individuals consultation of US President Obama with France, UK and Italy – agreement that the violence violated international norms and that they would stand with the Libyan people's demands (Chivvis 2014: 29).

**February 25:**

- NATO NAC meeting on Libya (Adler-Nissen/ Pouliot 2014: 898) (NATO 2011an).
- **6490<sup>th</sup> UNSC meeting:** Libyan UN Ambassador and defector Abdel Rahman Shalgam gives declaration at UNSC (Fink 2011: 139) and compares Gaddafi indirectly to Pol Pot and Hitler. UNSG welcomes strong statements by LAS, EU and AU (UN 2011ai: 3).
- UNHRC condemns violence in Libya in a statement and asks UNGA to suspend Libya from UNHRC (McKaiser 2012: 148).

**February 26:**

- **6491<sup>st</sup> UNSC meeting:** UNSC adopts Resolution 1970. It contains measures for an arms embargo, travel sanctions, assets freeze and refers the situation to the ICC (Omorogbe 2012: 157). AU and LAS mentioned one time respectively in the document. Welcomes condemnations by LAS, AU and OIC SG (UN 2011z: par. 4-8). Russia calls on Libya to respect the demands of the LAS and the AU (UN 2011aj: 4). Draft resolution was distributed by France, Germany, UK and US (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 8).
- Gambia's President (Yahya Jammeh) calls on Gaddafi to step down and criticizes lack of action by AU (Rudd 2011).

**February 27:**

- NTC was formed (Ding 2016: 94).
- Talks between US, European and NATO officials: include discussions about and planning for the implementation of a NFZ (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 8).

**February 28:**

- EU implements UN sanctions (Omorogbe 2012: 157-158).
- Cameron (UK) asks his military to plan for a NFZ (Chivvis 2014: 37).
- US (Clinton) confirms that US and allies discuss imposition of a NFZ (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 9).
- UNSG visits the US and says that the Libyan "regime [...] has lost all legitimacy". Says that "I sincerely hope and urge him to listen to his people's call". A quote that could be interpreted as a call for him to step down (UN 2011b).

## March 2011

**March 1:**

- African Commission on Human and People's Rights institutes proceedings against Libya before the ACHPR for violations of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (Omorogbe 2012: 160).
- UNSG statement: welcomes strong statements from LAS, AU, OIC and EU and looks forward to meeting later that month, initiated by AU (UN 2011ay) {refers most likely to meeting on March 25}.
- Libya suspended from UNHRC by UNGA (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 9; Vandewalle 2012: xxxii).
- US Secretary of Defense (Robert Gates) states, that there is no confirmation, that Gaddafi has ordered attacks on civilians by jets or helicopters (Campbell 2013: 67).

**March 2:**

- LAS SG Amr Moussa declares willingness to enforce no-fly zone, provided it would be established in cooperation with the AU (Omorogbe 2012: 158).
- NTC military commander speaks by telephone to UK Foreign Secretary about NFZ (Kuperman 2013: 124).
- China ends evacuation of nationals in Libya (Ding 2016: 100).

**March 3:**

- Venezuela offers mediation, but NTC rejects proposal (Kuperman 2013: 115).
- Obama calls on Gaddafi to step down (Chivvis 2014: 38).

**March 4:**

- UK announces to deploy military experts (SAS) to advise rebels (Kuperman 2013: 114), but the mission fails (Gammel/ Meo 2011).

**March 5:**

- Rebels control half of the country's populated areas (Kuperman 2013: 117).
- NTC declares itself "the sole representative of the Libyan people" (Vandewalle 2012: xxxiii).

**March 6:**

- Amr Mussa (LAS SG) meets French FM Alain Juppe in Cairo – claims that LAS would support a NFZ (Hough/ Henderson 2011).

**March 7:**

- Counteroffensive by Gaddafi begins (Kuperman 2013: 117).
- Anonymous source within UN claims that UK and France have begun work on a draft resolution for a NFZ (Hough/ Henderson 2011).
- Obama tells reporters, that NATO considers military options (Hough/ Henderson 2011).
- NATO SG statement. There is currently no intention to intervene, but hints at plans for the eventuality. Also says, that there is close coordination/consultation with LAS, UN, EU and AU (NATO 2011g) and NATO begins the surveillance of Libyan airspace (Hough/ Henderson 2011).
- GCC calls on UNSC to mandate the establishment of a NFZ (Salama 2011).

**March 8:**

- Phone call between Obama (US) and Cameron (UK), initiated by Obama – agree that Gaddafi had to leave power and to move ahead with military planning (inter alia for a NFZ) at NATO and the national levels (Chivvis 2014: 39).
- UK and France draft Resolution on a NFZ (Borger 2011).
- Obama (US) and Cameron (UK) call on Gaddafi to step down (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 10).
- OIC SG justifies need for intervention in his speech at the OIC Council of Permanent Representatives (Ahmad 2012: 2-3).

**March 9:**

- Head of NTC (Abdul-Jalil) tells CNN that NFZ is needed (Wedeman et al. 2011).

**March 10:**

- **265<sup>th</sup> AU PSC meeting** (AU 2011x: par. 6-8, 12): Declares that the AHHLIC will coordinate with UN, LAS, EU and OIC, and states its rejection of foreign intervention in Libya (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 5; Omorogbe 2012: 158). It creates the AU High-Level Ad Hoc Committee on Libya (idea came from President of Uganda) (Sithole 2012: 116). McKaiser (2012: 148) argues, that the declaration cannot be interpreted as an outright opposition to a NFZ.
- NATO defense ministers convene meeting in Brussels for a Defense Ministerial on Libya (NATO 2011g; Chivvis 2014: 39). UK, Canada and France in favor of actions, Spain underlines need for mandate, while US and Germany remain cautious (Chivvis 2014: 41).
- NATO SG announces increased presence of NATO in the Central Mediterranean for the surveillance of the arms embargo. Announces that NATO military authorities are still planning for the eventuality of a NFZ, given that UNSC mandates it. NATO SG states, that NATO had "still" no intention to intervene and that an intervention should be based on "demonstrable need, a clear legal mandate and solid support from the region" (NATO 2011h). Regional support is deemed as "crucial" by NATO SG. He will consult with UN, EU, LAS, AU (ibid.)
- France's president Sarkozy recognizes NTC as legitimate government (Kuperman 2013: 124) in meeting with NTC representatives and calls for targeted strikes against Gaddafi – Merkel (Germany) outraged (Chivvis 2014: 34).
- Cameron (UK) and Sarkozy (France) write joint letter to EU President Van Rompuy, urge him to push Gaddafi out and call on NATO to begin planning for NFZ (Shipman 2011; Chivvis 2014: 35).

- UNSG appoints Special Envoy for Libya Abdel-Elah Mohamed Al-Khatib (former FM of Jordan) (UN 2011i; Martin 2015: 128).

#### **March 11:**

- EU emergency summit in Brussels: unanimously calls on Gaddafi to step down and acknowledges NTC as legitimate interlocutor (Bowen/ Mudge 2011) and call for emergency summit with LAS and AU. France and UK cannot convince rest of EU about enforcing NFZ. Opposition within EU asks for approval by LAS and AU (Traynor/ Watt 2011).
- Jean Ping announces the composition of the AHHLIC (AU 2011bp; 2011bk: par. 6).

#### **March 12:**

- LAS calls on UNSC to impose a NFZ (UN 2011j; Omorogbe 2012: 158; Hendrickson 2016: 215) – unprecedented call for military action against one of its own member states, especially pushed by Qatar (Chivvis 2014: 53-54) – resolution passed with only 11 present members (of 22) and Algeria/Syria voted against the resolution. Six of its members were also in the GCC and the other three were pressured by Saudi Arabia according to Campbell (2013: 79). According to Bartu (2014: 4), only three of the LAS’ members were against the NFZ (Mauritania, Algeria, and Syria).
- France and UK take initiative to draft UN Resolution for a NFZ (Goulter 2016: 52).

#### **March 13:**

- Special Envoy of the UNSG (Al-Khatib) and UN Humanitarian Coordinator meets Libyan officials (UN 2011al: 2). Gaddafi rejects to meet Al-Khatib in person (Bartu 2014: 3).

#### **March 14:**

- Representative of the NTC in Switzerland Soliman Bouchuiguir warned reporters about ‘bloodbath’ in Benghazi. Compares situation to Rwanda (Kuperman 2013: 134).
- Letter from LAS to UNSG, asking for circulation of LAS decision from March 12 on the NFZ (UN 2011j).
- G8 meeting in Paris: Clinton (US Secretary of State) turned towards NFZ, since representatives of the UAE met her in Paris and signaled their willingness to contribute militarily. Additionally, she was convinced by LAS support from March 12 (Chivvis 2014: 55-56). Clinton also meets NTC leader Jibril (O’Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 11).

#### **March 15-16:**

- Obama (US) calls Sarkozy (France), Cameron (UK) and Zuma (South Africa) to explain the stronger wording of the new UNSC draft resolution (Chivvis 2014: 60).

#### **March 15:**

- Gaddafi retakes all but one major rebel-held city (Kuperman 2013: 112-113).
- US changes its mind on 1973 later that day (Adler-Nissen/ Pouliot 2014: 903). Clinton calls Obama and argues in favor of intervention (Chivvis 2014: 56).
- France, UK and Lebanon introduce resolution for NFZ at UNSC (Chivvis 2014: 56).

#### **March 16:**

- Hillary Clinton (US) officially endorses NFZ (Goulter 2016: 52).
- Gaddafi’s Loyalist forces arrive near Benghazi. Saif al-Islam al-Gaddafi claims that “Everything will be over in 48 hours” (Vandewalle 2012: xxxiii).

#### **March 17:**

- Speech by Gaddafi before the UNSC Resolution passed, fueled fear of a genocide (O’Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 11).
- **6498<sup>th</sup> UNSC meeting:** Resolution 1973 passed the UNSC (Adler-Nissen/ Pouliot 2014: 902). Recalls condemnation by LAS, AU, OIC SG. Takes note of latest AU PSC Communiqué (March 10), LAS decision (March 12) and Communiqué of OIC (March 8). Notes diplomatic effort by AU PSC to send AHHLIC to Libya (but not under Chapter VIII). Recognizes LAS under Chapter VIII (Bartu 2014: 4). (AU mentioned 3x; LAS 7x). LAS SG must also be informed of measures taken to enforce NFZ (UN 2011aa: par. 2, 4-8). Was introduced by France, UK, US and Lebanon. Abstentions by Brazil, China, Germany, India and Russia (UN 2011ak: 2-3). South Africa and Nigeria pressured by US, while Gabon is one of France’s closest allies, according to Akonor (2017: 27-28). Yet, Adler-Nissen and Pouliot

(2014: 902) mention external pressure by France on Gabon. Gabon did also already condemn Gaddafi (Gegout 2017: 129).

- UN Special Envoy meets LAS SG (UN 2011a).

#### **March 18:**

- NATO SG statement: NATO welcomes UNSC Resolution 1973 and is now completing its planning to be ready to take action (NATO 2011ai).
- Letter from Jean Ping AU Commission Chairperson forwarded by UNSC President to the UNSG: Ping would like to “make sure that this mission is carried out without any safety concerns” from March 19 until March 21 (UN 2011i).

#### **March 19:**

- France stages crisis meeting in Paris (Adler-Nissen/ Pouliot 2014: 904). UNSG attends. Obama (US) sends Clinton instead of himself “to underscore the lesser role of the United States” (Chivvis 2014: 69) and France didn’t invite Turkey (ibid.: 73). The AU was not consulted before the meeting (Ramachandran 2011). Another author claims, that the AU rejected to attend the meeting, since Sarkozy wanted it to give its blessing to the NTC (Campbell 2013: 135) and also since the timing – parallel to the first meeting of the AHHLC – was interpreted as a snub to the AU (de Waal 2013: 371).
- First aircraft raid by France, followed by the US under Operation Odyssey Dawn (Wehrey 2015: 109-110) and the UK (Goulter 2016: 54-55) – military coalition’s operational control under United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) (Heisbourg 2016: 33).
- **1st AHHLC meeting in Nouakchott, Mauritania** (AU 2011r: par. 3, 5-7, 9): Requests AU Commission to convene a meeting with LAS, OIC, EU and UN (Secretariat + P5), as well as with Libya’s neighboring countries, on March 25 and asks for constraint of intervention forces (Sudan Tribune 2011). It is also the first time, that the term “Roadmap” is used. AU leaders are “angered by lack of consultation around the timing of the Paris meeting” (Gelot 2016: 280). According to Jean Ping, he received a phone call that day by the UNSG who called on AHHLC to refrain from their flight the next day, since operations were underway (Ping 2014: 18; Gelot 2016: 280). According to de Waal (2013: 371) a message was given to the Mauritanian President Aziz by the US and UN, that they could not provide for their security.

#### **March 20:**

- LAS SG criticizes Alliance’s air strikes (Gaub 2013: 23) – reverberated by AU (Gegout 2017: 129), China, Germany and Russia (Erlanger 2011).
- Denmark joins operations (Chivvis 2014: 84).
- Begin of negotiations among NATO member states (Chivvis 2014: 72; Brunnstrom/ Taylor 2011).

#### **March 21:**

- AU Chairman Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo (President of Equatorial Guinea) calls on the international community to consider the AU Roadmap (AU 2011e).
- Zuma (South Africa) criticizes air strikes for the first time (Collins/ Hutchinson/ Henderson 2011).
- Special Envoy of the UNSG (Al-Khatib) meets with NTC Chairman Jibril (UN 2011al: 3).
- French and German ambassadors leave NAC meeting due to sharp barbs by NATO SG (Chivvis 2014: 77).
- Belgium joins operations (Chivvis 2014: 85).

#### **March 22:**

- NATO agrees to enforce the arms embargo (Gaub 2013: vii) and activates ships and aircraft in the Central Mediterranean. NATO SG also announces that plans for establishment of NFZ are ready, if NATO support is needed (NATO 2011al).
- Italy demands NATO control over operations (Adler-Nissen/ Pouliot 2014: 906).
- AU Commission Deputy Chairperson Erastus Mwencha is worried about aerial attacks on Libya in meeting with Canadian officials (AU 2011af: 2).
- China, India and Russia demand cease-fire and suggest that allied forces exceeded mandate of UNSC Resolution 1973 (O’Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 5).

#### **March 23:**

- Norway joins operations (Chivvis 2014: 84).
- Informal meeting between Jean Ping and UNSG (UN 2011al: 3).

- **268<sup>th</sup> AU PSC meeting:** PSC, in a press statement, regrets that AU AHHLIC mission wasn't authorized by the UN to convene its mission. Looks forward to meeting on March 25 with its partners and gives general support to UNSC NFZ (Omorogbe 2012: 159), while stressing the “imperative of respect of the provisions of resolution 1973 (2011)”, thus indirectly criticizing the air strikes (AU 2011aa).
- NTC forms interim government: at once recognized by France, Qatar, Maldives and Italy (Campbell 2013: 123).

#### March 24:

- Phone call by Clinton (US) with France, UK and Turkey helps to end the stalemate within NATO (Chivvis 2014: 78; Hendrickson 2016: 220).
- NATO SG informs UNSG/UNSC about decision to enforce arms embargo (UN 2011p) and directly assumes embargo operations (Gertler 2011: 16).
- NATO SG announces that NATO will take on the enforcement of the NFZ (NATO 2011q). France + Turkey gave up their opposition (Goulter 2016: 58-59).
- NATO announces to take over all military aspects under Resolution 1973 (Gaub 2013: vii).
- In the evening, command of NFZ operations are transferred to NATO (Gertler 2011: 16).
- Chinese Ambassador to the UN criticizes the intervention at closed door consultation in the UNSC (Ding 2016: 86-87).
- UNSG defends NATO and says, that the measures are not aimed at regime change (Charbonneau 2011).
- AU Commission instructs Legal Counsel to postpone signing any agreement with NATO (Maru 2014: 4; Mail contact with the author on October 10, 2017 about his sources, indicate that this is the earliest possible date for this decision to have taken place. Yet, it remains an approximation).

#### March 25:

- US and French NATO delegations draft common position → NAC is politically responsible for the operations and LCG would be responsible for political strategies (Adler-Nissen/ Pouliot 2014: 906)
- AU ACHPR (AU 2011k: par. 25) unanimously ordered provisional measures against Libya, but according to Omorogbe (2012: 160) the AU didn't comply, neither did Gaddafi {this is questionable, since the measures of the court were not directed at the AU}.
- NATO SG informs UNSG/UNSC via letter about the decision to enforce NFZ (UN 2011p).
- **2<sup>nd</sup> AHHLIC meeting:** Gaddafi agrees to Roadmap, but NTC didn't attend the meeting (AU 2011au).
- Consultative meeting in Addis Ababa (AU 2011h): with AHHLIC, AU Commission, AU PSC, Algeria, Chad, Egypt, Niger, Sudan, Tunisia, P5, UN Special Envoy of the SG Al-Khatib (UN 2011al: 3), OIC, EU, LAS, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Italy, India, Japan, Norway, Portugal, Spain and Turkey.
- Jean Ping (Chairperson AU Commission), attends BBC programme HardTALK: criticizes air strikes and suggests that AU's participation in London on March 29 would be meaningless (Ramachandran 2011). He expresses his feeling, that the AU was ignored (Apuuli 2012: 149).

#### March 27:

- NATO SG announces, that NATO will take on all military operations in Libya (NATO 2011ah; Gertler 2011: 16).

#### March 28:

- NTC recognized by Qatar (Vandewalle 2012: xxxiii).

#### March 29:

- **Cameron (UK) convenes international conference in London on Libya** (Goulter 2016: 51) together with UNSG (Martin 2015: 128), LAS, OIC, EU, NATO SG (NATO 2011i). They create the LCG (Gelot 2016: 280). NATO SG calls for close coordination between LCG and UN, LAS, AU, OIC and EU in statement (NATO 2011i). Cameron suggested the creation of the LCG (UN 2011am: 2). AU officials didn't attend, due to 'organisational reasons'. Qatar, Iraq, Jordan, UAE, Morocco and US also present (Ramachandran 2011). Speech by UNSG at LCG in London: Would like to see very close coordination among UN, LAS, AU, OIC and EU. Says that NATO operation prevented a bloodbath in Libya (UN 2011h).
- NATO SG informs UNSG/UNSC via letter about decision to protect civilians by NATO mission (UN 2011p).



### **March 30:**

- Chinese President Hu Jintao met with French President Sarkozy and criticizes NATO-led intervention (Ding 2016: 86).

### **March 31:**

- US cedes leadership of the campaign to NATO under the name Operation Unified Protector (Gaub 2013: vii; Wehrey 2015: 110). NATO takes full command of the entire operation (NATO 2011s).
- AU technical consultations on the modalities for an early ceasefire and the establishment of an operational monitoring mechanism with UN (inter alia with the Special Envoy of the UNSG), LAS, OIC and the EU (AU 2011p; UN 2011d) – proposal for a UN peacekeeping force is made (de Waal 2013: 372).
- Libyan Minister for Foreign Affairs flees to London (UN 2011am: 2).

### **March 31 – April 1:**

- Special Envoy of the UNSG to Libya visits Libya on March 31 to talk with government officials and on April 1 to speak with Mustafa Abdul Jalil, Chairman of the NTC (UN 2011am: 2). Jalil agrees to ceasefire on the basis that Gaddafi would step down (Bartu 2014: 5).

## **April 2011**

### **April 1:**

- EU announces military operation to support humanitarian relief operations if requested by UN (EUFOR Libya) (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 5).

### **April 4:**

- US deprives coalition of US close air support to request Congressional authorization under the War Powers Act (Heisbourg 2016: 33).
- **6509<sup>th</sup> UNSC meeting:** Special Envoy of the UNSG to Libya briefs UNSC. Welcomes meeting of AU, EU, LAS, OIC and UN on March 31 and the March 25 ruling of the African Court of Human and Peoples' Rights (UN 2011d).
- Turkey announces its diplomatic ambitions with Libya and the NTC (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 14).
- Italy becomes third nation to recognize the NTC as a legitimate government (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 14).
- Jean Ping meets UK Foreign Secretary William Hague (AU 2011bl: par. 30).

### **April 4-5:**

- AU Chairperson of the AU Commission Jean Ping meets with Hermann Van Rompuy (EU Council President) and Catherine Ashton (EU High Representative) (AU 2011be; AU 2011bf).

### **April 5:**

- Jean Ping meets with NAC (NATO 2011z; Maru 2014: 4) and the NATO SG (AU 2011be; AU 2011bf). During his visit at the NATO HQ, Jean Ping did most likely address the need for authorization by NATO to conduct the next mission of the AHHLC (AU 2011bl: par. 28, 30). NATO SG agrees that AU plays a key role in Libya and says that NATO will maintain a close and transparent dialogue with the AU (NATO 2011e). According to Sithole (2012: 118), Ping may have even asked the NATO SG to cease air strikes for a ceasefire agreement. Jean Ping also meets Franco Frattini, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs (AU 2011bl: par. 30). Frattini invited Ping (AU 2011bo: 1).

### **April 7:**

- Turkey presents own roadmap to solve the conflict (Bartu 2014: 6).

### **April 8:**

- Escalation of NATO air campaign (Farer 2016: 18).
- ANC Chairperson (South Africa) Baleka Mbete defends vote of South Africa for Resolution 1973 and criticizes NATO (Mbete 2011).

### **April 9:**

- **3rd AHHLC meeting** (AU 2011bl: par. 29).
- Libya answers to ACHPR (AU 2011n: par. 5): denies claims made against its government and promises to subject itself to the criminal investigation.

**April 10:**

- AHHLC presents AU Roadmap to Gaddafi, who accepts it (AU 2011bi; Omorogbe 2012: 160; Gelot 2016: 280-281). NATO allowed AHHLC to proceed and slowed bombing for the time being (Campbell 2013: 135).
- Zuma (South Africa) calls for a stop of NATO air strikes, while in Tripoli (Colitt 2011).

**April 11:**

- AHHLC presents AU Roadmap to NTC in Benghazi, which rejects it (AU 2011bg; Omorogbe 2012: 160), according to Sithole (2012: 118) because of the close ties between the AU and Gaddafi. AHHLC delegation booed by crowds in Benghazi (Ping 2014: 111).
- NATO SG, in a press briefing, says that he appreciates the AU's efforts, but emphasizes "that the guiding principle for us will be how to implement the UN Security Council resolutions fully" (NATO 2011o). He also indicates, that there was no formal request made by the AU to stop air strikes for the implementation of a ceasefire (ibid.).

**April 12:**

- NATO Deputy Spokesperson calls UN and AU partners, and speaks of a coordinated approach with them, as well as with the EU (no mention of the LAS) (NATO 2011a).

**April 13:**

- **1st LCG meeting in Doha:** AHHLC travels to Doha (chaired by UK and Qatar) and Jean Ping met with NTC and Turkish FM (AU 2011bl: par. 37-39). NATO SG attends LCG as well (NATO 2011a; 2011n). UNSG attends also and welcomes the AU High-Level Panel mission to Tripoli and Benghazi and "would like to work very closely with Chairman Jean Ping of the African Union [Commission] in resolving this issue as soon as possible" and welcomes latest AHHLC mission to Tripoli and Benghazi of April 10-11 (UN 2011ag). Qatar's PM tells UN/NATO about willingness to supply arms directly to NTC (Cole/ Khan 2015: 65). AU attends for the first time as an invitee (Vandewalle 2012: xxxiii). Also, the first time that rebel leadership was present. LCG announces that it would transfer frozen assets from Gaddafi to NTC (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 15). Participants called on Gaddafi to step down and accepted NTC as legitimate interlocutor to the aspirations of the Libyan people, according to a statement by the Chair (FM William Hague of the UK) (NATO 2011b: 1).

**April 14:**

- **1st "Cairo Group" meeting in Cairo:** Jean Ping AU Commission, together with Commissioner for Peace and Security meet LAS SG, SG of the OIC, EU High Representative and UN Officials (AU 2011bl: par. 40) on initiative of the UN SG to talk about political resolution of the crisis in Libya. Co-convened by UNSG and LAS SG (UN 2011y: par. 10). UNSG welcomes efforts by AU in statement (AU 2011g).
- UNSG announces name of the to be appointed Special Adviser on Post-Conflict Planning on Libya (Ian Martin) (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 16).
- NATO foreign ministerial meeting (UN 2011g) concludes that Gaddafi had to step down and NATO would continue strikes until (1) attacks and threats against civilians and civilian-populated areas had ended, (2) the regime has withdrawn all military forces to the bases, (3) full humanitarian access has been granted (Chivvis 2014: 117). Gaddafi had lost "all legitimacy". It thus endorses the call by the LCG in Doha and speaks of close consultation with the UN and other international organizations (NATO 2011aq).
- BRICS meeting supports AHHLC and calls for peaceful solution (Voltaire Net 2011) – according to an anonymous source, BRICS members were critical of NATO intervention (Colitt 2011).

**April 15:**

- Joint letter by Obama, Cameron and Sarkozy insists that Gaddafi "had to go for good" (Sithole 2012: 120; Chivvis 2014: 118).

**April 17:**

- Special Envoy of the UNSG visits Tripoli with USG for Humanitarian Affairs (Valerie Amos) for talks with Libyan officials (UN 2011an: 3). Agree to the implementation of a ceasefire in cooperation with the AU, but they remain reluctant to political transition (Bartu 2014: 5).

**April 19:**

- UK announces to send military advisers to rebels (Traynor/ Norton-Taylor 2011).
- NATO SG Spokesperson Lungescu says that NATO is in constant contact with the UN and states that the UN takes the lead in humanitarian assistance, but that NATO would stand ready for support (NATO 2011ae).

**April 20:**

- France and Italy join UK in the announcement to deploy military advisers to the rebels (Traynor/ Norton-Taylor 2011).

**April 20-21:**

- **Second annual US-AU-High Level Meeting in Washington:** AU Commissioner for Peace and Security and Jean Ping have talks with US senior officials, including Secretary of State Clinton (AU 2011m; 2011bk: par. 41-42) In a press conference with AU Commissioner Jean Ping and the US Ambassador to the AU (Battle), Ping says, that the NATO-intervention was in conformity with Resolution 1973 (AU 2011ac: 6).

**April 21:**

- Gambia recognizes NTC as the only legitimate body that represents the people of Libya (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 16).

**April 25:**

- Harsh criticism by PM Putin (Russia) against NATO (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 16).

**April 25-26:**

- **4<sup>th</sup> AHHLIC meeting:** Participation of Libya, NTC, representatives of neighboring countries, UN Special Envoy of the UNSG (UN 2011an: 3), EU, LAS and OIC (AU 2011bq). AU asks for position papers of both the Libyan government and the NTC on April 26. Interaction with IOs only on April 25. Neighboring countries and the other countries of the region expressed concerns “about the interpretation and implementation of UN Security Council resolution 1973” (AU 2011bq). AHHLIC concludes that it will consult with AU partners “to mobilize their support and harmonize their respective actions for a political solution of the crisis” (ibid.).
- NATO Deputy Spokesperson announces that NATO SG has submitted a report for the UNSG about the ongoing operations (NATO 2011v).

**April 26:**

- AU’s Peace and Security Commissioner (Ramtane Lamamra) complains about NATO campaign (Omorogbe 2012: 159-160).
- Meeting of UN Special Envoy with Turkish and Italian FMs (UN 2011an: 3).
- **275<sup>th</sup> AU PSC meeting:** Council concerned “that, in some crisis and conflict situations, African efforts to attain peace are undermined by foreign actors, whose motives are, at times, neither complementary to, nor consistent with the implementation of African solutions to African problems” and requests “the Commission (...) to undertake the necessary consultations to determine the possibility of convening an Extraordinary Session of the Assembly, in May 2011” (AU 2011i: par. 12, 20). In its Communiqué, the AU PSC requests the AHHLIC and Commission to continue negotiations and to hold a venue under the auspices of the AU with LAS, OIC, EU, UN. Also requests them to interact with UN, LAS, OIC, EU, LCG, and BRICS and to request the said partners to extend their support for the Roadmap (refers to Chapter VIII), as well as to liaise with the UN for a briefing to the UNSC on the AU Roadmap. AU PSC indirectly criticizes NATO and condemns air strikes that target Libyan government officials. It also invites the Chairperson of the Commission to request the AU Commission on International Law to convene a meeting on the scope and legal implications of resolution 1970 and 1973 to submit an expert review on the obligations of UN member states to evaluate the implementation of these two resolutions (AU 2011u: par. 2-3, 9-12). Report by Jean Ping to the PSC notices growing acknowledgement of NATO member states, that there is no military solution to the crisis, criticizes LCG and the calls for Gaddafi to step down and calls for continued dialogue between AU, LAS, OIC, EU and the UN (AU 2011bl: par. 47, 52, 55).
- 1<sup>st</sup> report by NATO SG to UNSG/UNSC (NATO 2011v; UN 2011ap: 5).
- UNSG letter to the UNSC President: appoints Ian Martin as Special Adviser to coordinate post-conflict planning of UN system for Libya (UN 2011q).

**April 29:**

- Special Envoy of the UNSG visits Benghazi to talk with NTC Chairman Mustafa Abdeljalil and other members (mission supported by Italy) (UN 2011an: 3).

**April 30:**

- NATO strike kills Gaddafi's youngest son and three grandchildren (Vandewalle 2012: xxxiii).
- NATO SG condemns threats made by Gaddafi against Italy (NATO 2011ap).
- Libyan FM Musa Kusa defects and flees to the UK (Vandewalle 2012: xxxiii).

## May 2011

**May 1:**

- Russia criticizes NATO again (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 16).

**May 3:**

- AU criticizes latest NATO-led operations in a press release: "With the NATO-led operation in Libya entering its sixth week, there is an increased risk of more civilian casualties, as tragically demonstrated by the bombing that resulted in the unjustified killing of the Libyan Leader's son and grandchildren, and destruction of vital socio-economic infrastructure" (AU 2011bh).
- **6527<sup>th</sup> UNSC meeting:** Special Envoy of the UNSG to Libya briefs UNSC. Calls role of AU as "critical" and informs the Council, that the Libyan government wants NATO air strikes to stop for an immediate ceasefire (UN 2011an: 3-4).
- Turkey states that Gaddafi must immediately step down (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 17).

**May 4:**

- **6528<sup>th</sup> UNSC meeting:** Russian Ambassador to the UN Charkin complains about NATO campaign (Wilson 2013: 110). ICC Prosecutor Moreno-Ocampo informs UNSC, that he will request warrants for three unnamed individuals. China endorses AU Roadmap. South Africa hopes, that actions of NATO are also investigated by the ICC. Nigeria hopes, that the warrants will not jeopardize a possible peace plan (UN 2011ao: 2-3, 9-11).

**May 5:**

- **2nd LCG meeting in Rome:** Jean Ping attends as an invitee and informs meeting about latest PSC Communiqué and criticizes NATO indirectly, by asking international community to respect international legality, "which requires, under the circumstances, that all act within the limits of the provisions of Resolution 1970 and 1973" (AU 2011bo: 3). Jean Ping also met with the UNSG, the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (Ashton), a delegation of the UN led by USG for Political Affairs (B. Lynn Pascoe) and the UN Special Envoy for Libya (Abdelilah Al-Khatib), the SG of the OIC (Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu Uglu), a Senior Official of the LAS and the FM of Greece (Dimitris Droutsas) (AU 2011ak). The NATO SG was also present at the LCG (NATO 2011ac). The LCG was hosted by Qatar and Italy. LCG announces to set up temporary fund for the NTC, and US frees up \$ 30 billion of Gaddafi's frozen assets (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 17). The Statement of the UNSG was delivered by the USG for Political Affairs: States that UNSG will continue to work with AU, LAS, OIC and EU (UN 2011ah).
- **Intermediary meeting of "Cairo Group" in Rome:** Chaired by USG for Political Affairs (Lynn Pascoe): with AU, EU, LAS and OIC (UN 2011ap: 4).

**May 6:**

- 1<sup>st</sup> technical update report letter by NATO SG to UNSG/UNSC (UN 2011aq: 3).
- UNSG Statement: Defends NATO's mission (UN 2011r).

**May 9:**

- Jean Ping meets with UNSG and Turkish authorities in Istanbul (AU 2011aj).
- **6530<sup>th</sup> UNSC meeting:** UN USG for Humanitarian Affairs Valerie Amos (2011b: 1-2, 6) calls for pause of air strikes and indirectly criticizes NATO.

**May 10:**

- Jean Ping meets Turkish President Abdullah Gül (AU 2011ar).

**May 11:**

- **4<sup>th</sup> Joint Consultative Meeting between EU PSC and AU PSC** (AU 2011bj). AU and EU were unable to find a common position according to briefing by Jean Ping (Kirsch/ Helal 2014: 423, see footnote 152).

**May 12:**

- **10<sup>th</sup> meeting of the AU POW:** Communiqué urges NATO to end operations and supports the UNSG's and UN USG for Humanitarian Affairs' call for a ceasefire (AU 2011a: par. 13-14).
- AUCIL gives its legal opinion: Explains that requesting the UNSC to defer the Libyan case to Article 16 under the Rome Statute is possible to halt the prosecution by the ICC, and calls for AU to intensify its efforts, to strengthen its cooperation with the UNSC (AU 2011n: par. 17, 34, 49; Maru/ Dersso 2013: 155).

**May 13:**

- NATO SG meets with US President Obama (NATO 2011j).

**May 15:**

- UNSG Special Envoy meets with Libyan officials in Tripoli and presents proposal (UN 2011ap: 4). UNSG calls one Libyan official (Roth et al. 2011).

**May 16:**

- Jibril (NTC Chairman of the Executive Board) contacted by head of a catering company serving Gaddafi's security services about coordinates for 27 operation rooms owned by Gaddafi (Cole/ Khan 2015: 66).
- ICC prosecutor Moreno-Ocampo indicts Gaddafi, Saif al-Islam al-Gaddafi and Abdullah al-Sanusi for crimes against humanity (Vandewalle 2012: xxxiii) and requests ICC judges to issue arrest warrants (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 17).
- Russian FM Lavrov meets members of NTC (Heritage 2011).

**May 17:**

- NATO Spokesperson Lungescu welcomes requested arrest warrants by ICC. Indirectly calls for Gaddafi to step down. Adds that there is no sole military solution in Libya (NATO 2011y).
- Russian FM Lavrov meets Libyan official in Moscow (Walker 2011).
- Head of Libya's National Oil Corporation (Shokri Ghanem) defects from Libya and flees to Tunisia (Walker 2011).

**May 18:**

- UN USG for Humanitarian Affairs and Human Relief Coordinator reiterates her calls for an end of air-strikes by NATO (Amos 2011a: 2).

**May 21:**

- **5<sup>th</sup> Consultative Meeting between AU PSC and UNSC in Addis Ababa:** Libya had a high position at the agenda (AU 2011f: par. 8-11). Discussions "were illustrative of the lack of convergence between the two organs" (AU 2012c: par. 84), according to Jean Ping in a report to the AU PSC on January 9, 2012. The AU PSC emphasized Chapter VIII, while the UNSC emphasized the lead role by UN Special Envoy Al-Khatib (ibid.).

**May 22:**

- EU HR Catherine Ashton visits Benghazi, but the EU doesn't formally recognize NTC. EU opens office in Benghazi (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 18).

**May 23:**

- Jean Ping meets the Indian PM (AU 2011al).
- NTC Envoy Shalгам meets with Sergei Lavrov (Russian FM) and reiterates the NTC's stance towards Gaddafi.

**May 24:**

- UN Special Envoy presents proposals to NTC in Doha (UN 2011ap: 4).

#### May 25:

- Africa Forum (2011) sends letter to AU Commission Chairperson Jean Ping (which publishes it) and criticize NATO-intervention. They call on the UNSC to fully respect the responsibility of Africa in Libya and that it is “first and foremost” an African country.
- **AU Assembly Extraordinary Summit:** Decision of the Assembly demands immediate pause in the NATO-led air campaign and criticizes it for overstepping Resolution 1973 in “one-sided” interpretations (Omorogbe 2012: 159-160). The Assembly directs the PSC to consider/authorize the deployment of an AU Observer Mission. It again refers to Chapter VIII, which legitimizes the role of the AU, and expresses Africa’s surprise and disappointment at the attempts to marginalize the continent in the management of the Libyan conflict” (AU 2011j: par. 8), while also noticing, that it will work closely with the UN (especially its Special Envoy), LAS, OIC, and the EU (AU 2011j: par. 5-9). Jean Ping meets the UNSG at the Assembly (AU 2011bb). The USG for Political Affairs (Pascoe) and Special Envoy (Al-Khatib) attend as well and observe “divided comments” (UN 2011ap: 3). The UNSG mentions in his speech “some speculations about differences”, but states that the different roadmaps show more commonalities than differences (UN 2011af). The Assembly just barely reached the necessary quorum (The Herald 2011).

#### May 25-26:

- **5<sup>th</sup> AHHLIC meeting:** AHHLIC interacts with NTC and Libyan government. Jean Ping and AU Commissioner for Peace and Security also attend. AHHLIC decides to dispatch a ministerial delegation to New York to interact with the UNSC and specific AU bilateral partners {no names given} (AU 2011ay).

#### May 26:

- Jean Ping meets with Libyan Tribal leaders and calls on NATO to end air strikes (AU 2011av).
- 2<sup>nd</sup> monthly report by NATO SG to UNSG (UN 2011aq: 3).

#### May 26-27:

- **G8-Summit in France:** UNSG meets Chairperson of the AU Commission (Jean Ping) and SG of the LAS (Amre Moussa) respectively (UN 2011ap: 3). Obama and Medvedev agree that Russia should negotiate with Gaddafi about his departure (Chivvis 2014: 149) {Chivvis’ given date is erroneous} – Russian President Medvedev calls on Gaddafi to step down for the first time (Tkachenko, Maxim et al. 2011).

#### May 28:

- Senegal offers official recognition of NTC after meeting between Senegal’s President Abdoulaye Wade and NTC’s Special Envoy in Paris (O’Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 18). Senegal was thus the 2<sup>nd</sup> African state to officially recognize the NTC.

#### May 30:

- President Zuma (South Africa) meets with Gaddafi (Gelot 2016: 281) (UN 2011ap: 4). Zuma indicates that Gaddafi is not willing to step down (O’Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 6). NATO asked for cessation of air strikes for Zuma’s visit by AU and agrees (Louw-Vaudran 2014).
- **2<sup>nd</sup> meeting of “Cairo Group” in Cairo:** Participation of Special Envoy of the UNSG, AU, LAS, OIC, and EU (UN 2011ap: 4). Co-convened by UN and LAS (UN 2011y: par. 10).

#### May 31:

- Ping meets with NATO SG at NATO HQ in Brussels (NATO 2011af) and talks with him about outcome of AU Assembly Extraordinary Summit on May 25 (Maru 2014: 4). The NATO SG praises the “very good practical cooperation with the African Union” and stresses “the importance of keeping up dialogue”, but also “made clear that NATO’s Operation Unified Protector was in full compliance with the provisions of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1970 and 1973” (NATO 2011f).

#### May 31-June 1:

- **5<sup>th</sup> College-to-College session of the AU Commission and the EU Commission in Brussels:** Ping meets EU President Van Rompuy, EU Commission President José Manuel Barossa and Vice-President/High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Catherine Ashton on May 31 as well (AU 2011aw).

## June 2011

### June 1:

- NATO SG announces that NATO has decided to extend mission for 90 days (NATO 2011am).
- Russian FM Sergei Lavrov repeats criticism of NATO, claiming that it exceeded the UNSC's mandate (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 20; Vandewalle 2012: xxxiv).

### June 2:

- First contact between China and NTC (Hongyu 2011).
- Letter from Permanent Observer of the AU to the UN addressed to the UNSC President: informs about decision of the AU Assembly May 25 (UN 2011m).

### June 6:

- Political consultation between AU and Netherlands. AU Commissioner for Peace and Security Ramtane Lamamre meets Ben Knapen, Minister for European Affairs and International Cooperation of Netherlands in Addis Ababa (AU 2011at).
- **281<sup>st</sup> AU PSC meeting:** Council welcomes latest meeting of the "Cairo Group" on May 30 and looks forward to the meeting of the AU AHHLIC and the UNSC (AU 2011z).
- Head of the AU AHHLIC (President of Mauritania Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz) calls on Gaddafi to step down (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 20), thus abandoning AU's position not to call for Gaddafi to relinquish power.

### June 7:

- 2<sup>nd</sup> technical update report letter by NATO SG to UNSG (UN 2011aq: 3).
- UNSG Special Envoy meets Saif al-Islam in Tripoli (Bartu 2014: 5).
- China endorses AU Roadmap and there is a meeting between the Libyan FM and the Chinese FM Yang Jiechi (Danlu 2011).

### June 8:

- **Meeting of NATO allied defense ministers (June 8-9).** Endorses decision to extend NATO mission for another 90 days (Chivvis 2014: 134) {Chivvis' date is not accurate, also: The decision to extend the mission was already announced on June 1, not on June 8, see: NATO (2011c)}. Statement on Libya by NATO Ministers of Defense with non-NATO contributors. They will continue to coordinate with UN, EU, LAS and AU and consult with OIC. Post-conflict efforts should be initiated by UN and LCG, but they stand ready for support. Call on Gaddafi to step down (NATO 2011ar).
- Russia's Special Envoy to the Middle East and Africa (Mikhail V. Margelov) meets with rebel's in Benghazi to persuade them to negotiate under the mediation of the AU – NTC refuses, since Gaddafi would first need to step down (Chivvis 2014: 149).

### June 9:

- **3<sup>rd</sup> LCG meeting in Abu-Dhabi:** Jean Ping meets with NTC (Jibril and Shalgam), FMs of Turkey, Australia and UK (AU 2011an). UNSG attends and calls NATO efforts "effective in protecting the civilian population" (UN 2011t). US and Australia recognize NTC as "legitimate interlocutor" of the Libyan people and thus go another step towards official recognition (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 21). LCG acknowledges efforts by AU, but AU left its seat as an observer empty, as the statement of the LCG was adopted (Security Council Report 2011).
- Senegal's President Abdoulaye Wade says that Gaddafi should step down and is thus the second African state after Mauritania to officially call for his departure (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 21).
- Clinton (US) urges AU in Addis Ababa to cut ties with Gaddafi: efforts to mediate by AU were seen by Obama administration as to be on Gaddafi's behalf (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 21).
- Informal consultation of the UNSC by Special Envoy of the UNSG (UN 2012c: 10), tells members of UNSC that both sides have signaled willingness to discuss a political transition (Security Council Report 2011).

### June 13:

- Germany officially recognizes NTC (up until this point accepted by US, EU, UN, UK, France, Spain, Malta, and Qatar) (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 21).

**June 15:**

- **6555<sup>th</sup> UNSC informal interactive meeting:** Speech given by Hamady Ould Hamady (Min. of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Mauritania) on behalf of the AHHLIC. Mentions that the meeting was initiated by Gabon (had presidency during that month) and again refers to Chapter VIII as legitimization of AU efforts (AU 2011bn: 2, 6). Makes plea for an “immediate humanitarian pause” (ibid.: 6) and indirectly criticizes military operations of NATO, by referring to statements of UN USG for Humanitarian Affairs, Valerie Amos on May 9 and 19 (AU 2011bn: 2). AU ministerial delegation of Uganda and Mauritania were present (UN 2012c: 16). Uganda’s Permanent Representative to the UN criticizes NATO and UNSC as well (AU 2011c). Meeting was scheduled by the UN Secretariat to be held in a side-room and states only sent insignificant representatives to delegitimize the AU (Adler-Nissen/ Pouliot 2014: 904).
- Zuma (South Africa) criticizes NATO again for allegedly extending its mandate beyond the provisions of Resolution 1973 (Vandewalle 2012: xxxiv) in an address to the South African parliament (O’Brien/Sinclair 2011: 22).
- NATO SG meets UK PM Cameron for talks about Libya (NATO 2011w).
- 3<sup>rd</sup> technical update report letter by NATO SG to UNSG (UN 2011aq: 3).

**June 16:**

- Russia’s Special Envoy to the Middle East and Africa (Margelov) meets PM of Libya: says, rebels have to lay down arms before negotiations can start (Chivvis 2014: 149-150).

**June 17:**

- NATO SG meets with OIC SG (NATO 2011x).

**June 18:**

- **3<sup>rd</sup> “Cairo Group” meeting in Cairo:** Participants are OIC, LAS, UNSG and Special Envoy of the SG (via videoconference), EU, AU (AU 2011q: par. 3; UN 2011aq: 2). Co-convened by UN and LAS (UN 2011y: par. 10). Jean Ping presents another plan by the AU, indicating that Saif al-Islam had agreed to elections and a new constitution (Bartu 2014: 6).

**June 21:**

- NTC Chairman Jibril meets Chinese officials in Beijing (O’Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 6). According to the authors, China made this move for commercial interests (ibid.: 22).

**June 22:**

- Italian FM Franco Frattini calls for cessation of hostilities in Libya and puts himself at odds with other NATO allies, according to O’Brien and Sinclair (2011: 22).

**June 25-27:**

- **19<sup>th</sup> Ordinary Session of the AU Executive Council:** Jean Ping receives the Minister for Africa of the UK, the FM’s of Slovenia and Serbia and the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cuba, the Deputy FM of China and the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan (AU 2011bd).

**June 26:**

- **6<sup>th</sup> AHHLIC meeting in Pretoria:** Reiterates call to end NATO’s aerial attacks and welcomes Gaddafi’s acceptance of not being part of the negotiation process. Also welcomes outcome of Cairo meeting on June 18, “which is fully in line” with AU positions (AU 2011q: par. 4-6).

**June 27:**

- ICC issues arrest warrants on Gaddafi and Libyan officials (ICC 2011: 41).
- NATO SG comments positively about ICC decision on Gaddafi and interprets it as support for OUP (NATO 2011p).
- 3<sup>rd</sup> report by NATO SG to UNSG (UN 2011aq: 3)
- **6566<sup>th</sup> UNSC meeting:** South Africa criticizes NATO air strikes (UN 2011aq: 4), so does USG for Political Affairs (Pascoe) indirectly, while stating that most civilian casualties have been caused by the Libyan regime (UN 2011aq: 3).
- Special Envoy meets Zuma (South Africa) and they have talks about latest AHHLIC meeting on June 26 (UN 2011aq: 2).



**June 29:**

- **7<sup>th</sup> AHHLIC meeting in Malabo:** Reviews situation since last meeting and hands in proposal for Framework Agreement for the AU Assembly (AU 2011g).
- France admits deliverance of weapons to NTC rebels (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 23; Vandewalle 2012: xxxiv).

**June 30:**

- **17<sup>th</sup> session of the AU Assembly at Malabo Summit:** Decides that member states shall not comply with ICC warrants and requests the UNSC to defer the process of the ICC by activating Article 16 of the Rome Statute (AU 2011d: Dec.366(XVII), par. 6). The Assembly also indirectly criticizes NATO and is thankful for help of UNHCR and IOM for their assistance in the crisis (ibid.: Dec.369(XVII), par. 28). It again refers to Chapter VIII to emphasize its role and urges UNSC and its members “to support the African initiative and the search for a political solution” (ibid.: Dec.385(XVII), par. 7). Jean Ping asks member states to “speak with one voice” (AU 2011ag). South Africa lobbied against Ethiopia to gain a strong voice against NATO intervention (Maru 2014: 3). UN Special Envoy and DSG for Political Affairs attend (UN 2011aq: 2).
- According to Rupiya (2012: 173-174), Gaddafi blocked the offers by the AU at this point.
- Jean Ping criticizes delivery of weapons by Paris to NTC rebels and the ICC warrants (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 23).

## July 2011

**July 1:**

- **17<sup>th</sup> session of the AU Assembly at Malabo Summit:** AHHLIC presents AU Assembly proposal for a framework agreement to the parties in Libya (AU 2011as). The new framework differs from previous plans: Gaddafi is excluded from negotiations (Maru 2014: 3) and is on this day forwarded to the parties (AU 2011ae).

**July 3-5:**

- Jean Ping holds talks with several UK government officials after an invitation (inter alia Foreign Secretary William Hague) (AU 2011ba).

**July 4:**

- Meeting with NATO SG, Zuma (South Africa) and Russian FM Lavrov (Brunnstrom/ Dyomkin 2011; NATO 2011t).

**July 5:**

- Jean Ping invited to speak with German Chancellor Merkel (AU 2011ao).
- Report surfaces that Gaddafi may be ready to step down if he could remain in Libya with security concessions – NTC rejects this proposal (Elder 2011) – later a Libyan government official denies the allegations (Kosyrev 2011).

**July 7:**

- Jean Ping sends letter to UNSG regarding decision of the 17<sup>th</sup> AU Summit; UNSG transmits letter to UNSC President at July 22 (UN 2011o).

**July 8:**

- Jean Ping meets with USG for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordination Valerie Amos in Addis Ababa (AU 2011ap).

**July 10:**

- UNSG Special Envoy meets Libyan officials (Maler 2011).

**July 11:**

- 4<sup>th</sup> technical update report letter by NATO SG to UNSG (UN 2011ar: 4).
- French FM Alain Juppe at AU HQ in Addis Ababa, speaking with AU Commission Deputy Chairman Erastus Mwencha and Commissioner for Peace and Security Ramtane Lamamra – claims to work together with AU on political solution (Times Live 2011).

**July 12:**

- French parliament votes with massive majority to continue the intervention (Heisbourg 2016: 32).

**July 13:**

- **285<sup>th</sup> AU PSC meeting:** Council welcomes steps taken by the Commission since the Assembly Decision and its interaction with the UN, LAS, OIC and the EU (AU 2011ab).
- NTC Head of the Executive Body Jibril visits NATO SG and NAC informal meeting (NATO 2011as).

**July 15:**

- **4<sup>th</sup> LCG meeting in Istanbul:** Co-chaired by Turkey and UAE. NATO SG present (NATO 2011aa). US announces its formal recognition of the NTC (Vandewalle 2012: xxxiv), so does the rest of the LCG members (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 6). LCG confirms leading role of UN in mediation (Gelot 2016: 281). Russia and China refused to take part (Bartu 2014: 7).

**July 16:**

- Meeting of US diplomats with Libyan government officials. US states that Gaddafi may remain in Libya after conflict (Vandewalle 2012: xxxiv; Chivvis 2014: 152), but the NTC seems to reject the proposal (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 25).

**July 19:**

- Technical interaction with AHHLC, Jean Ping and Libyan government: Since Libyan parties didn't respond to Framework Proposal, the AU Commission and AHHLC invited them for technical consultations on July 19, but the NTC didn't attend (AU 2011bs; UN 2011ar: 2-3) {dates given by AU (July 19) and USG for Political Affairs (July 18) differ; I assume that the former is correct, since the AU hosted the interaction}.

**July 20:**

- AU Chairman Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo speaks with Libyan government officials and regrets decision by last LCG in Istanbul (AU 2011bs).
- 4<sup>th</sup> report letter by NATO SG to UNSG (UN 2011ar: 4).
- French FM Juppé states that Gaddafi may remain in Libya after conflict ends (Vandewalle 2012: xxxiv).

**July 21:**

- NTC chairperson Jalil states that Gaddafi could stay in Libya after conflict (Vandewalle 2012: xxxiv).

**July 22:**

- UNSG forwards letter from Jean Ping (dated July 7) to UNSC President (UN 2011o).
- UNSG speaks with President Zuma (South Africa) about UN/AU-cooperation (UN 2011ar: 3).

**July 23:**

- Libyan PM Al-Baghdadi al-Mahmoudi declines any negotiations that would put restrictions on Gaddafi (Vandewalle 2012: xxxiv), he thus rejected the offer for Gaddafi to step down, but remain in Libya, as endorsed by the UN's Special Envoy to Libya (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 6).

**July 25:**

- Special Envoy of the UNSG travels to Benghazi to meet NTC members. They insist that Gaddafi must leave power immediately (UN 2011ar: 2).

**July 26:**

- Special Envoy of the UNSG travels to Tripoli to meet Libyan PM. Insists that Gaddafi won't step down (UN 2011ar: 2).
- NTC President Jalil tells reporters of the Wall Street Journal, that Gaddafi could stay in Libya after the conflict is over (Chivvis 2014: 153).

**July 27:**

- NTC President Jalil confirms that there was an offer for Gaddafi to remain in Libya, but that this offer was no longer available (Chivvis 2014: 153).
- UK officially recognizes NTC as the legitimate government of Libya (O'Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 25).

**July 28:**

- Special Envoy of the UNSG travels to Mauritania and meets with President Ould Abdel Aziz (Chairman of AU AHHLC) (UN 2011ar: 2).

- **6595<sup>th</sup> UNSC meeting:** South Africa criticizes NATO involvement again and refers to decision by 17<sup>th</sup> AU Assembly. Also criticizes calls for Gaddafi to step down and talks about “regime change” (UN 2011ar: 5).
- Murder of rebel Commander Abdul Fattah Younes leads to strong divisions within NTC and violence among rebels (Chivvis 2014: 159).

## August 2011

### August 3:

- According to Bartu (2014: 9) the mediation track was official dead, due to the Constitutional Declaration by the NTC, fueled by the internal divisions within.

### August 8:

- UNESCO Director-General Irina Bokova criticizes NATO air strike on Libya state broadcasting facilities (UN 2011ax).

### August 9:

- UNSC: division within about legitimacy of NATO operations (UN 2012c: 10).
- US Ambassador to Tripoli Gene Cretz visits AU to reassess the peace plan, trying to convince AU to pressure Gaddafi to quit power (O’Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 25).
- Meeting of AHHLIC with NTC delegation: Chair of the NTC Executive Committee Mahmoud Jibril and Head of Foreign Relations, as well as Mahmoud Shammam (in charge of Press) are present. NTC also met with Deputy Chairperson of the Commission (Erastus Mwencha). NTC indicated that it would soon formally communicate its observations on the Framework Proposals. (AU 2011bm: par. 6), but Jibril says that the current position was still “not to accept the African Union’s proposal” (Ashine 2011).

### August 10:

- Libyan government forwards its response to the proposal (AU 2011bm: par.5).

### August 16:

- Jean Ping concerned about latest NATO bombing on August 8 (AU 2011bk).

### August 18-20:

- Destruction of 24/29 operation rooms of Gaddafi by rebels and NATO (Cole/ Khan 2015: 90).

### August 19:

- Informal consultation of UNSC by Special Envoy of UNSG (UN 2012c: 10).

### August 21:

- China signals for the first time to favor NTC over Gaddafi (Ding 2016: 94).
- NTC took control over Tripoli (Omorogbe 2012: 162).

### August 22:

- Jean Ping meets with Turkish FM Ahmet Davutoğlu (AU 2011aq).
- NATO SG statement: “The Qadhafi regime is clearly crumbling” (NATO 2011ao). Also states that UN and LCG take the leading role in assisting Libya (ibid.).
- LAS officially supports NTC (O’Brien/ Sinclair 2011: 26).

### August 25:

- Libya Contact Group meeting in Istanbul at the level of political directors. Participants agree that UN should take the lead in post-conflict Libya (UN, EU, NATO, LAS, OIC, GCC and AU as an invitee attended) (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011).

### August 25-26:

- **8<sup>th</sup> AHHLIC meeting in Addis Ababa:** Outcome unknown, but most likely about the changing situation in Libya, due to the rebel attack on Tripoli (AU 2011s: par. 2). UN DSG attends and welcomes cooperation with AU in his remarks (UN 2011c).

**August 26:**

- **291<sup>st</sup> AU PSC meeting:** Calls for an inclusive transitional government in Libya. Commits itself to coordinate with UN, LAS, OIC, EU and NATO. First time that NATO is mentioned as an international partner (AU 2011t: par. 8). Jean Ping's report to the PSC indicates meeting(s) with France, but he gives no date for the interaction. He also admits that the AU's "efforts did not yield the expected results", due to "reasons beyond [the] AU's control" (AU 2011bm: par. 8, 16). UN DSG gives statement at AU PSC meeting (UN 2011as: 3): "My message today, on behalf of Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, is simple and direct. The African Union has always been one of the United Nations' most important strategic partners and will remain so. In Libya, you have been unrelenting in seeking a peaceful solution -- and you are instrumental in helping Libya to rebuild its future. Here today, I want to re-affirm what the Secretary-General has emphasized consistently: When the United Nations and the African Union work together, we succeed." (AU 2011bt: 4).
- **4<sup>th</sup> "Cairo Group" meeting:** Via video teleconference with UNSG and heads of LAS, OIC, AU, EU (AU 2011bt: 5; UN 2011as: 3). Co-convened by UN and LAS (UN 2011y: par. 10).

**August 27:**

- Extraordinary ministerial session of the LAS: NTC should fill the seat of Libya at LAS – calls on UN to do the same (UN 2011as: 3).

**August 29:**

- Jean Ping accuses rebels (NTC) of indiscriminately killing black people and is thus not granting the NTC a formal recognition. He is also critical of the attitude of the NTC in earlier negotiations (Ghosh/Palash 2011) {the part about the recognition of the NTC seems unlikely, given the events on Sept. 1}.

## September 2011

**September 1:**

- **6<sup>th</sup> LCG meeting in Paris:** Jean Ping expresses the wish for the NTC to occupy the Libyan seat in the AU (AU 2011ad). NATO SG is also present and meets with French President Sarkozy and FM Juppé (NATO 2011d). UNSG attends and is accompanied by Special Adviser on post-Conflict planning for Libya (Ian Martin), Special Envoy (Al-Khatib) and USG for Political Affairs (Pascoe) (UN 2011as: 2).

**September 2:**

- AU ACHPR Order: Libya didn't react to the allegations. Thus, the court extends its time to react until September 30. It was the second time that an extension of time was granted by the court (AU 2011i: par. 13).

**September 4:**

- Jean Ping meets with PM of Egypt in Cairo (AU 2011am).

**September 5:**

- NATO SG states in press briefing, that the AU was not sidelined by NATO and says that "we still attach a strong importance to a regional engagement from the Arab League, from the African Union, from individual countries in the region" (NATO 2011d).

**September 7:**

- UNSG proposes to UNSC the establishment of an integrated UN Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) as requested by the chairman of the Executive Office of the NTC Mahmud Jibril (Martin 2015: 128) via letter to UNSC President (UN 2011q).

**September 13:**

- NATO SG Spokesperson states that NTC is already recognized by all members of the P5 (NATO 2011ab).

**September 14:**

- **9<sup>th</sup> AHHLIC meeting in Pretoria:** Requests Jean Ping to report to the PSC with relevant developments to enable it to authorize the occupation of Libya's seat at the AU by the soon-to-be-formed government of Libya and reiterates its readiness to work with UN, LAS, OIC, EU and (for the first time within the AHHLIC) NATO (AU 2011s: par. 7, 9).

**September 15:**

- Speech by South Africa's Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation (Ebrahim I. Ebrahim) – critical of NATO (Ebrahim 2011: 129).

**September 16:**

- **6620<sup>th</sup> UNSC meeting:** Resolution 2009 adopted. Establishes UNSMIL unanimously (Martin 2015: 128) and weakens arms embargo and asset freeze to support NTC (UN 2011ab: par. 2, 12-21). South Africa calls for an end to the NATO campaign. Russia says that the NATO campaign disregarded Resolution 1973 (UN 2011at: 3, 6).
- Letter by UNSG to UNSC President. Appoints Ian Martin as the Special Representative and Head of UNSMIL and George Charpentier (Finland) as Deputy Special Representative and Resident Coordinator ad interim (UN 2011k).
- **66<sup>th</sup> session of General Assembly:** Successful vote for NTC to take seat of Libya at UNGA (Wilson 2013: 106. Votes against draft resolution (12): South Africa, DRC, Angola Equatorial Guinea, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Abstentions (5) by Algeria, Cameroon, Mali, Mauritania and Uganda. The following countries voted in favor (18): Benin, Botswana, Cape Verde, Chad, Ivory Coast, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Madagascar, Mauritius, Morocco, Senegal, South Sudan, Sudan, Togo and Tunisia. (UN 2011e: 14-15).

**September 19:**

- Meeting of the United Nations-African Union Joint Task Force on Peace and Security at level of Under-Secretaries-General of the UN and the AU Commissioner for Peace and Security (UN 2011y: par. 12).

**September 19-24:**

- Jean Ping spoke with the FMs of Cuba, Venezuela and Bolivia about Libya and also briefed the President of Equatorial Guinea (and Chairperson of the AU), the Presidents of Gabon, Nigeria, Niger, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Djibouti, Kenya, Ghana and Burundi, as well as the Vice-President of Gambia, the PM of Togo and the FM of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (AU 2011bc).

**September 20:**

- **1<sup>st</sup> meeting of the “Friends of Libya”:** Jean Ping and AU President Mbasogo participate at High-Level Meeting on Libya hosted by UNSG (AU 2011bc). Mbasogo announces that the AU officially recognizes the NTC (Lynch 2011). NATO SG attends and the EU is present as well (NATO 2011ag).

**September 21:**

- **294<sup>th</sup> AU PSC meeting in New York:** Briefing by Jean Ping (AU 2011bc). PSC takes note of Resolution 2009 and requests UNSC to lift the measures imposed by Resolution 1973 (the measures under the NFZ and the ban on flights). Also criticizes NATO indirectly (AU 2011w: par. 7).
- NATO SG meets UNSG at margins of the UNGA. Both discuss cooperation. The UNSG notes the NATO SG's reassurance, that NATO avoided to cause civilian casualties (NATO 2011i; UN 2011s).
- NATO SG announces that NATO extends the duration of the operation in Libya and states that there is close coordination with the UN (NATO 2011k).

**September 23:**

- Jean Ping meets UNSG in New York. Agree to strengthen cooperation (AU 2011ai).

## October 2011

**October 7:**

- Jean Ping meets President of Nigeria and is concerned about security situation there (AU 2011ah).

**October 13:**

- Informal consultation between Special Envoy of the UNSG and UNSC (UN 2012c: 10).

**October 17:**

- Informal consultation between Special Envoy of the UNSG and UNSC (UN 2012c: 10).

**October 20:**

- Death of Gaddafi (NATO 2011ak).
- NATO SG states that NATO will terminate OUP in coordination with UN and NTC (NATO 2011ak).

- **297<sup>th</sup> AU PSC meeting:** Decides to give Libyan AU seat to the NTC. Mentions cooperation between LAS and UN in Libya, by establishing a Liaison Office in Tripoli. Calls on UNSC again to lift measures imposed in regard to the NFZ (as well as the ban on flights) (AU 2011y: par. 4-5, 8).

**October 21:**

- NAC Statement on Libya: OUP will end on October 31 and NATO SG will consult with UN and NTC (NATO 2011u).

**October 23:**

- Last remnants of Gaddafi's forces defeated (Kuperman 2013: 122).

**October 24:**

- NATO SG Spokesperson states that NATO SG is in close consultation with UN and NTC about winding down OUP (NATO 2011ad).

**October 26:**

- **6639<sup>th</sup> UNSC meeting:** UNSG SR and Head of UNSMIL (Ian Martin) briefs UNSC and says that UN/AU work together with Libya's neighbors to address the outflow of people and remaining third party nationals (UN 2011v).

**October 27:**

- **6640<sup>th</sup> UNSC meeting:** Resolution 2016 adopted. Initiates termination of paragraphs from Resolution 1973 about the protection of civilians and the NFZ on October 31 and weakens the assets freeze and arms embargo (UN 2011ac).

**October 31:**

- End of NATO operations in Libya: NATO SG visits Libya and holds joint press conference with Chairman of the NTC Jibril (NATO 2011n).
- **6644<sup>th</sup> UNSC meeting:** Resolution 2017 adopted. Calls on NTC and other actors to act against proliferation of weapons (especially MANPADs) (UN 2011ad).

## November 2011

**November 1:**

- Letter by Jean Ping published on Libyan crisis: "In spite of the challenges faced and the lack of support from important members of the international community, the AU never relented in its efforts. [...] One of the aspects highlighted by the crisis in Libya relates to the reluctance of some members of the international community to fully acknowledge the AU's role. Yet, lasting peace on the continent can only be achieved if efforts to that end are based on the full involvement of Africa and a recognition of its leadership role because, as stressed by the Summit in August 2009, without such a role, there will be no ownership and sustainability; because we understand the problems far better; because we know which solutions will work, and because, fundamentally, these problems are ours, and our peoples will live with their consequences. [...] We also need, as one African scholar put it, to see how best we can expedite political transformation to keep external intervention at bay and avoid situations in which outsiders are arbitrating our internal differences. [...] The African Union is ready to work with the people of Libya, the United Nations and the international community at large, as the Libyans strive to build a new nation" (AU 2011o: 3-4).

**November 2:**

- **6647<sup>th</sup> UNSC meeting:** Russia criticizes NATO intervention. South Africa notes, regarding the report by the ICC Chief Prosecutor, "the need for comprehensive investigations into possible further crimes committed by NATO, the NTC and pro-Qadhafi forces" (UN 2011au: 6, 10-11).

**November 3:**

- Jean Ping welcomes appointment of new Libyan PM in a letter (AU 2011br).

**November 10:**

- UNSG gives statement at UNGA: says that UN will work close with AU to assist Libya (UN 2011f).

**November 22:**

- Report of the UNSG on UNSMIL. Mentions close cooperation between AU and UN on assistance to Libya (UN 2011x: par. 61).

**November 23:**

- Jean Ping welcomes formation of the new Libyan government in a letter and underlines that the new Liaison Office in Tripoli will cooperate with UN and LAS to stabilize the situation in Libya (AU 2011az).
- UNSG informs UNSC during luncheon about his intention to establish a mission to the Sahel region to assess the scope of the threat to the Libyan crisis (together with AU) (UN 2012b: 1).

**November 28:**

- **6669<sup>th</sup> UNSC meeting:** Ian Martin (SRSG and Head of UNSMIL) states that "[c]ooperation with the African Union will be especially important regarding issues affecting Libya's neighbours and the wider region" (UN 2011av: 5).

## December 2011

**December 2:**

- **6673<sup>rd</sup> UNSC meeting:** Resolution 2022 adopted. Extends UNSMIL mandate until March 16, 2012 (UN 2011ae).

**December 6:**

- **11<sup>th</sup> AU POW meeting:** Welcomes decision by 297<sup>th</sup> AU PSC meeting and announces to travel as soon as possible to Libya (AU 2011b: 3).

**December 7-23:**

- Assessment mission on the impact of the Libyan crisis on the Sahel region deployed. It is a cooperation between AU and UN and "was intended to convey the message that solidarity should be extended to those suffering the negative consequences of the Libyan crisis; and to send a signal to the region that the United Nations, the African Union and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) stand together with the affected populations in the Sahel and that, despite past differences, the nature and the complexity of the challenges before the Sahel region demand the cooperative efforts of all partners." (UN 2012b: par. 6).

**December 14:**

- Statement by UNSG. Defends the NATO intervention. States that it was strictly within limits of Resolution 1973 (Charbonneau 2011; UN 2011w).

**December 22:**

- **6698<sup>th</sup> UNSC meeting:** Afterwards, informal consultation between the SRSG and Head of UNSMIL and the UNSC (UN 2012c: 11).

## January 2012

**January 9:**

- **307<sup>th</sup> AU PSC meeting:** Report by Jean Ping emphasizes that enhanced consultation and coherence between AU PSC and UNSC is necessary. AHHLC didn't gain "the expected level of support from the Security Council" (AU 2012c: par. 84). Ping especially critical about failed acknowledgment of Chapter VIII of the UN Charter (ibid.: par. 86-91).

**January 12:**

- **6702<sup>nd</sup> UNSC meeting:** South Africa (during its UNSC presidency) initiates high-level meeting at UNSC to resolve tensions between AU and UNSC (Africa/ Pretorius 2012: 394-395) – South Africa, Togo, Kenya, China are critical about UNSC/AU cooperation on Libya – Zuma critiques NATO and the Chair of the AU PSC calls for a more innovative interpretation of Chapter VIII (UN 2012c: 46).

**January 16:**

- Jean Ping meets with SRSG for Libya (Ian Martin) (AU 2011b, UN 2012d: 5) and the new Libyan government (AU 2011a).

**January 17:**

- Report by UNSG about the Assessment Mission of December 7-23 unveils that AU and UNSC had "diverging views on how to resolve the conflict" (UN 2012b: par. 5).



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