

HUGH ROBERTS

TEACHER, WRITER AND CONSULTANT; SPECIALIST ON NORTH AFRICAN AND MIDDLE EASTERN HISTORY AND POLITICS

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CURRENT POSITION

- Edward Keller Associate Professor of North African and Middle Eastern History, Department of History, Tufts University, Medford, MA, since January 1, 2012.
- Director, Middle Eastern Studies Program, Tufts University, since September 2012.

APPOINTMENTS

- Director, North Africa Project, International Crisis Group, 2002-2007 and January-July 2011.
- Senior Research Fellow, Crisis States Programme, Development Research Centre, London School of Economics, 1999-2002
- Senior Research Fellow and Director of the Contemporary Algeria Research Project, Development Studies Institute, London School of Economics, 1997-1999
- Visiting Lecturer in North African History, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1997-1998
- Visiting Professor in Middle Eastern Politics, University of California, Berkeley, Department of Political Science, Spring Semester 1996
- Research Fellow in Political Science, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex (on secondment from UEA), 1986-1987
- Lecturer in Politics and Political History, School of Development Studies, University of East Anglia, 1976-1988

EDUCATION: DEGREES, GRANTS AND SCHOLARSHIPS

- D.Phil. in Politics, University of Oxford, 1980 for a thesis on *Political development in Algeria: the region of Greater Kabylia*
- French Government (Ministère des Affaires Étrangères) scholarship to support doctoral research on Algeria at the Centre de Recherches et d'Études sur les Sociétés Méditerranéennes (CRESM), Université d'Aix-Marseille III, Aix-en-Provence, November 1975-June 1976
- Social Science Research Council grant for postgraduate study and research on Algerian politics and history, 1972-1975
- BA Honours in Politics, Philosophy and Economics, Oxford University, 1972
- *Proxima accessit*, Gibbs Scholarship in Politics, Oxford University, 1971
- Open Scholarship in Classics for PPE, Trinity College, Oxford, 1969-1972
- Foundation Scholar of St Paul's School, London (Junior and Senior Schools), 1961-1968

OTHER APPOINTMENTS

- The Fundamentalism Project (American Academy of Arts and Sciences and University of Chicago): member of and participant in this project, 1990-1994
- National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers: Consultant, 1991-1993; assistant editor of *Career Teacher* and consultant editor of *Teaching Today*.
- Freelance writer, lecturer and consultant, based in London, 1988-1995

- EURO-ACTION ACORD: consultant employed to review an integrated rural development programme in the Acholi region of northern Uganda and propose a strategy in view of the deteriorating political situation; based in Gulu and Kitgum as well as Kampala, 1985
- Economist Intelligence Unit: author of Quarterly Economic Reviews and Annual Supplements on Algeria, 1983-1984
- OXFAM: consultant employed to carry out a review of the use of discretionary grants by field directors; desk study and statistical survey, plus field work in India (West Bengal, Haryana, Maharashtra, Gujarat), 1982
- EURO-ACTION ACORD consultant attached to the Ministry of Planning, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), based in Ouagadougou and Kaya, evaluating a pilot Regional Planning Service in the Centre-Nord *département* and proposing guidelines for the development of regional planning throughout the country, 1981
- International Labour Office (ILO): consultant attached to the Jordanian Co-operative Organisation, Amman, in a two-man team carrying out a major survey and evaluation of the Jordanian Co-operative Movement, 1980
- Workers' Educational Association (WEA): course convenor, Norwich, 1977
- Lycée Abderrahmane Mira, Bouïra, Grande Kabylie, Algeria: English teacher, 1973-1974
- *L'Express* magazine, Paris: worked in the Service d'Information, 1969

ADMINISTRATION

- Director, Middle East Studies Program, Tufts University, since September 2012.
- International Crisis Group: Director of the North Africa Project, Cairo.
- London School of Economics: Member of Working Party preparing Development Studies Institute's successful submission to the Department for International Development (DfID, British Government) of its proposal seeking DfID's funding for a Development Research Centre, 1999.
- London School of Economics: Development Studies Institute: secured funding for and directed the Algeria Research Project, 1997-9; also secured a combination of external and internal funding for a 3-year studentship for doctoral research on Algeria and organized the selection procedure by which the successful candidate was chosen
- Founder of the Society for Algerian Studies (1992), Secretary and organizer of the Society's annual lecture programmes, 1992-2000; acting Treasurer, 1992-4.
- University of East Anglia, School of Development Studies: Chairman of Working Party on the Restructuring of the BA Honours in Development Studies, 1985-6
- UEA, School of Development Studies: Chairman of Teaching Committee, 1984-5
- UEA, School of Development Studies: Coordinator of Research Seminar programme, 1981-2
- UEA, Member of various committees of the School of Development Studies, 1976-88
- Oxford University: President of the OUSRC 1972; led successful campaign to transform the OUSRC into the Oxford University Student Union (OUSU), 1972-3
- Oxford University: Member of the Student Representative Council (OUSRC) and Chairman of OUSRC Standing Committee on University Discipline, 1970-2
- Oxford University: Treasurer of the Oxford Union Society, Autumn 1970

MEMBERSHIPS

- Society for Algerian Studies (affiliated to SOAS, University of London): Founder (1992), Secretary (1992-2000), Vice-President (2000-present)
- Royal Institute for International Affairs (RIIA), Chatham House, London
- British Society for Middle Eastern Studies (BRISMES)
- Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA)
- The Maghreb Center, Washington D.C.

LANGUAGES

- English: native language

- French: native speaker standard in spoken and written French
- Arabic: intermediate level written (Modern Standard Arabic) and spoken (Algerian and Egyptian colloquial);
- Tamazighth (Berber): some knowledge of *Thaqbailith* (the Kabyle dialect), written and spoken

PUBLICATIONS

1. BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS

A. Completed

- *Algerian Socialism and the Kabyle Question*. University of East Anglia, *Monographs in Development Studies*, No. 8. 376 pp., maps, 1981
- *Northern Ireland and the Algerian Analogy: a suitable case for Gaullism?* Athol Books, 70pp., 1986
- *The Battlefield: Algeria 1988-2002. Studies in a broken polity*. London and New York, Verso, 402 pp., maps, tables, 2003
- *Savaş Meydani Cezayir 1988-2002. Çökmüş Bir Rejime Dair İncelemeler* (Turkish translation of *The Battlefield: Algeria 1988-2002*). Kapi Yayinlari, 2006
- *Berber Government: the Kabyle polity in pre-colonial Algeria*. London and New York, I.B. Tauris, 329 pp., published August 30 (UK), October 30 (US), 2014
- *Algérie-Kabylie: études et interventions de Hugh Roberts* (written in French), Algiers, Éditions Barzakh, 335 pp., published October 30, 2014

B. Currently in preparation

- *The Green Card: the political dynamics of Islamism in North Africa and beyond*, Hurst & Co., c. 300 pages
- *Commanding Disorder: informal politics and military power in Algeria* (under contract to I.B. Tauris)
- *Algerian Politics and the Kabyle Question* (under contract to I.B. Tauris).

2. CHAPTERS IN BOOKS

- 'The conversion of the mrabt in Kabylia', In Ernest Gellner, Jean-Claude Vatin *et al.*, *Islam et Politique au Maghreb*, Éditions du CNRS, Paris and Aix-en-Provence, 1981, 101-25
- 'The Algerian bureaucracy' in Talal Asad and Roger Owen, eds., *Sociology of "Developing Societies": The Middle East*, Macmillan, London, 1983, 95-114
- 'The Politics of Algerian Socialism' in Richard Lawless and Allen Findlay eds., *North Africa: Contemporary Politics and Economic Development*, Croom Helm, London, 1984, 5-49
- 'Algeria', in *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of the Middle East and North Africa*, Cambridge University Press, 1988, 301-7
- 'Sound Stupidity: the British party system and the Northern Ireland question' in John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary, eds., *The Future of Northern Ireland*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991, 100-36
- 'A trial of strength: Algerian Islamism' in James Piscatori, ed., *Islamic Fundamentalisms and the Gulf Crisis*, The Fundamentalism Project, University of Chicago Press, 1991, 131-54
- 'The FLN: French conceptions, Algerian realities' in George Joffé, ed., *North Africa: Nation, State and Region*, Routledge, London, 1993, 111-41

- 'From Radical Mission to Equivocal Ambition: the expansion and manipulation of Algerian Islamism, 1979-1992', in Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds., *Accounting for Fundamentalisms: The Dynamic Character of Movements*, The Fundamentalism Project, University of Chicago Press, 1994, 428-89
- 'Doctrinaire economics and political opportunism in the strategy of Algerian Islamism', in John Ruedy, ed., *Islamism and Secularism in North Africa*, Georgetown University, Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, St Martin's Press, 1994, 123-47
- 'Prémisses historiques d'une libération inachevée', in Fanny Colonna, ed., *Aurès/Algérie 1954, Les fruits verts d'une révolution*, Paris, Éditions Autrement, Série Mémoires No. 33, Paris, 1994, 72-92
- 'The struggle for constitutional rule in Algeria', in Are Hovdenak, ed., *Algeria and the International Society: The Crisis of Violence*, Oslo, Norwegian Institute of Human Rights, Human Rights Report No. 1, 1999, 33-41
- 'Dancing in the dark: the European Union and the Algerian drama', in Richard Gillespie and Richard Youngs (eds.), *The European Union and Democracy Promotion: the case of North Africa*. London, Frank Cass, 2002, 106-34
- 'The Image of the French Army in the Cinematic Representation of the Algerian War: the revolutionary politics of "The Battle of Algiers"', in Martin S. Alexander, Martin Evans and J.F.V. Kieger (ed.), *The Algerian War and the French Army (1954-1962)*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, 152-63
- 'Algeria: can national order be restored?' in Judith S. Yaphe (ed.), *The Middle East in 2005: the impact of regional trends on U.S. strategic planning*. Washington D.C., National Defense University, 2002, 15-41.
- 'The Left and the Algerian catastrophe', in Leo Panitch and Colin Leys (eds.), *Fighting Identities: race, religion and ethno-nationalism (Socialist Register 2003)*, 152-71
- 'Gellner et la segmentarité au Maghreb: à propos de l'analyse des champs politiques maghrébins', in Lahouari Addi (ed.), *L'Anthropologie au Maghreb selon Berque, Bourdieu, Geertz et Gellner: actes du colloque de Lyon, 21-23 septembre 2001*. Institut d'Études Politique de Lyon, CERIEP et GREMMO, Paris, Awal/Ibis Press, 2003, 39-55.
- 'Against identity politics' in Kurt Almquist (ed.), *The Secular State and Islam in Europe*, Stockholm, The Axel and Margaret Ax:son Johnson Foundation, 2007, 259-79
- 'Islamism and political reform in British-Egyptian relations', in Noel Brehony and Ayman El-Desouky (eds.), *British-Egyptian Relations from Suez to the Present Day*. London, Saqi Books (in association with London Middle East Institute), 2007, 91-106.
- 'L'officialisation de tamazight en Algérie et la question de la graphie: réflexions et considérations politiques', in Abderrazaq Dourari (ed.), *Tamazight langue nationale en Algérie: États des lieux et problématique d'aménagement* (Actes du 1^{er} Colloque sur l'aménagement de tamazight, Sidi Fredj, 5-7 décembre, 2006), Algiers, Publications du Centre National Pédagogique et Linguistique pour l'Enseignement de Tamazight), 2007, 131-4.
- 'Logics of jihadi violence in North Africa', in Rik Coolsaet (ed.), *Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalization Challenge in Europe*. Aldershot, U.K., Ashgate, 2008, 39-53.
- 'Demilitarizing Algeria', in Marina S. Ottaway and Julia Choucair Vizoso (eds.), *Beyond the Façade: Political Reform in the Arab World*. Washington DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2008, 137-60.
- 'Triangulating on shifting sands: aspects and effects of regime responses to Islamist movements in North Africa', in Muna Abdalla (ed.), *Inter-regional Challenges of Islamic Extremist Movements in North Africa*. Addis Ababa, Institute for Security Studies, 2011, 195-217.
- 'Logics of jihadi violence in North Africa', (revised and updated) in Rik Coolsaet (ed.), *Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalization Challenge in Europe*. Aldershot, U.K., Ashgate, 2nd edition, 2011, 27-44.
- 'Foreword' to Patricia Lorcín, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (2nd edition, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2014)
- 'Algeria: the negotiations that aren't' in I. William Zartman (ed.), *Intifadat: Negotiations in the Shadow of Social Movements*, University of Georgia Press, forthcoming 2015.

- 'Algeria'. In Richard C. Martin et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World 2nd edition*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, forthcoming 2016.

3. ARTICLES IN JOURNALS

- 'Kabylia in transition.' *The Maghreb Review*, III, 7/8 (1978), 16-21.
- 'Towards an understanding of the Kabyle question in contemporary Algeria.' *The Maghreb Review*, V, 5/6 (1980), 115-24.
- 'Is Algeria socialist?' (Review article on Marc Raffinot and Pierre Jacquemot, 'Le Capitalisme d'État Algérien'). *The Gazelle Review of Literature on the Middle East*, 6 (1980), 1-10.
- 'The unforeseen development of the Kabyle question in contemporary Algeria.' *Government and Opposition*, XVII, 3 (1982), 312-34.
- 'The Algerian bureaucracy.' *Review of African Political Economy*, 24 (1982), 39-54.
- 'The economics of Berberism: the material basis of the Kabyle question in contemporary Algeria.' *Government and Opposition*, XVIII, 2 (1983), 218-35.
- With Dr Tony Barnett: 'Co-operatives and co-operative organisations in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.' *Agricultural Administration*, XVI, 2 (1984), 1-21.
- With Dr Tony Barnett: 'The Jordanian Co-operative Organisation: problems and prospects in the early 1980s.' *Agricultural Administration*, XVI, 3 (1984), 1-19.
- 'Sound Stupidity: the British party system and the Northern Ireland question.' *Government and Opposition*, XXII, 3 (1987), 315-35.
- 'Politics in command?' Editorial, *IDS Bulletin*, XVIII, 4 (1987), 1-6.
- 'The Algerian constitution and the restructuring of state-capitalism.' *IDS Bulletin*, XVIII, 4 (1987), 51-6.
- 'Radical Islamism and the dilemma of Algerian nationalism.' *Third World Quarterly*, X, 2 (1988), 556-89.
- 'The Algerian state and the challenge of democracy.' *Government and Opposition*, 27, 4 (1992), 433-54.
- 'Perspectives on Berber politics, or Durkheim's mistake.' *Morocco* (The Journal of the Society for Moroccan Studies), 3, 1993, 1-19.
- 'Historical and unhistorical approaches to the problem of identity in Algeria.' *Bulletin of Francophone Africa*, 4 (autumn 1993), 79-92.
- 'The Saharan cul-de-sac and the responsibility of Polisario's intellectual sympathisers.' *Morocco*, Occasional Papers No 1, 1994, 85-96.
- 'Algeria between eradicators and conciliators.' *Middle East Report*, No 189, MERIP, Washington D.C., July-August 1994, 24-7.
- 'Meddling while Algeria burns.' *Index on Censorship*, London, 4/5, September/October 1994, 154-60.
- 'Algeria's ruinous impasse and the honourable way out.' *International Affairs*, R.I.I.A., London, 71, 2 (1995), 247-67.
- 'Algerien: die Rebellion wird zur schwärenden Wunde.' *Der Überblick*, Hamburg, March 1995, 84-9.
- 'The Islamists, the democratic opposition and the search for a political solution in Algeria.' *Review of African Political Economy*, 22, 64, June 1995, 237-44.
- 'The Zeroual Memorandum: the Algerian state and the problem of liberal reform.' *Journal of Algerian Studies*, 1, October 1996, 1-19.
- 'Algeria: a controversial constitution.' *Mediterranean Politics*, 2, 1, Summer 1997, 188-92.
- 'Ernest Gellner and the Algerian army: the intellectual origins of the problem of Algerian studies in Britain.' *Journal of Algerian Studies*, 2 (October 1997), 27-42.
- 'The image of the French army in the cinematic representation of the Algerian war: the revolutionary politics of "The Battle of Algiers".' *Journal of Algerian Studies*, 2 (October 1997), 90-99.
- 'Algeria's contested elections.' *Middle East Report*, 209, 28, 4 (Winter 1998), 21-4.

- 'The struggle for constitutional rule in Algeria.' *Journal of Algerian Studies*, 3 (1998), 19-30.
- 'The international gallery and the extravasation of factional conflict in Algeria.' *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, XII, 1 (Summer/Fall 1998), 209-46.
- 'Algeria's veiled drama'. *International Affairs*, R.I.I.A., 75, 2 (1999), 381-90.
- 'Perspectives on Berber politics: on Gellner and Masqueray, or Durkheim's mistake.' *J. Royal Anthropological Institute* (n.s.) 8 (March 2002), 107-26.
- 'Dancing in the dark: the European Union and the Algerian drama.' *Democratization*, 9, 1 (Spring 2002), 106-34.
- 'La Kabylie à la lumière tremblotante du savoir maraboutique.' *Insaniyat: Revue algérienne d'anthropologie et de sciences sociales*, 16 (January-April 2002), 99-115.
- 'De la segmentarité à l'opacité: à propos de Gellner et Bourdieu et les approches théoriques à l'analyse du champ politique algérien.' *Insaniyat: Revue algérienne d'anthropologie et de sciences sociales*, 19-20 (January-June 2003), 65-95.
- 'Mahfoud Bennoune (1936-2004): un témoignage.' *Insaniyat: Revue algérienne d'anthropologie et de sciences sociales*, 25-26 (July-September 2004), 299-304.
- 'Sovereignty: the Algerian case' (review article). *Diplomatic History*, 28, 4 (September 2004), 595-8.
- 'Perspectives sur les systèmes politiques berbères: à propos de Gellner et de Masqueray, ou l'erreur de Durkheim.' *Insaniyat: Revue algérienne d'anthropologie et de sciences sociales*, 27 (January-March 2005), 29-54.

4. OCCASIONAL PAPERS

- *Demilitarising Algeria*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Middle East Series, Democracy and Rule of Law Program, No.86, 23pp., Washington D.C., May 2007.
- *Algeria: the subterranean logics of a non-election*. Real Instituto Elcano, Madrid, ARI 68/2009, 22 April 2009.

5. WORKING PAPERS

- *Notes on relations of production, forms of property and political structures in a dissident region of Algeria: pre-colonial Kabylia*. University of East Anglia, Development Studies Discussion Paper No. 38, 1978, 33 pp.
- *Co-opting identity: the political manipulation of Berberism, the frustration of democratisation and the generation of violence in Algeria*. London School of Economics, Development Research Centre, Crisis States Programme Working Paper (1st series) No. 7, December 2001, 46pp.
- *Moral economy or moral polity? The political anthropology of Algerian riots*. London School of Economics, Development Research Centre, Crisis States Programme Working Paper (1st series) No. 17, October 2002, 25pp.
- *De la segmentarité à l'opacité: à propos de Gellner et Bourdieu et les approches théoriques à l'analyse du champ politique algérien* (English version: *From segmentarity to opacity: on Gellner and Bourdieu, or why Algerian politics have eluded theoretical analysis and vice versa*). London School of Economics, Development Research Centre, Crisis States Programme Working Paper (1st series), No. 19, December 2002, 24pp.
- *North African Islamism in the blinding light of 9-11*. London School of Economics, Development Research Centre, Crisis States Programme Working Paper (1st series), No. 27, October 2003, 33pp.

6. BOOK REVIEWS

- 'Tribalism in transition': review of Jeremy Keenan, **The Tuareg: People of Ahaggar**, *The Times Literary Supplement*, September 22, 1978.
- 'France and Algeria: the peace': review of Stephen Adler, **International Migration and Dependence**, *The Gazelle Review of Literature on the Middle East*, 6, 1979, 80-83.
- Review of Charles-Robert Ageron, **L'Algérie Algérienne de Napoléon III à de Gaulle**, *The Middle East*, 76, February 1981.
- Review of Tony Hodges, **Historical Dictionary of the Western Sahara**, *Third World Quarterly*, 5, 3 (July 1983), 738-9.
- 'War and peace under review': review of Alistair Horne, **A Savage War of Peace**, and Bernard Cubertafond, **La République Algérienne Démocratique et Populaire**, *South*, 62, December 1985.
- Reviews of Mahfoud Bennoune, **The Making of Contemporary Algeria, 1830-1987: colonial upheavals and post-independence development**, and of Assassi Lassassi, **Non-Alignment and Algerian Foreign Policy**, *Third World Quarterly*, XI, 3 (1989), 251-255.
- 'No way to reform the UN': review of Brian Urquhart and Erskine Childers, **A World in Need of Leadership: Tomorrow's United Nations**, *South*, 121, April 1991.
- 'Paint Him Black': review of Adel Darwish and Gregory Thompson, **Unholy Babylon: The Secret History of Saddam's War**, and John Bulloch and Harvey Morris, **Saddam's War**, *South*, 122, May 1991.
- (under pen-name of Jack Rhys): 'Progress, cut and dried?': review article on UNDP's **Human Development Report 1991**, *South*, 123, June-July 1991.
- 'Wishful thinking, hard facts': review of Michael M. Gunter, **The Kurds of Turkey**, *South*, 123, June-July 1991.
- 'The Americans' Friend': review of Hanafi Taguemout, **L'Affaire Zeghar: Déliquescence d'un État, l'Algérie sous Chadli**, *Journal of Algerian Studies*, 1, October 1996, 132-133.
- Review of Nicole Grimaud, **La Tunisie à la Recherche de sa Sécurité**, *International Affairs*, 72, 4, October 1996, 852.
- 'Rooted in Algeria, sprouting from the ruins': review of Robert Malley, **The Call from Algeria: Third Worldism, Revolution and the Turn to Islam**, *Times Literary Supplement*, No 4913, May 30, 1997, 6-7.
- Review of Luis Martinez, **La Guerre Civile en Algérie, 1990-1998**, *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord*, tome XXXVII, CNRS Editions, 1998, 500-503 (in French).
- 'Truths about the dirty war': review of Luis Martinez, **The Algerian civil war 1990-1998**, Phillip C. Naylor, **France and Algeria, a history of decolonisation and transformation**, Nesroulah Yous, **Qui a tué à Bentalha?**, and Habib Souaïdia, **La sale guerre**, *Times Literary Supplement*, No. 5141, October 12, 2001, 28-29.
- Review of Alison Pargeter, **Libya: the rise and fall of Qaddafi**, *International Affairs*, 88, 6 (2012), 1366-7.
- 'The revolution that wasn't' (extended review article discussing Roger Owen, **The Rise and Fall of Arab Presidents for Life**, Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, 2012 ; Joshua Stacher, **Adaptable Autocrats : regime power in Egypt and Syria**, Stanford University Press, 2012 ; Holger Albrecht, **Raging against the Machine : political opposition under authoritarianism in Egypt**, Syracuse University Press, 2012 ; Hazem Kandil, **Soldiers, Spies and Statesmen : Egypt's road to revolt**, Verso, 2012), in *London Review of Books*, 12 September 2013, 3-9.
- Review of Stephen Zunes and Jacob Mundy, **Western Sahara: War, Nationalism and Conflict Irresolution**, Syracuse, New York; Syracuse University Press, 2010, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, volume 46 (2014), issue 2, pp. 418-420.
- Review of Allan Christelow, **Algerians Without Borders: The Making of a Global Frontier Society** (Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2012), *Journal of Islamic Studies*, doi: 10.1093/jis/etv009, March 3, 2015.
- Review of Laurie A. Brand, **Official Stories: Politics and National Narratives in Egypt and Algeria** (Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 2014), *The Middle East Journal*, 69, 2 (Spring 2015), 321-2.

7. INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP REPORTS

- *Algeria: Unrest and Impasse in Kabylia* (researcher and author), Middle East Report No. 49, Cairo/Brussels, 10 June 2003, 40pp.
- *The Challenge of Political Reform: Egypt after the Iraq War* (conception and editing), Middle East Briefing, Cairo/Brussels, 30 December 2003, 23pp.
- *Islamism in North Africa I: The legacies of history* (researcher and author), Middle East & North Africa Briefing, Cairo/Brussels, 20 April 2004, 15pp.
- *Islamism in North Africa II: Egypt's Opportunity* (researcher and author), Middle East & North Africa Briefing, Cairo/Brussels, 20 April 2004, 23pp.
- *Islamism in North Africa III: Islamism, Violence and Reform in Algeria: Turning The Page* (researcher and author), Middle East & North Africa Report No.29, Cairo/Brussels, 30 July 2004, 29pp.
- *Understanding Islamism* (researcher and author), Middle East & North Africa Report No. 37, Cairo/Brussels, 2 March 2005, 26pp.
- *Islamisme en Afrique du Nord IV: Contestation Islamiste en Mauritanie: Menace ou Bouc Émissaire ?* (conception and editing), Middle East & North Africa Report, Cairo/Brussels, 11 May 2005, 27pp.
- *Reforming Egypt: In Search of a Strategy* (researcher and author), Middle East & North Africa Report No. 46, Cairo/Brussels, 4 October 2005, 29pp.
- *La France Face A Ses Musulmans: Émeutes, jihadisme et dépolitisation* (conception and editing), Europe Report No 172, 8 March 2006, 29pp.
- *La Transition Politique en Mauritanie: Bilan et Perspectives* (conception and editing), Middle East & North Africa Report No 53, Cairo/Brussels, 24 April 2006, 18pp.
- *Egypt's Sinai Question* (conception and editing), Middle East & North Africa Report No 61, Cairo/Brussels, 30 January 2007, 29pp.
- *Islam and Identity in Germany* (conception and editing), Europe Report No 181, 14 March 2007, 33pp.
- *Western Sahara: Out of the Impasse* (researcher and author), Middle East & North Africa Policy Report, Cairo/Brussels, 5 June 2007, 23pp.
- *Que Coute Le Conflit du Sahara Occidental?* (conception and editing), Middle East & North Africa Background Report, Cairo/Brussels, 5 June 2007, 26pp.
- *Popular Protest in North Africa and the Middle East (V): Making Sense of Libya* (conception, joint author and editing), Cairo/Brussels, 6 June 2011, 36pp.

8. CONSULTANCY REPORTS

- With Dr Tony Barnett: *The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: Evaluation of the Co-operative Movement*. Report prepared for the Jordanian Co-operative Organisation on behalf of the International Labour Office, Geneva; 97 pp., 1980
- *Rapport de la Mission d'Évaluation du Service Départementale de Planification de Kaya, République de Haute-Volta*. Report prepared for the Ministry of Planning, Government of the Republic of Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), and Euro-Action Acord, on behalf of Euro-Action Acord, London; in French, 23 pp., 1981
- *The Use of Discretionary Grants by OXFAM Field Directors*. Report prepared for OXFAM on behalf of the Overseas Development Group, University of East Anglia, Norwich; 29 pp., 1983
- *Rural Development in Northern Uganda: a review of Euro-Action Acord's programme in Gulu and Kitgum districts*. Report prepared privately for Euro-Action Acord, London; 43 pp., 1985
- *Algerian politics in the present moment*. Briefing paper prepared for the United Nations on behalf of the Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum of the Social Science Research Council, New York, August 2010
- Numerous commissioned reports on political risk in Algeria for various international business clients, 1992-2000
- Numerous expert witness reports prepared between 1996 and 2010 in connection with legal hearings on cases concerning Algerians seeking asylum in the United Kingdom or

appealing against deportation orders; two reports prepared in connection with court hearings on cases under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

9. JOURNALISM

- 'Algeria's ambiguous elections.' *Emerging Markets Debt Monthly*, New York, July 1997.
- « A propos de la jema'a et de la Kabylie. » *Algeria-Watch* [http://www.algeria-watch.org/farticle/kabylie/roberts_jemaa.htm], 30 May 2001
- 'Shaking Algeria's kaleidoscope'. *Al-Ahram Weekly*, No. 589, 6-12 June 2002.
- 'Algeria: Forty Years On.' *Al-Ahram Weekly*, No. 593, 4-10 July, 2002
- 'Algeria's next move' (with Robert Malley), *International Herald Tribune*, 17 April, 2004
- 'Single group appears to be targeting Sinai's resorts. *The Independent*, 26 April, 2006.
- 'Labour's real leadership problem'. *Prospect magazine*, Issue 127, October 2006.
- « Sahara Occidental: l'heure des remises en cause », *Afkar-Idées*, No. 21 (Spring 2009), 53-5.
- « Une tradition à prendre au sérieux : la thajma'ath et la dissidence kabyle », *Afkar/Idées*, No. 27 (Winter 2010).
- 'Who said Gaddafi had to go ?', *London Review of Books*, 17 November 2011, 8-18.
- 'Western recklessness', *London Review of Books*, 34, 19, October 11, 2012
- 'Six questions about Tigantourine', *London Review of Books* on-line Blog, January 20, 2013
- 'Generations of struggle will bring no peace to the Sahel', Op-Ed, *Financial Times*, January 25, 2013
- 'The revolution that wasn't', *London Review of Books*, Volume 35, No. 17, 12 September 2013, 3-9.
- 'Le problème des institutions en Algérie : pour une philosophie de la réforme': article (in French) published in four parts in *Maghreb Émergent*, April 10, 12, 15 and 17, 2014.

10. INTERVIEWS

Since 1988 I have given countless interviews to the press and broadcast media (BBC World Service, BBC Radio 4, Al-Jazeera, American, Australian, Austrian, Belgian, Canadian, Dutch, French, German, Finnish, Norwegian, Swedish, Swiss, etc. broadcasting networks) on Algeria and, since 2002, on North Africa in general and Egypt in particular. I was interviewed at length for the documentary film about the Battle of Algiers, *Remembering History* (one of the supporting features to the Criterion Collection re-issue on DVD of Gillo Pontecorvo's *The Battle of Algiers* in 2004). I have also given the following full-scale interviews to particular publications:

- 'Jeux troubles entre Paris, New York et Alger.' Interview with *L'Humanité*, 13 February, 1997
- 'Under Western Eyes: the struggle for political accountability in Algeria.' Interview in *Middle East Report*, No. 206, 28, 1 (Spring 1998), 39-42.
- 'Autopsie d'une révolte.' Interview on the riots in Kabylia, Algeria, with Roger Kaplan, *Géopolitique Africaine/African Geopolitics*, No. 3, Summer 2001.
- 'La Kabylie: un déficit de représentation politique'. Interview with *Algeria-Interface*, Paris, 12 June, 2003.
- 'Dr Roberts: "Je reste inquiet".' Interview on ICG report on Kabylia with *Kabyle.com* website, 29 June, 2003.
- '« La population Kabyle est fatiguée »: Entretien avec Hugh Roberts', *La Croix* (Paris), 23 July, 2003.
- « On ne peut plus identifier l'islamisme politique au fondamentalisme. » Interview with Claude Guibal, *Libération*, 19 March, 2005.

- “Salafist and Islamist movements”: interview with Professor Elaine Hagopian on *The Arabic Hour* (Boston), December 1, 2012
- ‘The current situation in Syria’: interview with Professor Elaine Hagopian, *The Arabic Hour* (Boston), recorded September 8, 2014, broadcast September 15, 2014.
- ‘The challenges of post-Revolution Egypt’: interview with Professor Elaine Hagopian, *The Arabic Hour* (Boston), recorded September 8, 2014, broadcast October 4, 2014.
- ‘America’s War for the Greater Middle East’ with Andrew Bacevich and Melani McAlister; interviewed Christopher Lydon; *Radio Open Source*, WBUR, August 7, 2014.

CONFERENCE PAPERS, SEMINAR PRESENTATIONS AND LECTURES

1. CONFERENCES ORGANISED

- Co-organiser of international conference on *The developmental state in retreat*, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, June 30-July 1, 1987
- International conference on *Algeria: yesterday, today and tomorrow* hosted by the Society for Algerian Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London, June 14-15, 1993. Participants included: Nouredine Abdi, Lahouari Addi, Rachid Benaïssa, Mahfoud Bennoune, Ali El Kenz, Aïcha Kassoul, Mohamed Lakhdar Maougal, Keith McLachlan, Hugh Roberts, HE Mohamed Sahnoun, Youcef Selmane, Khaoula Taleb Ibrahim, Ahsène Zehraoui.
- Conference on *Radical Islamism and the Crisis of the Algeria State*, hosted by the Mellon Colloquium on *The Moral Economy of Islamic Social Movements* at the University of California, Berkeley, May 6-7 May, 1996. Speakers included: Edmund Burke III, Kiren Chaudhry, Fanny Colonna, Mohammed Harbi, Hugh Roberts.
- Conference on *State and Society in Algeria, 1989-1999 and Beyond* at the London School of Economics and Political Science, September 22-23, 1999. Speakers: Nouredine Abdi, Ali Aïssaoui, Christopher Alexander, Zoubir Arous, Foudil Boumala, Debbie Cox, Bettina Dennerlein, Abderrazak Dourari, Aïcha Kassoul, Mohamed Lakhdar Maougal, Mustapha Mekidèche, Hugh Roberts, Nouredine Saadi, Jörn Thielmann.
- Co-organiser of conference on *Algeria into the New Millennium: Transitions and Challenges*, jointly hosted by the Bristol Business School of the University of the West of England, the University of Glamorgan and the Society of Algerian Studies and held at the Bristol Business School, July 1, 2000.
- Co-organised a conference on *Shaping a Role in Political Development in the MENA Region*, for the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, Beirut, Lebanon, December 3-4, 2004; participants included Ihsane El Kadi, Munira Fakhro, David French, Frances Guy, Bahey El-Din Hassan, Aboubakr Jamaï, Mary Kaldor, Hishem Kassem, Saïd Khelil, Rami Khouri, Salim Nasr, Hugh Roberts, Mohamed El-Sayed Saïd, Richard Spring MP.
- Co-organised a workshop on *Developing a parliamentary programme in Egypt* for the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, held at the Nile Hilton Hotel, Cairo, March 4-5, 2006; participants included David French, Frances D’Souza, Mary Kaldor, Richard Spring MP, Munir Fakhri Abd el-Nour, Hossam Badrawi, Mona Makram Ebeïd, Hesham El-Bastawissi, Mustafa El-Fiqi, Muhammed El-Ketatny, Mustafa Kamel El-Sayyid, Hisham Kassem, Hassan Nafaa, Hugh Roberts, Hamdeen Sabahi, Mohamed El-Sayed Saïd, Ali Sawi, Robert Springborg, Fathi Surour.

2. PANELS ORGANISED AT ANNUAL CONFERENCES OF BRISMES AND MESA

- Panel on *Islam and Political Change in Contemporary Algeria* (in association with the Society for Algerian Studies), BRISMES annual conference, St. Catherine's College, Oxford University, July 9, 1997. Participants: Anna Bozzo, Debbie Cox, Youcef Djebbari, Mohamed Lakhdar Maougal, Hugh Roberts (chair), Michael Willis.

- Panel on *Writing the contemporary Maghrib*, BRISMES annual conference, Pembroke College, Cambridge, July 2000. Speakers: Melani Cammett, Claire Heristchi, Jeremy Keenan, Hugh Roberts (chair), Michael Willis.
- Co-organiser of two panels on *Independent Algeria: Reconsidering the Boumediène era* at annual conference of MESA, Boston, November 21-24, 2009. *Part I: The regime and internal development*: speakers: Martin Evans, Clement M. Henry, Hugh Roberts, Ryme Seferdjeli (chair); *Part II: Foreign relations and international role*: speakers: Karima Benabdallah, Jeffrey Byrne, Phillip Naylor (chair), Hugh Roberts (discussant), Yahia Zoubir.

3. CONFERENCE PAPERS

- 'The conversion of the mrabtin in Kabylia'. Table Ronde sur "*L'Islam au Maghreb aujourd'hui*", Centre de Recherches et d'Études sur les Sociétés Méditerranéennes, Université d'Aix-Marseille III, Aix-en-Provence, 1979
- 'Algerian politics and the Saharan question'. Conference on the Western Sahara, Africa Centre, London. 1979.
- 'The Kabyle question and the future of Algerian socialism'. Conference on "*The Contemporary Maghreb*", sponsored by *The Maghreb Review*, University College, London, 1980
- 'Continuité, fonctionnement et manipulation des structures socio-politiques traditionnelles dans la vie politique locale en Algérie: le cas de la commune de Tassaft, Grande Kabylie.' Colloque sur "*Les Berbères d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*", Université de Paris X, Paris, 1981.
- 'Holding the towns: state intervention in local politics in Bouïra and Larbaa n'Aït Irathen, Algeria.' Franco-British conference on "*The Contemporary Arabo-Muslim City*", Birkbeck College, London, 1984
- 'The Western Sahara: the moment of truth?' Conference on "*Western Sahara: War and Refugees*", Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford University, 1986
- 'Nation and state: the Kabyle question in modern Algeria'. International conference on "*Ethnic Processes in the Modern World*", Academy of Science, Tallinn, Socialist Republic of Estonia, U.S.S.R., 1986.
- 'Conceptualising the Algerian state.' Development Studies Association conference, University of East Anglia, September 15-17, 1986.
- 'Re-thinking the Northern Ireland question: the challenge to the parties.' Annual conference of the United Kingdom Working Group of the Political Studies Association, St. Peter's College, Oxford, September 17-19, 1986.
- 'Party, bureaucracy and the restructuring of state-capitalism: the politics of Algeria's "New Course", 1979-1985.' Conference on "*States and Markets in Europe and the Third World*", Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, September 25, 1986.
- 'The mobilisation of consensus in Algeria'. Conference on "*North Africa and the Nation State*", Centre for Near and Middle Eastern Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, November 9-10, 1989.
- 'The FLN: French conceptions, Algerian realities.' International conference on "*France and Algeria: Interacting Identities*", Loughborough University, December 5-6, 1989.
- 'The Kabyles and the advent of contemporary Islamism in Algeria.' Maghreb Studies Association Conference on "*The Contemporary Maghreb*", Birkbeck College, University of London, December 6, 1990.
- 'The ideological roots of Algerian reactions to the. Gulf war.' Conference on the Maghreb, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, April 29-30, 1991.
- 'Ideological and unideological approaches to Algerian politics'. Conference on Algeria sponsored by *The Maghreb Review*, the Africa Centre, London, May 9, 1992.
- 'The European Community and Maghreb political development'. Conference on "*North Africa and the European Community: Building Bridges or Barriers?*", Centre for Euro-Mediterranean Studies, University of Reading, October 16, 1992.

- 'Historical and unhistorical approaches to the problem of identity in Algeria.' Conference on "*Identity and Difference in the Maghreb Today*" at the Institut Français du Royaume-Uni, London, March 6, 1993.
- 'Doctrinaire economics and political opportunism in the strategy of Algerian Islamism'. Conference on '*Islamism and Secularism in North Africa*', Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, Washington DC, April 1-2, 1993.
- '"Le Pouvoir" in Algeria'. Round Table on '*The Present Political Impasse in Algeria*', Harvard University, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Cambridge, Massachusetts, March 4-5, 1994.
- 'The Kabyles and the crisis'. Conference on Algeria, Princeton University, Center of International Studies, May 27-29, 1994.
- 'The High State Committee and the failure of authoritarianism without authority'. BRISMES annual conference, Manchester University, July 12, 1994.
- 'The internal dynamic of political and social change: the case of Algeria'. Conference on '*The Maghreb and Europe: consolidating peaceful co-operation in the Western Mediterranean*', Wilton Park, September 5-9, 1994.
- 'The Algerian case'. Paper presented to '*Low Oil Barrel: Tensions in Oil-Exporting Countries*', a workshop organised by the Royal Institute for International Affairs and the Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, London, September 15-16, 1994.
- 'The changing stakes in the Western Sahara conflict'. Paper presented to conference on '*The United Nations and Territorial Disputes*' organised by the Geopolitics & International Boundaries Research Centre, SOAS, University of London, November 25, 1994.
- 'British and Moroccan attitudes towards threats to stability in the Maghreb: is there common ground?' Paper presented to conference on '*Les Relations entre le Royaume Uni et le Royaume du Maroc*', Faculté des Sciences Juridiques, Économiques et Sociales, University of Rabat, Rabat, January 14, 1995.
- 'Islam in Algeria'. Paper presented to a workshop on '*Islam and the West*' organised by Shell International Petroleum Company Limited, Shell Centre, London, April 6, 1995.
- 'Algerian Labour and the Islamist Movement': paper presented to a conference on '*Organized Labor and the Islamists in North Africa: from Statism to Liberalization in Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt*', hosted by the Mellon Colloquium on The Moral Economy of Islamic Social Movements, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, April 25-26, 1996.
- 'Moral Economy or Moral Polity? English History and the Peculiarities of the Algerians'. Paper presented to a conference on '*Radical Islamism and the Crisis of the Algerian State*' hosted by the Mellon Colloquium on '*The Moral Economy of Islamic Social Movements*', University of California, Berkeley, May 6-7, 1996.
- 'The image of the French army in the cinematic representation of the Algerian war: the revolutionary politics of "The Battle of Algiers"'. Paper presented to an international conference on '*The Algerian War and the French Army: Experience, Image and Memory (1954-1962)*', University of Salford, European Studies Research Institute, October 11-13, 1996.
- 'The role of informal politics while authoritarian régimes reshape'. Paper presented to a conference on '*Challenges Facing the Arab World at the End of the 20th Century: a Global Agenda*', Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, February 28-March 2, 1997.
- 'From 1991 to 1997: the Algerian Legislative Elections in Perspective'. Paper presented to panel on '*Islam and Political Change in Contemporary Algeria*', BRISMES annual conference, St. Catherine's College, Oxford University, July 9, 1997.
- 'The informal politics of formal elections in Algeria'. Paper presented to a panel on '*Does voting matter? Controlled contestation and opposition strategies in Arab elections*' at the annual conference of the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA), San Francisco, November 23, 1997.
- 'The struggle for constitutional rule in Algeria'. Paper presented to a conference on '*Violence in Algeria and the International Community*' organised by Amnesty International Norway and the Norwegian Institute of Human Rights, Oslo, March 12-14, 1998.
- 'Berber politics and Berberist ideology in Algeria'. Paper presented to a conference on North Africa, Binghamton University (SUNY), Binghamton, NY, April 3-5, 1998.

- 'The international gallery and the extravasation of factional conflict in Algeria'. Paper presented to a conference on *The Role of the International Community in the Conflict in Algeria: Neglect or Intrusion?*, organised by the Cambridge Review of International Affairs and the Cambridge United Nations Society, Pembroke College, Cambridge, May 21, 1998.
- 'Secularism and Anti-Secularism in Algeria'. Paper presented to a research workshop on *Secularism and Anti-Secularism*, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Edinburgh, June 18-19, 1998.
- 'The aftermath of the presidential election'. Paper presented to a seminar on *Algeria* organised by the Middle East Association, Bury House, London, July 22, 1999.
- 'Revolution, Restoration and Counter-revolution: the ambiguity of the conception of progress in the Algerian nationalist movement and its sequels in the post-colonial era and the recent crisis'. Paper presented to a conference on *The Historical and Cultural Dimensions of the Algerian Crisis*, School of Oriental and African Studies, July 24-26, 1999.
- 'The army and the mutation of the Algerian political system, 1989-1999'. Paper presented to a conference on *State and Society in Algeria, 1989-1999 and Beyond*, held at the London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London, September 22-23, 1999.
- 'Defining Algerian trends'. Paper presented to a conference on *The Middle East In Transition*, National Defence University, Washington D.C., January 7, 2000.
- 'Perspectives on Berber politics: On Gellner on Durkheim and Masqueray, or Durkheim's Mistake'. Paper presented to a conference on *Berber languages, Berber history and culture and its socio-economic conditions*, University of Uppsala, Sweden, May 3-5, 2000.
- 'The endless remaking of the Algerian constitution: the lessons of experience'. Paper presented to a workshop on *Algeria into the New Millennium: Transitions and Challenges*, organised by the Bristol Business School of the University of the West of England, the University of Glamorgan and the Society of Algerian Studies and held at the Bristol Business School, July 1, 2000.
- 'Recent political developments: is a solution in prospect?' Presentation to half-day *Seminar on Algeria*, Middle East Association, London, October 23, 2002.
- 'Political trends'. Presentation to *Algerian Futures Roundtable*, Shell Algeria Cross-Business Workshop, The Hague, October 24, 2002.
- 'Rioting against disorder: the moral polity of the Algerian crowd'. Paper presented to a workshop on *Reconstruction and Transnationalism in the Middle East and North Africa*, American University in Cairo, Cairo, October 25-26, 2002.
- Presentation on 'The Algerian view' to seminar on *The Western Sahara* organised by the Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum of the Social Science Research Council (New York), London, December 10, 2003.
- 'Défis économiques et politiques': presentation to seminar on *Le Maghreb et l'Union Européenne: Vers un Partenariat Privilegié?*, Institut d'Études de Sécurité de l'Union Européenne, Paris, October 25, 2004.
- 'Lessons and perspectives for the future': closing address to conference on *Shaping a Role in Political Development in the MENA Region*, organised by the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, Beirut, December 3-4, 2004.
- 'Political Islam in Egypt and Algeria'; presentation to seminar on *Political Islam* organised by the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), Oslo, January 26, 2005.
- 'The diversity within jihadism: typologies of radicalisation': presentation to a Conference on *Transnational Terrorism* at the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies (RUSI), Whitehall, May 12, 2005.
- 'Jihadi movements in North Africa: radicalization, de-radicalization and redeployment'. Paper presented to a conference on *Jihadi Terrorism: Where do we stand?* organized by the Institut Royal des Relations Internationales (IRRI-KIIB), Brussels, February 13, 2006.
- 'Against identity politics'. Paper presented to the Engelsberg Seminar on *The Secular State and Society* organised by the Ax:son Johnson Foundation, Avesta Manor, Sweden, June 15-17, 2006.

- ‘National perspectives on domestic radicalisation: the experiences of Egypt, Algeria and Morocco’. Presentation to a Workshop on *Radicalisation, Violence and the Power of Networks* organised by the Global Futures Forum and held at the Bibliothèque Solvay, Brussels, Belgium 2-4 October, 2006.
- ‘The reform experience in the republics: the cases of Egypt and Algeria’. Presentation to a conference on *Managing Reform in Arab Countries* organised by the Middle East Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Wilton Park, Sussex, 6-8 October, 2006.
- ‘British-Egyptian relations and the problem of Islamism’. Presentation to *50 Years since Suez: from Conflict to Collaboration, a Forum on the Relations between Egypt and the United Kingdom*, organised by the British-Egyptian Society and the London Middle East Institute, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1-2 November, 2006.
- ‘Globalisation, post-nationalism and the instrumentalisation of Islamism in Algeria: the logics and dynamics of synthesis, fragmentation and co-optation’. Conference on *Globalization, State Capacity and Muslim Movements*, organised by the Center for Global, International and Regional Studies (CGIRS), University of California Santa Cruz, and the Center for Global Studies, George Mason University, and held at the School for Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington D.C., 16-19 March 2007.
- Presentation on Algerian case study to a conference on *Prospects for Democracy and Reform in North Africa* organised for the Office of Near Eastern and South Asian Analysis by CENTRA Technology, Inc., Tysons Corner VA, 22 March 2007.
- ‘Islamism and political reform in post-revolutionary Egypt and Algeria’. Paper presented to a conference on *Islamist Parties and Constituencies, Domestic and External Mechanisms, and Democratization*, Koç University, Istanbul, 25-26 May 2007.
- ‘Explaining Jihadi Salafism in North Africa: the limits of ideology in general and the peculiarities of the Algerians in particular’. Presentation to a conference on *Salafism as a Transnational Movement*, organized by the Department of Languages and Cultures of the Middle East (TCMO), Radboud University, Nijmegen. and the International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World (ISIM), Leiden, and held at Bergen Dal, Nimegen, 28-30 September, 2007.
- ‘Post-crisis restructuring and the role and effectiveness of the governance structure in tackling Algeria’s economic and social challenges in the transition to a market economy.’ Presentation to a conference on *Algeria: Assessing the Present and Looking to the Future* organised by The Maghreb Center in collaboration with the World Bank’s InfoShop and MENA Region (Maghreb department) and held at the World Bank, Washington D.C., 15 November, 2007.
- ‘A Berber polity and its institutions: the non-segmentary nature of political organization in pre-colonial Kabylia and the Kabyle political tradition’. Paper presented to a panel on *Tribe, Ethnicity and State: The Multiple Aspects of the Berber World* at the annual conference of MESA, Montreal, 17 November, 2007.
- ‘Party systems, Islamist movements and the impasse of political reform in Algeria and Egypt’. Paper presented to a panel on *Political Party Development and Democratisation in the Middle East*, organised by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Ottawa, at the annual conference of MESA, Montreal, 18 November, 2007.
- ‘The War on Terror: local threat or global menace?’ Presentation to a conference on *Building Stability in North Africa: Prospects and Challenges*, organised by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington DC, 17 January, 2008.
- ‘Algeria 1988-2008: the lessons of experience.’ Presentation to a conference on *Algeria Today and Tomorrow: the British Connection* organised by the Society for Algerian Studies in partnership with Chatham House, London, 7 February, 2008.
- ‘Sahara Occidental: les coûts du conflit selon l’ICG’. Presentation of ICG’s findings to a conference on *Les Coûts du Conflit du Sahara Occidental pour le Développement du Maghreb* organised by the International Institute for Arab and Muslim World Studies, Casa Arabe, Madrid, 11 February, 2008.
- ‘A problematical combination: reconciling “security” and “reform” in the Maghreb’. Presentation to a seminar of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly on *The Mediterranean*

at the crossroads: challenges, policy initiatives and the limits of transformation, Rome, 4-5 July, 2008.

- ‘A lost victory: the confiscated historiography of the Algerian war’. Paper presented to a panel (which I chaired) on *The Algerian War of National Liberation Revisited: competing narratives, contested memories and new historical approaches* at the annual conference of MESA, Washington D.C., 23 November, 2008.
- ‘Algeria and Europe, past and present’. Presentation to a conference on *Algeria and the European Union, past, present and future*, organised by the Society for Algerian Studies and the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, Birkbeck College, University of London, 29 October, 2009.
- ‘Popular Democracy in Boumediène’s Republic: assembly elections and the state-society negotiation in Greater Kabylia 1967-1977’. Paper presented to a panel (which I co-organised) on *Independent Algeria: Reconsidering the Boumediène era, Part I: The regime and internal development*, MESA Annual Conference, Boston, 21 November 2009.
- ‘Entre révolution et contre-révolution: la problématique de la légitimité dans les révoltes récentes en Afrique du Nord à la lumière du cas libyen’. Paper presented to international conference on *Le Printemps arabe: entre révolution et contre-révolution* organised by El Watan newspaper and the Institut Maghreb Europe of the University of Paris VIII, Algiers, 23-25 September, 2011.
- ‘Algeria since 1962: nationalist politics and the nation-state in question’. Paper presented to panel on *Algeria at Fifty: Reflections and Refractions*, MESA Annual Conference, Washington D.C., 2 December 2011.
- ‘Algeria: how the regime and the established political parties have adapted’. Paper presented to one-day conference on *The Implications of Unrest and Reform in the Maghreb*, organized by The Rand Corporation, Washington, April 20, 2012.
- ‘Pouvoir maquisard, parti(s)-façade(s) et problématique d’édification d’un état: réflexions sur l’expérience algérienne 1962-2012.’ Paper presented to a conference on *Cinquante ans après l’Indépendance: quel destin pour l’Algérie?* organized by El Watan newspaper, Algiers, July 5-7, 2012.
- Presentation on Algeria to Panel on ‘Changing politics in a new era’ at conference on *The Maghreb in Transition: seeking stability in an era of uncertainty*, organized by the Middle East Program of the Center for Strategic & International Studies, Washington D.C., October 12, 2012.
- Presentation on ‘Regional dynamics and cross-cutting threats’ to a seminar on Mali organized by the SSRC Conflict prevention and Peace Forum, New York, January 25, 2013.
- Presentation on ‘Algeria and the Mali crisis’ to a conference on *Governance and Security in the Sahelian States: From Crisis to Sustainable Recovery* organised by the African Studies Program at Johns Hopkins University – SAIS, Washington D.C., April 11-12, 2013.
- Presentation on ‘Regional politics and the crisis in Egypt’ to a seminar on Egypt organized by the SSRC Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum, New York, May 30, 2013.
- ‘Dissidents not reformers: the Socialist Forces Front, or the radical absence of a democratic opposition in Algeria, 1963-2013’. Paper presented to a panel on *Algeria after 50 years: an unsettled state*, 13 September 2013, at a conference on *Evaluation of Economic Policies and Institutional Changes in Mediterranean Countries* (4th Conference of GDRI-DREEM), Villa Finaly, Florence, Italy, 12-13 September 2013.
- Presentation on ‘Regional influences, national actors: the cases of Algeria and Egypt’ to Workshop on *Rising Extremism and its Implications for Women in the MENA/Asia Region: Understanding and Addressing the Role of Regional Actors*, organized by International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN), Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID), MIT, Dedham MA, September 26-27, 2013.
- ‘European attitudes and policy responses to the crises in North Africa (Tunisia, Egypt, Libya), 2010-2013’. Presentation to a panel on ‘External involvement in Arab uprisings’ at conference on *The Arab Uprisings: accomplishments, failures and prospects*, organized by the Institute for the Study of Muslim Society and Civilization

at Boston University, the Center for International Relations at Boston University and the Trans Arab Research Institute, and held at Boston University, November 15, 2013.

- Presentation on 'Egypt: political dynamics and prospects' to a one-day workshop on 'The State of the State' in the Symposium on *The Future of the Middle East and North Africa* organized by the EPIIC Colloquium of the Institute for Global Leadership, Tufts University, February 27, 2014.
- Presentation as a member of the panel on 'Political Islam' in the Symposium on *The Future of the Middle East and North Africa* organized by the EPIIC Colloquium of the Institute for Global Leadership, Tufts University, February 28, 2014.
- Presentation as a member of a panel on 'International Institutions and Intervention' in the Symposium on *The Future of the Middle East and North Africa* organized by the EPIIC Colloquium of the Institute for Global Leadership, Tufts University, March 1, 2014.
- 'Ideological perspectives and political strategies of external state-level actors in the Arab uprisings': presentation to a panel on *Outside(rs) looking in: External influences on state and civil society in the Arab uprisings*, Annual Conference of the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA), Washington D.C., November 23, 2014.
- 'The problem of the political and juridical framework of economic life in Algeria in the light of the country's traditions and the Kabyle example in particular': presentation to a conference on *Economic Development after the Arab Uprisings: Can capitalism become more inclusive and states more effective?* organized by GDRI-DREEM, University of Paris Dauphine, December 11-12, 2014.
- 'The Tunisian achievement: its lessons and its limits': keynote address to the 2015 Graduate Student Conference on *The Arab Uprisings, 2010-2015: local, regional and global impact*, organized by the Boston Consortium on Arab Region Studies (BCARS), Northeastern University, April 18, 2015.

4. PAPERS PRESENTED TO CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS ORGANISED BY THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

- 'The status and future strategies of the Islamist movement'. Conference organised by the US Department of State on *Algeria: Prospects for the Future*, at Meridian House International, Washington D.C., March 30, 1993.
- 'The view from the régime'. Paper presented to panel on 'The dynamics of the conflict' at a seminar on *Algeria* organised by the US Department of State, National Foreign Affairs Training Centre, Arlington, VA, USA, April 28, 1995.
- 'The impact of the legislative elections on Algerian politics: what happens now?' Paper presented to a round table on *Political Developments in Algeria* organised by the Foreign Service Institute and the US Department of State, National Foreign Affairs Training Centre, Arlington, VA, USA, June 19, 1997.
- 'The Elections: What Happened?' Paper presented to a conference on *Algeria: Post-Election Reality Check* organised by the US Department of State at System Planning Corporation, Arlington, Virginia, USA, May 14, 1999.
- 'The nature of Le Pouvoir'. Presentation to a *Seminar on Algeria* organised by the US Department of State at System Planning Corporation, Arlington, Virginia, USA, September 15, 2000.
- 'The Islamists and the Kabyles in the political equation'. Presentation to a seminar on *The Upcoming Election in Algeria* organised by the US Department of State at System Planning Corporation, Arlington, Virginia, USA, March 10, 2004.
- 'Sufism, Salafism and Jihadism in Algeria'. Presentation to a seminar on *Salafism and Sufism in North Africa*, Department of State, Washington D.C., 23 March 2007.
- 'Bouteflika, the military and national reconciliation'. Presentation to a seminar on *Algeria* organised by the Department of State Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Washington DC, 14 November 2007.

5. PAPERS READ TO MEETINGS OF THE MIDDLE EAST STUDY GROUP

- 'Relations of production and political forms in a dissident region of Algeria: pre-colonial Kabylia.' MESG meeting, University of Durham, 1978.
- 'Marxist theory and revolutionary populism in Algeria: the pioneering studies of Mohammed Harbi.' MESG meeting, Birkbeck College, University of London, November 20-21, 1982.
- 'The Berbers and the Berber question(s) in North Africa.' MESG meeting, Birkbeck College, London, February 16-17, 1985.
- 'Algeria since the riots I: the politics of liberalisation.' MESG meeting, Middle East Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford, February 11-12, 1989.
- 'Algeria since the riots II: the FLN and the transition to pluralism.' MESG meeting, Middle East Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford, November 4-5, 1989.
- 'The fall of Chadli and the interruption of the electoral process in Algeria.' MESG meeting, Birkbeck College, London, February 15-16, 1992.
- 'The political parties and the search for a peaceful solution'. MESG meeting on Algeria; Birkbeck College, London, February 4-5, 1995.
- 'Rebranding jihad: from the GSPC to al-Qa'eda in the Islamic Maghreb'. MESG meeting on *Global Jihad and "the War on Terror"*, Middle East Centre, Oxford, 5 May, 2007.

6. OTHER CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS IN WHICH I HAVE PARTICIPATED

- Conference on the Maghreb, St. Catherine's College, Oxford; discussant on paper comparing Maghreb political systems by Professor Jean Leca, 1979.
- Franco-British conference on Ethnicity, University of Paris, Nanterre; discussant on paper on the Kabyle question in Algeria by Professor Jean Leca, 1982.
- Workshop organised by the South Asia Research Group, School of Development Studies, University of East Anglia, on *"The State in South Asia"*, Norwich, June 25-26; discussant on paper on 'The Indian Supreme Court as an arena of class conflict: colonial antecedents and contemporary crisis in an immobilised state', by R. Sudarshan.
- International Conference organised by the Dahlem Konferenzen on *"Minorities: Community and Identity"*, Berlin, November 28-December 3, 1982; participant in workshop on 'Forms of States and Rights'.
- Workshop organised by the South Asia Research Group, School of Development Studies, University of East Anglia, 1983; discussant on paper by Hamza Alavi.
- Annual Conference of British Society for Middle East Studies (BRISMES) held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; chaired panel on the Maghreb, July 7, 1986.
- Workshop on *'National Stability and International Relations in the Maghreb'*, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, June 20, 1990.
- Conference organised by The Fundamentalism Project of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences on *Accounting for Fundamentalism: the dynamic character of movements*, University of Chicago, November 3-5, 1990; discussant on papers on Islamic fundamentalism in Algeria and Nigeria by Mohammed Tozy and Ousmane Kané.
- Royal United Services Institute, Middle East Forum on *The message from Algeria: Islamic Radicalism on the March?*, London, February 6, 1992.
- Western European Union, Institute for Security Studies, meeting of study group on Algeria, Paris, March 11, 1992.
- Conference organised by the Ditchley Foundation, Ditchley Park, Oxfordshire, on *Religious Fundamentalism and Democracy in the West*, March 27-29, 1992.
- Conference organised by The Fundamentalism Project of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences on *Fundamentalisms and Public Policy*, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Cambridge, Massachusetts, May 10-11, 1992.
- Seminar organised by the Centre Español de Relaciones Internacionales and the Western European Union Institute for Security Studies on *Security and Cooperation in the Western Mediterranean*, Madrid, October 29-31, 1992.

- Conference organised by the Centre for Defence Studies, King's College, University of London, the Geopolitics and International Boundaries Research Centre, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London and the British American Security Information Council (BASIC), on *Security Issues in the Mediterranean*, King's College, London, December 8, 1992.
- Workshop on *Perceptions et Politiques de Sécurité en Méditerranée Occidentale*, Instituto de Estudos Estrategicos e Internacionais, Lisbon, October 29, 1993.
- Royal United Services Institute: Middle East Forum on '*Developments in Algeria: the Regional Implications and European reactions*', December 15, 1993.
- Royal United Services Institute: Roundtable discussion with HE Mr Habib Ben Yahia on '*A Tunisian View of Security in the Mediterranean*', May 4, 1994.
- University of California, Berkeley, Institute of International Studies: workshop on '*The moral economy of Islamic social movements*', March 8, 1995.
- Wilton Park, Sussex: conference on *Libya; The Future*, May 13-15, 2004.

7. SEMINAR PAPERS

- 'Islam and the politics of the Algerian Revolution.' University of East Anglia Politics Society, 1977.
- 'The uses of maraboutism: holy lineages and local politics in Algeria.' Seminar on "*The Sociology of Islam*", London School of Economics, February 17, 1978.
- 'The state in post-colonial Algeria.' University of East Anglia, School of Development Studies Research Seminar, November 8, 1978.
- 'State-capitalism in Algeria.' University of East Anglia Politics Society, 1978.
- 'The Algerian Revolution.' Seminar on "*The History of Revolutions*", University of Cambridge, 1979.
- 'The material basis of Kabyle dissidence in pre-colonial Algeria.' Anthropology seminar, University College, London, 1979.
- 'Re-thinking the Algerian Revolution.' Seminar on "*The Contemporary Middle East*", St. Antony's College, Oxford, 1979.
- 'Ethnic nationalism in a bureaucratic state: the Kabyle question in contemporary Algeria.' Seminar on "*Nationalism*", London School of Economics, 1980.
- 'The politics of the "Agrarian Revolution" in Algeria.' Seminar on "*Social Transformations*", University of Manchester, November 22, 1982.
- 'Contemporary political opposition in Algeria.' Centre for Near and Middle Eastern Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, January 21, 1986.
- 'The constitutive principles of the Algerian state.' School of African and Asian Studies seminar, University of Sussex, 1987.
- 'The Algerian constitution, or the problem of politics.' Centre for Middle Eastern Studies seminar, University of Cambridge, October 1987.
- '*Lthaqbailith* et le Déracinement: à propos de l'autobiographie de Fadhma Aïth Mansour Amrouche.' Séminaire sur "*L'Église, la République et la production d'images sur l'Islam*", École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Université de Paris X, February 19, 1990.
- 'The rise of civil society in Algeria.' Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, October 23, 1990.
- 'The rise of popular Islam in Algeria'. Centre for Development Studies and African Studies Unit, University of Leeds, December 5, 1990.
- 'The Algerian constitution and the challenge of democracy.' Centre for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cambridge, February 17, 1992.
- 'From Chadli to Abdesselam: the evolution of the crisis of the state in Algeria'. The Middle East Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford University, December 4, 1992.
- 'The Algerian army and the Islamist rebellion'. Graduate seminar, University of Warwick, November 23, 1994.
- 'The Maghreb and Europe: the challenge of Islam'. Graduate seminar, Department of War Studies, King's College, University of London, November 23, 1994.

- 'The hidden politics of Algeria's Crisis'. The Middle East Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford, February 2, 1995.
- 'Berber identity, Islamism and the crisis of the Algerian state'. Politics Board Colloquium, University of California, Santa Cruz, March 6, 1995.
- 'Algeria: democracy, Islamism and civil war'. Graduate seminar, University of California, Davis, March 15, 1995.
- 'Algeria: the Zeroual factor in an evolving equation'. Middle East Forum, Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, London, December 5, 1995.
- 'Towards a 'soft Sudanese' scenario? The Zeroual Presidency, the FLN and the attempted co-optation of Algerian Islamism'. Contemporary Politics seminar, Middle East Center, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, April 11, 1996.
- 'The political manipulation of religion in pre-colonial Algeria: the case of Greater Kabylia and its relations with the Turkish Regency, 1518-1830'. Research seminar, Middle East Center, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, April 11, 1996.
- 'Much Ado about Identity: the political manipulation of Berberism and the crisis of the Algerian state, 1980-1992'. Seminar on *Cultural Identity and Politics*, Institute for International Studies and Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, April 18, 1996.
- 'The politics of disorder and frameworks for peace'. Middle East Forum, Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, London, February 27, 1997.
- 'The continuing crisis in Algeria'. The Middle East Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford, February 21, 1997.
- 'The face of the People and the guarantor of order: *wajh en-nas* and *dhamin* in the Algerian political tradition and the current crisis'. Anthropology Seminar, London School of Economics, May 2, 1997.
- 'Rethinking the political economy of Algeria: the indispensability of history'. Paper presented to the Development Studies Institute research seminar, London School of Economics and Political Science, January 19, 1998.
- 'France, French, la Francophonie and the Political Crisis in Algeria'. Paper presented to a research seminar at the University of Glamorgan, April 29, 1998.
- 'Pluralism without Enfranchisement: the army and the manipulation of elections in the Algerian political system'. Paper presented to a seminar at the Center for Middle East Studies, Harvard University, May 12, 1999.
- 'The current situation in Algeria'. Presentation to the *Middle East Forum*, Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, London, January 11, 2000.
- 'Algeria's vicious cycles: the Bouteflika presidency and the structure of the Algerian impasse.' Paper presented to the *Middle East Forum*, Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter, January 12, 2000.
- 'Co-opting identity: the political manipulation of Berberism and the frustration of democratisation in Algeria.' Paper presented to Government Department staff seminar, London School of Economics and Political Science, February 16, 2000.
- 'Nightmare and Fog: the use and abuse of history and the cultural impasse in Algeria'. Paper presented to a seminar organised by the Group for War and Culture Studies and the Francophone Africa, Caribbean & Pacific Research Group, University of Westminster, November 22, 2000.
- 'Moral economy or moral polity? The mind of Algerian rioters in 1988.' Paper presented to Crisis States Programme seminar, Development Research Centre, London School of Economics and Political Science, June 13, 2001.
- 'Dancing in the dark: Europe and the Algerian drama.' Paper presented to the Crisis States Programme seminar, Development Research Centre, London School of Economics and Political Science, September 18, 2001.
- 'Re-thinking Algeria's drama: towards a new agenda for debate.' Paper presented to the Department of Humanities seminar, American University in Cairo, October 31, 2001.
- 'Reading the ruins: making sense of the Algerian catastrophe.' Paper presented to a seminar organised by the Refugees Studies Centre, American University in Cairo, 13 February 2002.
- 'Boxing clever with Islam: post-nationalism and the religious field in Algeria.' Paper presented to a seminar organised by the Office for African Studies, American University in Cairo, 21 April 2002.

- 'Reflections on the failure of reform in Egypt and Algeria'. Presentation to a seminar organised for the Study Group on *US Foreign Policy and Democracy in the Islamic World*, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge MA, 25 October, 2006.
- 'Étape difficile ou crise de régime? La succession présidentielle et le problème de la réforme politique en Egypte à la lumière de l'expérience algérienne.' Presentation to a seminar on contemporary Egypt: *Quelle place, quelles forces, quelles faiblesses de l'Egypte, puissance régionale, dans les enjeux régionaux?* organised by the French Embassy in Cairo for the benefit of a delegation from the Centre Français des Hautes Études Militaires; Cairo, 5 December, 2007.
- 'Western Sahara: Out of the Impasse.' Presentation to a seminar on Western Sahara organized by Lliga Drets dels Pobles, Barcelona, 4 November, 2008.
- 'A contested influence: the Egyptian connection in Algerian history'. Paper presented to History Department seminar, the American University in Cairo, 28 March 2011.
- 'After the Liberation: Algeria 1962-2012: Reflections on the experience of independence'. Presentation to the *Walter Rodney African Studies Seminar*, Boston University, November 26, 2012.
- 'The Ides of April: the presidential succession crisis and the dilemmas of the Algerian oligarchy': presentation to the Emile Bustani Seminar, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, April 1, 2014.
- 'Egypt and the Algerian Analogy': presentation to Colloquium on *Egypt: Stillborn Revolution?*, Center for Social Theory and Comparative History, University of California Los Angeles, April 7, 2014
- 'Factional conflict and the presidential 'election' in Algeria: the logics and the stakes': presentation to Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, April 24, 2014.
- 'The Pioneer's Progress: from revolution to constitutional government in Tunisia?' Presentation to the Emile Bustani Seminar, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, March 3, 2015.

8. ADDRESSES, LECTURES AND TALKS

- 'Politics in Tunisia since Independence.' Amnesty International, Norwich branch, 1978.
- 'Algerian politics since Boumediène.' Talk to the Marhaba Society, University of Durham. February, 1980.
- 'Civil Liberties and Islam.' Amnesty International, North Norfolk branch, Cromer, 1982.
- 'Democracy and war in the political thought of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.' Address to Marx Centenary public meeting, Conway Hall, London, March 14, 1983.
- 'The events in Algeria in the light of the 300th anniversary of the Glorious Revolution.' Development Studies public lecture, University of East Anglia, November 17, 1988.
- 'The recent crisis in Algeria.' Lecture to the Institute for African Alternatives (IFAA), London, March 15, 1989.
- 'The transition to democracy in Algeria?' Centre for Near and Middle Eastern Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, December 5, 1989.
- 'The FLN and the problem of democratic government in Algeria.' Oxford University Middle East Society, February 13, 1990.
- 'The question of Islam in British politics.' Hampstead and Highgate Fabian Society, February 15, 1990.
- 'Perspectives on Berber politics.' The Society for Moroccan Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, December 2, 1991.
- 'The Algerian state and the challenge of democracy.' Address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London, February 25, 1992.
- 'Société villageoise, droit et organisation politique dans la Kabylie pré-coloniale'. A series of four lectures (in French) delivered to the Département de Langue et Culture Amazigh, Université de Tizi Ouzou, Algeria, November 21, 22, 23 and 25, 1992.
- 'Contemporary politics in the states of the Maghreb'. Lecture to the RAF Advanced Staff Course, Royal Air Force Staff College, Bracknell, June 1, 1994.

- 'The structure of Algeria's political crisis'. Lecture to Amnesty International conference on the Middle East, Amnesty International, International Secretariat, London, October 15, 1994.
- 'L'Armée algérienne et le problème de gouvernement constitutionnel'. Lecture to the Centre d'Études Stratégiques, Rabat, January 13, 1995.
- 'Algeria: democracy, Islamism and civil war'. Lecture to Global Security Colloquium, University of California, Santa Cruz, March 6, 1995.
- 'Berber culture, Kabyle politics and the crisis of the Algerian state'. Lecture to the Center for European Studies Colloquium, University of California, Berkeley, March 14, 1995.
- 'The Algerian impasse and the honourable way out'. Lecture to the Society for Algerian Studies, SOAS, London, March 20, 1995.
- 'Religion, Nation et Transition vers la Démocratie: réflexions sur les expériences britanniques et irlandaises'. Public lecture (in French) delivered to a gathering of senior Algerian academics, intellectuals and civil servants, Djenane el Mithak, Algiers, January 4, and delivered a second time to the staff and students of the École Nationale d'Administration, Algiers, January 6, 1996.
- 'The Islamist challenge and the problem of political reform in Algeria'. Lecture to the Royal African Society and the Centre for Near and Middle Eastern Studies, SOAS, University of London, October 24, 1996.
- 'Ernest Gellner and the Algerian Army: the intellectual origins of the problem of Algerian studies in Britain'. Lecture to the Society for Algerian Studies, Centre for Near and Middle Eastern Studies, SOAS, University of London, December 2, 1996.
- 'The problem of accountability in Algeria': address given as member of panel at a public meeting on 'The Crisis in Algeria' organised by the Hagop Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies and the Department of Middle Eastern Studies, New York University, at NYU, New York, March 27, 1998.
- 'The present situation and future prospects in Algeria'. Lecture to the Middle Eastern Studies Program, Fordham University, Lincoln Center Campus, New York, April 6, 1998.
- 'Approaching contemporary Algeria': two lectures given to Department of Middle Eastern Studies, New York University, New York, April 2 and 7, 1998.
- 'Europe and the Algerian imbroglio'. Talk to the Oxford University Strategic Studies Group, All Souls College, April 28, 1998.
- 'Civil society and political frameworks: lessons of the Algerian experience'. Lecture to the Development Studies Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science, March 19, 1999.
- 'Algeria's transition without end'. Address to a meeting on *Algeria: prospects for peace and stability* at the Africa Centre, London, July 21, 1999.
- 'Islam and democracy in North Africa'. Lecture to the Development Studies Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science, January 14, 2000.
- 'Identity politics in North Africa: the case of the Berbers'. Lecture to staff and students of the LSE Government Department, Cumberland Lodge, February 5, 2000.
- 'Can Algeria become a state bound by law? The army and the problem of civil society'. Address to the Middle East Institute, Washington D.C., September 14, 2000.
- 'Houses on shifting sands: political dilemmas in the Maghreb.' Talk to the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, London, January 17, 2001.
- 'Blowback by ricochet'. Lecture to Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, February 24, 2003.
- 'The Algerian war of independence'. Talk to 6th formers at St. Paul's School, London, January 13, 2004.
- 'The prospects for political reform in North Africa': presentation to round table meeting, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London, January 15, 2004.
- 'The Algerian election and the political prospects': talk to round table meeting of World Bank staff, The World Bank, Washington D.C., March 10, 2004.
- 'Islamism in North Africa': talk to round table meeting of State Department and other US government staff, Department of State, Washington D.C., March 11, 2004.
- 'Islamism in North Africa': talk to round table seminar of FCO, MOD and DFID staff, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London, April 23, 2004.

- 'Perspectives on North African Islamism': presentation of ICG's briefing papers *Islamism in North Africa I: The Legacies of History* and *Islamism in North Africa II: Egypt's Opportunity*, to a seminar at the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Cairo, April 28, 2004.
- 'The current political context in the region': address to Special Board Meeting on the Middle East of the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, London, September 8, 2004.
- 'Islamism in North Africa': presentation to round table organised by the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, London, September 9, 2004.
- 'Political developments in Algeria': presentation to a round table organised by the Cabinet Office for members of the PMSU, FCO and MOD, The Admiralty, London, September 9, 2004.
- 'L'Islamisme en Afrique du Nord hier et aujourd'hui'. Lecture to the Centre Culturel Français, Cairo, September 20, 2004.
- 'The Bouteflika presidency and the problem of political reform in Algeria'. Lecture to the Fundacion para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Dialogo Exterior (FRIDE), Madrid, February 3, 2005.
- 'The Muslim Brothers and the crisis of reform in Egypt'. Presentation to a round table at the Royal Institute for International Affairs, Chatham House, February 9, 2006.
- 'L'agenda politique des groupes et partis politiques islamiques et leurs stratégies de conquête du pouvoir'. Presentation to round table at the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Bern, Switzerland, February 14, 2006.
- 'Understanding Islamism'. Presentation to a round table organised for the Muslim Communities Working Group by the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Ottawa, Canada, 26 October, 2006.
- 'Parallel wanderings: the political itineraries of post-revolutionary Egypt and Algeria'. Public lecture to the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, American University in Cairo, 15 February 2007, 2007.
- 'Thinking politically about Islamism'. Lecture at the Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, Providence. R.I., 15 March 2007.
- 'Globalisation and the problem of armed movements in Algeria.' Presentation to Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C., 19 March 2007.
- 'Is global jihad coming to North Africa?' Presentation to the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington D.C., 21 March 2007.
- 'Western Sahara: out of the impasse'. Presentation of ICG reports on Western Sahara to a seminar at Chatham House, London, 26 June, 2007.
- 'Berber Government: the Kabyle polity in pre-colonial Algeria and the Algerian political tradition'. Lecture to The Maghreb Center, Georgetown University, Washington DC, 14 November, 2007.
- 'Algeria 1988-2007: an overview'. Lecture to the Foreign Service Institute, Arlington, Virginia, 15 November, 2007.
- 'Party systems, Islamist movements and the impasse of political reform in Algeria and Egypt'. Paper presented to a panel on *Political Party Development and Democratisation in the Middle East*, organised by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Ottawa, 21 November, 2007.
- 'Islamism, politics and jihadism in Algeria and Egypt': presentation to a roundtable organised by the Muslim Communities Working Group at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Ottawa, 22 November, 2007.
- 'Re-thinking democracy promotion in the Middle East'. Lecture to the United States Institute for Peace, Washington DC, 16 January, 2008.
- 'Muslim alienation, violence and the problem of identity politics in Europe today'. Lecture to the Europe Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC, 20 January, 2008.
- 'Warnings from North Africa: the Algerian syndrome and the global war on terrorism'. Lecture to London Middle East Institute, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 7 February, 2008.
- 'Out of the impasse: a new approach to resolving the Western Sahara conflict'. Talk to Real Instituto Elcano, Madrid, 12 February, 2008.

- ‘Western Sahara: the costs of the conflict, the political impasse and the need for a new approach’ Address to the European Institute for the Mediterranean (IEMED), Barcelona, 12 February, 2008.
- ‘Confronting opacity: the enigma of Algerian politics and the challenge to the social sciences’. Distinguished Visitor Lecture, Hagip Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies, New York University, 25 February, 2008.
- ‘Thinking politically about Islamism and terrorism’. Lecture to the Middle Eastern Studies Program of the Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs, Syracuse University, Syracuse NY, 27 February, 2008.
- ‘Façade parties, tribune parties and pseudo-parties and the impasse of political reform in Algeria and Egypt.’ Lecture to the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs and the Department of History, Ottawa University, 28 February, 2008.
- ‘Rioting against disorder: the moral polity of the Algerian crowd’. Lecture to the Center for Near Eastern Studies, University of California Los Angeles, 4 March, 2008.
- ‘Rethinking the Western Sahara problem’. Presentation to Executive Council meeting of the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network, Brussels, 2 October, 2009.
- ‘Authoritarianism, Islamism and the Impasse of Political Reform in the Middle East and North Africa: the cases of Egypt and Algeria’. Lecture to Foreign Service Institute, Arlington, Virginia, 17 November, 2009.
- ‘Recent developments in Algerian politics’. Presentation to a round-table discussion, United States Department of State, Washington D.C., 18 November, 2009.
- ‘Islamism and the problem of democratic reform in North Africa.’ Lecture to Institute for Middle East Studies, Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, Washington D.C., 19 November, 2009.
- ‘Algeria: understanding what we are seeing’. Lecture to John F. Kennedy School of Government, Middle East Speaker series, Harvard University. Cambridge MA, 3 February 2011.
- ‘Les élections des Assemblées populaires et la négociation entre l’État et la société en Grande Kabylie pendant les premières années de l’indépendance (1962-1978)’. Lecture to the Centre d’Études Maghrébines en Algérie (CEMA), Oran, 27 April 2011.
- ‘L’énigme du Royaume de Koukou’. Lecture to the Centre de Recherches en Anthropologie Sociale et Culturelle (CRASC), University of Oran-Es Senia, Oran, 28 April 2011.
- ‘Buttressing the Status Quo: the problem of Algeria’s “Opposition” and its democratic deficit’. Talk in the Middle East Initiative Speaker series, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, October 15, 2012.
- Member of a panel of three speakers on “Where is the Arab World heading? Visions and strong trends on the horizon”, organized by the *Harvard Arab Weekend*, Burden Auditorium, Burden Hall, Harvard Business School, November 9, 2012.
- Member of a panel of three speakers on “Whatever happened to the Arab Spring”, organised by the Middle Eastern Studies Program, Tufts University, February 20, 2013.
- ‘The Algerian exception, the Algerianization of North Africa and the encirclement of Algeria’. Lecture in the ‘Middle East Studies Lecture series’, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, Providence, April 10, 2013.
- Member of a panel of three speakers on “Political Islam and Democracy”, organized by the *Harvard Arab Weekend*, Burden Auditorium, Burden Hall, Harvard University, November 8, 2013.
- ‘Egypt now: the issues and the prospects’. Talk to Beacon Hill Village, King’s Chapel Parish House, Boston, January 23, 2014.
- “The Ides of April: the presidential succession crisis and the dilemmas of the Algerian oligarchy”. Presentation to the Emile Bustany Seminar, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, April 1, 2014.
- ‘Egypt and the Algerian Analogy’: presentation to a workshop on *Egypt: Stillborn Revolution?* in the Annual Colloquium Series of the Center for Social Theory and Comparative History, University of California Los Angeles, April 7, 2014.
- “ISIS and the Politics of Horror: globalization, triangulation and the violent mutations of contemporary Islamism”. Lecture as guest of the Northeast Ohio Consortium for Middle East Studies, at Kent State University, October 7, 2014.

- “The origins of ISIS”: a public conversation with Professor Peter Moore (Case Western Reserve University) and Tony Ganzer (90.3 WCPN; moderator), co-sponsored by the Cleveland Council on World Affairs and the Northeast Ohio Consortium for Middle East Studies, The Happy Dog, Cleveland, 7.30-9.30pm, October 7, 2014.
- Member of a panel of four speakers on *Politics & Democracy in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia*, co-sponsored by the AFBU and the Middle East and North Africa Program, Boston University, at Boston University, December 5, 2014.
- ‘Berber Government: the Kabyle polity in pre-colonial Algeria’. Lecture to a meeting of the Society for Algerian Studies, Middle East Centre, London School of Economics, January 12, 2015

RESEARCH EXAMINING

I have acted as internal or external examiner on more than a dozen Ph.D and Master’s theses on Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and the Western Saharan question at various universities in the United Kingdom, including Aberdeen, Aberystwyth, Bath, Bristol, East Anglia, Keele, Leeds, London (LSE), Manchester, Oxford and Westminster and at Tufts University in the United States. I do not have a full record of these activities available to me, but the theses I have examined include the following:

- Nouar Mellouk, *Productivity and workers’ participation – the example of Algeria* (MA dissertation in Sociology, University of Aberdeen), 1982.
- Khelifa Bouzebra, *Culture and political mobilization in Algeria* (PhD thesis in Sociology, University of East Anglia), 1982.
- Mohamed Farid Azzi, *The Algerian State and Development* (MSc thesis, University of Wales, Aberystwyth), 1982.
- Rabah Harrouche, *The impact of socio-economic development on worker-management relations with particular reference to absence from work: a case study in an Algerian tractor actor* (PhD thesis, University of Keele), 1983.
- Fatma Midane: *Factory and Society in Algeria* (MSc dissertation, University of Bristol), 1983.
- Ali Hemal: *Industrialisation through the import of technology and local technological development in LDCs: the case of Algeria* (PhD thesis, University of Bath), 1987.
- Mrs Rahmia Boureqia, *State and rural society in Morocco the Zemmour and Zayan confederations in the 19th and 20th centuries* (PhD. thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Manchester), 1987.
- Michael Squires, *Aims and aspirations: an analysis of pro-Union thought in Northern Ireland in the light of Direct Rule and the Anglo-Irish Agreement* (M.Phil thesis in Politics, Teesside Polytechnic), 1988.
- Ali Bahaijoub: *The historical and international dimensions of the Western Sahara conflict* (PhD thesis, University of London, London School of Economics and Political Science), 1989.
- Robert Malley: *The rise and demise of Third Worldism with special reference to Algeria* (D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford), 1991.
- Salah Filali: *Ideology in a Third World socialist state: the Algerian case, 1962-1978* (PhD thesis, University of Leeds), 1992.
- Farid Benali: *Bureaucracy and politics in contemporary Algeria* (PhD thesis in Politics, Exeter University), 1995.
- William Lawrence: *Representing Algerian Youth: the discourses of cultural confrontation and experimentation with democracy and the Islamic revival since the riots of 1988* (PhD thesis, Tufts University), 2003.
- Ryme Seferdjeli: *“Fight with us, women, and we will emancipate you”: France, the FLN and the struggle over women during the Algerian war of national liberation.* (PhD thesis, University of London, London School of Economics and Political Science), 2005.
- Hélène Gill, application for PhD by submission of published work (University of Westminster), 2005.

REVIEWING AND EVALUATING MATERIAL FOR JOURNALS AND ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS

- I reviewed an article for the journal *Development and Change*, November 17, 2003.
- I reviewed an article for the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, October 31, 2009.
- I provided an expert evaluation of a writing sample of a candidate for a research fellowship at Clare Hall, Cambridge University, January 17, 2011.
- I reviewed an article for the *Middle East Journal*, September 26, 2012
- I reviewed an article for *International Security*, January 2013.
- I reviewed a French-language book for Temple University Press who were considering publishing an English-language edition, January 21, 2014
- I reviewed an article for the journal *Constellations*, May 14, 2014

RESEARCH SUPERVISION

Between 2000 and 2006 I supervised a Ph.D thesis on the role of voluntary associations in Algeria by Andrea Liverani at L.S.E. This was submitted end October 2006 with the title: *Civil Society in a Weak State: the political functions of associational life in Algeria, 1987-2005*, examined on 16 March 2007 by Professor Jean Leca of the IEP in Paris and Professor Ben Fine of SOAS and passed, subject to minor corrections, as fully worthy of the degree. It has since been published in book form as *Civil Society in Algeria: the political functions of associational life*, London, Routledge, 2008.

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

Walking, reading, writing short stories, cinema, music, bird-watching.