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THE NON-ARAB ETHNIC GROUPS OF LIBYA

Louis Dupree

NO country exists without minority groups, and where ethnic minorities exist, problems arise. The population of Libya, according to the 1954 census, is 1,091,830, of which about 961,830 are Arabs. The other 130,000 are primarily Berbers, Negroes, Qulaughli and Italians. Other groups are Tuareg, Tebou, Duwwud, Jews, Maltese, Greeks, Cretans, Armenians, Americans, British, French and Germans.

This article attempts to summarize the salient characteristics of each of the non-Arab ethnic groups, and to discuss briefly the problems of each minority group in relation to the dominant Arabs.

BERBERS

The once-powerful Berbers of North Africa are now principally a marginal, conservative people living in mountain refuge areas, driven there by successive waves of Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs and Europeans. About 40,000 live in the rugged Jabal Nefusa area of Tripolitania, speaking a Berber dialect (Zenata or Zanatiyah) of the Afro-Asiatic language family. In the Jabal Nefusa about one-half the total population is Berber; the rest semi-nomadic Arabs. Other Berbers live in the Cyrenaican oasis of Augile, and in Hun, Socra and Zuara of Tripolitania. A few live in Ghadames. Many Berbers, especially shopkeepers, are bilingual and speak Arabic as a second tongue.

The basic Libyan physical type is the end product of an Arab-Berber mixture, a thousand years of biological—if not political—miscegenation. Berbers themselves present a variety of physical types. Nearly all are moderately tall, and in many areas a strain of recessive blondism results in a very fair skin, brown to reddish-blond hair, and mixed eye colors (including hazel and green). This almost Nordic blondism is more prevalent along the Mediterranean Coast. Evidence of Negroid admixture is not uncommon. The Berbers around Jefren, for example, have pronouncedly protruding teeth and snub, broad noses. Other Berbers look more like the tall, thin, hawk-nosed Arab, but the snub-nosed type with a broader, heavier build is more common. In many cases, the Arab-looking Berber has adopted Arabic language and culture, the Maliki code of Islam, and a real or invented lineage which relates him to the Bani Hilal or the Bani

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Sulaim (élite Arab lineages); he passes for Arab, just as many light-skinned American Negroes pass for white. About 10,000 of the 40,000 Libyan Berbers fit into the Arabo-Berber category. They are in a transition period, half-Arab, half-Berber, rejected by—and have themselves rejected—the other Berbers, and on probation before the Arabs.

Many Berber men still wear their hair in the traditional single pigtail (a bad word in referring to Muslims, however), but women usually bob their hair and few bother to cover their faces, even among strangers.¹ The wealthier land-owning Berbers, like their Arab counterparts, wear the *fez* and *jallaba*, symbols of nationalistic feeling and unity against outsiders—even if internal unity is still a myth.

Many Berbers, especially those in the Jefren area, wear sombrero-like straw hats.

Even though many Berbers now follow the dominant (in Libya) Maliki code, the bulk are still Khawarijites, more commonly called Ibadi, members of one of the two main breakaway Muslim theological sects (the other is Shi'a).

The nuclear family (man and wife [and wives] and their unmarried children) and private ownership of land and livestock are important in the Jabal Nefusa. The *labma* is the basic sociopolitical unit, usually a group of related families united in a single village sector or ward. The village headman is the head of the most powerful *labma*. The central government now appoints district governors who are responsible to the provincial governors in the provincial capitals of Tripolitania (Tripoli), Cyrenaica (Benghazi), and Fezzan (Sebha). Tribal and *labma* feuds are still integral parts of Berber life and traditions.

Like their Middle Atlas mountains counterparts, the Jabal Nefusa Berbers are transhumants: they make short periodic migrations from lower to higher valleys and back again. Basically they are orchardists and agriculturists. Olives and figs are major crops; barley and other cereals are grown in limited amounts. Some Berbers own camels, donkeys, cattle and horses, as well as sheep and goats. Livestock is often cared for by hired Arab shepherds.

Rarely do whole villages or even whole families migrate at the same time. Olives are harvested in the winter (generally November) and figs in July when groups of males spend several weeks in the orchards away from home. The distance from home village to the orchards is seldom more than a one-day march, or more than a two-day march from village to livestock pastures.

1. In *A Cure for Serpents* (1955), Alberto di Piranjo reports that several matriarchal elements still exist in Berber social organization, but does not elaborate.

In July, 1956 I visited a Berber community near Garian. Only a few women, teen-age boys and old men remained to watch over the young camels. The rest of the small village had moved to the orchards at the eastern end of the Jabal Nefusa escarpment.

Most Berbers live in stone houses clustered together in the mountainous regions of the Jabal Nefusa, Ghibila and Gefara. Several groups live in troglodyte underground dwellings. The most famous cave dwellers, both Arab and Berber, live near Garian. Actually the caves are deep pits, 50 feet deep by 50 feet wide, with a slanting tunnel leading to the surface from the pit. After the pit is dug, rooms are hollowed out of the solid earth at the bottom. Often a well is dug in one of the rooms. These troglodyte dwellings are clean, warm in winter, cool in summer, and many have beautiful rugs on the tamped earth floors. The dirt is piled around the edge of the pit to prevent flooding, and to make detection difficult at ground level.

The Berber houses at Ghadames, like those of the Tuareg, usually have three stories and a labyrinth of tunnels and rooms dug underneath. Servants live on the ground level, freemen on the second, women on the third—a complicated extended family situation which does not exist when the Berber lives in the mountains he loves.

Many Berbers are professional well diggers, a dangerous—though necessary—occupation in the arid steppes and semideserts of Tripolitania. Most desert wells are 100 feet deep or deeper. Digging and repairing such wells with crude tools and techniques is hazardous, even in its routine aspects. Other Berbers are shopkeepers, and the Arabs look on them with the same contempt they give Jewish merchants.

Arabs in general and the patrician nomads in particular regard the Berber as an inferior creature. The Arab calls the Berber *Nafusi* and *Jabali*, once honorable names, but now the Arabs pronounce them with unmistakable scorn. The Nafusi, a powerful Berber tribe, are still proud of their past traditions and present achievements. The free, easy-going, lineage-conscious, nomadic Arab cannot understand the industrious, frugal Berber farmer who saves money and buys more land than he needs. The Berber plans ahead; the Arab leaves all in the hands of Allah. The Berber is becoming politically more powerful. His leaders fought in the forefront of a movement to obtain independent status for Tripolitania. Intensely practical, the Berber continues to buy land from his Arab neighbor and plans for a man-made paradise in his mountain home, not a god-given nomadic paradise.

Jabali means mountaineer; perhaps "hillbilly" would be closer, since the Arabs use it in a derogatory way.

Proud Berbers will not intermarry with neighboring 'Arabi and will travel to the Isle of Jerba or the town of Mzab in the Ghadia Oasis of Algeria in search of Khawarijite brides if none are available locally.

LIBYAN NEGROES

(*Harratin* discussed under TUAREG)

Approximately 35,000 who are considered Negroes live in Libya; 20,000 of these are in Tripolitania. About 7,000 inhabit the string of oases leading to and around Sebha in the Fezzan. Below Murzuk the bulk of the population is Sudanese Negro. Other groups live along the Mediterranean Coast and in the Cyrenaican oasis of Kufra. Negroes outside the Fezzan usually live in mixed villages with Arabs, Berbers or Tebou. Separate Negro villages exist primarily in the Fezzan, and south of Tripoli and Misurata.

Generally speaking, Libyan Negroes become less and less Negroid in appearance as they approach the Mediterranean Coast, except for the numerous World War II immigrants to Tripoli City. Most Negroes are descendants of former slaves, brought in by Arab traders from the Sudan and West Africa. Physically they are tall, longheaded, black skinned, and have woolly hair, flat, wide, broad-bridged, depressed noses, everted thick lips, are jut-jawed and buck-toothed, have broad shoulders and tapered waistlines. Most women have incipient steatopygia. They dress like the Arabs or Berbers they live among, but the women usually work stripped to the waist, especially in the south.

Primary languages are Central Saharan or Eastern Sudanic dialects,² but Kano and Hausa dialects are also important. Arabic is spoken by most as a second tongue; actually many have forgotten their native dialects.

Islam, tempered in the south with Central and West African animistic elements, is the religion of most Libyan Negroes. Murzuk, religious center of the Fezzan, has a large Sanusi *zawiya* (local headquarters of a religious confraternity).

Few Libyan Negro groups are nomadic or seminomadic. Most are lower class agricultural sharecroppers (*'abid*) or water carriers (*jabbad*) working for Arab, Berber or Tuareg *Imghad* landowners. The sharecropper and water carrier each get about one-fourth of the total yield. In completely Negro villages, individuals cultivate small garden plots. Little socioeconomic difference is recognizable between the *shawashinab* (descendants of free Negroes born in Libya or of Arab men and Negro women—the cool flesh of the Negro girl is still praised on popular Libyan records) and the *'abid* (descendants of former Negro slaves). After

2. Greenberg, Joseph H., *Studies in African Linguistics*. Compass Publishing Co., New Haven, 1955.

World War II the French abolished the slave-like status of the *jabbad*, but most water carriers preferred to stay and work for their Arab masters.

Most Fezzanese Negroes are sedentary farmers of oasis gardens which are irrigated by well water. Date palms, cereals, vegetables are cultivated; only the date is exported. According to Mr. Jack Walker, FAO representative in Sebha, foodstuff production must be doubled before a satisfactory subsistence level is reached. The farming villages are small, usually a few families under a hereditary chief and a council of elders. The people live in stone houses or *zaribab* (round huts of long, tough grass and reeds).

The Negro villages along the Mediterranean Coast usually specialize in trade items. For example, the village of Tauorga, south of Misurata, trades mats and basketry items for cereals, sheep and goats. A *marabout*³ led these villagers into this swampy region from the Fezzan about a generation ago. His whitewashed tomb overlooks the village, which is built on hummocks in the swamp. Narrow foot bridges over the water connect the flat thatched roof, palm log, mud-chinked huts and village sections. The huts are constructed on built-up, silted land.⁴ The clothing of the women is typically Sudanese: peaked hats, colorful, wrap-around dresses, many Sudanese beads and ornaments handed down from mother to daughter. They are not shy and do not cover their faces. The men wear the white skullcaps and loose cotton clothing so common in Tripolitania. They are Arabic-speaking, Maliki Muslims.

Negroes in the cities become waiters, barbers, bakers and juvenile delinquents. In the old city of Tripoli I was backed up against a wall by several hostile Negro teen-agers until rescued by a Libyan policeman. "Boys will be boys," he said, but then admitted that the recent Fezzanese immigrants easily took to crime in the festering conditions of the old city.

Unofficially and extralegally, Libyan Negroes are discriminated against; the blacker the skin, the more the discrimination. *Shoushem* ("black man") is a term of derision. This, in spite of the fact that an estimated 20 per cent of all Libyans have Negro ancestors.

TUAREG

About 7,000 of the North African total of 700,000 Tuaregs live in southwest Libya. The bulk (4,000) live scattered in the Ghat-Serdeles

3. A *marabout* (*murābiṭ*) is a holy man who possesses *baraka* (the blessing of Allah). *Baraka* is passed on from father to son.

4. Mrs. Ruth McTaggart, court recorder, USAF, Wheelus Field, Libya.

area; 2,000 wander east of Ghat; 1,000 dwell around Ghadames. The Libyan Tuaregs are primarily members of the loose Ahaggar Confederation. The Confederation leader (*Amenokal*) lives in Ghat.

Like most Libyans, the Tuaregs are Sunni Muslims of the Maliki school of law, but with undertones of Sudanese and West African witchcraft, sorcery and covert black magic. Actually they are superficially Muslim and despise the more orthodox Arabs.

These Berber-speaking (Tamahak or Senhaja dialects), camel nomads were once the biggest raiders and slavers in the Sahara, as well as the middlemen for the north-south caravan trade between the Mediterranean and Africa south of the Sahara. They are still prodigious traders, but the French have curbed their raiding activities, and now the Foreign Legion and French colonial troops protect caravans in Algeria without charging exorbitant "protection fees," as was the custom of the Tuareg. The Libyan Tuaregs are reputed to raid occasional caravans today.

The Tuareg tribes are divided into four stratified social groups: from top to bottom, *Ibaggaren*, *Imghad*, *Irejanaten*, *Icbelan* or *Harratin*. The *Ibaggaren* are the hereditary nobles, the ruling class, the protectors of the other Tuaregs. The proud *Ibaggaren*, though made economically poor when the French stopped raiding and slaving, still wear warriors' trappings, and still accept tribute from their vassals, the wealthier *Imghad* farmers. Though the warrior's clothes may be ragged, he still carries himself as a noble. He wears a long, straight, two-handed, two edged sword, chain mail, carries a lance, arm dagger, a rectangular bull or giraffe hide shield, a rifle, and possibly a revolver. The former days of glory are not forgotten.

The *Ibaggaren* seldom show any signs of Negroid admixture. They are tall (average 5' 8"—six-footers are common), longheaded, lithe and lean with linear limb proportions, have dark eyes, brunet-white skin, and a distinctive high-bridged, narrow-rooted, often convex nose. The other three classes are more Negroid, broader and stockier in appearance.

The *Irejanaten* are the result of *Ibaggaren* and *Imghad* marriages, and are considered equal in social rank to the *Imghad*. The *Harratin* are Sudanese or Fezzanese Negroes who work for both the noble nomads and the sedentary farmers. They are little more than slaves and receive from one-fifth to one-third of the crops they produce.

All Tuareg men wear veils; the nobles blue or blue-black, the others, white. Tuaregs are often called "Blue Men" by travelers and thought to have blue skin. However, they wear *jallabas* dyed with indigo and never bathe. Consequently their skins are impregnated with the dye.

Tuareg women are much more powerful than their Arab sisters. Authority and social rank, though exercised by males, are inherited from

one's mother. A chief's son does not inherit his father's authoritative position. Instead, the eldest son of the chief's eldest sister is the heir apparent. When a girl reaches puberty she is considered impure and cannot participate in religious rites. Monogamy is the general rule, and even after marriage women have almost unlimited sexual freedom. At night they hold soirées (*abal*) in separate, elaborately decorated tents where they play musical instruments, dance, recite the epic poetry of the Tuareg, and sing songs of love, war and camels to their lovers. Only the women can read and write the unusual Tifinagh script of the Tuareg. Travelers' tales abound with glowing accounts of the beauty and sexual appetites of the noble Tuareg women, in spite of the fact they never bathe and set their curls with rancid butter and camel urine.

The noble Tuaregs collect vegetables (onions, carrots), fruits (melons, figs, grapes) and cereals (wheat, barley, millet) from their "vassals," but also replenish the farmers' livestock: camels, donkeys, sheep and goats. Camels are a big item in the economy of the Tuareg; they are used for transport, trading (*janil* type), riding and warfare (*mahari* type), milk and milk products, meat, dung for fuel, leather for sandals, hair for tents, blankets and clothing. Camels are sold for cash at the larger urban centers.

The Tuareg, robbed of their raiding business by the French army, lead extensive caravans deep into the Sudan and West Africa, exchanging domesticated animals and ghee for dhurra (sorghum), rice, salt, leather, swords, daggers, lances and other metal goods. Most caravaners speak Hausa, the commercial lingua franca of the southern Sahara. They spend between seven and eight months a year on the trail, remaining the rest of the year in client villages. Many small groups now mine salt on a minor scale using primitive techniques.

On the move the Tuareg live in camel or goat's-hair tents (at times dyed red) and portable straw huts. They camp about 12 miles from waterholes so they can hunt freely and isolate themselves from other groups. *Imghad* farmers live in adobe huts. Generally the Negro *Harratin* live in thatched, beehive huts.

Another small cultural item which separates the Tuareg from the Arab is his preference for eating with a spoon instead of his fingers.

The transition from feared raiders and warriors to respectable nomads is difficult. Professional soldiers usually find peacetime adjustment a problem.

TEBOU (*Teda*)

Approximately 1,200 Tebou live scattered throughout southern Libya: 700 on the northern slopes of the Tibesti Plateau south of Al-Gatron; 500

in the oases around Kufra; a few groups are at Tazerbo and Rebiana. All the Libyan Tebou belong to the northern or Teda tribes; none is Daza or southern Tebou. They call themselves Teda, and are linguistically related to the Bornu speakers of northern Nigeria.

Nominally Muslim, the Tebou were converted to Islam in the 19th century by Sanusi missionaries. They still retain much of the cult practices and beliefs of Negro Africa. Though black-skinned and Negro-mixed, the Tebou are tall, slender, with large bones but small hands and feet, long heads, high foreheads, straight or concave noses and large mouths, black hair (never kinky or woolly), and thick beards as compared to Negroes.

Tebou women almost never veil their faces though the men, like the Tuareg, do. However, Tebou males veil themselves only in the presence of complete strangers, and no distinctive colors are worn by different classes. Actually only two classes seem to exist: nobles (*Maima*) and commoners. The nobles are caravan leaders and village chiefs. Women wear their hair in a top-knot affair.

Few Tebou live permanently in thatched huts. Those who do are date palm agriculturalists. Most Tebou are primarily caravaneers and camel breeders, and they make long treks north from the Tibesti Plateau to the towns of south Libya to sell livestock in return for salt, finished metal products and cereals. The pre-20th century Tebou were notorious bandits.

The annual trading caravans to Sebha from the Tibesti Plateau take from 40-45 days.⁵ These border crossings are forbidden by the French authorities but little is done to prevent them. From Al-Gatrun to the Korizo Corridor no single blade of grass grows and wells are almost non-existent. How the Tebou manage this trip staggers the imagination. The water problem is prodigious. Generally they travel in groups of 5 to 15, with about 25 camels and varying numbers of sheep and goats. On the trail they hunt wild sheep with iron-pointed spears and antique rifles.

The Tebou, a mystery people, will remain a mystery until competent anthropologists penetrate their forbidding home, the Tibesti Plateau, live with them and travel with them on the trading caravans which shape their way of life.

OTHER MINORITY GROUPS

Several other minority groups, varying in importance, live in Libya: Qulaughli, Italians, Jews, British, French, Americans, Maltese, Greeks, Cretans, Duwwud (Daouda), Armenians and Germans.

5. Mr. Jack Walker, FAO officer at Sebha.

The *Qulaughli* (Cologhli) are an ethnic group by historic accident. They are the descendants of the Turkish officials who were the petty administrators for the Ottoman Caliphate. Numbering only about 35,000 before World War II (30,000 along the Tripolitanian coast), the Qulaughli are rapidly being integrated into Libyan Arab society. They speak Arabic and practice the teachings of Maliki Sunni Islam, though many still point with pride to their Turkish antecedents.

The conquest of Libya did not solve Fascist Italy's overpopulation problem and relatively few *Italians* settled in the country. Today, fewer than 30,000 Italians live in Tripolitania (the bulk in Tripoli City), and a handful of priests, nuns and businessmen in Cyrenaica. The Roman Catholic Church is very important to the disorganized, unwelcome Italian community, for it has replaced the Fascist Party as the rallying point for all Italians. About 75 per cent of the arable land left by the departing Italian farmers is being reclaimed by the desert. Sand piles up and covers dying olive and almond trees along the coast. The Arabs have stripped the wood from the buildings of the deserted Italian farming communities—understandable in a land where wood is as scarce as water. In pre-World War II days, some Italian landowners tried to lease land to Arab farmers, but the Arabs lacked proper training and discipline to cultivate within a Fascist milieu.

Some Italians remained behind after World War II and hoped to hold on to their farms. Excellent tobacco and olives are grown from Tripoli to Sabratha on scattered Italian farms. I visited a well-organized, neatly kept Italian farm near Tripoli in June 1956. The owner sublets part of his roomy house to a United States Air Force officer and his family to help defray household expenses. Several Fezzanese Negroes and local Arabs (including women) work on the farm. The farm specializes in olives, oranges and flowers (carnations, roses and iris). The owner is experimenting with bananas, as yet unsuccessfully. Water, obtained from a well, is stored in tanks on top of the buildings; the fields are irrigated by gravity; the water flows through an interconnecting series of above-ground galvanized pipes. Human and animal feces are used as fertilizer. The farm also keeps several cows for milk and dairy products; they are kept in immaculately clean, individual stalls and watered at a trough individually instead of as a group.

Italians also own several of the small restaurants in the larger towns along the Tripolitanian coast, for example at Leptis Magna, Sabratha and Cussabat.

Many Italian families now live inside the old walled city of Tripoli, something unheard of during the Italian occupation.

Before World War II Libya had no real *Jewish* problem. Since 1946, however, several anti-Zionist riots have taken many lives and forced about 26,000 of Libya's pre-war total of 33,000 Jews to migrate to Israel or Egypt.⁶ Those remaining are descendants of North African Jews, whose families have lived in Libya for centuries. Most speak only Arabic.

The bulk of Libya's present Jewish population lives in a distinctive section of the Tripoli old city. Most are relatively uneducated and work as merchants, traders, artisans and are no better off than their Arab neighbors and competitors.

Small groups of Jews live outside Tripoli in the towns and villages of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, generally along the Mediterranean Coast where they occupy ghettos and work as artisans and merchants.

From the end of World War II until independence on 24 December 1951, Tripolitania and Cyrenaica were under the military administration of the *British*, and the Fezzan under French military administration. *American* influence and personnel, however, are increasing while the British and French are slowly withdrawing. By now the French should have completely withdrawn their garrisons from Sabha, Ghat and Ghadames—a total of about 450 officers and men—with the possible exception of a few technicians to maintain the airfields at all three places. The recently announced British cutback of conventional forces is slated to reduce the Libyan garrisons considerably. Only American commitments are increasing.

British and American commercial enterprises are also on the upswing, and several American companies are surveying for oil in the Libyan Desert. The hopes of many Libyans and friends of Libya go with these surveys.⁷

Few *Maltese* live in Libya today, and few are likely to migrate. They are British subjects and a few hundred reside in Tripoli and Benghazi. They work as night club entertainers and several are hired in Air Force civilian jobs at Wheelus Field.

About 500 *Greeks* live along the Mediterranean Coast, principally in Tripolitania. They are primarily sponge fishermen. Many Arabs are also fishermen.

About 300 Muslim *Cretans* live in Apollonia and have largely assimilated with local populations. Their ancestors were refugees, fleeing from Greek persecutions in 1897.

6. Contrary to popular belief, Egypt's Jews suffered little or no persecution until the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion in 1956. Then many Jews were forced out of Egypt for the same security reasons which prompted the American government to uproot and herd most Japanese-Americans behind barbed wire concentration camps in 1941-42. We should not be more critical of the Egyptians than we are of ourselves under similar circumstances.

7. See *Chronology, Libya*, in this issue.

A small, distinctive group of about 200 Muslims called the Duwwud or *Da'uda* live in several sedentary villages near the marshy region of the Gabr On, Mandara and Truda salt lakes. The Duwwud are of Negro origin and subsist mainly on a red crawfish. They are despised by the local Arabs who consider their dietary habits unclean.

A few *Armenian* traders and entrepreneurs live in Benghazi.

Some *Germans* have entered Libya since World War II as businessmen and entertainers; most live in Tripoli City. In the summer of 1956, an excellent German jazz band played nightly at the Wheelus Field Officers' Club, accompanied by a lovely English female vocalist.

CONCLUSIONS

Although Libya has a large number of diverse ethnic groups, the total number of individuals is small. Also, most non-Arab groups are Muslim, and, at least superficially, accept the Maliki rites. Discrimination is extralegal, and rare, because most groups prefer to live and marry among their own kind.

The Berbers are seeking more power, politically and economically. Many are still practising Ibadis, however, and this fact is held against them. Private ownership of land is important to the Berber and he buys up Arab tribal and clan lands whenever possible. These transactions usually result in law suits because the Arabs claim land can be sold only with the consent of the tribe, but the Berbers always stay within the law. Assimilation with Arab groups is increasing among the town and urban groups. Resistance to assimilation is strongest at the highest intellectual and the lowest economic levels: the educated professionals and the village farmers.

Many Libyan Negroes, including the *Harratin*, are reported to be "slaves" by Western observers. If so, most are voluntary slaves—more properly they should be called retainers, preferring their secure economic status to the insecurities of a freedom unprepared for. Relatively, the Libyan Negro sharecroppers are no more exploited than their counterparts in the American South, and no more exploited than the rank and file of certain American trade unions. In Tripolitania extralegal pressures keep many Negro groups in urban ghettos or segregated villages.

The Qulaughli are being rapidly assimilated by the Arab population, culturally, physically and linguistically.

The French destroyed the Tuareg stranglehold on the central Saharan caravan trade, and now the agricultural "vassals" are richer than the Tuareg noble-warriors. A strong social hierarchy still exists, however, and shows little sign of weakening in the near future. The central govern-

ment of Libya permits almost unlimited local autonomy to the Tuareg in return for peaceful coexistence.

The Arab-Israeli conflicts of the past decade have forced most Libyan Jews to leave their homes, leaving behind lower class merchants and artisans.

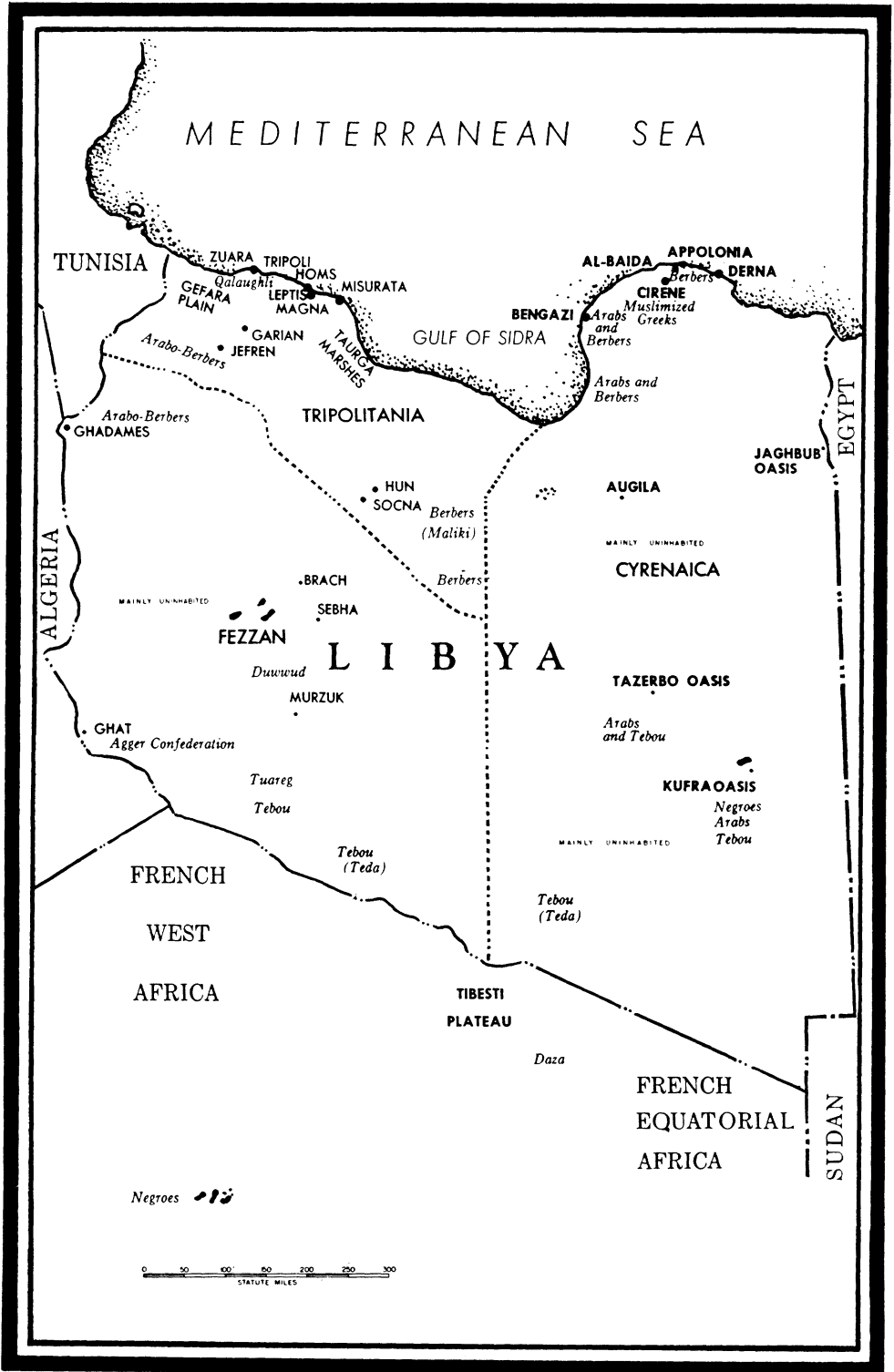
The Tebou and the Duwwud, both very small in number and minuscule in importance, are merely anthropological curiosities and not important minority groups.

Several foreign ethnic groups do pose problems, however. The British plan to withdraw part of their ground forces from Libya, leaving a gap in the economy which must be filled. The French, though technically out of the Fezzan by now, desperately want to maintain at least *de facto* political control in this vital geographic area, which borders Algeria, French West Africa and Equatorial Africa. The Italians are generally well liked by the *effendi*⁸ class of Arabs, but intensely disliked by the farmers, nomads and seminomads.

American influence and personnel are increasing at a rapid pace. The Air Force is deeply committed to our base at Wheelus Field outside Tripoli and more installations are being moved from Morocco to Libya. Most American servicemen are apathetic to service in Libya and almost never leave the air base. Others, when they do leave, make asses of themselves. Few understand or even attempt to understand the history, culture or problems of the United Kingdom of Libya. The native population is referred to as "Mohab," and rumors are spread that Christians are killed in the Old City of Tripoli. All Libyan customs are interpreted—and compared, always unfavorably—in terms of the air conditioned, skyscrapered culture of the United States. Indoctrination—serious, well-planned indoctrination—is necessary for the families of American servicemen (especially officers' wives) as well as the servicemen themselves. Actually, what is needed is more understanding on both sides.

Of all the non-Arab ethnic groups in Libya, the Americans, with their passion for collective security and search for oil, loom as the most important group—and most controversial from the Libyan point of view.

8. *Effendi*: a semiwesternized, but Western-oriented Arab, who is neither at home in Arab circles nor fully accepted by Westerners; a disillusioned middle man.



NON-ARAB ETHNIC GROUPS OF LIBYA

(see page 33)