

North African Politics

Option offered to as part of M.Phil. Modern Middle Eastern Studies

Course Provider: Dr Michael Willis, St Antony's

Tel: 284 753

Michael.willis@sant.ox.ac.uk

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 sates 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

- Jamil Abun-Nasr, A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987)
- Lise Garon, Dangerous Alliances: Civil Society, the Media and Democratic Transition in North Africa (Zed Books, London, 2003)
- George Joffé (Editor.), North Africa: Nation, State and Region (London, Routledge 1993)
- R. Kevin Lacey and Ralph M. Coury (eds.), The Arab-African and Islamic Worlds: Interdisciplinary Studies. (USA, Peter Lang 2000)
- *David E. Long and Bernard Reich (eds.), The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa (Westview, Boulder, 4th Edition 202)
- Susan E. Waltz, Human Rights and Reform: Changing the face of North African Politics (London: University of California Press, 1995)
- 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)
- Yahia H. Zoubir (Editor), North Africa in Transition: State, Society, and Economic Transformation in the 1990s (University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 1999)

Algeria

- Charles-Robert Ageron, Modern Algeria: A History from 1830 to the Present (Hurst&Co, London, 1991),
- Ahmed Aghrout and Redha M. Bougherira (Editors), Algeria in Transition: Reforms and Development Prospects (RoutledgeCurzon, London, 2004)
- Michael Bonner, Megan Reif, Mark Tessler (Editors): Islam, Democracy and the State in Algeria (Routledge Curzon, London, 2005)
- John P. Entelis, Algeria: The Revolution Institutionalized (Westview, Boulder, 1986)
- Luis Martinez, The Algerian Civil War 1992-1998 (Hurst & Co, London, 2000)
- William B. Quandt, Between ballots and Bullets: Algeria's Transition from Authoritarianism (Brookings Institution Press, Washington DC, 1998)
- Hugh Roberts, The Battlefield: Algeria 1988-2002: Studies in a Broken Polity (Verso, London, 2003)
- John Ruedy, Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005)
- Martin Stone, The Agony of Algeria (Hurst & Co, London, 1997)
- 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)
- Richard Pennell, Morocco Since 1830: A History (Hurst&Co, London, 2000)
- I. William Zartman (Editor), The Political Economy of Morocco (Praeger, New York, 1987)

Tunisia

- Derek Hopwood, Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia: The Tragedy of Longevity. (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1992)
- Emma Murphy, Economic and Political Change in Tunisia: From Bourguiba to Ben Ali (London: Macmillan, 1999)
- Kenneth J. Perkins, Tunisia: Crossroads of the Islamic and European Worlds (Westview/Croom Helm, Boulder/London, 1986)
- Kenneth Perkins, A History of Modern Tunisia (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004)
- I. William Zartman (Editor), Tunisia: The Political Economy of Reform (Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 1991)

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?

- Jamil Abun-Nasr, A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987)
- Douglas E. Ashford, Political Change in Morocco (Princeton University press, Princeton, 1961)
- Stephen O. Hughes, Morocco Under King Hassan (Ithaca Press, Reading, 2001)
- Rkia El-Mossadeq, 'Political Parties and Power Sharing' in I. William Zartman (Editor), The Political Economy of Morocco (Praeger, New York, 1987)
- John P. Entelis, Algeria: The Revolution Institutionalized (Westview, Boulder, 1986)
- *Clement Henry Moore, Tunisia Since Independence: The Dynamics of One-Party Government (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1965),
- Derek Hopwood, Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia: The Tragedy of Longevity. (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1992)
- *David and Marina Ottaway, Algeria: The Politics of a Socialist Revolution (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970)
- Richard Pennell, Morocco Since 1830: A History (Hurst&Co, London, 2000)
- Kenneth J. Perkins, Tunisia: Crossroads of the Islamic and European Worlds (Westview/Croom Helm, Boulder/London, 1986)

- William B. Quandt, Revolution and Political Leadership: Algeria 1954-1968 (The MIT Press, Cambridge and London, 1969),
- Hugh Roberts, 'The Politics of Algerian Socialism' in R.I. Lawless and A.M. Findlay (Editors), North Africa (Croom Helm, London, 1984)
- John Ruedy, Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992)
- Benjamin Stora, Algeria 1830-2000 (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2001)
- *John Waterbury, The Commander of the Faithful: The Moroccan Elite: A Study in Segmented Politics (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970)
- 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)
- *George Joffé, 'The Army in Algerian Politics and Government' in Reza Shah-Kazemi (Editor), Algeria: Revolution Revisited (Islamic World Report, London, 1997)
- Peter R. Knauss, 'Algeria Under Boumediene: The Mythical Revolution 1965 to 1978' in Issac James Mowoe (Editor), The Performance of Soldiers as Governors: African Politics and the African Military (University Press of America, Columbus, 1980)
- Remy Leveau, 'Morocco at the Crossroads' Mediterranean Politics 2 (2), 1997
- Luis Martinez, The Algerian Civil War 1992-1998 (Hurst & Co, London, 2000)
- Robert Mortimer, 'Bouteflika and the Challenge of Political Stability' in Ahmed Aghrout and Redha M. Bougherira (Editors), Algeria in Transition: Reforms and Development Prospects (RoutledgeCurzon, London, 2004)
- Emma Murphy, Economic and Political Change in Tunisia: From Bourguiba to Ben Ali (London: Macmillan, 1999)
- Hugh Roberts, 'The Zeroual Memorandum: The Algerian State and the Problem of Liberal Reform' in The Journal of Algerian Studies (Volume 1, 1996)

- *Hugh Roberts, 'The Struggle for Constitutional Rule in Algeria' in The Journal of Algerian Studies (Volume 3, 1998) also in Roberts, The Battlefield: Algeria 1988-2002: Studies in a Broken Polity (Verso, London, 2003)
- *L.B. Ware, 'The Role of the Tunisian Military in the Post-Bourguiba Era' Middle East Journal (Volume 39, Number 1, 1985)
- *L.B. Ware, 'Ben Ali's Constitutional Coup in Tunisia' in Middle East Journal (Volume 42, Number 4, 1988)
- *John Waterbury, 'The Coup Manqué' in Ernest Gellner and Charles Micaud (Editors), Arabs and Berbers: From Tribe to Nation in North Africa (Duckworth, London, 1973)
- I. William Zartman, 'The Algerian Army in Politics' in Zartman (Editor), Man, State and Society in the Contemporary Maghrib (Pall Mall Press, London, 1973)
- I.W. Zartman (Editor), Political Elites in Arab North Africa (Longman, New York, 1982)
- I. William Zartman (Editor), The Political Economy of Morocco (Praeger, New York, 1987)

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?

Michele Penner Angrist, 'Parties, Parliament and Political Dissent in Tunisia' in The Journal of North African Studies Volume 4, Number 4 (Winter 1999)

John P. Entelis, Algeria: The Revolution Institutionalized (Westview, Boulder, 1986)

Clement Henry Moore, Tunisia Since Independence: The Dynamics of One-Party Government (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1965)

*Clement Henry Moore, 'Political Parties' in I. William Zartman and William Mark Habeeb (Editors), Polity and Society in Contemporary North Africa (Boulder: Westview, 1993)

Alex Lindsay, 'Tunisia: A Predictable Tale' Middle East International 5 November 2004

Alex Lindsay, 'Tunisia: Fourth Term' Middle East International 22 October 2004

Rkia El-Mossadeq, 'Political Parties and Power Sharing' in I. William Zartman (Editor), The Political Economy of Morocco (Praeger, New York, 1987)

- Emma Murphy, Economic and Political Change in Tunisia: From Bourguiba to Ben Ali (London: Macmillan, 1999)
- Hugh Roberts, 'The FLN: French Conceptions, Algerian Realities' in George Joffé (ed), North Africa: Nation, State and Region (London: Routledge, 1993)
- Hugh Roberts, 'Algeria's Ruinous Impasse and the Honourable Way Out' in International Affairs 71, 2 (1995) (Also available in Roberts, The Battlefield: Algeria 1988-2002: Studies in a Broken Polity (Verso, London, 2003)
- Hugh Roberts, 'Musical Chairs in Algeria', Middle East Report (MERIP) Press Information Note 97, 4 June 2002. (<http://www.merip.org/mero/mero060402.html>)
- James N. Sater, 'Morocco after the Parliamentary Elections of 2002' Mediterranean Politics (Volume 8, Number 1, Spring 2003)
- *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)
- *Michael J. Willis, 'Political Parties in the Maghreb: Ideology and Identification: A Suggested Typology' The Journal of North African Studies (Volume 7, Number 3, 2002)
- *Michael J. Willis, 'Political Parties in the Maghreb: The Illusion of Significance?' The Journal of North African Studies (Volume 7, Number 2, 2002)
- Michael Willis, 'After Hassan: A New Monarch in Morocco' Profile. Mediterranean Politics (Volume 4, No.3 Autumn 1999)
- I. William Zartman, 'The Conduct of Political reform: The Path Toward Democracy' in Zartman (Editor), Tunisia: The Political Economy of Reform (Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 1991)
- I. William Zartman, 'The Challenge of Democratic Alternatives in the Maghrib' in John Ruedy (ed.), Islamism and Secularism in North Africa (London: Macmillan 1994)

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 Morocco 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)
- *Michael Collins Dunn, 'The An-Nahda Movement in Tunisia: From Renaissance to Revolution' in John Ruedy (ed.), Islamism and Secularism in North Africa (London: MacMillan, 1994)
- Mohamed ElHachmi Hamdi, The Politicization of Islam: A Case Study of Tunisia (Boulder: Westview, 1998)

- John P. Entelis, 'Political Islam in the Maghreb: The Nonviolent Dimension' in Entelis (ed.) Islam, Democracy and the State in North Africa (Indiana University Press, Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1997)
- 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)
- *International Crisis Group (ICG), Islamism, Violence and Reform in Algeria: Turning the Page Middle East Report No.29, 30 July 2004
(www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/middle_east__north_africa/egypt_north_africa/29_islamism__violence_and_reform_in_algeria.pdf)
- Gilles Kepel, Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam (I.B.Tauris, London, 2003)
- Azzedine Layachi, 'Islamism in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia and the Struggle for Change in R. Kevin Lacey and Ralph M. Cury (eds.), The Arab-African and Islamic Worlds: Interdisciplinary Studies. (USA, Peter Lang 2000)
- Azzedine Layachi, 'Political Liberalization and the Islamist Movement in Algeria' The Journal of North African Studies (Volume 9, Number 2, Summer 2004)
- Luis Martinez, The Algerian Civil War 1992-1998 (Hurst & Co, London, 2000)
- Luis Martinez, 'Why the Violence in Algeria?' The Journal of North African Studies (Volume 9, Number 2, Summer 2004)
- Henry Munson, Religion and Power in Morocco (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993),
- Ahmed Rouadja, 'Discourses and Strategy of the Algerian Islamist Movement (1986-1992) 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, 'Between Alternance and the Makhzen: At-Tawhid wa Al-Islah's Entry into Moroccan Politics' The Journal of North African Studies Volume 4, Number 3 (Autumn 1999)
- Michael Willis, 'Islamism in Algeria, The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion.' in R. Kevin Lacey and Ralph M. Cury (eds.), The Arab-African and Islamic Worlds: Interdisciplinary Studies. (USA, Peter Lang 2000),
- *Michael J. Willis, 'Justice and Development or Justice and Spirituality?: The Challenge of Morocco's Non-Violent Islamist Movements' in Bruce Maddy-Weitzman and Daniel Zisenwine (Editors): The Maghrib in the New Century: Identity, Religion and Politics (University of Florida Press, Gainesville, forthcoming 2007) (Available from MW)
- 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?

Michael Brett and Elizabeth Fentress, The Berbers (Blackwell, Oxford, 1996)

David Crawford, 'Morocco's Invisible Imazighen' The Journal of North African Studies (Volume 7, Number 1, Spring 2002)

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)

David Crawford and Katherine E. Hoffman, 'Essentially Amazigh: Urban Berbers and the Global village' in R. Kevin Lacey and Ralph M. Coury (eds.), The Arab-African and Islamic Worlds: Interdisciplinary Studies. (USA, Peter Lang 2000)

Ernest Gellner and Charles Micaud (Editors), Arabs and Berbers: From Tribe to Nation in North Africa (Duckworth, London, 1973)

Jane Goodman, 'Reinterpreting the Berber Spring: From Rite of Reversal to Site of Convergence', The Journal of North African Studies (Volume 9, Number 3, Autumn 2004)

Jane Goodman, Berber Culture on the World Stage: From Village to Video (Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2005)

David M. Hart, "The Berber Dahir of 1930 in Colonial Morocco: Then and Now (1930-1996)" The Journal of North African Studies (Volume 2, Number 2, Autumn 1997)

David M. Hart, Tribe and Society in Rural Morocco (Frank Cass, London, 2001)

*International Crisis Group: Unrest and Impasse in Kabylia Middle East/North Africa Report No.15, 10 June 2003 (www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1415&l=1)

Patricia M. E. Lorcin, Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria (I.B. Tauris, London, 1995)

*Azzedine Layachi, 'The Berbers in Algeria: politicized Ethnicity and Ethnicized Politics' in Maya Shatzmiller (Editor), Nationalism and Minority Identities in Islamic Societies (McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston, 2005)

*Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, 'Contested Identities: Berbers, 'Berberism' and the State in North Africa' The Journal of North African Studies (Volume 6, Number 3, Autumn 2001)

Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, 'Ethni-politics and Globalisation in North Africa: The Berber Cultural Movement' The Journal of North African Studies (Volume 11, Number , March 2006)

Salem Mezhdou, 'Glasnost the Algerian Way: The role of Berber nationalists in political reform.' In George Joffé (ed.), North Africa: Nation, State and Region (London, Routledge 1993)

- Brahim S. Nali, 'The Berber Issue in Algeria' Reza Shah-Kazemi (Editor), Algeria: Revolution Revisited (Islamic World Report, London, 1997)
- Hugh Roberts, 'The Unforeseen Development of the Kabyle Question in Contemporary Algeria' in Government and Opposition Volume 17, Number 3 (Summer 1982)
- Hugh Roberts, 'The Kabyle Cockpit' in The Battlefield: Algeria 1988-2002: Studies in a Broken Polity (Verso, London, 2003)
- Stephanie S. Saad, 'Interpreting Ethnic Quiescence: A Brief History of the Berbers of Morocco' in R. Kevin Lacey and Ralph M. Coury (eds.), The Arab-African and Islamic Worlds: Interdisciplinary Studies. (USA, Peter Lang 2000)
- *Michael J. Willis, 'The Politics of Berber (Amazigh) Identity' in Yahia H. Zoubir and Haizam Amirah-Fernandez (Editors), North Africa: Politics, Region and the Limits of Transformation (Routledge, London, forthcoming 2007) (Available from MW)
- 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.

- Rafael Bustos, 'Economic Liberalization and Political Change in Algeria: Theory and Practice (1988-92 and 1994-1999)' Mediterranean Politics (Volume 8, Number 1, Spring 2003)
- Guilain Denoeux, 'Understanding Morocco's "Sanitisation" Campaign (December 1995-May 1996)' The Journal of North African Studies 3, no.1 (1998)
- Bradford Dillman, 'The Political Economy of Structural Adjustment in Tunisia and Algeria' Journal of North African Studies (Volume 3, Number 3, Autumn 1998)
- Iliya Harik and Denis J. Sullivan (Editors), Privatization and Liberalization in the Middle East (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1992)
- Clement M. Henry, The Mediterranean Debt Crescent: Money and Power in Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey (University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 1996)

- Clement M. Henry and Robert Springborg, Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)
- George Joffé, 'The Role of Violence in the Algerian Economy' The Journal of North African Studies (Volume 7, Number 1, Spring 2002)
- Robert J. King, 'The Political Logic of Economic Reform in Tunisia' in Azzedine Layachi (ed.), Economic Crisis and Political Change in North Africa (Westport: Praeger, 1998)
- Stephen J. King, Liberalization Against Democracy: The Local Politics of Economic Reform in Tunisia (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 2003)
- *Azzedine Layachi (Editor), Economic Crisis and Political Change in North Africa (Praeger, Westport, 1998)
- *Azzedine Layachi, 'Reform and the Politics of Inclusion in the Maghrib' The Journal of North African Studies (Volume 5, Number 3, Autumn 2000)
- *Ivan Martin, 'Algeria's Political Economy (1999-2002): An Economic Solution to the Crisis?' The Journal of North African Studies (Volume 8, Number 2, Summer 2003)
- *Luis Martinez, The Algerian Civil War 1992-1998 (Hurst & Co, London, 2000)
- Emma Murphy, Economic and Political Change in Tunisia: From Bourguiba to Ben Ali (London: Macmillan, 1999)
- Karen Pfeifer, 'Economic Liberalization in the 1980s: Algeria in Comparative Perspective' in John P. Entelis and Phillip C. Naylor (Editors), State and Society in Algeria (Westview, Boulder, 1992)
- Lynette Rummel, 'Privatization and Democratization in Algeria' in John P. Entelis and Phillip C. Naylor (Editors), State and Society in Algeria (Westview, Boulder, 1992)
- *Rhys Payne, 'Economic Crisis and policy reform in the 1980s' in I. William Zartman and William Mark Habeeb (Editors): Polity and Society in Contemporary North Africa (Westview, Boulder, 1993)
- High Roberts, 'Doctrinaire Economics and Political Opportunism in the Strategy of Algerian Islamism' in John Ruedy (ed.), Islamism and Secularism in North Africa (London: Macmillan, 1994) AND The Battlefield: Algeria 1988-2002: Studies in a Broken Polity (Verso, London, 2003)
- David Seddon, 'The Politics of Structural Adjustment in Morocco' in K.Campbell, Bonnie Loxley and John Loxley (Editors), Structural Adjustment in Africa (St Martin's Press, New York, 1989)
- David Seddon, 'Politics and the Price of Bread in Tunisia' in Alan Richards (Editor), Food, States and Peasants ((Westview, Boulder, 1986)
- Dirk Vandewalle (Editor), North Africa: Development and Reform in a Changing Economy (St Martin's, New York, 1996)
- Isabelle Werfels, 'Obstacles to Privatization of State-Owned Industries in Algeria: the Political Economy of a Distributive Conflict' The Journal of North African Studies (Volume 7, Number 1, Spring 2002)
- *Gregory White: A Comparative Political Economy of Tunisia and Morocco: On the Outside of Europe Looking In (State University of New York Press, Albany, 2001)
- Michael Willis, 'Algeria's Troubled Road Toward Political and Economic Liberalization: 1988- 1995' in G. Nonneman (Editor): Political and Economic Liberalization: Dynamics and Linkages in Comparative Perspective (Lynne Rienner, 1996)
- I. William Zartman (Editor), The Political Economy of Morocco (Praeger, New York, 1987)

I. William Zartman (Editor), Tunisia: The Political Economy of Reform (Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 1991)

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?

Mohamed Chtatou, 'The present and future of the Maghreb Arab Union' in George Joffé (ed.), North Africa: Nation, State and Region (London, Routledge 1993)

John Damis: 'King Hassan and the Western Sahara' in The Maghreb Review (Volume 25, 1-2, 2000)

*John Damis, 'The Impact of the Saharan Dispute on Moroccan Foreign and Domestic Policy' in I. William Zartman (Editor), The Political Economy of Morocco (Praeger, New York, 1987)

*John Damis: 'The Western Sahara Dispute as a Source of Regional Conflict in North Africa' in Halim Barakat (Editor): Contemporary North Africa: Issues of Development and Integration (Croom Helm, Kent, 1985)

Mary-Jane Deeb and Ellen Laipson, 'Tunisian Foreign policy: Continuity and Change Under Bourguiba and ben Ali' in I. William Zartman (Editor), Tunisia: The Political Economy of Reform (Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 1991)

Mary-Jane Deeb: 'The Arab-Maghribi Union and the Prospects for North African Unity' by in I. William Zartman and William Mark Habeeb (Editors): Polity and Society in Contemporary North Africa (Westview, Boulder, 1993)

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

Hassan II, The Challenge (Macmillan, London, 1978)

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

Mohamed Abed Jabri, 'Evolution of the Maghrib Concept: Facts and Perspectives' in Halim Barakat (Editor): Contemporary North Africa: Issues of Development and Integration (Croom Helm, Kent, 1985)

- *Erik Jensen, Western Sahara: Anatomy of a Stalemate (Lynne Rienner, London and Boulder, 2005)
- Nizar Messari, 'National Security, the Political Space, and Citizenship: The Case of Morocco and the Western Sahara' in The Journal of North African Relations (Volume 6, Number 4, Winter 2001)
- *Khadija Mohsen-Finan, 'The Western Sahara Dispute and UN Pressure' Mediterranean Politics (Volume 7, No.2, 2002)
- *Robert A. Mortimer, 'The Arab Maghreb Union: Myth and Reality' in Yahia H. Zoubir (Editor): North Africa in Transition (University Press of Florida, Florida, 1999)
- Robert A. Mortimer, 'Algerian Foreign Policy in Transition' in John P. Entelis and Phillip C. Naylor (Editors), State and Society in Algeria (Westview, Boulder, 1992)
- John Ruedy, 'Historical Influences on Intra-regional relations in the Maghrib' in Halim Barakat (Editor): Contemporary North Africa: Issues of Development and Integration (Croom Helm, Kent, 1985)
- Toby Shelley, End Game in the Western Sahara: What Future for Africa's Last Colony? (Zed Books, London & New York, 2004)
- *Michael Willis and Nizar Messari, 'Analyzing Moroccan Foreign Policy and Relations with Europe' in Review of International Affairs (Volume 3, Number 2, Winter 2003)
- I. William Zartman, 'The Ups and Downs of Maghrib Unity' in Michael C. Hudson (Editor) Middle East Dilemmas: The Politics and Economics of Arab Integration (Columbia University Press, New York, 1999)
- Yahia H. Zoubir, 'The Resurgence of Algeria's Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century' Journal of North African Studies (Volume 9, Number 2, Summer 2004)
- *Yahia H. Zoubir, 'Algerian-Moroccan Relations and their Impact on Maghribi Integration' The Journal of North African Relations (Volume 5, Number 3, Autumn 2000)
- Yahia H. Zoubir, 'Western Sahara: Political Economy of a Conflict' in Azzedine Layachi (Editor), Economic Crisis and Political Change in North Africa (Praeger, Westport, 1998)
- Yahia H. Zoubir and Daniel Volman (Editors), International Dimensions of the Western Sahara Conflict (Praeger, London, 1993)

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?

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*Key Texts