

International Relations of the Maghreb

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

Michaelmas Term 2008

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Course Objectives

This course is a study of the international relations of the Maghreb region focusing on the states of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia but also including aspects of the foreign relations of both Libya and Mauritania.

The course will look at a range of aspects of international relations in the Maghreb beginning with an analysis of the foreign policies of the two key states in region: Morocco and Algeria. It will then examine relations at the regional level through the opposite experiences of attempts at regional unity and armed conflict in the Western Sahara both of which have involved all five states from the wider Maghreb. The second half of the course looks at relations with outside powers and regions including individual European states, the European Union, the United States and the Middle East.

The course aims to familiarise students with the history and nature of international relations in the Maghreb whilst at the same time using the region to illustrate broader issues whose relevance extends beyond the Maghreb: conflict and conflict resolution, regional unity, relations between big powers and smaller states and foreign policy analysis.

Organisation of Teaching

The primary teaching vehicle for the course will be a weekly 1 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 3-4,000 words) for the course, which will be taken in and marked. There will not be a full lecture series dedicated to the course but two lectures given in Trinity Term 2009 will cover significant aspects of the course.

Bibliography and Essay Questions

The bibliography beneath each weekly set of questions only covers the most useful and specific readings on that topic. Students are encouraged to consult other relevant readings from other weeks to supplement and complement the specific ones listed. Students are also

encouraged to use other sources not listed, particularly those in the media offering more up to date information and analysis.

Week 1: Moroccan Foreign Policy

1. 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?
2. Assess the role played by ideology in Moroccan foreign policy since 1956

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)

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

Marvine Howe, 'Friends Neighbors and Others' in Howe, *Morocco: The Islamist Awakening and Other Challenges* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005)

Michael Willis and Nizar Messari, 'Analyzing Moroccan Foreign Policy and Relations with Europe' in Gerd Nonneman (Editor), *Analyzing Middle Eastern Foreign Policies: The Relationships with Europe* (Routledge, London & New York, 2005)

I. William Zartman, 'Moroccan Foreign Policy' in L. Carl Brown (Editor), *Diplomacy in the Middle East* (I.B.Tauris, London, 2001)

Week 2: Algerian Foreign Policy

1. To what extent has Algerian foreign policy been determined by Algeria's domestic politics since independence?
2. Has Algerian foreign policy moved from being internationalist to simply nationalist during the post-independence period?

Mohammed Akacem, 'The Role of External Actors in Algeria's Transition' *Journal of North African Studies* (Volume 9, Number 2, Summer 2004)

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

George Joffé, 'Algeria in the New World Order' *The Journal of Algerian Studies* (Volume 1, 1996)

- Baghat Korany, 'From Revolution to Domestication: The Foreign Policy of Algeria' in Baghat Korany and Ali E. Hillal Dessouki (Editors), *The Foreign Policies of Arab States: The Challenge of Change* (Westview, Boulder, Second Edition 1991)
- 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)
- Hugh Roberts, *The Battlefield: Algeria 1988-2002: Studies in a Broken Polity* (Verso, London, 2003)
- 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, 'The Dialectics of Algeria's Foreign Relations, 1992 to the Present' in Ahmed Aghrout and Redha M. Bougherira (Editors), *Algeria in Transition: Reforms and Development Prospects* (RoutledgeCurzon, London, 2004)

Week 3: The Western Sahara Dispute

1. Why has the Western Sahara dispute proved so intractable for so long?
2. Is the Western Sahara dispute fundamentally a symptom or a cause of wider Algerian-Moroccan regional rivalry
3. Is the Polisario's cause ultimately doomed?

- 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)
- John Damis, *Conflict in Northwest Africa: The Western Sahara Dispute* (Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, 1983)
- 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)
- Erik Jensen, *Western Sahara: Anatomy of a Stalemate* (Lynne Rienner, London and Boulder, 2005)
- Richard Lawless and Laila Monahan (Editors): *War and Refugees: The Western Sahara Conflict* (Pinter, London and New York, 1987)
- Khadija Mohsen-Finan, 'The Western Sahara Dispute and UN Pressure' *Mediterranean Politics* (Volume 7, No.2, 2002)

- Jacob Mundy, 'Neutrality or Complicity? The United States and the 1975 Moroccan Takeover of the Spanish Sahara' *The Journal of North African Studies* (Volume 11, Number 3, September 2006)
- Hugh Roberts: 'The Saharan Cul-de-Sac and the Responsibility of Polisario's Intellectual Sympathisers' in *The Journal of the Society for Moroccan Studies* (Occasional Papers No.1, 1994)
- Toby Shelley, *End Game in the Western Sahara: What Future for Africa's Last Colony?* (Zed Books, London & New York, 2004)
- Andreu Solà-Martin, 'Profile: The Western Sahara Cul-de-Sac' *Mediterranean Politics* (Volume 12, Number 3, November 2007)
- 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 4: Regional Unity

1. Was the failure of the Arab Maghreb Union inevitable?
2. "Both the rise and the fall of the Arab Maghreb Union can be explained in two words: 'Western Sahara'" How true is this?

- Mohamed Chtatou, 'The present and future of the Maghreb Arab Union' in George Joffé (ed.), *North Africa: Nation, State and Region* (London, Routledge 1993)
- 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)
- 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)
- Miguel Hernando de Larramendi, 'Intra-Maghrebi Relations: Unitary Myth and National Interests' in Yahia H. Zoubir and Haizam Amirah-Fernandez (Editors), *North Africa: Politics, Region and the Limits of Transformation* (Routledge, London, 2007)
- Nizar Messari and Michael J. Willis, 'The Arab Maghreb Union' in David W. Lesch (Editor), *History in Dispute: The Middle East Since 1945* Volume 14, Second Series (Farmington Hills, MI: St. James Press, 2003)
- 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)
- 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)

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, 'Algerian-Moroccan Relations and their Impact on Maghribi Integration' *The Journal of North African Relations* (Volume 5, Number 3, Autumn 2000)

Week 5: Relations with the EU

1. Has the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Initiative (Barcelona Process) been a success with regard to and for North Africa?
2. Is the EU-Maghreb relationship about politics for the Europeans and about economics for the Maghribis?

Fulvio Attina, 'The Barcelona Process, the Role of the European Union and the Lesson of the Western Mediterranean' *The Journal of North African Studies* (Volume 9, Number 2, Summer 2004)

Cherif Begga and Kamel Abid, 'The Euro-Algerian Relationship: A Review of Development in Stability' in Ahmed Aghrout and Redha M. Bougherira (Editors), *Algeria in Transition: Reforms and Development Prospects* (RoutledgeCurzon, London, 2004)

Béchrir Chourou, 'The Free-Trade Agreement Between Tunisia and the European Union' *The Journal of North African Studies* (Volume 3, Number 1, Spring 1998)

Richard Gillespie, 'Onward but not Upward: The Barcelona Conference of 2005' *Mediterranean Politics* (Volume 11, Number 2, July 2006)

Richard Gillespie and Richard Youngs (Editors), 'The European Union and Democracy Promotion: The Case of North Africa' *Democratization* Special Issue (Volume 9, Number 1, March 2007)

Aylin Güney and Aslihan Çelenk, 'The European Union's Democracy Promotion Policies in Algeria: Success or Failure?' *The Journal of North African Studies* (Volume 12, Number 1, Spring 2002)

William Mark Habeeb: 'The Maghrebi States and the European Community' in I. William Zartman and William Mark Habeeb (Editors): *Polity and Society in Contemporary North Africa* (Westview, Boulder, 1993)

George Joffé: 'The European Union and the Maghreb in the 1990s' in Yahia H. Zoubir (Editor): *North Africa in Transition* (University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 1999)

George Joffe, 'European policy Towards the Southern Mediterranean' in Yahia H. Zoubir and Haizam Amirah-Fernandez (Editors), *North Africa: Politics, Region and the Limits of Transformation* (Routledge, London, 2007)

Elizabeth Johansson-Nougués, 'A "Ring of Friends"? The Implications of the European Neighbourhood Policy for the Mediterranean' (Volume 9, Number 2, Summer 2004)

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)
- 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 and Nizar Messari, 'Analyzing Moroccan Foreign Policy and Relations with Europe' in Gerd Nonneman (Editor), *Analyzing Middle Eastern Foreign Policies: The Relationships with Europe* (Routledge, London & New York, 2005)

Week 6: Bilateral Relations with European States

1. "The French colonization of Algeria never ended." Is this an accurate judgment on Franco-Algerian relations?
2. Account for the complexity of Moroccan-Spanish relations.

- Haizam Amirah-Fernandez, 'Spain's Policy Towards Morocco and Algeria: Balancing Relations with the Southern Neighbours' in Yahia H. Zoubir and Haizam Amirah-Fernandez (Editors), *North Africa: Politics, Region and the Limits of Transformation* (Routledge, London, 2007)
- Camille Bonora-Waisman, *France and the Algerian Conflict: Issues in Democracy and Political Stability, 1988-1995* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2003)
- Jean-François Daguzan, 'France and the Maghreb: The End of the Special Relationship?' in Yahia H. Zoubir and Haizam Amirah-Fernandez (Editors), *North Africa: Politics, Region and the Limits of Transformation* (Routledge, London, 2007)
- Richard Gillespie, '“This Stupid Little Island”: A Neighbourhood Confrontation in the Western Mediterranean' *International Politics* (Volume 43, No.1, 2006)
- Richard Gillespie, *Spain and the Mediterranean* (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2000)
- Peter Gold, *Europe or Africa: A Contemporary Study of the Spanish North Africa Enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla* (Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2000)
- Carmen Gonzalez Enriquez, 'Ceuta and Melilla: Clouds over the African Spanish Towns. Muslim Minorities, Spaniards' Fears and Morocco-Spain Mutual Dependence' *The Journal of North African Studies* (Volume 12, Number 2, June 2007)
- Rachid Messaoudi, 'Algerian-French Relations: 1830-1991' in Reza Shah-Kazemi (Editor), *Algeria: Revolution Revisited* (Islamic World Report, London, 1997)
- Inigo Moré, 'The Economic Step between Neighbours: The Case of Spain-Morocco' *Mediterranean Politics* (Volume 9, Number 2, Summer 2004)
- Phillip C. Naylor, 'French-Algerian Relations 1980-1990' in John P. Entelis and Phillip C. Naylor (Editors), *State and Society in Algeria* (Westview, Boulder, 1992)
- Phillip C. Naylor, *France and Algeria: A History of Decolonization and Transformation* (University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 2000)

Week 7: The US

1. Do US priorities in the Middle East and Maghrebi ties with Europe ensure that US-Maghrebi relations are of little real importance to either side?
2. “US interests in the Maghreb are essentially the same as those in the Mashreq: oil, Israel and terrorism.” Discuss

Jean Crombois, ‘The US-Morocco Free Trade Agreement’ *Mediterranean Politics* (Volume 10, Number 2, July 2005)

John Damis, ‘The United States and North Africa’ in I. William Zartman and William Mark Habeeb (Editors): *Polity and Society in Contemporary North Africa* (Westview, Boulder, 1993)

Bradford Dillman, ‘“Round Up the Usual Suspects”: U.S. Policy Towards Algeria and its Islamists’ *Middle East Policy* (Volume III, Number 3, September 2001)

Clement M. Henry, ‘Reverberations in the Central Maghreb of the “Global War on Terror”’ in Yahia H. Zoubir and Haizam Amirah-Fernandez (Editors), *North Africa: Politics, Region and the Limits of Transformation* (Routledge, London, 2007)

Jeremy Keenan, ‘Waging War on Terror: The Implications of America’s “New Imperialism” for Saharan Peoples’ *The Journal of North African Studies* (Volume 10, Numbers 3-4, September-December 2005)

Azzedine Layachi, *The United States and North Africa: A Cognitive Approach to Foreign Policy* (Praeger, New York, 1990)

Nizar Messari, ‘Moroccan and US Approaches in the Middle East’ in *Moroccan-American Relations in the New Millenium* (AUI Press, Ifrane, 2003)

Richard B. Parker: ‘United States Policies’ in Parker, *North Africa: Regional Tensions and Strategic Concerns* (Praeger, New York, 1987)

Oliver Wilcox, ‘Pivotal or peripheral? The Maghreb in US Foreign Policy’ in R. Kevin Lacey and Ralph M. Coury (eds.), *The Arab-African and Islamic Worlds: Interdisciplinary Studies*. (USA, Peter Lang 2000)

Yahia Zoubir, ‘Algeria and U.S. Interests: Containing Radicalism and Promoting Democracy’ *Middle East Policy* (Volume IX, March 2002, Number 1)

Yahia Zoubir, ‘The United States, Islamism, Terrorism, and Democracy in the Maghreb: The Predominance of Security’ in Yahia H. Zoubir and Haizam Amirah-Fernandez (Editors), *North Africa: Politics, Region and the Limits of Transformation* (Routledge, London, 2007)

Yahia Zoubir and Stephen Zunes, ‘United States Policy in the Maghreb’ in Yahia H. Zoubir (Editor): *North Africa in Transition* (University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 1999)

Week 8: The Middle East

1. How important is the Mashreq to the Maghreb?

2. What are the main factors that have shaped Moroccan policy towards the Middle East? Have these factors conflicting effects led to Morocco pursuing an inconsistent policy towards the region?

- Jacob Abadi, 'The Road to the Israeli-Moroccan Rapprochement' *The Journal of North African Studies* (Volume 5, Number 1, Spring 2000)
- Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, 'Israel and Morocco: A Special Relationship' in *The Maghreb Review* (Volume 21, 1-2, 1996)
- Nizar Messari, 'Moroccan and US Approaches in the Middle East' in *Moroccan-American Relations in the New Millennium* (AUI Press, Ifrane, 2003)
- Michael M. Laskier, *Israel and the Maghreb: From Statehood to Oslo* (University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 2004)
- David Seddon, 'Politics and the Gulf Crisis: Government and Popular Responses in the Maghreb' in Haim Bresheeth and Nira Yuval-Davis (Editors), *The Gulf War and the New World Order* (Zed, London and New Jersey, 1991)
- David Seddon, 'Responses to the Gulf Crisis in the Maghreb' *Review of African Political Economy* (Volume 18, Issue 50, March 1991)
- Mark Tessler, 'Moroccan Israeli Relations', *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Spring 1988),
- Michael Willis and Nizar Messari, 'Analyzing Moroccan Foreign Policy and Relations with Europe' in Gerd Nonneman (Editor), *Analyzing Middle Eastern Foreign Policies: The Relationships with Europe* (Routledge, London & New York, 2005)
- Yahia H. Zoubir, 'Reactions in the Maghreb to the Gulf War' in *Arab Studies Quarterly* (Volume 15, Number 1, Winter 1993)

Supplemental Readings

- 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)
- Susan E. Waltz, 'The International Dimension' in Waltz, *Human Rights and Reform: Changing the face of North African Politics* (London: University of California Press, 1995)