

RUTH FIRST

Libya

The Elusive Revolution

References, Bibliography and Index

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Chapter 1 A Perverse Revolution

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2. These were among the answers to several score questions handled by Gaddafi at a marathon six-hour-long press conference in Tripoli in April 1973.
3. Berque, op. cit., p.72.
4. ibid.
5. Jacques Berque, *The Arabs*, Faber & Faber, 1964, p. 239.
6. Hisham B. Sharabi, *Nationalism and Revoluticn in the Arab World*, van Nostrand, 1965, pp. 12–16.
1. Berque, *The Arabs*, p.191.

Chapter 2 Hostage to History and Geography

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2. ibid., p. 23.
3. John Wright, *Libya*, Ernest Benn, 1969, p. 55.
4. ibid., p. 70.
5. See the references to the work of J. Poncet in Tala) Asad, 'The Bedouin as a Military Force' in C. Nelson, T. Asad, and D. Cole (eds.), *The Desert and the Sown*, University of California Press, forthcoming.
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9. Majid Khadduri, *Modern Libya: A Study in Political Development*, Johns Hopkins, 1963, p. 9.
10. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, Oxford University Press, 1949, p. 98.
11. Nicola A. Ziadeh, *Sanusiyah: A Study of a Revivalist Movement in Islam*, Leiden, 1958, p. 46.
12. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 1.
13. ibid., p. 4.
14. ibid., pp. 1-2.
15. H. A. R. Gibb, *Mohammedanism*, Oxford University Press, 1949, p. 13.
16. Ziadeh, op. cit., pp. 6-7.
17. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 16.
18. Public Record Office, WO, r8 January 1903, 'Notes on the History of the Senusi'. Note by Colonel Count Gleichen, Dir. Intelligence, Egyptian Army.
19. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 14.
20. Samir Amin, op. cit. See Ahmad el Kodsý, 'Nationalism and Class Struggles in the Arab World', *Monthly Review*, 22, 3, July-August 1970, pp. 3-18, for a description relating to the Arab world in general- Egypt excepted - as trading societies which derived their surplus not from the peasantry in their own regions but from the intermediary commercial function of long-distance trade. Ibn I-chaldun, he points out, first analysed the Maghreb societies in this way.
21. Rosalba Davico, *La Guen'lla Lybienne (1911-1912): Impen'alisme et resistance anti-coloniale en Afri'que du Nord aux annees 20*, unpublished.
22. ibid.
23. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 98.
24. ibid., pp. 88, 26, 99.
25. Davico, op. cit.
26. By the sixties the Berber population of Libya was calculated at about 4 per cent.
27. Lars Eldblom, *Structure fonciere, organisation et structure sociale: Une etude comparative sur la vie socio-economique dans les trois oasis Libyennes de Ghat, Marzouk et particulierement Ghadames*, Lund, 1968, cited by Davico, op. cit.
28. See Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 51, and B. L. Peters, 'The Tied and the Free: An Account of Patron-Client Relationships among the Bedouin of Cyrenaica', in *Contributions to Mediterranean Sociology*, J. Peristiany (ed.), Mouton, 1968.

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29. Peters, op. cit., p.175.
30. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 51.
31. Peters, op. cit., p. 18sn.
32. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp.44-5.

Chapter 3 Resistance but Conquest

- I. Ambrosini, cited by Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p.107. See also W. C. Askew, *Europe and Italy's Acquisition of Libya 1911-12*, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, 1942.
2. Davico, op. cit., p. s.
3. *ibid.*
4. The Davico paper has details of those who took part in the Azzizia meeting and of the tribes and leaders that comprised the two gunps.
5. Public Record Office, WO 106/1532, 3 November 1913.
6. Public Record Office, WO 106/IS32, Intelligence Department, War Office, Cairo, 11 October 1913.
7. *ibid.*
8. Public Record Office, WO 106/ISS3.
9. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 150.
10. Public Record Office, WO 32/s260(674), contains alarming reports from the British Military Mission in Berlin on 'Turkish Nationalist Intrigue': reports of a conversation with a Turkish participant at this Congress who was reported to have brought a message from Lenin that 'the whole of Asia is at the present passing through critical times and it is the duty of all Nationalists of whatever country to cooperate with the Russian government in order to destroy the British empire'.
11. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 150.
12. *ibid.*, p. 167.
13. *ibid.*, p. 156.
14. The following account of the guerrilla war of the Cyrenaican Bedouin is drawn from the pages of Evans-Pritchard's book (mostly from pp. 159-73) since none has surpassed it and no detailed Libyan history of the war is yet in existence. Libyans have commented that British writers tend to weight their accounts by a deeper interest and affinity with the interior rather than the coastal populations, and one more predisposed to Cyrenaica than Tripolitania.
15. *ibid.*, pp. 188-9.
16. Wright, op. cit., has a skilful summary of this period in Libyan history.

17. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 225.
18. *ibid.*, p. 207.
19. K. S. McLachlan, 'Agricultural Land Use and Crop. Patterns 1911-1960', in J. A. Allan, K. S. McLachlan, and Edith T. Penrose (eds.), *Libya: Agriculture and Economic Development*, Frank Cass, 1973, p. 48.
20. *ibid.*, p. 51.
21. Wright, op. cit., p.169.
22. *ibid.*, p.170.
23. *ibid.*, p.170.
24. *ibid.*, pp. 180-8r.
25. *ibid.*, p. 182.
26. Freya Stark, *The Coast of Inceme*, John Murray, 1953, p.162.
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28. Public Record Office, FO 371/134, 20 April 1944. *This file was opened in 1972.*
29. Public Record Office, WO 32/10159.
30. Public Record Office, FO 371/134.
31. *ibid.*
32. Public Record Office, WO 32/10159, Chief Political Officer, 17 August 1942.
33. Public Record Office, FO 371/134.
34. Khadduri, op. cit., pp. 31-3.

Chapter 4 Independence through Cold-War Diplomacy

1. Michael Brett, 'The U.N. and Libya; a review of Libyan Independence and the United Nations' in *Journal of African History*, Vol. I, 1972, pp. 168-70.
2. David Horowitz, *From Yalta to Teheran*, Penguin Books, 1967. See especially Chapter 5.
3. C. Grove Haines, 'The Problem of the Italian Colonies', *Middle East Journal*, October 1947, Vol. 1., No. 4, pp.417-31.
4. Adrian Pelt, *Libyan Independence and the United Nations: A Case of Planned Decolonisation*, Yale University Press, 1970, p. 61. Much of the account in this chapter on Libya's accession to independence through the agency of the United Nations is based upon material in this record.
5. Henry Serrano Villard, *Libya: The New Arab Kingdom of North Africa*, Cornell University Press, 1956, p. 24.

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6. Parliamentary Debates, Fifth Series, Vol. 377, cols. 77-8, 8 January 1942.
7. *The Times*, 2 June 1949.
8. G. H. Becker, 'The Disposition of the Italian Colonies, 1941-1951', These 87, University of Geneva.
9. Public Record Office files on Libya between 1951 and 1956 are still confidential print.
10. Villard, op. cit., pp. 33-4.
11. United Nations Resolution 289(iv) of 21 November 1949.
12. Official Records, General Assembly, Fourth Session 1949, First Committee, 278th meeting, 30 September 1949, p. 20.
13. The choice of the United Nations Commissioner in Libya was the decision of Secretary-General Trygve Lie and of Andrew Cordier, the United States' man at the hub of UN affairs who orchestrated, among other policies, the United Nations operation in the Congo when the Lumumba government was overthrown.
14. Pelt, op. cit., p. 140.
15. *ibid.*, p. 128.
16. *ibid.*, p. 155.
17. *ibid.*, p. 167.
18. *ibid.*, p. 168.
19. *ibid.*, p. 169.
20. *ibid.*, p. 835.
21. This information was supplied to the writer by the interpreter present at the key meeting between King Idris and Adrian Pelt.
22. United Nations, Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session 1950, Vol. I, pp. 411-12.
23. Pelt, op. cit., p. 826.
24. *ibid.*, p. 641.

Chapter 5 Palace Power

1. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 105.
2. Villard, op. cit., p. 44.
3. Khadduri, op. cit., especially pp. 171-9.
4. Sharabi, op. cit., pp. 48-50.
5. One such family was the Muntassers of Tripoli, one or more of whose various branches was generally represented in government, whether inside in the Cabinet or abroad as ambassadors. Others included the Salem Qadi family of Misurata, the merchant family of the Ben Zikris of Tripoli, the Baqir family which married a daughter to the Crown Prince, the Kubar family originally from

- Gharian, and the Ben Sha'ban family of the Berber community of Zawia.
6. Ikbadduri, op. cit. See for instances pp. 240-43.
 7. Four governments, one federal and three provincial, had ruled in their several capitals, each administering a cumbersome and extravagant administrative machine. In addition to the fifteen federal ministries the provinces had an average of eight each, and Tripolitania and Cyrenaica had each employed more civil servants than the federal government (Wright, op. cit., p. 260).
 8. A road was needed to connect the Fezzan interior with the Mediterranean coast. The lowest tender, for £1,900,000, was won by Sayyid Abd-Allah Abid, but two years later he submitted claims for a further £4,000,000. The government tried to stifle the criticism that ensued by elevating one of its most vocal critics to a re-shuffled Cabinet, and then by urging the King to dissolve a troublesome Parliament; the King declined. See Khadduri, op. cit., pp. 301-3.

Chapter 6 A Base for Imperialism

- I. Ikbadduri, op. cit., p. 226.
2. Villard, op. cit., p. 141.
3. *ibid.*, p. 142.
4. Wright, op. cit., p. 234.
5. *Christian Science Monitor*, 20 October 1963.
6. Parliamentary Debates, 13 June 1961.
7. According to *The Times* (14 September 1969), CYDEF (The Cyrenaica Defence Force) led by General Bushar had 300 Vigilant anti-tank guided missiles, 100 of which had warheads. The Tripolitania Defence Force (TRIDEF) had 400. The British Aircraft Corporation had been supplying CYDEF and TRIDEF with ground-to-air defence weapons.
8. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *Arms Trade with the Third World*, Paul Elek, 1971, p. 589.
9. Roger Owen, *Libya: A Brief Political and Economic Survey*, Chatham House, 1961, p. 13.
10. *Sunday Ghibli*, 29 March 1964- The King's broadcast said he had yielded to the intense desire of the people that he remain their monarch. 'Dear Brothers,' he added, 'put it down to old age; the ways of an old man are imperfect.'
11. *Daily Telegraph*, 16 August 1964.
12. United States Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad, Part 9- Hearings before Sub-Committee on US Security Agree-

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- ments and Commitments Abroad of the Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate 91st Congress.
13. *U.S. News and World Report*, 21 August 1967.
 14. *Christian Science Monitor*, 19 June 1967.
 15. John S. Badeau, *The American Approach to the Arab World*, Council on Foreign Relations 1968, p.9. This writer adds 'When the clamour for the closure of Wheelus started the United States had to ask itself: "does it then have such importance that the United States should consider going the whole way to protect it?" At the time no satisfactory answer could be obtained, partly because no current estimates were made available, partly because of differing estimates in the military and diplomatic communities' (p. u8).
 16. John Stanley and Maurice Pearton, *The International Trade in Arms*, Chatto and Windus, 1972, p.190.
 17. *Financial Times*, 22 April 1969.
 18. George Thayer, *The War Business*, 1970, p. 264-
 19. *Flight International*, 20 September 1967.
 20. 'Arms and the Super Salesman', *Sunday Times*, 2 June 1968.

Chapter 7. The Invention of the Army

- r. The 'official history' of the background, planning, and execution of the Libyan revolution appeared in Libyan newspapers in serialized instalments in September 1969 and at intervals during the next two years. There were also articles in Tripoli's *al-Yawm* of 5 September 1969; Gadafi's interview with Middle East News Agency, 10 September 1969; Gadafi's interview with Egyptian television reported in Libyan newspapers of 5 October 1969; and his interview with the Sudanese *al-Ayyam* reported in Tripoli's *al-Ra'id* of 26 September 1969 and 6 December 1969.
2. In September 1970, on the first anniversary of the coup, Gadafi and some of the other members of the Revolutionary Command Council reminisced about the coup and its background on Libyan television. The statements here quoted are taken from a translated transcript.
3. Interview with writer in Tripoli, June 1971.
4. This came out in cross-examination during the court martial of the Musa Ahmed and Adam Hawwaz group.
5. The twelve members of the Revolutionary Command Council were as follows:

Colonel Mu'ammarr Gadafi
Major Abdul Salaam Jalloud

Major Beshir Saghir Hawady Captain
Mukhtar Abdullah Gerwy Captain
Abdul Moniem Taher al-Huny Captain
Mustapha Kharuby
Captain Kheweildy Hatnidy
Captain Mohamad Nejm
Captain Ali Awad Hamza
Captain Abu Bakr Yunis Jaber
Captain Omar Abdullah Meheishy
Lieutenant Mohamed Abu Bakr Mgarief (killed in a motor accident in August 1972).

6. After the coup Libyan military cadets were switched to the Egyptian Military Academy. They did one year's training there, and then a second in Benghazi.
7. Articles written during his student days can be found in back copies of the *Fezzan* newspaper. From Fezzan he went to Misurata where he met Meheishy. After graduating from the Military Academy in 1965 he went on a six-months signals course to Britain to an army school for education at Bovington Hythe in Beaconsfield. When he returned to Libya he enrolled in the arts faculty at Benghazi university to do a history degree. He did not complete the degree course, but during it he wrote an essay criticizing Rommel's desert tactics. Despite his disavowal of all ideological politics, both Arab nationalist movement and Baathist groups claim they had his allegiance for a time at least. Abu Bakr Yunis admitted he had joined the Baath Party briefly. In his younger days Meheishy had the reputation of being interested in Marxism.
8. Huny came from Zanzour, west of Tripoli, of a 'citizen' milieu not typical of the interior; Gerwy was born in Tripoli's Old City; Nejm in Benghazi; Kharuby at Zawia; Awad Hamza at Gamenas in Cyrenaica of a father who was a school janitor; and Mgarief was born at Marble Arch in Cyrenaica.
9. It was this group which Nasser addressed during his first visit to Libya _and to whom he advised policy: not to antagonize the United States; not to rush ahead with oil nationalization; to shop for arms in France. These three tactics were part of his 'balanced politics' for the Arab camp.
- xo. Lieutenant Rifi became Governor of the Fezzan,
- II. For a comparison between Arab and African military regimes see Amos Perlmutter, 'The Dynamics of Evolution and Cleavage in Arab and African Military Regimes'; mimeographed.

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12. On the counter-coup *plot* and trial see Gadafi's radio and telephone interview recorded by the Libyan News Agency, 11 December 1969; and the Libyan Press Review reports of 2, 8, 20, and 21 August and 20 October 1970.
13. To give two examples only: Air force captain Meftab Sharef had been one of the two Libyan pilots who before the coup had flown their aircraft into Algeria and had been sentenced to five-years' imprisonment under the monarchy. In prison he met Suleiman Maghrabi; it was at his suggestion that Maghrabi had been made the new regime's first Prime Minister. Major Abdul Matloub was one of the middle-ranking 'Baghdad group' of officers who had been in contact with Gadafi before the coup.
14. Libyan Press Review, 25 July 1970. The details of the plot disclosed by Gadafi suggest that at least part of it was the operation described in Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville, *The Hilton Assignment*, Temple Smith, 1973. Omar Shalhi's scheme to bite foreign mercenaries to free Colonel Shalhi and other prominent figures of the old regime from prison in Tripoli proved abortive even before it got moving.

Chapter 8 Religion as Politics

1. *Middle East Journal*, Spring 1970, Vol. 24, No. 2, from a set of translations of proclamations, statements, addresses, and interviews.
2. Writer's interview with several signatories to the petition.
3. A fortnight after his Cabinet appointment the Minister of Education and National Guidance resigned; he had been discovered to have Tunisian nationality.
4. Constitutional Proclamation, 11 December 1969, g02etted 25 December 1969; Article 18 said:

The Revolutionary Command Council is the highest authority in the Libyan Arab Republic. It exercises the functions of supreme sovereignty and legislation and draws up the general policy of the state on behalf of the people. In such capacity it may take all measures deemed necessary for the protection of the revolution as well as the regime stemming from it. Such measures take the form of constitutional proclamations, law orders or resolutions. Measures adopted by the Revolutionary Command Council may not be challenged before any body.

Article 19 empowered the RCC to appoint a Council of Ministers and to dismiss it from office. The Council of Ministers was to study and prepare *all* drafts of laws consistent with the policy

- drawn up by the Revolutionary Command Council and submit them for consideration and promulgation thereby.
5. The RCC comprised nine captains and two lieutenants, apart from Gadafi who promoted himself to Colonel after the coup. Of the pre-coup complement of about 600 officers, 170 were retained; those removed included 40 colonels, 75 lieutenant-colonels, and ISO majors. The four-month period of RCC anonymity was thought to be due to the need to entrench its control before it revealed the junior rank of its members.
 6. In the fourth Cabinet, appointed towards the end of 1971 there were three RCC members only, holding the premiership and the portfolios of Defence and the Interior; likewise there were three RCC members in the fifth cabinet of July 1972.
 7. *Figaro*, 30 September 1969.
 8. The Italian community comprised about 30,000 persons. For details of the expropriation measures see RCC Decision on Usurped Land, 21 July 1970, and Decision on Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation Corporation, 15 July 1970.
 9. Law No. 3 on Illicit Profits, 19 January 1970.
 10. The People's Court was presided over by a member of the RCC and comprised four other members representing the armed forces, the Islamic university, the Supreme Court, and the police force.
 11. For details of the sentences passed on the defendants see Libyan News Agency report, 16 November 1970. Four former prime ministers were among those found guilty and sentenced; one of them *in absentia*.
 12. Tripoli rally, 16 October 1969.
 13. Interview with *al-Balagh*, 30 November 1969.
 14. I. M. Arif and M. O. Anselmi, *The Libyan Revolution: A Source Book of Legal and Historical Documents*, Vol. I; 30 September 1969-30 August 1970, Oleander Press, Harrow, Middlesex, 1970.
 15. *Libyan Press Review*, 23 November 1970. A government-initiated women's organization was set up instead.
 16. Law 58 of 1970, Official Gazette, 1 May 1970.
 17. See the ten reasons set out in the RCC Statement Setting up the Popular Organization, June 1971.
 18. Article IB of the Libyan ASU Charter.
 19. *ibid.*, Article II.
 20. The extracts of the debate are taken from Summary of World Broadcasts, ME/39S4, 4 April 1972.
 21. Law 71 of 1972 and Explanatory Note.
 22. It was during this period that the international press carried

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- reports of an internal crisis in the regime, and of an attempted coup, which proved totally unfounded.
23. Press conference, RCC headquarters, April 1972.
 24. *Le Monde*, 8 June 1970.
 25. RCC Decree, 11 October 1972.
 26. There are several textual versions of the Third Theory, see seminar address by Gadafi to the Arab Socialist Union, Cairo, 9 February 1973, published by the Libyan Ministry of Information and Culture.
 27. Speech at Zwara, 15 April 1973, published by the Ministry of Information and Culture.

Chapter 9 The Economic Environment

1. According to the 1964 census the population was 1.56 million compared with 1.09 million ten years earlier. The 1970 population estimate was 1.94 million. A new census was due during 1973. Two thirds of the population was in Tripolitania, mostly in the northern fringes and in Cyrenaica, where the density was about 50 per square mile; elsewhere population density was below 1 per square mile. Tripoli City and environs had a population of 380,000 and Benghazi 280,000. The population of Sebha, capital of the Fezzan, was below 50,000.
2. B. Higgins, *The Economic and Social Development of Libya*, prepared for the government of Libya, United Nations Technical Assistance Programme ST/TTA/K/Libya/3, 1953, p. 164.
3. J. A. Allan, 'Agricultural Development in Libya since Independence', paper presented to African Studies Association of the United Kingdom, Symposium on Islamic Northern Africa, 1971.
4. There was also the Libyan Finance Corporation (LFC), and the Libyan-American Technical Assistance Service (LATAS), which changed later to the Libyan-American Joint Services (LAJS).
5. Ali Ahmad Attiga, 'The Economic Impact of Oil on Libyan Agriculture' in *Libya: Agriculture and Economic Development*, J. A. Allan, K. S. McLachlan, and Edith T. Penrose (eds.), Frank Cass, 1973, pp. 9-18.
6. Libyan Arab Republic, *General Economic Background Information*, Tripoli, 30 May 1971.
7. H. Mahdavy, 'The Patterns and Problems of Economic Development in Rentier States: The Case of Iran', in M. A. Cook, *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East from the Rise of Islam to the Present Day*, Oxford, 1970, pp. 428-67.

8. Robert Mabro, 'La Libye, un Etat Rentier?' in *Projet* 39, November 1969, pp. x, o!(r-x, xox.

9. RCC Decree, 27 October 1970.

xo. Summary of World Broadcasts, ME/3816/A/12, 19 October 1971.

- 1. Thus for instance, a French consortium of six companies, together with a government survey department, won a several-million-pound project to investigate soil and water resources along the coastline together with two desert areas. It was, by all accounts, a dubious research proposition thrown together in a hurry, with the French team under pressure from *its* government to telescope the period for investigation and evaluation. Political expediency gave no time to modify aspects of the scheme recognized at initial planning sessions as faulty. The work was already in progress when the original French contract was whittled down. The desert areas were handed over to a Polish team. The reason was to be sought in ruffled Franco-Libyan relations at the time and a decision to make a gesture in the direction of the socialist bloc.

12. Calculating from the 1960 Census of Agriculture, Hila! found that by the sixties one in four landlords in western Libya owned 37 per cent of all private land, with holdings of between twenty and two hundred hectares; and a third of the landed peasantry had less than five hectares each.

The system of land tenure varied from west to east and by region and district. Thus in the eastern region the percentage of tribally owned land under the monarchy was twice as high as in the west, and even this was considered an underestimation since the 1960 census had failed to include tribal grazing land.

Overall agricultural statistics produced in 1963 showed that whereas the average farm size in the whole country was twenty-eight hectares, in some coastal areas in the Tripoli region farms were smaller than two hectares and a third of agricultural holdings occupied only 3 per cent of arable land. Source: Ministry of Planning and Development. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Agricultural Planning Section: Dr Susan Lalevic and Eng Milena Lalevic, *Libyan Agriculture in the Light of Statistical Data*.

13. Jamil M. Hila!, *Family, Marriage and Social Change in some Libyan Villages*, M.Litt. Thesis (No. 68 of 1969), Durham University.
14. By 1940 Italian ownership, private and government, had acquired approximately a quarter of the cultivated area. Italian colonizing efforts more than doubled the farmland area under use but it was for use by Italian settlers.

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- In 1956 an agreement between the Libyan and Italian governments resulted in the former settlement farms in the east being returned to the Libyan government; the same happened to farms vacated by Italian owners in the west.
15. NASA, the National Agriculture Settlement Authority.
 16. Policy statement, 18 December 1972, at a meeting with the public sector companies in Tripoli.
 17. There are certain drawbacks to these statistics. The criterion of 'large' units has differed from one year to the next, which makes comparative conclusions difficult. If there are only three enterprises of a type, no statistics are published. Above all, since most enterprises in Libya are small the selective material on 'large' enterprises is not indicative of the condition of small-scale production in the country.
 18. R. Mabro, 'Labour Supplies and Labour Stability: A Case Study of the Oil Industry in Libya', *Bulletin, Oxford University Institute of Economics and Statistics*, Vol. 32, 4 November 1970, and Employment and Wage Rates, in Allan, McLachlan, Penrose (eds), op. cit.
 19. In 1971 there were 20 per cent increases for unskilled workers, 16 per cent for skilled and semi-skilled, and 10 per cent for clerks, technicians, and professionals. In May 1972 government-employed craftsmen won increases.
 20. Hila!, op. cit.
 21. M. Cheshkov, 'Elite and Class in the Developing Countries', *Social Sciences Today* 4, USSR Academy of Sciences, 1970, pp. 142-56.
 22. Economist Intelligence Unit, *Quarterly Economic Review* 1, 1972, p. 4.
 23. This calculation was based upon the 1969 extraction rate, which has since been reduced.

Chapter 10 The Oil State Beyond the State

- I. In 1943 when the British military occupation had just installed itself, the State Department directed a query to the Foreign Office on behalf of American oil companies: its information was that a British oil company would shortly attempt to get a concession embracing the whole of Libya: could the British government confirm that American companies would be given the opportunity to share in oil exploration and marketing? Public Record Office, FO 371/976. The reply was reassuring, after several inter-departmental amendments: 'The State Department may be

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- assured that American oil interests will receive *equality of* (this was deleted and substituted by '*equitable*') '*treatment* on a basis of reciprocity in Libya as elsewhere'. Public Record Office, FO 371/976, 25 March 1943.
2. During 1958 when the Italian oil tycoon Enrico Mattei tried to get a concession for ENI in the Fezzan near the Algerian border, dealings with the Libyans had reached an advanced stage, but then the Americans stepped in and the concession went instead to Phillips. *The Times*, 22 November 1957.
 3. Abdul Amir Q. Kubbah, *Libya: Its Oil Industry and Economic System*, 1964. See pp. 64-72 on the 1955 Petroleum Law.
 4. OPEC Statistical Bulletin, 1968.
 5. Bank of Libya Twelfth annual report, p. 81.
 6. The Millions or Seven Sisters of the oil industry used to be counted as BSSO, Shell, BP, Gulf, Texaco, Standard, and Mobil. Another two are now included among the giants: Indiana Standard, which operates in twenty-five foreign countries, and CFP.
 7. Apart from ESSO and Oasis the principal companies operating in Libya by 1965 were Mobil-Gelsenberg; BP (49 per cent owned by the British government), 50 per cent of the Libyan operations of which was owned by Bunker Hunt; Amoseas, which is California Standard and Texaco (Caltex); Shell; CFP, which is 35 per cent owned by the French state; and Texas Gulf Libya, with a share held by Sinclair Oil.
 8. *Petroleum Intelligence Weekly*, 31 May 1965.
 9. See 'Middle East Oil and the energy Crisis', *MERIP Reports* (Middle East Research and Information Project), 20 and 21, for an account of the organization of the international oil industry in a changing Middle East. For a brief description of changes in oil price fixing by 1974, see 'West Awaits New Oil Prices', by Peter Hillmore, *Guardian*, 15 March 1974, p. 21.
 - xo. See Wanda M. Jaclobski, 'Libya's Oil Pricing and Tax Dilemma', *Petroleum Intelligence Weekly*, 19 April 1965, pp. 6-9.
 - xi. In September 1962 there had been an announcement of new concessions opened for bidding, but it was abruptly withdrawn.
 12. *Petroleum Intelligence Weekly*, 13 September 1965.
 13. *Petroleum Intelligence Weekly*, November 1965.
 14. *ibid.*, 29 November 1965.
 15. *ibid.*, 28 February 1966.
 16. *ibid.*
 17. *Oil and Gas Journal*, 5 December 1966.
 18. *Petroleum Intelligence Weekly*, 14 March 1966.

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19. *Wall Street Journal*, 8 February 1972, pp. 1 and 14, report by Stanley Penn.
20. *Los Angeles Times*, 12 October 1969.
21. *Petroleum Intelligence Weekly*, 9 January 1967.
22. *Financial Times*, 15 August 1969.
23. Oasis internal memorandum, September-October 1969.
24. *Financial Times*, 29 September 1970.
25. For the technical arguments against over-production and gas flaring and the case against Occidental, see the *Financial Times*, 4 June 1970.
26. For a full account of the progress of the negotiations see 'Tripoli's 33 Day Dramatics', *Arab Oil Review*, March-April 1972.
27. From 1971 to 1972 there was a 20 per cent reduction in production. Cutbacks were ordered during critical rounds of negotiation with the companies but as part of a longer-term conservation policy; in April 1971 the government began to implement an amendment to the Petroleum Law to prohibit the burning of hydrocarbon resources and excessive flaring of gas. In the latter period drilling has begun to slow down. (Only sixty-five wells were drilled in the first three quarters of 1971 compared with 206 in the same period of 1970.) There were small finds by ESSO and Aquitaine but no major discoveries. Part of the decline in activity is explained by the age of concessions; recognizing this, some foreign-owned companies relinquished a number of concessions. The government turned over 8,000 square kilometres to the state oil company LINOCO. A large part of this area is in western Libya where the development of minor discoveries is not economic due to the need to build a larger pipeline and a new ocean terminal. The oil companies insist that the rise in price and tax rate are the reasons for the drilling and exploration decline; though this is not expected to fall any further since under the Tripoli agreement each major operating group is committed to maintaining a minimum exploration activity.
28. These figures are compiled from oil company, Libyan Oil Ministry, OPEC, and Bank of Libya reports.
29. Odeh Aburdene, 'An analysis of the impact of the economies of Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Libya and Saudi Arabia upon the Balance of Payments of the US for the years 1963-8', Ph.D thesis, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts.
30. The Organization of American States produced figures showing that oil companies in Latin America were re-investing only about

- 5 per cent of their profits during the 1960s, whereas the total for manufacturing was 58.4 per cent from 1960-64 and 52.3 per cent from 1965-7. See M. Tanzer, *The Political Economy of International Oil and the Underdeveloped Countries*, Temple Smith, 1970,
31. IMF Repon for 1972.
 32. *Financial Times*, 7 July 1971.
 33. *Oil and Gas Journal*, to May 1971, p. 46.
 34. *United Business Services*, 30 August 1971, cited in Adelman, see below.
 35. M. A. Adelman, *The World Petroleum Market*, 1973, Chapter VIII, note 32, for the calculation.
 36. M. A. Adelman, 'The Oil Industry as an International Tax Collecting Agency', Tokyo, 26 April 1972, under the auspices of the Institute of Energy Economics.
 37. *New York Times*, 11 February 1971, p. 4, cited in Adelman, *ibid*.
 38. Sir David Barran to the Fuel Luncheon Club, London, 16 February 1971.
 39. 'Is the Oil Shonage Real? Oil Companies as OPEC Tax-Collectors', *Foreign Policy*, No. 9, Winter 1972-3, pp. 79-80.
 40. The principal imponers of Libya's oil are Italy (20 per cent in 1972); West Germany (25 per cent); Britain (14 per cent); and France (14 per cent).
 41. France hadoriginallyentered Libya's oil industry by persuading her of the virtues of joint ventures. Under the monarchy The National Libyan Petroleum Corporation-LIPETCO-entered into partnership with Societe Nationale de Petroles Aquitaine, a subsidiary of the French state-owned oil corporation. At the time, in 1968, this was a major French inroad into an Anglo-American reserve.
 42. Algerian assistance to Libya's oil industry was extremely imponant not least for the experience Libya gained from her more aggressive oil policy and her pioneering search for markets. In tum, back in February 1971, when Algeria's Sonatrach was locked in battle with France, Libya had loaned Algeria \$100 million to tide her over the crisis.
 43. *Economist*, 30 July 1971, p. 51.
 44. M. A. Adelman, 'Is the Oil Shortage Real?', *Foreign Policy*, No. 9, Winter 1972-3, pp. 69-107.

Chapter 11 The Search for Arab Unity

- I. Maxime Rodinson, *Israel and the Arabs*, Penguin Books, 1968, p. 86.
2. Fawwaz Trabulsi, 'The Palestine Problem: Zionism and Im-

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- perialism in the Middle East', *New Left Review*, September-October 1969, pp. 53-89. See especially pp.79-80.
3. Rodinson, op. cit., pp. 25-6.
 4. Libyan Arab Republic, Ministry of Education and National Guidance, 17 April 1971.
 5. The intervention prompted Sadat's boast that the new Federation had 'teeth'.
 6. The Chad news agency announced that Libya had indicated her willingness to hand over all Frolinat members on her territory. The Chad security forces were to draw up the list but Chad had agreed that the name of the Frolinat leader Dr Abba Siddick would not be on it. *Summary of World Broadcasts*, MB/4180/B/1, 29 December 1972, Fort Lamy Radio, 26 December 1972.
 7. *Le Monde*, 25 February 1971.
 8. *Summary of World Broadcasts*, ME/4114/A/1, 10 October 1972.
 9. *ibid.*, ME/3851/A/8, 29 November 1971.
 10. Edouard Saab, *Le Monde*, 18 November 1970; see also the *Guardian*, 8 June 1970.
- II. 9 March 1973.
12. The *Guardian*, ■ ■ 'April 1972.
 13. Samir Franjieh, 'How Revolutionary is the Palestinian Resistance?', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. x, No. 2, Winter 1972.
 14. *Le Monde*, ■ ■ and 12 January 1973.
 15. See Haim Hanegbi, Moshe Machover, and Akiva Orr, 'The Class Nature of Israel', *New Left Review*, No. 65, January-February 1971.
 16. *Al Ahram*, 7 April 1972.
 17. *Summary of World Broadcasts*, ME/4142/A/s, ■ ■ November 1972.
- IS. Seale and McConville, op. cit., p. 179.

Chapter 12 The Limits of Nationalism

1. See *MERIP Repo"s*, 'The October War', No. 22, published by the Middle East Research and Information Project, Cambridge, Mass., for an account of the politics of the October 1973 war.
2. According to *MERIP Reports*, 22, *ibid.*, under General Shazli some 50,000 students had been integrated in the Egyptian army's electronic arms section.
3. Gadafi told Eric Rouleau of *Le Monde* on 23 October 1973: 'This war is not my war. Sadat and Assad took their decision and worked out their plan without my consent, without consulting me, without even informing me. And yet our three countries are members

of a federation whose constitution clearly states that war or peace could only be decided by a unanimous vote by the three presidents. We also disagree about the manner of conducting the campaign. I had once submitted to them a strategic plan, but their general staffs decided otherwise. ■ still think that my plan is better. Even if Egypt and Syria were to defeat Israel, ■ cannot lend my name to a comic-opera war . . . I'm in profound disagreement with Presidents Sadat and Assad even on the aims of their war. For me, the essential thing is not to take back from Israel the territories she conquered in 1967, but to free the Palestinians, all the Palestinians, from the Zionist yoke.'

4. Ahmed Ben Salah, 'Le Peuple Tunisien en a Assez', *Afrique-Asie*, 48, 21 January 1974. See also *Afrique-Asie*, 49, 4 February 1974, pp. 113.
5. It has been calculated that by 1980 the combined oil needs of the United States, Europe, Britain, and Japan will total 58 million barrels of oil a day. Between them these countries have in the last 13 years taken 6r per cent of the world's oil supply. It is calculated that total world demand by 1980 will be 93 million barrels a day, but world oil supply by present predictions of production levels will be 60 million barrels less.
6. Fred Halliday, 'The Saudi Oil Kingdom', *New Left Review*, So, July–August 1973.
7. Exxon, for instance, announced a 12 per cent increase in dividends in 1973. The oil companies justify their rising profits with the argument that they are needed to capitalize the search for new sources of energy. According to *MERIP*, 20, op. cit., by 1970 the largest American petroleum companies had interests in at least one other phase in other raw energy resources. The results of this concentration of energy resources in the hands of relatively few companies had enabled these companies to manipulate even higher prices and profits in the United States. Thus the 1973 and 1974 American energy crises were 'nothing more or less than a well-coordinated attempt by the oil companies and the energy companies to extort higher prices for energy to maintain the profit margins that once depended on the total control of low-cost crude in the Middle East and elsewhere.'
8. *New Left Review* So, p. 1.
9. Hamza Alavi, 'The Post-Colonial State', *New Left Review*, 74, July–August 1972. See also Hamza Alavi, 'Bangia Desh and the Crisis of Pakistan', *Socialist Register*, 1971, pp. 259–317.

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10. Alavi writes:

The classical Marxist theory posulates a fundamental contradiction between the metropolitan bourgeoisies and the indigenous or 'national' bourgeoisies of the post colonial societies. It concludes that the 'bourgeois-democratic' revolution in the colonies, of which independence is only the first phase and which continues in the post-colonial situation, necessarily has an 'anti-imperialist' character. It is true, of course, that the native bourgeoisie plays an anti-imperialist role and contributes to the national independence movement against the colonial power, but only up to the point of independence. In the post-colonial situation there is a double reorientation of alignments, both of the indigenous bourgeoisie and of the erstwhile 'comprador' class of merchants, building contractors and the like. The latter, unable to compete on equal terms with giant overseas concerns, demand restrictions on the activities of foreign businesses, particularly in the fields in which they aspire to operate. They acquire a new 'anti-imperialist' posture. On the other hand, as the erstwhile 'national' bourgeoisie grows in size and aspires to extend its interests and move from industries which involve relatively unsophisticated technology, such as textiles, to those which involve the use of highly sophisticated technology such as petro-chemicals and fertilisers, etc. they find that they do not have access to the requisite advanced industrial technologies. Their small resources and scale of operation keep the possibility of developing their own technology, independently, out of their reach. For access to the requisite advanced industrial technology they have to turn for collaboration, therefore, to the bourgeoisies of the developed metropolitan countries or to socialist states. This they do despite the fact that the terms on which the collaboration is offered are such that it hampers their own independent future development. As it grows in size and extends its interests the so-called 'national' bourgeoisie becomes increasingly dependent on the neo-colonialist metropolitan bourgeoisies. (*New Left Review*, 74, pp.74-5.)

11. Alavi, *ibid.*, pp.72-3.

12. Michel Kamel, 'Political and Ideological Role of the Petite Bourgeoisie in the Arab World'; mimeographed, n.d.

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The footnote references to the chapters will give the best indications of the sources on which I have drawn. For those wishing to study Libya in more detail, the following is a brief list of books, articles, and reports that I found most useful; the list makes no pretensions at being complete, though some of the publications mentioned, especially the general works, have lists of references.

A bibliography that goes up to the sixties is R. W. HILL, *A Bibliography of Libya*, Durham University 1959-

General works

ROGER OWEN, *Libya: A Brief Political and Economic Survey*, Chatham House Memoranda, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, May 1961. This is a brief (46-page) summary of material that takes the account up to 1961.

A more up-to-date general summary is the entry on Libya in *The Middle East and North Africa*, Europa Publications, 1970, pp. 471--96.

JOHN WRIGHT, *Libya*, Ernest Benn, 1969, is a useful general history and one that is especially good on the Italian conquest and occupation, and has extensive references to Italian material.

The *Area Handbook for Libya*, Stanford Research Institute, December 1969, printed by the US Government Printing Office, Washington DC, is one of a series of handbooks prepared under the auspices of Foreign Area Studies of the American University, and designed 'to be useful to military and other personnel who need a convenient compilation of basic facts about the social, economic, political and military institutions and practices of various countries'. The contents of the handbook are said to represent the work of the authors (who are unnamed) and not to represent the official view of the United States government. This is a comprehensive and compact summary, whatever the political and strategic uses to which it, and its like, have been put.

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B.E. EVANS-PRITCHARD, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, Oxford University Press, 1949.

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United Nations documentation and repays close reading of, as well as in between, the lines.

G. H. BECKER, *The Disposition of the Italian Colonies 1911-1951*, thesis of the University of Geneva, is useful for the reasoning behind the Anglo-American decision in favour of Libyan independence.

On constitutional development see:

MAJID KHADDURI, *Modern Libya: A Study in Political Development*, Johns Hopkins Press, 1965 and ISMAIL RAGHIB KHALIDI, *Constitutional Developments in Libya*, Khayat's College Book Cooperative, 1956.

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There is by now a large literature on oil in general, which I do not cite here. Much of it explains the technicalities of the industry and is written by specialists not greatly interested in the politics behind oil and therefore disinclined to probe behind the official line of the industry. Sources I found which do try to question some of the assumptions of the industry are cited in the footnotes to the chapter, notably work by Aburdene and Adelman, and MERIP publications. See also LOUIS T:URNER, *Multi-nationals and the Developing World: Conflict or Co-operation?* Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1974.

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