

The Maghreb Since 1830

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

Hilary Term, 2008

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This course constitutes a study of the Maghreb since the early part of the nineteenth century focusing on the part of the region covered by the modern states of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. Through a series of weekly lectures and tutorials students will receive grounding in the fundamental historical themes and developments of the region over the past two hundred years. The year 1830 has been chosen as a starting point because it marks the first incursion by the European colonial powers into the region with the French conquest of Algiers and its hinterland.

The course focuses on the impact of European colonialism and its aftermath identifying how the pre-colonial societies were affected by and how they reacted to European control and what sort of states and societies they sought to establish in the aftermath of colonialism. Emphasis will be given to political developments but the economic and social dimensions of the period will also be examined. The course aims to identify some of the main specificities of the region's recent history whilst at the same time establishing certain common historical themes with the Middle East region as well as with other parts of the developing world (e.g. colonialism and nationalism). Essay topics will include ones focusing on specific states as well as ones addressing the region as a whole.

Organisation of Teaching

The primary teaching vehicle for the course will be a weekly one hour 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 will be taken in and marked. In addition, there will be eight one hour lectures taking place either during Michaelmas Term.

Bibliography

Although most of the best material on the period is in French, and reading knowledge of French would be an advantage, there are a significant number of good texts in English.

General

Jamil Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987)

Abdallah Laroui, *The History of the Maghrib: An Interpretive Essay* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1977)

General Algeria

Charles-Robert Ageron, *Modern Algeria: A History from 1830 to the Present* (Hurst&Co, London, 1991),

John Ruedy, *Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005)

Benjamin Stora, *Algeria 1830-2000: A Short History* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 2001)

General Morocco

Richard Pennell, *Morocco Since 1830: A History* (Hurst & Co, London, 2000)

General Tunisia

Kenneth J. Perkins, *Tunisia: Crossroads of the Islamic and European Worlds* (Westview/Croom Helm, Boulder/London, 1986)

Kenneth J. Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004)

WEEK 1

THE COMING OF COLONIALISM

1. “The establishment of the protectorates in Tunisia and Morocco owed more to internal collapse than external pressure.” Do you agree?
2. Compare and contrast the effect the invasion and occupation of Algeria had on Morocco and Tunisia between 1830 and 1880. Which country was more affected?

Jamil Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987)

Amira K. Bennison, *Jihad and its Interpretations in Pre-colonial Morocco: State-Society relations during the French conquest of Algeria* (RoutledgeCurzon, London, 2002)

L. Carl Brown, *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey 1837-1855* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1974)

Edmund Burke, *Prelude to Protectorate in Morocco* (University of Chicago press, Chicago, 1976)

Julia A. Clancy Smith, *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800-1904)* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1994)

Ross E. Dunn, *Resistance in the Desert: Moroccan Responses to French Imperialism 1881-1912* (University of Wisconsin, 1977)

William A. Hoisington, *Lyautey and the French Conquest of Morocco* (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1995)

- Mohammed Kenbib, 'The Impact of the French conquest of Algeria on Morocco' in George Joffé (Editor), *North Africa: Nation, State and Region* (London: Routledge, 1993)
- Raphael Danziger, 'From alliance to belligerency: Abd al-Qadir in Morocco, 1843-1847' *The Maghreb Review* (Volume 5, 2-4, 1980)
- Abdallah Laroui, *The History of the Maghrib: An Interpretative Essay* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1977)
- Magali Morsy, *North Africa 1800-1900* (Longman, Harlow, 1984)
- Richard Pennell, *Morocco Since 1830: A History* (Hurst&Co, London, 2000)
- Kenneth J. Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004)
- Kenneth J. Perkins, "'The Masses Look Ardently to Istanbul": Tunisia, Islam and the Ottoman Empire, 1837-1931' in John Ruedy (ed.), *Islamism and Secularism in North Africa* (London: Macmillan 1994)
- Douglas Porch, *The Conquest of Morocco* (Alfred Knopf, New York, 1982)

WEEK 2

THE COLONIAL STATE

1. "Despite the rubric of 'protectorate', the colonial framework established in Morocco and Tunisia was essentially the same as that in Algeria." How true is this?
2. How similar were the protectorate regimes established in Morocco and Tunisia?
3. Who had the more decisive influence on the establishment and development of the French colonial system in Algeria up until 1914 – the French government, the French army or the European settler population?

- Jamil Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987)
- Charles-Robert Ageron, *Modern Algeria: A History from 1830 to the Present* (Hurst & Co, London, 1991)
- Abdeslam Baita, "'Reversion to Tradition" in State Structures in Colonial Morocco' in Abdelali Ali Doumou (Editor), *The Moroccan State in Historical Perspective* (CODESRIA, Dakar, 1990)
- Mahfoud Bennoune, *The Making of Contemporary Algeria, 1830-1987* (Cambridge University Press, 1988)
- Robin Bidwell, *Morocco Under Colonial Rule: French Administration of Tribal areas 1812-1956* (Frank Cass, London, 1973)
- Edmund Burke III, *Theorizing the Histories of Colonialism and Nationalism in the Arab Maghreb* in Ali Abdullatif Ahmida (Editor), *Beyond Colonialism and Nationalism in the Maghrib: History, Culture, and Politics* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2000)
- Vincent Confer, *France and Algeria: The Problem of Civil and Political reform, 1870-1920* (Syracuse University, Syracuse, 1966)
- Moshe Gershovich, *French Military Rule in Morocco* (Frank Cass, London, 2000)

- William A. Hoisington, *Lyautey and the French Conquest of Morocco* (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1995)
- Abdallah Laroui, *The History of the Maghrib: An Interpretative Essay* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1977)
- Gavin Maxwell, *Lords of the Atlas: The Rise and fall of the House of Glaoua* (Longman, London, 1966)
- Magali Morsy, *North Africa 1800-1900* (Longman, Harlow, 1984)
- Richard Pennell, *Morocco Since 1830: A History* (Hurst & Co, London, 2000)
- Kenneth Perkins, *Qaids, Captains and Colons: French Military Administration in the Colonial Maghrib, 1844-1934* (Africana Publishing Company, New York, 1981)
- Kenneth J. Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004)
- David Prochaska, *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône, 1870-1920* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York, 1990)
- John Ruedy, *Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005)
- Alan Scham, *Lyautey in Morocco: Protectorate Administration, 1912-1925*. (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1970)
- Benjamin Stora, *Algeria 1830-2000: A Short History* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 2001)

WEEK 3

RESISTANCE

1. Compare and contrast Emir Abd al-Qadir's resistance to the French to that of Abdelkrim Khattabi in Morocco against the Spanish.
2. "Nothing more than traditional tribal uprisings against central authority." How accurate a description is this of the early (pre-nationalist) resistance to colonial control in the Maghreb?

- Jamil Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987)
- Nora Achrafi, 'Following the Leader: a History and Evolution of the Amir abd al-Qadir al-Jazairi as Symbol' *The Journal of North African Studies* (Volume 12, Number 2, June 2007)
- Sebastian Balfour, *Deadly Embrace: Morocco and the Road to the Spanish Civil War* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002)
- Amira K. Bennison, *Jihad and its Interpretations in Pre-colonial Morocco: State-Society relations during the French conquest of Algeria* (RoutledgeCurzon, London, 2002)
- Robin Bidwell, *Morocco Under Colonial Rule: French Administration of Tribal areas 1812-1956* (Frank Cass, London, 1973)
- Julia A. Clancy Smith, *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800-1904)* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1994)
- Raphael Danziger, *Abd al-Qadir and the Algerians: Resistance to the French and Internal Consolidation* (Holmes & Meier, 1977)

- Raphael Danziger, 'From alliance to belligerency: Abd al-Qadir in Morocco, 1843-1847' *The Maghreb Review* (Volume 5, 2-4, 1980)
- Moshe Gershovich, *French Military Rule in Morocco* (Frank Cass, London, 2000)
- William A. Hoisington, *Lyautey and the French Conquest of Morocco* (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1995)
- John King, 'Abd al-Qadir: Nationalist or Theocrat?' *Journal of Algerian Studies* (Volume 2, 1997)
- C.R. Pennell, *A Country with a Government and a Flag: The Rif War in Morocco, 1921-1926* (Menas Press, Wisbech, 1986)
- C.R. Pennell, *Morocco Since 1830: A History* (Hurst & Co, London, 2000)
- Kenneth J. Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004)
- Douglas Porch, *The Conquest of Morocco* (Alfred Knopf, New York, 1982)
- John Ruedy, *Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005)
- David S. Woolman, *Rebels in the Rif: Abd al Krim and the Rif Rebellion* (Oxford University Press, London, 1965)

WEEK 4

COLONIAL RULE: DIFFERENTIATED COMMUNITIES

1. "The Berber myth is itself a myth: there was never a differentiated French policy towards the Berbers in Algeria and Morocco." Do you agree?
2. Does the experience of the Jewish communities in the Maghreb during the colonial period compare more to that of the Muslim or European communities during the same period?

- Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa During the Second World War* (Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1989)
- Michael Brett and Elizabeth Fentress, *The Berbers* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1996)
- Ernest Gellner and Charles Micaud (Editors), *Arabs and Berbers: From Tribe to Nation in North Africa* (Duckworth, London, 1973)
- 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)
- H.Z. Hirschberg, *A History of the Jews of North Africa; Volume II: From the Ottoman Conquests to the Present Time* (Brill, Leiden, 1981)
- Michael M. Laskier, *North African Jewry in the Twentieth Century: the Jews of Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria* (New York University Press, New York, 1997)
- Michael M. Laskier, *The Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Jewish Communities of Morocco, 1862-1962* (State University of New York Press, Albany, 1983)
- Patricia M. E. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (I.B. Tauris, London, 1995)

- Gavin Maxwell, *Lords of the Atlas: The Rise and fall of the House of Glaoua* (Longman, London, 1966)
- C.R. Pennell, *Morocco Since 1830: A History* (Hurst & Co, London, 2000)
- John Ruedy, *Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005)
- Norman A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times* (Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1991)

WEEK 5

NATIONALISM

1. “Conservative, reformist and revolutionary.” To what extent does this description adequately explain the differences between the nationalist movements in Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria respectively?
2. Compare and contrast Morocco’s and Tunisia’s paths to independence from 1930.

- Jamil Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987)
- Charles-Robert Ageron, *Modern Algeria: A History from 1830 to the Present* (Hurst & Co, London, 1991)
- Jacques Berque, *French North Africa: The Maghrib Between the Two World Wars* (Faber and Faber, London, 1967)
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- John P. Halstead, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Origins and Rise of Moroccan Nationalism 1912-1944* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1969)
- E.G.H. Joffé, ‘The Moroccan Nationalist Movement: The Istiqlal, the Sultan and the Country.’ *Journal of African History* (Number 26, 1985)
- Derek Hopwood, *Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia: The Tragedy of Longevity*. (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1992)
- Mohamed El Mansour, ‘Salafis and Modernists in the Moroccan Nationalist Movement’ in John Ruedy (ed.), *Islamism and Secularism in North Africa* (London: Macmillan 1994)
- Charles A. Micaud (Editor), *Tunisia: The Politics of Modernization* (Pall Mall, London, 1964)
- Richard Pennell, *Morocco Since 1830: A History* (Hurst&Co, London, 2000)
- Kenneth J. Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004)
- William B. Quandt, *Revolution and Political Leadership: Algeria 1954-1968* (The MIT Press, Cambridge and London, 1969)
- John Ruedy, *Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005)
- Norma Salem, *Habib Bourguiba, Islam and the Creation of Tunisia* (Croom Helm, London, 1984)

Emmanuel Sivan, 'L'Étoile Nord Africaine and the Genesis of Algerian Nationalism' *The Maghreb Review* (Volume 3, 5-6, 1978)

Benjamin Stora, *Algeria 1830-2000: A Short History* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 2001)

WEEK 6

THE ALGERIAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE

1. Despite all the odds being stacked against it, how and why was the Algerian liberation struggle successful?
2. "The FLN did not win the war of independence, France lost it." How accurate a characterisation of the Algerian war for independence is this?

Charles-Robert Ageron, *Modern Algeria: A History from 1830 to the Present* (Hurst & Co, London, 1991)

Martin S. Alexander and J.F.V. Keiger (Editors), *France and the Algerian War 1954-62: Strategy, Operations and Diplomacy* (Frank Cass, London 2002)

General Paul Aussaresses, *The Battle of the Casbah: Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Algeria 1955-1957*(Enigma, New York, 2002)

Matthew Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post Cold War Era* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003)

Martin Evans: *The Memory of Resistance: French Opposition to the Algerian War* (Berg, 1997)

David C. Gordon, *The Passing of French Algeria* (Oxford University Press, 1966)

Alf Andrew Heggoy, *Insurgency and Counter Insurgency in Algeria* (Indiana university Press, Bloomington and London, 1972)

Alistair Horne, *A Savage war of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962* (Papermac, London, 1996)

Edgar O'Ballance, *The Algerian Insurrection 1954-62* (Faber & Faber, London, 1967)

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William B. Quandt, *Revolution and Political Leadership: Algeria 1954-1968* (The MIT Press, Cambridge and London, 1969),

Tony Smith, *The French Stake in Algeria, 1945-1962* (Cornell University Press, London, 1978)

Benjamin Stora, *Algeria 1830-2000: A Short History* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 2001)

John Talbott, *The War Without a Name: France in Algeria 1954-1962*, (Faber and Faber London and Boston, 1980)

Irwin M. Wall, *France, the United States and the Algerian War* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 2001)

WEEK 7

THE CHALLENGES OF INDEPENDENCE

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?

Douglas E. Ashford, *Political Change in Morocco* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1961)

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)

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

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, *A History of Modern Tunisia* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004)

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Hugh Roberts, 'The Politics of Algerian Socialism' in R.I. Lawless and A.M. Findlay (Editors), *North Africa* (Croom Helm, London, 1984)

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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)

WEEK 8

THE CHALLENGES OF THE MODERN WORLD

1. How and why did Islamist movements come to present such a challenge to the regimes in the Maghreb from the 1980s?

2. Have the political reform processes begun in the 1980s led to any meaningful political changes in the Maghreb?
3. Is the term 'civil war' an accurate description of the internal conflict that Algeria experienced during the 1990s?

- Ahmed Aghrout and Redha M. Bougherira (Editors), *Algeria in Transition: Reforms and Development Prospects* (RoutledgeCurzon, London, 2004)
- François Burgat and William Dowell, *The Islamic Movement in North Africa* (Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Texas at Austin, 1993)
- Lise Garon, *Dangerous Alliances: Civil Society, the Media and Democratic Transition in North Africa* (Zed Books, London, 2003)
- Laura Guazzone (ed.), *The Islamist Dilemma: The Political Role of Islamist Movements in the Contemporary Arab World* (Reading: Ithaca, 1995)
- Azzedine Layachi, 'Political Liberalization and the Islamist Movement in Algeria' *The Journal of North African Studies* (Volume 9, Number 2, Summer 2004)
- Azzedine Layachi (Editor), *Economic Crisis and Political Change in North Africa* (Praeger, Westport, 1998)
- Bruce Maddy-Weitzman and Daniel Zisenwine (Editors): *The Maghrib in the New Century: Identity, Religion and Politics* (University of Florida Press, Gainesville, 2007)
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- Luis Martinez, *The Algerian Civil War 1992-1998* (Hurst & Co, London, 2000)
- Henry Munson, *Religion and Power in Morocco* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993)
- Emma Murphy, *Economic and Political Change in Tunisia: From Bourguiba to Ben Ali* (London: Macmillan, 1999)
- Kenneth Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004)
- 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)
- Larbi Sadiki, 'Political Liberalisation in Bin Ali's Tunisia: Façade Democracy', *Democratization*, 9, 4, 2002,
- Emad Eldin Shahin, *Political Ascent: Contemporary Islamic Movements in North Africa* (Boulder: Westview, 1997)
- Martin Stone, *The Agony of Algeria* (Hurst & Co, London, 1997)
- Susan E. Waltz, *Human Rights and Reform: Changing the face of North African Politics* (London: University of California Press, 1995)
- Michael Willis, *The Islamist Challenge in Algeria: A Political History* (Reading, Ithaca, 1996)
- Michael J. Willis, 'Political Parties in the Maghreb: The Illusion of Significance?' *The Journal of North African Studies* (Volume 7, Number 2, 2002)
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- Yahia H. Zoubir and Haizam Amirah-Fernandez (Editors), *North Africa: Politics, Region and the Limits of Transformation* (Routledge, London, 2007)