

The use of Economic means in Libya's

Foreign Policy in Africa: 1970 — 1974*

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Foreign Policy is a continuous process, requiring constant study and reinterpretation of changing situations to achieve certain national goals. Foreign policy can, therefore, be defined in terms of an ends-means relationship. Foreign policy is the relation between input (means) and output (ends). In order for a state to achieve certain goals in the international arena, it has to have certain means. By the same token, a state has to have specific foreign policy objectives in order to use those available means in the best possible manner.

It is known that several economic means can be employed by a nation to influence the international behavior

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of another. George Liska has pointed out that subsidies and financil loans have long been used as a means of inducing desirable behavior in other states(1) .

Among other economic means which a country can use are the following(2):

1. Financial manipulation to diminish the value of an opponents' urrency.
2. Economic penetration of the weaker countries by more powerful ones, with the eventual objective of exerting pressure on the goverment of the weaker states,
3. Exploitation of a strategic economic position through such policies as price-fixing, dumping, the imposition of quotas, exchange controls, etc.
4. Economic boycott.
5. The use of economic subsidies.
6. Preceptive buying of goods produced in other countries in order to withhold them from other purchasers.
7. Stock pilling of important goods.

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1. George Liska, *The New Statecraft* (Chicago : University of Chicago Uress, 1960), p. 20.
 2. These different economic means were indicated in Fred Sonderman, W. Olson, and D. Cclellan, *The Theory and Practice of International Relations* (Englewood Cliffs; Prentice Hall, 1970), p. 294.

Dispite the various types of economic means used in foreign poillicies, Libya has employed economic subsidies as a main instrument of her foreign policy in Africa (3) during the period 1970 — 1974.

Libya's friendly relations resulted in her developing several transactions between herself and many of the Africen States. One of these transactions was the signing of several agreements and treaties. These relations allowed Libya to replace Israel's support and supply of the African countries with both financial and other assistances. Consequently, Libya engaged in helping many of the African countries, (see table 1). The above mentioned table is self explanatory. A few observations however, can be made. First technical and economic agreements were the practical means for developing an active policy in Africa. Second through the use of economic and other kinds of ageements, Libya was able to replace Israel. Third by these different agreements, diplomatic relations and political ties were strengthened. Fourth the number of agreements and the countries involved have been increased since 1971.

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3. The term "Africa" in this article is confined to those sub-Saharan countries. In other words this study will not focus on the use of economic means in Libya's foreign policy towards Arab-African countries.

This article examines the use of foreign aid as one of the economic instruments that have been used extensively in Libya's foreign policy toward sub-Saharan African countries during the period under study. The assumption underlying this paper is that Libya has intensively depended on economic aid in conducting her foreign policy in Africa. This study is concerned with direct government-to-government aid. Due to the lack of data available, writer will exclude military aid in general. The term aid is defined as the nominal value of the direct and indirect flow of financial and other resources from governments of rich to those of poor countries(4).

Within this frame of reference foreign aid has been utilized by different countries. The purpose of such utilization is to alter the recipient behavior in international politics in a way acceptable to the donor. Libya was no exception. She utilized foreign aid as one of the instruments in conducting her foreign policy. By looking at the figures mentioned in table II one can discern the amount of foreign aid given to African countries(5).

4. **L. Little and I. Clifford, International Aid** London : Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1965 .

5. **L. Little and I. Clifford, International Aid** (London : Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1965.

TABLE I
SAMPLE OF AGREEMENTS BETWEEN LIBYA
AND OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES.
1970 — 1974

Country	Type of Agreement	Year
Buriendi	Technical & Economic Cooperation	1973
	Friendship and Cooperation	1973
Central African Republic	Friendship and Cooperation	1971
	Commercial Agreement	1971
	Mail Agreement	1971
Chad	Friendship and Cooperation	1972
	Friendship and Cooperation	1974
Gaboos	Financial and Economic	1973
	Cultural and Scientific	1973
	Technical and Economic	1973
	Loan Agreement	1974
	Libyan Gaboonian Company	1974
Gambia	Financial aid Agreement	1974
	Cultural Agreement	1974
	Technical and Economic	1974
Gunea	Defence Agreement	1974
Lesotho	Technical and Economic	1972
	Financial Aid	1974
	Cultural Agreement	1974
Liberia	Libyan - Liberian Company	1974
	Technical and Economic	1974
	Cultural Agreement	1974

Madagascar	Technical and Economic Coop.	1974
	Cultural Agreement	1974
Mali	Technical and Economic	1972
	Cultural Agreement	1972
	Libyan - Malian Company	1974
	Loan Agreement	1974
Nigar	Friendship and Good Nieghboring	1971
	Air Transport	1971
	Labor Force	1971
	Libyan - Nigerian Co. for Minning	1974
	Agricultural Company	1974
	Economic Cooperation	1974
	Cultural Agreement	1974
People's Republic of Congo	Technical and Economic Cooperation	1973
Rwanda	Technical and Economic Coop.	1973
	Cultural Agreement	
Tugo	Technical and Economic	1972
	Financial Agreement	1973
	Cultural Agreement	1973
Uganda	Technical and Economic	1972
	Cultural	1972
	Financial Agreement	1972
Upper Volta	Technical Cooperation	1972
	Cultural Agreement	1972

**SOURCE : Several issues of the Official newspaper
Al Jarida Al-Rasmiyah**

The use of economic aid as a form of warfare in the international struggle for power and influence has a long history dating back to the rise of the modern state.

However, the use of such instruments varies from one country to another depending mainly on the availability of financial sources. George Modelski provides a useful analysis of foreign aid as a form of warfare among the donor countries. He introduces the concepts "power input" and "power output". The conversion of power input into power output is represented by the policy-maker(6).

Modelski's proposal is applicable to the case of LIBYA. For Libya did not utilize the potential of foreign aid prior to the revolution of September 1, 1969. However, after the September, 1, 1969 foreign aid has become the instrument of her foreign policy. Libya has utilized this tool without reservation. Three main factors were underlying this behavior. First, Libya's ability to use this means intensively. Second, Libya's strong desire to destroy Israel's position in Africa. Third, Libya's perception of herself as

6. George Modelski, *A Theory of Foreign policy* (New York : Praeger Publisher, 1962), pp. 3 - 5 .

the only Arab country that can take over and play this role in Africa. The in turn led to the increase of her foreign aid, as indicated by the figures in Table II.

Foreign aid outputs were determined in several terms. One was based on the recipient country voting behavior in the United Nations General Assembly and/or at other international and regional conferences in a way favorable to the donor country. Another was the declaration of support during periods of crisis and/or for certain issues such as the Palestinian cause.

As an outcome of this new policy by Libya, five African states became recipient of such aid. These states were Uganda, Chad, the People's Republic of Congo, Niger and Mali, all of which received foreign aid after they had severed their diplomatic relations with Israel in 1972. **Al-Fair Al Jadid**, a Libyan newspaper, said that the decisions of the five African countries to end their relations with Israel were preceded by "positive action by the revolutionary Arab forces 7 "

Libya continued the campaign against the Zionist state

7. Quoted in Arab Report and Record London, January 1-15, 1973.

TABLE II
SAMPLE*
of Libyan Foreign Aid
to African Countries.
1970 — 1974
(In Libyan Dinars)

Country	Aid	Grants	Loans	Other
Burundi	300,000	—	—	—
Chad	2,500,000	2,500,000	—	—
Gabon	—	—	3,000,000	—
Gambia	350,000	—	—	—
Gunea	300,000	—	3,000,000	—
Gunea Besau	300,000	—	—	—
Lesotho	—	300,000	—	—
Mali	440,000	300,000	1,300,000	—
Niger	1,070,000	100,000	—	—
Uganda	500,000	150,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Upper Volta	200,000	—	—	—
Zambia	—	—	20,000,000	—
Zair	440,000	—	—	—

* This sample represents only the amount of various types of foreign aid given to African countries made public in some references in the official Libyan newspaper **Al-Jaridah Al Rassmiah**. Therefore, these figures don't reflect the real amount of foreign aid given to any single African country. These various types of aid were given to be utilized in different aspects of development in the African countries.

of Israel through offers of financial aid and diplomatic missions. Before the end of 1974 nearly all African countries severed their diplomatic relations with Israel. Moreover, the heads of African States stressed during their summit conference in MOGADISHU on June 15, 1974, the necessity of the Zionist withdrawal from all of occupied Arab land, particularly the liberation of Holy Land, and the right of the Palestinian people to decide their own fate. In the same meeting they recognized the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

What has been mentioned were the achievements that Libya obtained within a short period of time vis-a-vis the Israeli influence in Africa. Libya's new influence and active role in Africa were not secret. For instance, *Al-Balagh*, a Libyan Newspaper indicated on January 7, 1973, that Libya had played an active role in the deterioration of diplomatic relations between Israel and certain African countries. It was quoted to have said "Libya has succeeded in wrecking the relations between the enemy and some African countries(8).

In the final analysis one may propose that the more a country receives in foreign aid, the more it is likely to be-

8. Ibid.

have in a way favorable to the donor's foreign policy. If such a proposition can be accepted, one may suggest that Libya should be encouraged to continue in her foreign aid program, for it is in the interest of Libya to combat Zionism and Imperialism in Africa. Furthermore, the offerings of generous financial aid by Libya has helped the African countries in their economic development programs without subjecting these states to outside manipulation and exploitation by the developed countries. Therefore, it is of paramount importance that Libya pursues her foreign aid policy as well as other political and diplomatic activities successfully. If she fails, someone else will take this opportunity and might very well be a state inimical to Libya.