Course Objectives

This course constitutes a comparative study of the post colonial politics of the North African region – specifically the states of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. Through a series of weekly lectures and tutorials students will receive grounding in the politics of the three individual states as well as in comparisons between them.

The course will focus on eight key aspects of the politics of the region which will be covered in the weekly lectures and tutorials. The opening week will essentially deal with the historical development of the states in immediate post independence period. The next four will address the role played in politics by specific actors. The sixth will address the economic dimensions of politics in the region and the final two will look at how the states interact with each other and with the wider international environment.

1. Post-independence state building
2. The role of the military
3. The role of political parties
4. The role of Islamist movements
5. The political dimensions of Berber identity
6. The political economy of the region
7. Regional Relations
8. External relations

The course aims to identify some of the main specificities of the region’s politics whilst at the same time establishing certain common themes with politics in the Middle East region (e.g. Islamism) as well as with other parts of the developing world (e.g. the political role of the military and ethnic identity).

Organisation of Teaching

The primary teaching vehicle for the course will be a weekly 90 minute tutorial at a time to be arranged. Each class will begin with brief presentations (no more than 15 mins) based on the essay questions of the topic of the week. Each student will be required to write six essays (around 2,000 words) for the course which are due in weekly from 3rd week.

General Reading
Maghreb
I.W. Zartman (Editor), Political Elites in Arab North Africa (Longman, New York, 1982)
J. William Zartman and William Mark Habeeb (Editors); Polity and Society in Contemporary North Africa (Westview, Boulder, 1993)

Algeria
William B. Quandt, Between ballots and Bullets: Algeria’s Transition from Authoritarianism (Brookings Institution Press, Washington DC, 1998)
Benjamin Stora, Algeria 1830-2000 (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2001)

Morocco
Stephen O. Hughes, Morocco Under King Hassan (Ithaca Press, Reading, 2001)
Azzedine Layachi, State, Society and Democracy in Morocco: The Limits of Associative Life (Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, 1998)
I. William Zartman (Editor), The Political Economy of Morocco (Praeger, New York, 1987)

Tunisia
Week 1. : Post Independence State-Building

Essay questions (choose one):

1. ‘The post independence period in the Maghreb states is fundamentally the story of the creation of regimes built around the personality of a single individual.’ How true is this of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco during their first two decades of independence?

2. Why were there internal struggles for power in the states of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia immediately after the securing of independence? What can the similarities and differences between these struggles tell us about the region and the respective states?


Benjamin Stora, Algeria 1830-2000 (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2001)


I.W. Zartman (Editor), Political Elites in Arab North Africa (Longman, New York, 1982)

*Key Texts

**Week 2: The Role of the Military**

Essay questions:

1. According to Abdelkader Yefsah, the Algerian state is run and controlled by the country’s military through use of a civilian ‘hejab.’ How accurate a description is this of the reality of political power in Algeria?

2. How and why have Tunisia and Morocco been able to avoid direct seizure of power by the military since independence? Is it the case that the military have, in fact, indirectly taken power in both states?

Abdallah Hammoudi, Master and Disciple: The Cultural Foundations of Moroccan Authoritarianism (University of Chicago, Chicago, 1997)

Stephen O. Hughes, Morocco Under King Hassan (Ithaca Press, Reading, 2001)


Emma Murphy, Economic and Political Change in Tunisia: From Bourguiba to Ben Ali (London: Macmillan, 1999)

Week 3: Political Parties

1. Compare the roles played by the FLN in Algeria and the Neo-Destour/PSD in Tunisia during the single party period in both states. How do you account for any differences?

2. ‘The sole role of political parties in the Maghreb is to provide a multi-party veneer to the reality of complete executive domination in each state.’ How true is this?

3. Compare the roles played by the FLN in Algeria and the RCD in Tunisia after the introduction of multiparty politics in both states. How do you account for any differences?

4. Did the creation of a government of alternance in Morocco in 1998 herald the birth of multiparty democracy in the Kingdom?

Alex Lindsay, ‘Tunisia: A Predictable Tale’ Middle East International 5 November 2004
Alex Lindsay, ‘Tunisia: Fourth Term’ Middle East International 22 October 2004


*Frank Tachau (ed), Political Parties of the Middle East and North Africa* (London: Mansell, 1994)

Michael J. Willis, ‘Containing Radicalism Through the Political Process in North Africa’ *Mediterranean Politics* (Volume 11, Number 2, July 2006)


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**Week 4: Islamism**

1. Why did Islamists fail to take power in Algeria?

2. Is the notion of Tunisian Islamism being moderate a myth?

3. Why was Moroccan traditionally been seen as being ‘immune’ to Islamism? How and why has this situation changed?

François Burgat and William Dowell, *The Islamic Movement in North Africa* (Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Texas at Austin, 1993)


Abdelbaki Hermassi, ‘The Rise and Fall of the Islamist Movement in Tunisia’ in Laura Guazzone (ed.), The Islamist Dilemma: The Political Role of Islamist Movements in the Contemporary Arab World (Reading: Ithaca, 1995)


*Emad Eldin Shahin, Political Ascent: Contemporary Islamic Movements in North Africa (Boulder: Westview, 1997)

Azzam S. Tamimi, Rachid Ghannouchi: A Democrat Within Islamism (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

Michael Willis, The Islamist Challenge in Algeria: A Political History (Reading, Ithaca, 1996)


Michael J. Willis, ‘Morocco’s Islamists and the Legislative Elections of 2002: The Strange Case of the Party that did not Want to Win’ in Mediterranean Politics (Volume 9, Number 1, Winter 2004)
**Week 5: Political Dimensions of Berber Identity**

Questions:

1. Is it simply a matter of time before the issue of Berber identity in Morocco becomes as politicized as it has in Algeria?

2. Is the Kabyle issue in Algerian politics really about Berber identity?

3. Has the ‘Berber myth’ of the colonial period now become the Berber reality?


David Crawford, ‘Royal Interest in Local Culture: Amazigh Culture and the Moroccan State’ in Maya Shatzmiller (Editor), *Nationalism and Minority Identities in Islamic Societies* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, Montreal and Kingston, 2005)


Hugh Roberts, ‘The Unforeseen Development of the Kabyle Question in Contemporary Algeria’ in *Government and Opposition* Volume 17, Number 3 (Summer 1982)
Michael Willis, ‘Kabylia and the Kabyles in Algerian Politics’ in Michael Peyron (Editor), *Amazigh days at Al Akhawayn University: Paving the Way for Tifinagh* (AUI Press, Ifrane, 2004) (Available from MW)

**Week 6: Political Economy**

1. Have economics dictated politics in the Maghreb or vice versa? Answer with reference to one or more state.

2. ‘The lack of any necessary link between economic liberalisation and political liberalisation is proven by the Maghrebi experience' Do you agree? Answer with reference to one or more state.

3. ‘All major political developments in Algeria since independence can be explained with reference to economics.' Is this true?

4. Have the programmes of economic liberalization and structural adjustment introduced by the Maghreb states since the 1980s served to strengthen or undermine the existing regimes? Answer with reference to one or more state.

Iliya Harik and Denis J. Sullivan (Editors), *Privatization and Liberalization in the Middle East* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1992)


*Azzedine Layachi (Editor), *Economic Crisis and Political Change in North Africa* (Praeger, Westport, 1998)


Dirk Vandewalle (Editor), *North Africa: Development and Reform in a Changing Economy* (St Martin’s, New York, 1996)


Week 7: Regional Relations

Questions:

1. Why has the conflict in the Western Sahara proved to be so protracted and difficult to solve?

2. Is the Arab Maghreb Union a romanticised fantasy that will never be fully achieved?

3. What are the various explanations advanced to explain why the Western Sahara has been such a priority in Moroccan foreign policy over the last thirty years? Which explanation, if any, do you find most convincing and why?

4. Why, despite having so much in common, have Morocco and Algeria experienced such continuously bad relations since independence?


Charles Dunbar: ‘Saharan Stasis: Status and Future Prospects of the Western Sahara Conflict’ in Middle East Journal (Volume 4, Fall 2000)


Tony Hodges: Western Sahara: The Roots of a Desert War (Lawrence Hill&Co, Westport, 1983)


*Khadija Mohsen-Finan, 'The Western Sahara Dispute and UN Pressure' Mediterranean Politics* (Volume 7, No.2, 2002)


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**Week 8: External Relations**

1. Has the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Initiative (Barcelona Process) been a success with regard to and for North Africa?

2. Is France, Spain or the USA the most important external state actor in the Maghreb?

3. Is the EU-Maghreb relationship about politics for the Europeans and about economics for the Maghribis?

4. How important is the Mashreq to the Maghreb?
5. ‘French colonization of the Maghreb never ended.’ Is this an accurate judgment on Franco-Maghreb relations?

Bradford Dillman, ‘“Round Up the Usual Suspects”: U.S. Policy Towards Algeria and its Islamists’ Middle East Policy (Volume III, Number 3, September 2001)
Richard Gillespie, Spain and the Mediterranean (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2000)
Richard Gillespie and Richard Youngs (Editors), ‘The European Union and Democracy Promotion: The Case of North Africa’ Democratization Special Issue (Volume 9, Number 1, Spring 2002)
Annette Junemann (Editor), ‘Euro-Mediterranean Relations After September 11’ Mediterranean Politics Special Issue (Volume 8, Numbers 2-3, Summer-Autumn 2003)

Ivan Martin and Iain Byrne (Editors), ‘Economic and Social Rights in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership’ *Mediterranean Politics* Special Issue (Volume 9, Number 3, Autumn 2004)


Dirk Vandewalle (Editor), *North Africa: Development and Reform in a Changing Economy* (St Martin's, New York, 1996)


Michael Willis and Nizar Messari, ‘Analyzing Moroccan Foreign Policy and Relations with Europe’ in Review of International Affairs (Volume 3, Number 2, Winter 2003)

Yahia H. Zoubir: ‘Reactions in the Maghreb to the Gulf War’ in *Arab Studies Quarterly* (Volume 15, Number 1, Winter 1993)


*Key Texts*