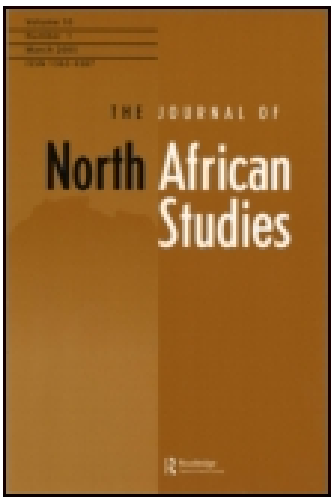
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Revolution, revolt, and reform in North Africa: the Arab Spring and beyond

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BOOK REVIEWS

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Revolution, revolt, and reform in North Africa: the Arab Spring and beyond, edited by Ricardo René Larémont, New York, Routledge, 2014, 180 pp., $51.95 (hardcover), ISBN 978-0-415-83947-1

The revolutionary movements, which began in 2010 in Tunisia, turned into a democratisation wave in North African and Middle Eastern countries that came to be called the Arab Spring. The revolts and revolutionary movements first appeared in North African countries and spread to other Middle Eastern countries. In the ongoing process, some revolutions succeeded, but others failed, turning into civil war. The book *Revolution, Revolt, and Reform in North Africa: The Arab Spring and Beyond* edited by Ricardo René Larémont focuses on the transformation process in the pre- and post-Arab Spring era in North Africa. Examining the Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, and Algerian cases, the book lays out an empirical analysis of the Arab Spring's revolutions in terms of social dynamics, economical aspects, and the role of militaries. The book is the first publication for Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Democratization and Government. The book series analyses the transformation process in the Middle East in the context of the Arab Spring and beyond.

The book consists of eight chapters; the majority of them (the cases) are revised versions of the articles which were previously published in the *Journal of the Middle East and Africa*. In the first chapter, Larémont presents a conceptual discussion and outlines the book. He argues that the Arab Spring began as leaderless movements and without ideology. He and the authors of the chapters assert that the successful revolts' *demonstration effect*, *normative preparedness for change*, and *communications technology* played crucial roles in turning the revolutions into the wave that then spread to the other countries (9). Larémont claims that there are similarities in the types of causes and results of past revolts (in America, Europe, and Russia) to those at work in the Arab Spring in terms of combining the masses. In chapter two, Larémont analyses the role of demographics, economics, and technological factors in the background of the North African cases. According to Larémont's population and fertility analysis, although all five countries have a youthful population, in the near future (i.e. by 2030), only Egypt, and in particular Libya, will maintain high fertility rates and a young population while Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria will see declines in the number of young people in their populations. According to Larémont's correlation, in the cases where the population gets older, social demands decline. In this regard, he argues that in the future, while Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria will remain politically stable, Egypt and particularly Libya will need to meet mid- and long-term demands of their populations.

He states that while telegraph, audio tapes, and fax machines played an important role in the past revolts, today (in the Arab Spring) cell phones, text messages, Facebook, and Twitter

have replaced them. Tunisia's revolution had a demonstration effect in the region. Amira Aleya-Sghaier, a research professor at the University of Tunis, analyses the Tunisian revolution in chapter three. Aleya-Sghaier emphasises the importance of the role of youth, civil society organisations, different occupational groups, the army, and police. He argues that income inequality, declining job prospects for youth, and discontent against autocratic Ben Ali's regime led to the revolution. He also points out the facilitator role of the Tunisian army in the revolution by saying the 'army did not make the revolution – it simply allowed it to occur' (47). While Tunisia experienced the process of a successful revolution, he attracts attention to how much more needs to be done in the post-revolutionary era for Tunisia.

In chapter four, Emad El-Din Shahin, professor of public policy and administration at the American University in Cairo, examines the dynamics of the January 25 Revolution in Egypt. Shahin puts forward that mass mobilisation is the primary factor in the succession of the Egyptian January 25 Revolution. He argues that the youth, the April 6 Movement, the Popular Campaign for the Support of Mohamed ElBaradei, the Muslim Brotherhood, labour unions, and the army played direct or indirect roles in the January 25 Revolution. He stresses the significant role that social media (especially Facebook) had for the revolution. He also emphasises the regime's erroneous attitude that the action was not instrumental in the realisation of the revolution. Egypt suffered from a *coup d'etat* after the revolution. Shahin's analysis lacks of the post-revolutionary era. Libya is the unique example in which external powers' enabled the revolution of the Arab Spring. Youssef M. Sawani, professor of political science at the University of Tripoli, Libya, analyses the February 17 Revolution in Libya (in his own words *intifada*) in chapter five. Sawani presents the role of militias, the tribes, the media (in particular Al Jazeera), and NATO intervention in the Libyan revolution. He also explains Qaddafi's and his son Saif al-Islam's unsuccessful efforts against the revolt. According to Sawani's analysis, the February 17 Revolution was characterised as leaderless and lacking ideology. This characterisation along with the effectiveness of the militias expresses the state-building failure in the post-Qaddafi era for Libya.

Morocco and Algeria in comparison made less of an impression in the Arab Spring. In chapter six, Mohammed Darif, professor in the Faculty of Law at Hassan II University, Mohammedia, Morocco, argues that because of King Mohammed VI's previous attempts (dating back to the beginning of the 2000s) for political liberalisation and power sharing from the centre to the periphery, Morocco was only slightly affected by the Arab Spring. Darif argues that Morocco's limited change (constitutional rather than regime), unlike the other examples, arose from both Moroccan society's conservative and traditional structure, and their wish to 'change with continuity' (121–122). Azzedine Layachi, professor of political science at Saint John's University, New York and Rome, elucidates Algerian 'exceptionalism' in Arab Spring in chapter seven. He argues that Algeria was beginning to experience a political and economic liberalisation process in the 1980s, which most countries faced only later with Arab Spring. He adds that petroleum and gas revenues, and the regime's intertwinement with non-violent Islamist groups prevented Algeria from the demands for regime change during the Arab Spring.

Last, in chapter eight, the editor analyses the process of revolution, revolt, and reform in the North African countries. He emphasises the role of youth, technology, and societal intolerance against the autocratic regime in each case. The Arab Spring emerged with different results in each country. Some of them achieved regime change with stable political continuity into the post revolution era, but some failed. The process after the Arab Spring is highly dynamic. The book focuses on the background of the revolution and revolt for each country, but its analysis of events beyond the Arab Spring is weak. Nonetheless, *Revolution, Revolt, and Reform in North Africa: The Arab Spring and Beyond* offers valuable empirical analyses by local academics,

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and it explains the dynamics of the revolution and reform attempts for North African countries in the Arab Spring. It is easy to read, and is recommended to academics, undergraduate, and graduate students and researchers who study North African politics.

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The emergence of nationalist politics in Morocco: the rise of the Independence Party and the struggle against colonialism after World War II, by Daniel Zisenwine, New York, Tauris Academic Studies, 2010, 256 pp., £59.00 (hardback), ISBN 978-1848853232

In this book on the emergence of the Istiqlal (Independence) Party, Daniel Zisenwine summarises the history of the Moroccan anti-colonial movement from its inauguration during the 1930s until the deposition of Sultan Mohamed ben Youssef by the French authorities in August 1953. Providing a good overview of the trajectory of the most prominent nationalist organisation inside the French Protectorate, he introduces the reader to the important events and individuals who characterised this pivotal period of Maghribi history. The author's main argument is quite simple: whereas the 'classic view of Moroccan nationalism' situated its beginning in the wake of the protest against the Berber *dahir* (edict) in 1930 and then drew a straight line past the Independence Manifesto in 1944 all the way to the country's independence in March 1956, Zisenwine rejects such a linear and teleological vision (5). Instead, he argues for the re-emergence of political agitation towards the end of the Second World War as a 'rupture' and 'milestone', which constituted a break with the Moroccans' previous gradualism and eventually led to the establishment of the Istiqlal in December 1943 (29). In order to do so, he focuses on the 'political and cultural processes that were initiated by political actors with the aim of strengthening the public's allegiance to the Moroccan nation' (6).

Given the dearth of scholarly literature on Moroccan nationalism in English, and with no authoritative analysis of the Istiqlal written in any language, a work focusing on both the inner workings of the party and its relationship with the colonial authorities is a welcome addition to the existing body of knowledge. Zisenwine's most important contribution to Moroccan studies, however, is his use of the US National Archives (USNA) in College Park, Maryland, a hitherto underutilised repository that can provide researchers with some interesting insights into Moroccan history. In combination with the well-known colonial archives in Nantes, Paris, and La Courneuve, the USNA hold great promise for scholars of the North African kingdom.

However, the book's most important strength, namely the utilisation of the records of the US Department of State, also constitutes a major problem. Despite the fact that the American documents contain numerous gems, they do not allow for a sophisticated examination of the Moroccan nationalist movement. Until almost 1950, the American diplomats stationed in the country had