Libya

The Elusive Revolution

References, Bibliography and Index

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Chapter 1  A Perverse Revolution


2. These were among the answers to several score questions handled by Gadafi 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.


1· Berque, The Arabs, p.191.

Chapter 2 Hostage to History and Geography


2. ibid. , p. 23.


4· ibid., p. 70.


8. Notes on Ghadames, Laing to Horton, 26 October 1825, quoted in A. Adu Boahen, Bn'tain, the Sahara and the Western Sudan, 1788–1861, Oxford University Press, 1964.
13. ibid., p. 4.
20. Samir Amin, *op. cit.* See Ahmad el Kodsy, '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 Ihalduo, he points out, first analysed the Maghrebian societies in this way.
22. *ibid.*
25. Davico, *op. cit.*
26. By the sixties the Berber population of Libya was calculated at about 4 per cent.
References


Chapter 3 Resistance but Conquest

1. 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 qunqs.
7. ibid.
9. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. ISO.
10. Public Record Office, WO 32/s26o(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. ISS.
12. ibid., p. 167.
13. ibid., p. rs6.
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. IS9-73) 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.
References

18. ibid., p. 207.
20. ibid., p. 51.
22. ibid., p. 170.
23. ibid., p. 170.
25. ibid., p. 182.
27. Public Record Office, WO 32/10159, Report by the Chief Political Officer on the 'Work of the Political Branch 9HQ MEF and the Occupied Enemy Territory Administration of Eritrea, Cyrenaica and Tripolitania between July and December 1942.'
31. ibid.
32. Public Record Office, WO 32/10159, Chief Political Officer, 17 August 1942.
34. Khadduri, op. cit., pp. 31-3.

Chapter 4 Independence through Cold-War Diplomacy
References

7. The Times, 2 June 1949.
9. Public Record Office files on Libya between 1951 and 1956 are still confidential print.
13. The choice of the United Nations Commissioner in Libya was the decision of Secretary-General Trygvie 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.
24. ibid., p. 641.

Chapter 5 Palace Power

2. Villard, op. cit., p. 44.
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
References

Gharian, and the Ben Sha'ban family of the Berber community of Zawia.


1. 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 reshuffled 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

1. I<adduri, op. cit., p. 226.
3. ibid., p. 142.

1. 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 (TRIDCF) had 400. The British Aircraft Corporation had been supplying CYDEF and TRIDCF with ground-to-air defence weapons.


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.'


12. United States Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad, Part 9- Hearings before Sub-Committee on US Security Agree-


References

ments and Commitments Abroad of the Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate 91St Congress.
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 imponance that the United States should consider going the whole way to protect it?" At the time no satisfactozy 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).
18. George Thayer, The War Business, 1970, p. 264-
20. 'Arms and the Super Salesman', Sunday Times, 2 June 1968.

Chapter 7. The Intreroticn 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; Gadaf's interview with Egyptian television repone in Libyan newspapers of 5 October 1969; and his interview with the Sudanese al-Ayyam repone 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.
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'ammar Gadafi
Major Abdul Salaam Jalloud
References

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 Bovingron 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.
References


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 Gaddafi before the coup.

14. Libyan Press Review, 25 July 1970. The details of the plot disclosed by Gaddafi 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


2. Writer's interview with several signatories to the petition.

3. A form might 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.


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, IS July 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.

II. 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.


17. See the ten reasons set out in the RCC Statement Setting up the Popular Organization, June 1971.

18. Article 1B of the Libyan ASU Charter.

19. Ibid., Article 11.

20. The extracts of the debate are taken from Summary of World Broadcasts, ME/39S4, 4 April 1972.


22. It was during this period that the international press carried
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.


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).


References

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

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.


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.
In 1956 an agreement between the Libyan and Italian govern-ments 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.


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.


22. Economist Intelligence Unit, Quarterly Economic Review r, 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
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.


6. The Ml!iors 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.

1. 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.


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, *Guardia11*, 15 March 1974, p. 21.


11. In September 1962 there had been an announcement of new concessions opened for bidding, but it was abruptly withdrawn.


14. ibid., 29 November 1965.

15. ibid., 28 February 1966.

16. ibid.


References

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 118,000 square kilometreS to the stare 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

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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.


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 had originally entered Libya's oil industry by persuading her of the virtues of joint ventures. Under the monarchy The National Libyan Petroleum Corporation-LPETCO-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 turn, 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.


Chapter II The Search for Arab Unity


2. Fawwaz Trabulsi, 'The Palestine Problem: Zionism and Im-
References

...perialism in the Middle East', New Left Review, September-October 1969, pp. 53-89. See especially pp. 79-80.
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/I, 29 December 1972, Fort Lamy Radio, 26 December 1972.
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.

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 strat gic plan, but their general stafs decided otherwise. I still think that my plan is better. Even if Egypt and Syria were to defeat Israel, I 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.'


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 90 million barrels less.


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.'


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 un-sophisticated 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 hamstrings 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 Petit Bourgeoisie in the Arab World'; mimeographed, n.d.
Bibliography

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**


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.
Bibliography

People and History

The standard works on the Sanusi are:


On other ethnic groups, apart from material in the general works cited, there is Louis Dupree, 'The non-Arab Ethnic Groups of Libya', Middle East Journal, Vol. XII, no. 1, Winter 1958, pp. 33-44.

For an account of the early Garanmates see Charles Daniels, The Garamantes of Southern Libya, Oleander Press, Harrow, Middlesex, 1970.

On history up to and including the Italian period, John Wright's book includes a number of references. Miss Tully Letters Written During Ten Years' Residence at the Court of Tripoli, Arthur Barker, London, 1957, republished from the original edition of 1816, is a lively account of the Court of the Tripoli Regency in the late eighteenth century by the sister of the British consul of the day.

The full history of the guerrilla resistance against the Italian occupation must await the completion of the work by Rosalba Davico, whose paper on 'La Guerilla Lybienne (1911-1932): imperialisme et resistance anti-coloniale en Afrique du Nord aux annees 20' is as yet unpublished, though it was delivered at the Colloque internationale d'etudes historiques et sociologiques, Cinquantenaire de la Republique du Rif, Paris, 18-21 January 1973.

The existing histories of the war are written from the viewpoint of the colonizer.

Transition to independence

On Libya's Transition to Independence, the most painstaking and voluminous account is written by the international civil servant who supervised the transition. This is Adrian Pblt, Libyan Independence and the UN: A Case of Planned Decolonisation, published for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Yale University Press, 1970, xx, or 6 pages. This account is supported by considerable
Bibliography

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:


Politics

The politics of the regime must be traced from official speeches and versions of documents that issue from time to time from the Revolutionary Command Council and the ministries. Laws appear in the official Gazette, The-Ministry of Information and Culture produces the speeches of Colonel Gadaffi in several languages not long after they have been delivered. The same Ministry produces an annual publication on *The Achievements of the Revolution*.


Economics

*Libya: Documents on Economic Development 1960-1971*, Inter Documentation Company AG, Poststrasse 14, Zug, Switzerland, is a collection of published and unpublished documents, available on microfiche, assembled during the project jointly conducted by London University, School of Oriental and African Studies, and the University of Libya. The documents are mainly concerned with agricultural development as this was the area most closely researched. There is also material on the national economy and trade, on labour and manpower, and on construction and housing developments.

Developments in Libyan Agriculture', *Middle East Economic Papers r969*, American University of Beirut; and an earlier report is S. LALEVIC, MILAD A. SCHMEYLA, and MILENA LALEVIC, 'Agriculture in Libya and a Plan for its Development'; Ministry of Planning and Development, Tripoli.

On manpower see the following:

Kingdom of Libya, Ministry of Planning and Development, the chapter on Manpower Development of the Second Five Year Plan, July 1969; mimeographed.


For material on the economy in general see:

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