

Algeria and the African Union - Between
Security and Economic Integration: A
Neofunctionalist and Regionalist Reading

by

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the process of integration in the African Union (AU), and the reasons behind the slow progress of the AU to achieve the goal of deeper economic integration. In the research I explore the role of an AU member state in the process of African integration: Algeria. The research scrutinises the development of Algerian foreign policy towards the AU and highlights any changes in the Algerian FP attitudes and the reasons behind these changes. Similarly, the research unveils the reality of the decision-making process in this country, and the different agents that influence it.

To achieve the main goals of the research, different theoretical choices were elaborated. This resulted in researching European integration theories; Neofunctionalism was, then, selected to study the Algerian development in the making of its foreign policy in general and towards the African Union specifically. Some concepts within the Neofunctionalist thinking were used including the principle of the shift of loyalties, the socialisation process, the spillover system,¹ and the role of interest groups in the process of integration. Moreover, the theory of Regionalism was used to examine the process of integration in the AU discovering new reasons that led to the slow development of economic integration in Africa.

Consequently, the research highlights the current obstacles and challenges that have hindered the process of economic integration in the AU, including the poverty of most of the AU member states, the limited financial budget of the Union and the instability of the majority of African countries. Furthermore, the research unveiled the lack of political will towards AU economic integration plans. Hence, this contribution extends beyond the traditional models of explanation, and discusses the situation in AU member states (in this case Algeria) and points to other factors as well such as the weakness of the lobbyist activities and business groups in Algeria specifically and Africa more generally.

The thesis, then, focusses on Algeria's supportive and active status in the AU security sector, highlighting how Algeria has been successful in pushing its own security and anti-terrorism agenda to the AU level, thereby demonstrating that integration into the AU is possible, if it is backed by influential member states, and wider coalitions can be built to promote integration and cooperation.

¹Spillover is a concept that was developed by Ernst Haas in his book *The Uniting of Europe* (1958). It means that integration in one particular sector leads to integration in other sectors the fact that is guaranteed by certain political elites as Haas affirmed in his book (Haas 1958, p. 49). (for further details see Chapter Two)

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List of Abbreviations

ACB African Central Bank
ADB African Development Bank
AEC African Economic Community
AfCFTA African Continental Free Trade Area
AIB African Investment Bank
ALC African Liberation Committee
AMF African Monetary Fund
AMU Arab Maghreb Union
AU African Union
CPCM Conseil Permanent Consultative du Maghreb
EBA Everything But Arms
EC European Commission
ECCAS Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS Economic Community of West African States
ECOWAS Community of West African States
ECSC European Coal and Steel Community
EEC European Economic Community
EU European Union
ESC Economic and Social Council
ESCC Economic, Social and Cultural Council
FIS Front Islamic Du Salut
FLN Front de Libération Nationale
GICA Algérie: Groupe Industrielle des Ciments d'Algérie
GDP Gross Domestic Product
HCE Haut Comité d'Etat
IGAD Intergovernmental Authority on Development
NAM Non-Aligned Movement
NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEPAD New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO Non-Governmental Organizations
MRN Mouvement du Renouveau National

OAU Organization² of African Unity
OCAM Organisation Commune Africaine et Mauricienne
OECD Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PAP Pan African Parliament
PRC Permanent Representatives' Committee
PSC Peace and Security Council
POW African Union Panel of the Wise
PT Parti des Travailleurs (Political Party of Workers)
REC/ RECs Regional Economic Community/Communities
RCD Rally for Culture and Democracy
RND National Rally for Democracy
SADC Southern African Development Community
UGTA Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens
UMA Union Africaine et Malgache
UN United Nations
UNER United Nations Economic Report
WWI First World War
WWII Second World War

² Note on usage – UK English spellings are used through the thesis – but in the cases of official titles spelled using American English the ‘z’ is retained.

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1 Chapter One: Introduction

This Chapter highlights the different components of the thesis. It starts with a brief description of the topic, before moving on to the different questions that shaped the structure of the research. After that, the Chapter describes the methodologies, including the research approaches, and the theoretical framework used to solve the different research questions. Subsequently, the Chapter sets out the contribution of the thesis and provides some further comments about the obstacles faced during the Ph.D. journey.

1.1 The Topic of the Research

Many countries across the world have attempted to create unions and alliances that would strengthen their position and boost the spirit of collaboration among them. These ideas were not new, they were even present, in a horrifying way, in the ages of the different Roman emperors, Hitler, and Napoleon (Dinan, 2004, p. 1). However, their beneficial emergence can be linked to the era after the First World War, when the spectre of nationalism overwhelmed politics (Dinan, 2014, p. 12). Africa and Europe recognised the importance of the integrative project this is what resulted in the creation of Southern African Customs Union in 1910 and also the European Economic Community in 1957. This economic union subsequently developed to become a very large economic and political union, comprising 27 member states: today's European Union.

Accordingly, Regionalism emerged as a concept and started to acquire different meanings and significations. The Merriam Webster dictionary definition of regionalism refers to the consciousness and the loyalty to a particular region with a particular homogenous population. In international relations, modern regionalism goes back to the 19th century when some European countries first created customs unions and then alliances with France. Another manifestation of regionalism appeared after WWII with the authorisation of free trade (Kang 2016, p. 235). Generally, the primary reason for the creation of such regional entities relate to the wish of the sovereign states to serve their individual interests (Rana, 1977, p.492); it is that reason and others that push states to create regional entities and take part in this process. Indeed, Africa is one of the regions that was convinced by the positive outcomes of creating unions and entities amongst its countries in an attempt to solve different African conflicts. Therefore, the OAU was created after many meetings between different African countries leading to debates around this union. The history of African regionalism did not stop with the creation of the OAU

creation but went even further. The African integration plans also supported the creation of different Regional Economic Communities and even international African agreements that would assist the continent in achieving its integration plans. Consequently, This is why this research attempts to look generally at the process of creating regions, the outcomes and the reasons for it and more specifically to the African form of regionalism, its initiation, development and obstacles.

Africa is a continent that has suffered from colonialism and instability; this motivated its leaders to think about the effectiveness of unity and the significance of joint actions and policies. After many meetings of the Casablanca Group,³ the Brazzaville Group,⁴ and the Monrovia Group,⁵ (see Chapter Four for further information) the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie was able to bring together these competing groups to create the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 (Soderbaum, 1996, pp. 17-18). The primary aims behind this organisation were to fight against colonialism, Apartheid, and foreign domination. Moreover, this Union attempted to encourage more political and economic integration between different African countries (OAU Charter, 1963, p. 3).

After the independence of most of the African countries, and the end of the Apartheid system in South Africa, many African leaders suggested the idea of reforming the OAU and replacing it with another organisation that would have new aims and objectives. This plan started with the signing of the Sirte Declaration in July 1999 (Badejo, 2008, p. 34). This action laid the foundation of a stronger focus on economic corporation, establishing the African Economic Community (AEC). This paved the way for the drafting of the Constitutive Act in 2000 that became the official codified framework of the newly created organisation. After the Act was ratified by all African countries, the African Union was officially created on July 2, 2002 (Badejo, 2008, p. 35).

The African Union (AU) had designed into its constitutive Act new objectives for Africa to reach, through the assistance of the AU bodies. The African Union called for co-operation between African countries to achieve common economic, political, social, cultural, and security interests designed for the new Africa. One of the main objectives of the AU is to attain economic integration between African countries, a project that had started in 1991 with the Abuja Treaty,

³ **The Casablanca Group** was named after a meeting that was held in Casablanca (Morocco's capital) in 1961 between the heads of some African states namely Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Algerian and Libyan Representatives aiming at creating a union among them (Soderbaum, 1996, p. 17).

⁴ **The Brazzaville Group** was named after a conference that was held in Brazzaville (Congo) in 1961 competing with the other Casablanca Group. It was attended by about 12 members (Soderbaum 1996, p. 17).

⁵ **The Monrovia Group** it was named after a meeting that took place in Monrovia (Liberia) and attended by the Brazzaville Group and other 7 African heads of states (Soderbaum 1996, p. 18).

and the creation of the different Regional Economic Communities (RECs); these would attempt to establish some kind of regional economic cooperation between small regional groups and then assist the AEC in achieving its goal. These were created to facilitate the work of the AEC, because of the immense size of the African continent, and to save some time in achieving economic integration between African countries.

Because of the little attention paid to regionalism in Africa in general and AU specifically, this research will shed light on the integration process in the African Union, and review the different integration policies suggested, and practiced inside the Union. The research will extend to assess the African Union economic integration levels achieved so far, highlighting the role of the RECs in achieving the basic aims of the Union. In addition to that, the research will highlight the different problems in the actual projects of the AU, through consulting the views of AU experts, in addition to existing research assessing the AU's performance. Furthermore, this research examines the role of member states in the process of economic regional integration.

Algeria was one of the early member states of the OAU and later the AU. It is the African country that one of my interviewees, a Pan African Parliament⁶ expert, considered to be one of the main top-five member states in the AU, because of its funding to the AU, and its contribution to the development of the AU (interviewee 5). Consequently, Algerian foreign policy, from its independence until today, will be scrutinised, starting from its performance in the OAU, then mainly focusing on Algeria-AU relations, and the Algerian government's contributions to African Union economic integration plans.

The research will thus highlight changes in Algerian performance from the OAU to the AU and investigate the reasons that led to these changes. Moreover, the research tries to consult the Algerian government's practical attitudes towards the African project of economic integration symbolised in the recent African Continental Free Trade Area project. To establish this, the research includes interviews with some Algerian elites to consult their opinion about the project, and to evaluate the Algerian government's readiness to implement these laws. Finally, the thesis examines the Algerian role in the AU through interviews with African AU experts to assess Algerian performance, from the OAU to the AU, and to highlight changes over time in Algerian-AU relations and priorities.

⁶The Pan African Parliament is a legislative organ within the African Union (For further details see Chapter Three).

1.2 Research Questions

The thesis is about the African Union's integration process: its development, its future projects, and also the role of Algeria as one of the founding members of this organisation. Therefore, the main research question of the research is:

How has the process of African Union economic regional integration been conducted over time, what are the different problems that obstruct it, and what is the role of Algeria as a member state in the AU integration plans?

Dividing this main question into research sub-questions may help in thoroughly addressing the question. First, the research attempts to answer some questions related to the AU economic integration process and its predecessor the OAU. The thesis attempts to evaluate, if possible, the level of economic integration reached between African countries so far, with an emphasis on the different projects of integration that were suggested in the AU, and the different debates that surround their implementation. More, the thesis looked at the different problems that obstructed the AU from achieving deeper economic integration between its member states. The other research sub-questions are:

The first sub question explores ***the reasons for the emergence of the idea of integration in Africa***, so the question is: ***Why did integration start in Africa?***

The research attempts to search for the motivations behind the emergence of the idea of integration in Africa, its development and the obstacles that obstructed African leaders from achieving their integration plans.

The second sub question that the thesis tried to answer is: ***What were the main issues driving and limiting integration in the AU?***

The thesis investigates the different problems that obstruct the development of the integration plans in Africa trying to highlight them and look for possible solutions. Therefore, the research studies the different stages of the development of the OAU and then the AU and the different obstacles that hindered this organisation from achieving its goals.

The third sub question answered in the thesis is: Why has economic integration been so hard to achieve in the AU?

The research investigated the reasons for the slow progress of economic integration in the AU going through all the problems that obstructed the AU from achieving its economic integration goals.

The last sub question answered in the research is: ***What is the role of Algeria in the AU integration in general and the AU economic integration in specific?***

The research examined the role of a one-member state in the AU process of integration in general and the AU economic integration in specific. It looks at the Algerian government's role in the African Union and its development through the progress of time. The research looked at the role of the Algerian business elite in pressuring the Algerian government in doing more to support the African Union economic integration. To do that, the research went through the change of the Algerian FP and the role of the Algerian business elite in making Algerian FP decisions.

All the Chapters of the thesis attempt to solve the first main research question. Starting with the Third Chapter, I highlight the integration process in the AU, referring to the OAU as the first stage of African political integration. Additionally, this Chapter explores the integration process in Africa through the AU and highlights the different obstacles that hindered the progress of this project. Furthermore, the Chapter emphasises the different debates around the ideas of economic integration in Africa. The Fourth Chapter goes on to investigate the role of Algeria in the OAU and then the AU integration process focusing on its acts and attitudes towards the continental organisation.

The sub-questions set out above are answered in different sections of the Chapters of the thesis. First, sections in Chapter Three highlight the debates in Africa around AU integration, and the development of the process, that is the first sub-question of the research. Correspondingly, Chapter Six attempts to highlight the current problems in the African Union and the different issues that the AU economic integration is facing today. Chapter Six also highlights the current different economic integration plans created by the AU to achieve a deeper economic integration between its member states: this answers the second research sub-question about the issues that obstructed the AU from achieving its integration plans.

The role of Algeria in the AU in general, and in the different AU integration plans, is investigated in Chapter Five and Chapter Six of the thesis. Chapter Five explores Algeria-OAU relations, and the attitudes of the Algerian government towards the early attempts of the creation of the OAU. Then, Chapter Six studies Algeria-AU relations with an emphasis on the actions of the Algerian government in the AU, and the opinion of Algerian elite groups on the subject. Further, this Chapter inspects the role of Algeria in the AU through the opinion of African experts on this organisation.

Algerian foreign policy, the third research sub-question, is examined in Chapter Four that studies Algerian foreign policy from independence to recent years, focusing on Algerian-African Relations. The Chapter highlights different foreign affairs' attitudes of the Algerian government, from its early independence years to the election of the former President Abdel

Aziz Bouteflika. This assists in the study of the Algerian foreign policy, in general, by highlighting continuity and change in Algerian foreign policy, as well as the importance of political elites in foreign policymaking.

1.3 Methodology, Methods and Data Collection

This research sheds light on the process of economic integration in the African Union and the different problems that this organisation is suffering from. Therefore, the second aim of the research is to suggest some solutions that are deduced from the case study of Algeria that is considered here. Accordingly, Algeria's action in the African Union economic integration process is studied and evaluated, leading to discovering the major reasons behind the slow progress of integration plans in the AU. The third aim of the research is linked to the theoretical framework of the research. This research aims at taking European integration theories and applying them in different context: the African Union integration process. Thus, this research aims at the revival of a 1960s European integration theory to study a current case, the AU integration process, drawing insights and linkages towards theory-building. To accomplish all these goals, the next section attempts to highlight the criteria of the selection of the case study, the research methods used, and the process of data collection and analysis. The methods and results of the fieldwork conducted for the research are set out, along with a description of the major problems that obstructed, in some instances, the progress of the project.

1.4 Case study selection

The design of this study encouraged me as a researcher to engage with wider reflection on research methodology, methods, and research data. First, this study focuses on integration in the African Union, and the contribution of member states within it. Therefore, there will be a need for the use of a case study that will help in the process of contextualising and narrowing down the idea. A case study is considered as a means to enable different researchers to closely examine the data within a particular complex issue (Zainal, 2007, p. 1). Zainal added that a case study is a robust research method, especially when researchers want to take a holistic, and a deep analysis, at the same time (*ibid*). Accordingly, Yin (2003, p. xi) argued that a case study is an essential part of social sciences inquiry. He added that it is helpful to researchers when they want to investigate conditions that define a research area in its broad and general way, cover complex issues or rely on multiple sources of arguments (*ibid*). However, John Gerring (2007, p. 2) tried to generalise this theory, claiming that the case study is not only essential for

social sciences, but also occupies a central position in different studies, including Anthropology, Archaeology, Business, education, history, medicine, political sciences, psychology, social work, and sociology.

The case study method can be divided into two main types: the single case study and the multiple case study. In another categorisation of the case study method, Yin (2003, p. 5) divided it into three main categories: the exploratory case study, the descriptive case study, and the explanatory case study. First, the exploratory case study aims at defining a question and a hypothesis; it is the case study that attempts to explore a case or a phenomenon in its real social context (*ibid.*, p. 6). The descriptive case study is the second type of case study, according to Yin (*ibid.*, p. 5), it is a case study that provides a detailed description of a particular phenomenon. The explanatory case study is the third type; it studies the data in a cause and effect relationship trying to explain how a particular phenomenon has happened (*ibid.*). When comparing the explanatory case study with the other categories of case study, the explanatory cases are more suitable for designing and doing a causal case that is why this research uses it.

In brief, a case study can be used in different types of research; thus, it is important in solving some questions in research. Certainly, a case study can be used as a tool for generating theories, testing theories, or even for building theories (Ulriksen and Dadalauri, 2016, p. 225). In my research, the process of selecting and then analysing a case study aided in understanding the politics (specifically the foreign policy) of a country, Algeria, and also helped in the process of a theory building, testing, and elaborating. In this research, it assisted in the process of selecting the theoretical framework of the research, and also it contributed to the process of creating connections and relationships between different events and phenomena, or what is called the process of theory building.

1.5 Research Approach and Methods

This research is considered qualitative research that tries to provide an understanding of different experiences, the imagination of the research participants, and the ways that social processes, institutions, or relationships work leads to a generation of meanings (Mason, 2002, p. 1). This leads us to argue that a qualitative study can be inductive or deductive. Inductive qualitative research starts with reading some secondary sources to conceive concept models and themes. As such, inductive research is theory-building research, where the researcher starts with a particular case, generates a particular hypothesis, and then collects data. After that, they will analyse the data that will help them to theoretically explain the phenomenon under scrutiny

(Harrison and Callan, 2013, pp. 29-30). In contrast, deductive qualitative research is considered as theory-testing research, where researchers focus mainly on the theoretical knowledge that already exists in the field of the study, and then use this knowledge to deduce a hypothesis. After that, they move to collect and then analyse the data. This will help them in using the different results to validate, or refute, the previously formulated hypothesis (*ibid.*, p. 29).

However, it is argued that there has recently been an emergent use of both approaches: leading to an active dynamic between data and theory, that describes the iterative process in research. Therefore, my research followed an iterative process that moved between theory and data, between inductive and deductive research approaches. The philosophy of iterative research came from the flexibility and the change that is imposed by the research design, the data requirement, and analysis of methods in response to the information that is collected (Bassett, 2010, p. 2). In the process of data analysis, the iterative methods range from coding data, reading and rereading the data, comparing the data, and then dividing the data into themes for further analysis. In this way the researcher moves ‘between the inductive discoveries of patterns to their deductive verification, yielding further inductive insight, beginning the cycle again’ (*ibid.*, pp. 2- 3).

In this research, the iterative approach can be observed through the data analysis process. The data collected ranged from different primary and secondary sources to political documents, social media, and interviews. These were organised in a thematic fashion, leading to a process of mapping the main perspectives and attitudes of the different Algerian political elites towards the process of economic integration in the AU. In addition to that, the iterative approach, a process of triangulation, can be noticed through the comparison approaches where the data were being compared, and the different results of different interviews were also compared. This reflects the flexibility of this approach:

which involves the systematic repetition of a sequence of tasks executed in the same manner multiple times, provides a deepening understanding of research data and brings standard reliability to the research (*ibid.*, p. 3).

The use of the qualitative methods helps the research to be more in depth and to make deep analyses of the different integration issues discussed in the thesis. More, the qualitative methods help in deeply answering the research questions of the thesis. However, these methods and the research have some limitations including the fact that the research is very much limited to the AU integration process and to Algeria in specific making the generalisation to other African countries hard to apply. Therefore, more comparative work on other countries like South Africa

and Nigeria is needed to develop a more general framework for the engagement of member states with the AU, and the role of regional integration in Africa.

In my research, the iterative approach can be recognised in the process where the data generated from interviews were categorised in a thematic order after comparing and contrasting some of their main findings. This act of reading each interview's output, with the objective of finding links and connections between the data and assumptions, is another form of the iterative approach.

This research studies Algerian foreign policy decisions towards the African Union, and the elites that influence the decision-making process in the country. Therefore, the elite theory is used to look at the role of elites in the decision-making process in contemporary societies, and how these groups (heads of some economic corporations, political parties, or governmental figures) influence government decisions. The elite centred approach was developed in the early 20th century as a critique of the theory of Liberal Democracy of Governments, where power, according to the elite theory supporters, is in the hands of a few powerful people: the Elites (Dryzek and Dunleavy, 2009, p. 57). The presence of this group necessitates the existence of another powerless group, the public; even if this group tries to change the dominance of the elite, this will lead to the dominance of a new elite group (*ibid*, p.59). Therefore, elite-approach theorists divide society into two groups: the first group is the elite, who are the ruling class; the people who control economic, social, and political power through the ownership of wealth and property, social status, intelligence, and political position. According to Elite theorists '...whatever the ostensible form of government, an elite must always rule' (*ibid*, p. 57). The second group is the public, or the mass of people who are excluded from possessing the elite's effective influence. Therefore,

In addition to the approaches discussed above, the thesis uses the process tracing approach. The process-tracing case study, according to Ulriksen and Dadalauri (2016, p. 225), is another approach in the explanatory case study group, in addition to the covariational study (tests whether one independent variable causes an outcome of interest), and the congruence study (focuses on testing some competing theories i.e., the researcher analyses which theory must predict the best results of the research). The process-tracing approach is a method that is best used for theory testing in research. Ulriksen and Dadalauri argued that:

We want instead to uncover and evaluate theoretically specified causal mechanisms that link variables in a comprehensive and temporal explanation of interesting societal phenomena. We choose process-tracing because it places theory and data in a close relationship and in a theory-testing position (2016, p. 225).

Finally, an explanatory process-tracing approach is used in the research to examine and highlight connections and links between the slow developments of the African Union integration plans using the Elite Approach leading to the generation of some conclusions and deductions about the Algerian FP choices and the AU economic integration objectives.

1.6 Methods of Data Collection

To achieve the main aims of the thesis, some primary data were collected. Therefore, the research engaged extensively with primary sources, through conducting interviews, studying documents like treaties, acts, and agreements, scrutinising different speeches, and analysing the twitter accounts of selected Algerian-AU diplomats. Indeed, these methods provided much details and insights to examine the Algerian FP and link it to the African integration process. More, these data go beyond the available data on the Algerian FP creating new data that was analysed so as to answer the research questions of the thesis. However, many researchers argue that there must be a focus on generating data rather than collecting data. Jennifer Mason, for example, argued that:

... it is more accurate to speak about generating data than collecting data, precisely because most qualitative perspectives would reject the idea that a researcher can be a completely neutral collector of information about the social world. Instead, the researcher is seen as actively constructing knowledge about the world according to their epistemological position (2002, p. 51).

Therefore, we can argue that the data collection process might be subject to influence from some external factors that are associated with the researcher herself.

Accordingly, it is argued that research and the data collection process in international relations cannot be free from judgments, since some epistemological and ontological standards influence this process (Harrison and Callan, 2013, p. 42). Primarily, epistemology is a branch of philosophy that studies the theory of knowledge; thus, it focuses on what we know and how we can know it. It means that what we know depends on us and on where we stand (being male or female, rich or poor, black or white) attempting to differentiate between true knowledge and false knowledge. In conducting research, epistemological standpoints can influence our research, the sources for acquiring knowledge in the research, and the ways of framing the

research to discover new knowledge. All this enters in the selection of the strategies and methods of conducting research.

Secondly, ontology is a branch of philosophy that deals with questions of the nature of the social and political world (Harrison and Callan, 2013, p. 98). Consequently, many researchers argue that these philosophical assumptions should not be ignored or downgraded, for a number of reasons (Marsh and Furlong, 2002, p. 21). Marsh and Furlong argued that the ontological and epistemological positions should not be considered as a ‘sweater’ that is put on while addressing philosophical issues and taken off when doing research (*ibid.*). It means that researchers cannot in any way be free or get rid of their epistemological thoughts when doing research.

Concerning the epistemological and ontological reading of my research, I am the one who conducted the different interviews cited in my project, also I am the one who interacted with the participants, wrote the chapters and I am the one that chose the theoretical framework of the thesis. Being an Algerian citizen working as a researcher on the Algerian governmental system and Algerian foreign policy influenced me sometimes. Therefore, the process of the selection of the topic, the formulations of preliminary hypotheses, the collection of data, the interview questions, and the writing of the research might be influenced by epistemological backgrounds since they are considered as a skin (that is always attached within your body) and not a sweater (that can be put on and taken off whenever you want) (*ibid.*). However, this can only be considered an issue if it affects the degree of objectivity of the research. Undeniably, these epistemological concerns had only made me familiar with the subject, leading to the emergence of a new phenomenon that integrates subjectivity and objectivity, because it argues that objective knowledge requires active, sophisticated subjective processes – such as perception, analytical reasoning, synthetic reasoning, logical deduction, and the distinction of essences from appearances. Conversely, subjective processes can enhance objective comprehension of the world (Ratner, 2002).

My familiarity with the Algerian language, governmental system, and culture has greatly assisted me in conducting this research, making interviews and getting some new data that will, surely, contribute towards enriching English written sources about North African politics in general, and more specifically Algerian politics. However, being an Algerian student with a scholarship from the Algeria government was sometimes challenging, and that is why in many instances I had to balance my objectivity with the requirements designated by my sponsors.

The use of interviews in my research greatly contributed to attaining the objectives of the project and enriching the research with new and fresh data contributing to strengthening its

originality. Thus, it is argued that interviews are the best exploratory and qualitative mechanism, that concentrates on the distinctive features of situations and events (Vromen, 2010, p. 258). In political science, interviews are used by political scientists to study behaviours inside political institutions and explore the beliefs, motivations, and the process of decision making of political actors (Harrison and Callan, 2013, p. 72).

There are different types of interviews, including standardised, semi-standardised and un-standardised. The standardised (structured) interview is the type of interview that takes the form of a questionnaire where participants are asked some already prepared, listed short questions and required to give some short precise answers (*ibid.*, p. 73). With semi-standardised (semi-structured) interviews, these are more flexible interviews where they are used in discussions and not as a method for conducting academic research, while un-standardised interviews (unstructured) are more conversational with limited involvement of the interviewer (*ibid.*).

In my research, I conducted semi-structured interviews with Algerian and African political elites. This type of interview is called elite interviewing. It means conducting interviews with some individuals that are prominent in politics, public service, business, or activists in the public sphere. These people accept, in some instances, participation in a research project after agreeing anonymity to avoid any conflicts resulting from an assertion (Vromen, 2010, p. 258). However, elite interviewing is a very complex method of researching: gaining access to these people can be tough if not impossible. In my research, I conducted semi-structured elite interviews.

Choosing the semi-standardised type of interview allowed me to ask a number of open-ended questions that help the interviewer to give more information about the subject of the research. More, this type of interview gives the interviewee the freedom of expressing their ideas, with the interviewer then building questions upon their answers that would in fact enrich the interview and create a more informative discussion. Additionally, As explained before this type of interviews serve the researcher with being flexible and more exploratory assisting in getting more information and explore the thoughts and beliefs of the participants However, one cannot deny that gaining access to conduct elite interviews is a very challenging process, especially in my research. My fieldwork coincided with the Algerian Hirak Movement⁷ context that made the process even more difficult. However, I managed to solve the problem and get

⁷ Algerian Hirak Movement is a set of peaceful protests and demonstrations that started in the 22nd of February 2019 opposing the fifth mandate of the former president Abdel Aziz Bouteflika. This led Abdel Aziz Bouteflika to resign leading to re-scheduling the presidential elections delaying them to the 12th of December 2019 which resulted in the election the current Algerian president Abdel Majid Tebboun

my interviews done (see Fieldwork section for more details). By changing my approach on who I would interview, I thereby secured several useful interviews. I shifted from focusing on foreign policy experts and members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who refused to speak to me, to speak to business elites in Algeria. This was possible, because my theoretical framework, namely Neofunctionalism, also focuses on the role of business elites and lobby groups in policy decisions and support for integration.

However, using semi-structured interviews can have some limitations. First, interviews can be biased and do not provide an objective view of reality. Second, conducting elite interviews are complex since these people are always busy and do not have time to participate in such processes. Additionally, interviews can be time consuming. However, I tried to deal with these obstacles in different ways. Concerning the matter of subjectivity, I conducted many interviews with almost the same questions to all participants to be able to identify the possible issue of bias. I also checked the information obtained from the interviews with other sources. Moreover, I had some problems in getting my interviews done, which somehow slowed down the process of data collection. This required me to use even my holidays to analyse my data and submit the thesis on time.

In addition to interviews, my research used documents for analysis. Document analysis in political sciences is a method that researchers use to get information. I draw from a range of original documents from the executive, parliamentary or judicial arms of governments, policy-making agencies or non-government organisations. In my research, I used a variety of primary sources that range from treaties, reports, acts, constitutions, agreements, accords, and decisions.

Online social media has recently become another important source for primary data, since political elites share news, discuss opinions, engage in political discussions, and even communicate with the public via these new outlets (Yaquub et al., 2017, p. 613). Consequently, in my research, I used tweets from the official twitter accounts of former and current Algerian political elites that worked within the AU to gather information about their diplomatic activities and priorities. The decision to mine social media addressed the shortage in the data that discusses the Algerian political elites' international and African performance, and after the refusal of the Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to allow me to conduct interviews with Algerian civil servants and ministers within the Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. While their decision was ostensibly made because of the instability of the country at the period of my data collection, I think this goes back to the secretive nature of the Algerian government. The typical proof for that is that even the official website of the Ministry is not rich and does not

include any documents that would assist any researcher to get an idea about Algerian foreign policy.

Field Work and Data Analysis

This research uses a variety of research materials and sources. To begin with, the research uses the different documents, treaties, acts, reports, and summaries of the different decisions of the OAU/AU Summits. These materials were accessed from the African Union Common Repository. The research explores some of the United Nations treaties and decisions that were accessed also from the UN Documents section on their official website. In addition to that, the thesis analysed different speeches delivered by the different Algerian presidents in the OAU, AU, and in the United Nations; speeches from different eras were quoted and then analysed. Moreover, the research used different Arabic and French books and theses about the early history of Algeria, especially in the Ottoman era before French colonialism, including some books written detailing the different administrations of Algerian presidents. These sources were used because of the rarity, if not the absence, of English sources about the Algerian post-independence era. Consequently, I translated the pieces of information needed for the research. The use of these Arabic and French resources enriched the research and revealed new details in this domain of research (especially concerning Algerian foreign relations and commercial deals during the Ottoman era). However, the research needed some updated information and details about the views of the Algerian political elite *vis-à-vis* the process of African union economic integration and the African Continental Free Trade Area project (AfCFTA) (see Chapter Three).

Initially, I contacted current and former Algerian ministers and civil servants in the Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs through email and their twitter accounts. Unfortunately, they did not reply, leading me to an attempt to meet them in person by visiting the Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, because of the unstable situation in Algeria at that period due to the Algerian Hirak Movement, I decided to interview other Algerian elites: the directors and CEOs of different Algerian big business corporations (the ones that contribute largely in the Algerian economic revenues). I firstly contacted these individuals through emails, I sent about 90 emails; however, this did not work because in Algeria emails are not largely used or checked daily. Therefore, I was advised to contact them through LinkedIn, and finally, this worked. I wrote the messages in French and others in Arabic through which I presented myself and my research area and my background. These messages were addressed to different Algerian directors in the various business companies including Sonatrach, Air Algérie, GICA Algérie, Enafor,

CEVITAL,⁸ Air Express Algérie, Sonelgaz, Asmidal, and others; However, not all of them responded to my messages. The reasons behind their hesitant attitudes were, according to them, that they do not have enough knowledge about the subject, while some showed their busy calendar thus they could not help, while others were hesitant about taking part in the research accepting, and then withdrew from the process.

After all these messages, I sent around 90 more e-mails to different Algerian directors in different Algerian business groups, I received just four acceptances and that is still a success, since at that time all Algerians were hesitant to talk about any issue about their government or other political issues. Subsequently, we agreed on the timing that best suited them for conducting the interview and also about the way of conducting the interview. I suggested using skype for the interview, but most of my interviewees did not have a skype account, so they suggested using other ways like WhatsApp. I conducted one interview on skype, two on WhatsApp, and one on Facebook messenger. Concerning the language used in the interview, it was a mixture between Arabic, French, and the Algerian dialect, and they took between 30 and 90 minutes. Indeed, speaking and understanding Arabic and French assisted me in conducting these interviews and facilitated the procedure. After that, I translated the interviews into English.

To explore the Algerian role in the African Union, I conducted two other interviews with AU experts. The first is a retired Algerian AU expert, and the second an African Pan-African parliament Expert. These interviews were conducted in English, so no translation was made, the interviews were conducted on WhatsApp and lasted from 30 minutes to 2 hours. Getting in touch with these interviewees was also a very complex issue, I obtained their contact details through connections, since they are very busy, and their contact details are confidential.

In addition to conducting interviews with some of the Algerian directors of selected big Algerian business corporations, and since I could not conduct interviews with Algerian Ministers of Foreign Affairs or even with their civil servants, I visited the twitter accounts of the different former and current ministers of foreign affairs as another source of information. These accounts provided some raw pieces of information that helped in conducting my analyses and drawing important conclusions.

Concerning the process of data analysis, the iterative approach is used (see Chapter One: Research Approach and Methods). It means that after conducting my interviews, I translated them into English (since they were conducted in Arabic and French). After that, I tried to

⁸ CEVITAL it is an Algerian private economic company that was created by Lassaad Rabrab and that works on Agri-food industry.

categorise the content into groups and clusters to facilitate the process of their analysis. Afterward, I divided them into themes that relate to the main research objectives. This was not done just with the interview data but also with the other primary data that I used in my analysis chapters including the results obtained from twitter accounts, different reports about Algerian economic deals, various official documents from the AU official website and even a range of speeches made by different Algerian elites discussing Algerian-AU relations. This flexible approach, indeed, assisted in effectively analysing the data and generating conclusions.

1.7 Chapter Structure

The thesis is composed of seven main chapters, including an introduction and a conclusion. The second chapter of the thesis provides a theoretical framework for the thesis, exploring different European Union integration theories, and then trying to apply them to the process of African Union integration. The chapter highlights four main European Union integration theories: Neofunctionalism, Intergovernmentalism, Regionalism, Social Constructivism, and Supranationalism. After that, the chapter applies each one of these theories to the African Union integration process, attempting to highlight the fact that EU integration theories are not just theories that can be used to study the EU integration process, but are international theories that can be used to evaluate the integration process in any other organisation. Finally, the chapter ends by selecting Neofunctionalism and in some instances Regionalism as the theories that would be used in the thesis to answer the research questions of the project, especially those concerning the progress of the AU integration plans, the problems that are obstructing this process, and the role of member states in encouraging the integration process in different organisations. Therefore, the chapter ends by selecting Algeria as a case study for studying the role of member states in processes of economic integration in Africa.

Chapter Three of the thesis is entitled The African Union Integration Process. It discusses the process of the creation of the Organisation of African Unity in 1962, its organs, its objectives, and the different debates around the process. It then emphasises the different weaknesses inside the OAU, that led the OAU leaders to consider the reformation of the OAU in 2002 to become the AU that we know today. Subsequently, the chapter highlights the different goals of the newly created organisation, including the aim of achieving economic integration between different African countries. Finally, the Chapter describes, in general, some problems that obstructed Africa from achieving the economic integration foreseen through the OAU, amongst other issues: the fragility of the economy, the weak infrastructure of the majority

of African countries, the large differences of cultures, religions, and identities between African countries, and different political problems between African Union member states.

The Fourth Chapter of the thesis is entitled *Algerian Foreign Policy: Continuity or Change?* This chapter investigates the foreign policy history of the Algerian government since independence to the administration of the former President Abdel Aziz Bouteflika. The chapter then explores continuity and change in Algerian foreign policy acts especially with the African world and defines its attitudes within the OAU and then the AU. The chapter also highlights the phenomenon of the change of priorities in Algerian foreign policy and attempts to explore the reasons that led to this shift in priorities from one period to another.

Chapter Five of the thesis explores Algerian-African relations from the Ottoman era to the creation of the OAU. The chapter highlights Algeria's early attitudes to the creation of the OAU, and how Algeria's early provisional government supported the creation of such a continental organisation. After that, the chapter focusses on the attitudes of different Algerian presidents towards the process of political integration between the African countries, and the change of attitudes from one period to another, and from one president to another. The chapter also looks at the level of socialisation of successive Algerian presidents, and to what extent the OAU was able to Africanise their thoughts.

The Sixth Chapter looks at Algerian-African Union relations, and the extent to which the Algerian government supported the reformation of the OAU to become the AU. The chapter also investigates the reasons for the slow progress of economic integration plans. In this respect, I interviewed two AU experts who have extensively researched the main reasons behind the slow progress of economic integration plans. More, the research uses the results of interviews conducted with Algerian political elites, about their opinion on African economic integration, and the real measures that the Algerian government took as a first step for encouraging this continental project. This helped in drawing some conclusions about the real reasons behind the slow development of the integration projects in Africa and revealed a number of findings about the decision-making process in Algerian foreign policy.

1.8 Contribution

This research sheds light on past and present African Union economic integration projects, focusing on their achievements as well as their weaknesses. The thesis highlights the different projects that were developed in the OAU and then the AU to achieve economic integration, and then the research emphasises the challenges that these projects sought to overcome. The data

generated from the different interviews enriches the thesis by identifying current obstacles that are hindering the AU's economic integration process. Indeed, the interviewees suggested different strategies and solutions that may help the AU in achieving its objectives.

The second contribution of the thesis is in highlighting Algeria's previous and current performance in the AU, and in recognising its real view on African economic integration projects. Even though there is some noticeable support for economic Algerian-African deals, the interview results clarify Algerian interests in Africa, and its hesitant attitudes towards the process of the African economic integration. In addition, the analysis of interviews reveals the attitudes of the Algerian elites on the topic, and identifies the absence of business group pressure on the government in support of further AU integration as a key reason for Algeria's hesitant push for a deepening of the AU.

Moreover, the research reveals some hidden realities about the making of Algerian foreign policy, and some hidden agents that influence the process. The research, through the results of the interviews, highlights the passive role of the Algerian business directors, and the absence of a lobbying culture inside the Algerian governmental system; a fact that can be considered as one of the main reasons that led to the slow progress of integration plans in the AU.

Last but not least, the research attempts to challenge existing academic thought by reviving Neofunctionalist thinking. The thesis uses Ernst Haas' Neofunctionalist ideas, focussing on the main ideologies and concepts of this theory. In addition, the research proves the applicability of this theoretical thought, that was designed to study the EU process of integration, and the capability of applying this theory and others to study integration in other organisations, and not exclusively the EU (see Chapter Three). Moreover, the research attempts to make connections and links between the events and the incidents that happened in the Algerian political arena, for example, and the development of the African Union integration process, making some kind of theory building in the research.

2 Chapter Two: European Union Integration Theories and the African Union

2.1 Introduction:

To study economic integration process, different theoretical frameworks were developed to help in studying the process, the outcomes, and the main actors in different unions and the European Union (EU) integration project is one of them. Consequently, integration theories became a tool that could be used to study not only the procedure through which the European Union developed, but also the progress of integration in other regional organisations.

The African Union (AU) is an intergovernmental organisation that was created in 2002 to improve levels of cooperation between African countries and move towards integrating the African continent in various fields, including economic, security, education, and even culture. This chapter thus seeks to study the progress of that process along with its outcomes, focusing mainly on the challenges that obstructed the development of such a project, using different EU integration theories including Neofunctionalism, Intergovernmentalism (Liberal Intergovernmentalism), Supranationalism and Social Constructivism. Also, the Chapter examines Regionalism as a theory to study the AU process of integration. After that, the Chapter will highlight which theory best helps in the following chapters to study Algerian foreign policy towards the development of the AU integration plans. I focus on changing actions in Algerian foreign policy, the direct and indirect reasons for these, and the main actors behind such change.

2.2 Neofunctionalism:

After the Second World War, Europe was left with great losses and casualties: as a consequence, there was an emergence of the idea of the creation of unity between European countries; an act that would eliminate any kind of future bloody clashes. Consequently, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was created in 1952 by the Treaty of Paris, signed by six European countries: Belgium, France, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, and West Germany. This community was created mainly to avoid another war in Europe between European countries.

After the creation of the ECSC, there was a re-emergence of previous debates over regional integration theories. The previous contentious, and much-debated theories of Functionalism, Transactionalism, and Federalism started to be re-examined and reused to study this

community. This, along with other factors, led to the emergence of new theories of regional integration contesting the earlier ones (Saurugger 2014, p. 17).

The original debate over the theories of regional integration was held around three main approaches namely, Functionalism, Transactionalism, and Federalism. The first of these, Functionalism, praises the role of international organisations in spreading peace and stability in the world. Moreover, it emphasises the role of national elites in advocating and supporting different international organisations in realising that goal. The second, Transactionalism, focuses on the role of communication in the process of social engagement determination. Finally, Federalism is the other classical integration theory that supports the ideas of power division between different levels of governmental institutions (*ibid.*).

The first reaction to classic regional integration theories came with the publication of Ernst Haas' *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces* (1958), in which he attempted to study the process and the outcomes of EU integration, where he concentrated mainly on the ECSC. In doing this, he challenged existing theories of regional integration; thus, he broke new ground, creating a new theory in the study of regional integration. It is the Neo-Functionalist approach.

2.2.1 *Neofunctionalism: Major Assumptions*

In his book, Haas (1958) points out that the aim of his study is scrutinising the process of integration, and that understanding this focuses on the development of EU institutions (*ibid.*, xxxi). Accordingly, Neofunctionalism links integration to a phenomenon where states, instead of competing for power, try to defend their national preferences, and cooperate when unity is necessary for realising their interests (*ibid.*, p. xvi). After that, Haas attempted to explain economic and political integration along with their relationship. Where economic integration is concerned, Haas (*ibid.*, p.12) defined this using the words of Franz Geherls and Bruce Johnston (1955) saying that it is “the presence of important economic links between a group of countries”. Attempting to modify that assumption, he argued that economic relations must be also connected with political networks between the states. These networks are considered as the political motives for integration (Haas, 1958, p. 12).

To link economic integration with political integration, Haas (*ibid.*, p.11) defined it as a process that is connected with the economic interests and values of the actors that take part in its development. Integration will happen when there is a similarity of interests and it fails when there is no tie between them (*ibid.*).

After that, Haas (*ibid.*, p.13) attempted to link the support or refusal of the integration process with the specific values of different existing political actors. It means that in cases where there was progress in integration plans this would signify that the interests of the political actors had moved from a national orientation to a regional one (*ibid.*). Consequently, the set of national, geographically bounded beliefs would be substituted by a larger set of beliefs: the regional ones. This process is what Haas called the shift of loyalties.

There are three main reasons that can lead to the phenomenon of the shift of loyalties (*ibid.*, 14). The first is that the new order is viewed as an objective itself. It means that states had embraced such an order because it was seen as their previously established aim. Second, he argued that the new order may be developed because of some powers exercised from another source of power. Finally, new loyalties can grow as a means that will lead to reaching certain objectives (*ibid.*, p. 14).

In *the Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces* (1958) Haas argued that the process of political integration may be studied with reference to political actors. This includes the position of interest groups, political parties, and governments towards plans of unity, whether they support or oppose them, and the main reasons behind their attitudes. In some cases, political groups favour integration because its plans are identical with their basic interests and oppose them when they have different ends (*ibid.*, p. 15). According to the previous links Haas defined political integration as:

The process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations, and political activities towards a new center, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states. The result of a process of political integration is a new political community, superimposed over the pre-existing ones (1958, p.16).

This definition by Haas of the process of political integration focuses mainly on the role of political actors, or what he called later the political elites (*ibid.*, p.17). He defined them as the leaders of all relevant political groups who have a direct influence on deciding upon public issues. He added:

They are the leaders of all relevant political groups who habitually participate in the making of public decision, whether as policy makers in government, as lobbyists or as spokesmen of political parties. They include officials of trade associations, the spokesmen of organized labor, higher civil servants and active politicians (*ibid.*).

Haas (*ibid.*) then argued that it is necessary to define who these groups are, their reactions to integration, and then assess their changing attitudes.

Neofunctionalist assumptions go further, and maintain that once supranational institutions have developed, they can escape the control of their creators and thus change their direction (Nieman, and Schmitter, 2009, p. 48). The agents of these institutions can then increase their powers, through encouraging further integration via influencing the participating elites. Accordingly, the process of the shift of loyalties to new centres will emerge, leading to the movement of integration into other functional sectors, what is called the spillover system.

The concept of spillover is one of the basic assumptions of Neofunctionalism, and it was used in two different ways. Firstly, it is a term that describes the process of the occurrence of further integration in one particular organisation. Secondly, it is associated with the process of the development of the proportion of integration as a result of progress in economic interdependence between states (*ibid.*, p. 49). However, the general assumption of spillover revolves around the idea of the interdependence of certain sectors; it suggests that some sectors are very close to each other, so that integration in one particular sector leads automatically to integration in the other one. For example, the integration of European coal and steel sectors imposes integration in other sectors, such as transportation, that guarantee the movement of these materials (*ibid.*, p. 49). In brief, that is the case for economic functional spillover.

Remarkably, the smooth progress of integration between different sectors can be guaranteed just by political elites, that have significant roles in encouraging these plans. Indeed, governmental elites in different organisations can change their loyalties to address new centres of interest. This change could be assured through the work of non-governmental elites that Haas had spoken about, as discussed above (*ibid.*, p.49).

The process of the shift of loyalties is also linked with a process of a change of identities, or what is labelled as the process of socialisation. It means that bringing together different national officials into contact with each other could increase the occurrence of the socialisation process taking place between civil servants inside the council framework. This lead, as Nieman and Schmitter (2009, p. 50) argued to more integrative outcomes. Consequently, the integrative efforts exercised by national elites, whether governmental or non-governmental, can be called political spillover.

Haas (1958, p.15) concluded that the process of the shift of loyalties is linked with the interests of the previous elite groups. It means that some groups would support one plan because it does serve their interests but would oppose another project because it does not. Moreover, they can strike bargains in respect of the best ways of achieving integration, a problem that will divide them into groups of supporters and opponents (*ibid.*).

2.2.2 *Neo-Functionalism in the European Union Case*

In *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces (1950-1958)* (1958), Haas studied the development of the ECSC using his Neofunctionalist assumptions based on the shift of loyalties, the change of identities, the concept of political and economic spillover and the movement of powers to new centres that have the ability to make new jurisdictions at many levels. Haas called this phenomenon supranationalism, and he associated this with the European Coal and Steel Community.

Haas (*ibid.*, p. 38) defined the members of the organisation including France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg as the “enterprises” that were concerned with coal and steel production. However, the individuals and private groups inside these enterprises were considered to be subjects of the High Authority of the ECSC, since ECSC’s treaty stresses this point. Consequently, disagreements may happen between the enterprises (i.e. the states) and these private groups, leading to the idea of the shift of loyalties from their original centre to a new one (*ibid.*, p.38).

Indeed, cooperation between these groups in coal and steel, as one sector, had led them to think about integrating other sectors, leading them to create their European Economic Community – the Common Market. Moreover, they agreed on the abolition of all commercial restrictions including tariffs, double pricing practices, discriminatory transport rates, thus confirming the free movement of coal and steel between these countries (*ibid.*, p.39). This reflects the idea of spillover, and how co-operation between states in one functional area necessitates co-operation in other areas, what is known as the spillover system.

Accordingly, in defining this defined this phenomenon as Supranationalism, Haas related it to the ECSC, when states (France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg) ceded their ability to control enterprises that are engaged in the field, and then these groups will delegate some of their power to the High Authority of the Community (*ibid.*, p.58). This can lead to a shift of loyalties leading to political and economic spillover.

2.2.3 *Neofunctionalism as a Universal Theory*

Ben Rosamond (2000, p. 58) attempted to explain Haas’s theory of integration in more general terms, linking it with the phenomenon of the presence of cooperative goals between different countries in one particular economic sector, that will lead to a spillover of integration in other sectors under the authority of the “supranational bureaucracies”.

Consequently, Rosamond argued that the European integration experience can be used as a general theory that we can use to study integration in other experiences around the world (*ibid.*, p. 68). This indeed had been one of Haas' major goals, who had attempted to generate scientific attributes to neo-functionalism and thus use it beyond the European case study.

In his article "International Integration: The European and the Universal Process" (1961, p. 368) Haas had argued that creating a union like the European union required "creative compromise" between different states, that are certain that their common interests would not be achieved unless they created such a community; thus they had to put aside all their conflicts and converging ideologies. Consequently, he asserted that the act of comparing the European experience with other experiences around the world required full recognition of the environment that surrounds this desire of integration (*ibid.*, p. 374). He then added that the social, economic, and ideological factors also play a very important role in the integration schemes. This includes the support or the refusal of the population in this process, the economic competences of the countries, and also the ideological preferences of the states (*ibid.*).

Haas (*ibid.*, p. 375) argued that when the previous environmental settings (socio-economic factors) support the idea of integration; it will develop and flourish. However, opposing the previous factors can lead to a process of resistance. Haas, in his article "International Integration: The European and the Universal Process" had related this phenomenon to the lack of ideological homogeneity between social ideologies and the wish of the governmental elites (*ibid.*). In brief, the presence or absence of internal ideological homogeneity among important elite groups in a particular environment is one of the key factors for the success of integration plans.

Other external factors can also influence the progress of integration plans. This can include the fear of a common enemy or an external force or grouping. This is what Haas (*ibid.*, p. 376) associated with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a result of a common enemy: the Soviet Union.

Finally, Haas summarised three main lessons that should be learned from the European experience of integration. Institutionally speaking, supranational institutions must work to achieve common interests. In the functional progress of any cooperation, conflicts may emerge, but the idea of achieving common interests dominates, through the building of institutions that maximise the process of spillover (*ibid.*, p. 378). Concerning the internal environmental factor, integration flourishes in cases where it embraces the main interests of the social groups that represent the rational interests of the different populations. Any change of integration plans can

make integration seem difficult, unless there are influential institutions that can maximise the spillover system (*ibid.*).

Haas attempted in his article, “International Integration: The European and the Universal Process” (1961), to project earlier European integration lessons on universal cases, like the Arab states. He argued that Arab and African states are less homogenous at the levels of religion and language (*ibid.*, p. 378), and added that in Arab and African conferences, supranationalism is very weak, and the role of the Secretariat is also very fragile. This, among other reasons, led to an absence of spillover in other areas of common interests among these countries (*ibid.*, p. 380).

In respect of external factors of unity, the Arab world’s experience of unity against Israel can prove Haas’ assumption of unity between states, because of the presence of one common enemy: Israel in the 1970s. However, this Arab unity was not able to resolve security problems between the Arab states themselves. Haas tried to link that issue with the internal environment of these states, whose aim was preserving their leadership position, and rejecting cooperation, which would have meant sharing it with other groups. Consequently, they only became integrated when they felt there was a common enemy that should be fought. However, Haas (*ibid.*, p. 380) asserted that these groups should have integrated, and followed the European model of economic integration, since this act would give them more strength at the level of controlling their resources’ prices (especially oil).

2.2.4 *Neofunctionalism and the African Union Case*

In *The Uniting of Europe* (1958) Haas had attempted to look at the different reasons that may encourage the progress of integration plans in different organisations. I use these motifs to investigate the causes that led the African Union to be not fully integrated, if compared with the European Union. The first motif that Haas examined is the political interests of states, and their direct effect on the progress or regress of economic integration plans.

The lack of economic integration in Africa, then, might be linked with the difference in political interests of African state actors. Therefore, they were hesitant about suggested integration plans, such as the plan for the United States of Africa, the ratification of the protocol creating the African Court of Justice, and the plan to develop a Pan African Parliament into an elected legislative body (see Chapter Three). This rejection might be associated, then, with the divergence of this plan with the main political interests of African countries, who feared a decrease of their sovereignty and autonomy. Moreover, these plans did not match the economic interests of the African states. This can also be interconnected with the differences between

African countries at the level of their economic capacities, including natural resources, economic development, and connections with the global markets. We cannot compare the tiny, poor Benin's economic capacities with its oil-rich neighbour Nigeria for example (Harsch, 2002). It seems obvious that the larger, powerful African countries are hesitant about the benefits that they can gain from such a plan.

State actors, in cases where their interests coincide with integration plans in any organisation, shift their loyalties from being national to being more regional (Haas, 1958, p. 15). Haas and Schmitter (2005, p. 258) argued that "interests rather than identity, are the driving force behind the integration process, but actors may learn and develop common ideals and identities". Therefore, in the case of a coincidence of interests, the process of socialisation will become relevant. However, this is not the case for African actors, since the political and economic ends of African political leaders do not align with those suggested in the Union; political actors are still loyal to their nations, and opposed any shift of loyalties to the African Union, in a more regional direction. This can also be considered as another reason that led to the lack of economic integration in the African Union. In the Pan- African Parliament (PAP) (see Chapter Three), for example, the process of the shift of loyalties could not happen, because the members of this body were appointed by the Heads of States themselves. It meant that its members were loyal to the Assembly and the Executive Council, since they reflect the same ideology. If this body were to shift to being elected, the process of socialisation might become easier; however, this is not the case now since PAP members are still appointed.

Haas (1961, p. 374) asserted that the other factor that leads to the success of integration plans in a particular organisation is the presence of harmony between the elite groups and environmental settings, including the social community, economic competences, and the ideological preferences of the states. Therefore, the failure of integration plans inside the African Union can be related to the dissimilarity between the different environmental settings of the African governmental elites (see Chapter Six).

Differences at the level of the ideological backgrounds of African elites led to the absence of homogeneity of ideas among them, leading to the failure of the plans of integration in the African Union. This seems clear from the failure of small regional economic communities in Africa, where states were even unsuccessful at establishing free trade areas between these small economic groupings. The reason for that may be linked first to the conflicting interests of the states, and second with their rivalries over leadership. As a result, states started to forge alliances with other regional economic communities, leading them to join more than one

regional economic community, which may have conflicting ideologies. Martha Belete Hailu has argued that:

Many African countries belong to more than one Regional Economic Community (REC) [see Chapter Three]. Among the 53 countries in Africa, 27 are members of two regional groupings, 18 belong to three, and one country is a member of four (2014, p. 319).

This affected the process of integration of African countries, increasing differences rather than generating similarities between them. For example, it has been argued that the Arab League threatens the plans of African integration, since it does not serve the interests of North Saharan countries, that in the majority of cases do not agree with the interests of the countries south of the Sahara (Mekuriyam, 2016, p. 59). In fact, this would increase differences between African countries leading to the failure of African integration projects.

Integration in one particular sector can spill over to other sectors, especially when political elites encourage the movement. This was strikingly present in the OAU, where the political unity of African countries in 1963 moved towards creating an economic union between African countries through the passage and ratification of the Abuja Treaty of 1991. Certainly, this treaty was ratified by all African countries at that time, since it encouraged the establishment of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) that would strengthen the African Economic Community, a fact that was welcomed by African heads of states (Abuja Treaty 1991, Art.4, p. 8). However, economic integration has not happened, even in the small regional communities that were created, and for many reasons.

Sako (2006, p. 6) argued that the reason behind the failure of integration plans in the African Union was related to the heads of states themselves, who were not ready for a plan where they have to share some of their sovereignty with other supranational institutions. He added that the main proof for that is the integration protocols that remained unimplemented at the national level. This is linked primarily with the non-support of the state actors, and the absence of powerful African bodies that would supervise this process of implementation (*ibid.*). He added “Lack of political will and commitment has been reflected in the failure to meet target dates set for the attainment of objectives” (*ibid.*).

In addition, the nation-states were hesitant about the creation of supranational institutions in the African Union. The typical proof for that is their refusal to ratify the protocols creating the African Court of Justice (ACJ), and changes to the PAP to become an elected, legislative body instead of keeping it as an administrative, appointed organ. Indeed, they were hesitant

about these plans since they saw that these laws would be incorporated in their national parliaments, a fact that would threaten their domestic and foreign sovereignty.

Other factors that led to the slow progress of Africa in achieving regional integration might include, first, the conflicting nature of relations between African countries leading to increasing conflicts rather than fostering cooperation. This led the countries to join more than one regional economic community, leading to more differences and conflicts (*ibid.*, p. 5). Third, the inadequate funding for integration plans in the African Union led to the emergence of power relations in these communities, where the will of powerful states is the one that is respected and applied (*ibid.*, p. 5).

In his article “International Integration: The European and the Universal Process” (1961), Haas attempted to study different experiences in cooperation attempts, including those of the Arab world, Latin America, and that of the United Nations. Consequently, we can try to project Haas’ Neofunctionalist assumptions onto the African Union, to study the development of its integration plans and evaluate these.

First, the African Union started as a political organisation, the Organisation of African Unity that had one common enemy: colonialism (see Chapter Three). Remarkably, African leaders easily agreed to the creation of such a political organisation since, this would help them gain their independence, and thus be stronger in defeating their colonisers. This what Haas (1961, p. 376) considered as the external factor that leads to integration in some cases. Then, African leaders thought of the necessity of the economic integration between their states; this encouraged them to create the African Economic Community, that was defined in the Abuja Treaty of 1991. This community would simplify the movement of the African continent towards economic corporation by the creation of the PAP, a Court of Justice, and the necessary economic and social commissions (see Chapter Three). In 2002, the African leaders decided to revise the Organisation of African Unity, to become the African Union, and create its new institutional organisation.

However, the AU is only moving slowly towards achieving integration, for multiple reasons. In his article Haas (1961) asserted that there are some internal factors that help in the achievement of integration between different countries. It means that he linked it to the environment in which the process of integration is taking place. In the African Union, there was a clear exclusion of civil society, business organisation, and the private sector from the process of integration. This reality was greatly criticised, since it reflects the lack of faith of African heads of states in their people (Harsch 2002).

Second, Haas (1961, p. 374) affirmed that economic and industrial development is considered as the second set of factors that can influence integration levels in any organisation. As far as African economic and industrial development is concerned, it is clear that Africa has a very weak economic base, because the majority of the African countries are agricultural rather than industrial states. Moreover, African countries were subjects to colonialism and thus they had very poor infrastructure. Indeed, African countries have no solid network of roads, railways, waterways, ports, airways, and telecommunications (Olaniyan, 2008, p. 7). He asserted that the infrastructure inherited from the colonial powers at independence has failed to bring any economic improvements to the African continent. In addition, Africa has suffered from the lack of financial resources that would help it in strengthening its infrastructure, and thus ensuring economic development. In brief, African countries had no economic and industrial strength that can support it in achieving integration; this is what had made the integration plans move at a very slow pace.

Ideological patterns are the third factor that Haas (1961, p. 374) considered as a key factor in supporting or obstructing integration plans in any organisation. This can be related to the homogeneity of ideologies inside a particular organisation. Africa can be considered as the land of differences. Indeed, African countries have great differences at the level of languages, religions, geographies, and cultures. This led to great dissimilarities between African countries and thus integration seemed to be a very difficult goal to be achieved.

Haas then moved on from these internal factors to discuss the external factors that can lead to the development of integration. He argued that states may create unions when they fear a common enemy. This idea is very relevant for the African case, since African countries, even though they had many differences, agreed in 1963 to create a political organisation (the Organisation of African Unity) that would protect them from colonialism and would bring them independence. Haas (1961) argued that this unity must be accompanied by institutions and environments that would intensify integration. However, in the African case, there is a weak implementation of the integration protocols, because of the weakness of institutions themselves, and because of the lack of support of these plans from the heads of states. Olaniyan argued that

the African institutions created did not have the manpower for technical studies and the implementation of measures on integration and development. They also lacked sufficient financial resources for the implementation of regional integration and development programs (2008, p. 7).

Moreover, even though the protocols concerning integration plans were created in the different institutions, states did not implement them, for a variety of reasons. The delay of

approval of the member states to these protocols led to a slow movement towards integration. This happened because of the absence of powerful institutions that could supervise the process of the passage of such protocols (*ibid.*, p. 8).

In *The Uniting of Europe* (1958) Haas argued that to achieve integration the phenomenon of the shift of loyalties has to emerge. It means that states would attempt to change their ideologies to achieve unity. So, is this the case for African countries? Are they attempting to shift their loyalties to new centres to encourage integration or are they opposing this idea? This question may lead us to study the Algerian performance in the African Union and its changing attitudes towards African plans of integration.

2.3 Intergovernmentalism:

2.3.1 *Major Assumptions*

After the Empty Chair Crisis (1965), criticisms of the Neofunctionalist approach appeared, arguing that integration as a process should be linked primarily to the wish of the national governments as the primary actors in the process. A new approach, Intergovernmentalism, focused on the bargaining system that operates between member states inside a particular organisation, leading to the establishment of certain rules and regulations. Consequently, advocates of Intergovernmentalism considered the supranational institutions inside any organisation as servants of the main interests of the national governments of the states. This thought was embodied in different writings of scholars including Stanley Hoffman, Alan Milward, and Andrew Moravcsik in his book *The Choice for Europe* (1998) who set the stage for the creation of what is called liberal Intergovernmentalism.

Moravcsik defined integration as:

a process in which they define a series of underlying objectives or preferences, bargain to substantive agreements concerning cooperation, and finally select the appropriate international institutions in which to embed them (1998 p.5).

As such Moravcsik linked the process of integration to three main stages that he discussed in his book. First, Moravcsik examined the idea of objectives or preferences, and linked them to the economic interests of countries. It means that economic and national preferences are the main drivers of integration (*ibid.*, p. 8). In a further explanation for the national preferences of states, Moravcsik (*ibid.*, p. 24) linked them with what he called “geopolitical interests and ideologies”; thus, he focused on the link of national preferences with the political and economic interests of the states.

Second, Moravcsik studied the outcomes of the integration process that result from bargaining procedures between the different interests of the different member states. Moravcsik related this to the relative power of states (*ibid.*, p.7), and their ability to influence the decision-making process (*ibid.*, p. 8). Accordingly, Moravcsik focused on the power of the nation-states inside the different governments, and how governmental actors can influence the decision-making process by using instruments like vetoes, the threat of exclusion, and applying pressure through financial payments and aids (*ibid.*, p. 8).

The third criterion that Moravcsik focused on in his definition of integration was the outcomes of the bargaining process inside different intergovernmental organisations. These results are closely related to the choice of governments as to whether they chose to preserve or delegate some of their sovereignty to institutions that would serve their primary interests. However, this delegation was limited and did not reach certain spheres, including the act of making treaties (*ibid.*, p. 8).

2.3.2 *Liberal Intergovernmentalism in the European Union Case:*

Moravcsik studied the European Union integration process using his liberal intergovernmentalist criteria. In *The Choice for Europe* (1998) he observed integration as an outcome in the EU. He started by defining EU integration as

“a series of pragmatic bargains among national governments based upon concrete national interests, relative power, and carefully calculated transfers of sovereignty”
(*ibid.*, p. 472).

In his earlier liberal intergovernmentalist study of the European Community, Moravcsik (1993) considered its creation as a set of a series of intergovernmental bargains that came about, from the signing of the Treaty of Rome (1957), to the Maastricht treaty (1993) (*ibid.*, p. 473). As a result, he attempted to shed light on these bargains and examine them.

Moravcsik (1993) affirmed that the creation of the EC was the result of strategies that were followed by national governments acting at the level of their national preferences. These preferences, primarily determined by different constraints and opportunities, were linked mainly to agricultural, industrial trade liberation preferences, and the socio-economic public goods of the European states (Moravcsik, 1993, p.517). At the end of his book *The Choice for Europe* Moravcsik affirmed that in every step of the development of the integration process in the European Union, there are some economic and commercial aims that encouraged this progress (1998, p. 473). Then, he discussed the idea of the shift of priorities, policies and

preferences of the national governments in the EU and its changing nature towards encouraging more European commercial aims rather than geopolitical preferences (*ibid.*, p. 474).

After agreeing on the different national preferences of European states, that pivot around the commercial interests, states initiated their bargaining systems to agree rules that would match their own designed interests. Moravcsik considered the EC bargains as “game coordination with distributional consequences” (*ibid.*, p. 496). Here he means that the bargaining process would revolve around cooperation and interaction rather than disagreement. Moravcsik argued that these negotiations were not led by the supranational officials, but by the national governments, since states’ officials possessed superior knowledge about the different interests that should be addressed (*ibid.*, p. 480). Remarkably, the EC relied on national officials in complex areas such as those concerning monetary policies (*ibid.*). Consequently, negotiations in the EC were led by state officials (that possess many powerful rights like that of the veto, the exit, and exclusion), and not the supranational institutions. Finally, Moravcsik concluded by affirming the applicability of the existence of the intergovernmental bargaining system in the EC (*ibid.*, p. 485).

The third step in the analysis of European Union integration is related to institutional delegations. In the European Union case, the member states chose to pool and delegate their sovereignty in the majority of cases. Moravcsik (*ibid.*, p. 488) attempted to study the reasons behind this act. He concluded by arguing that the European act of delegating sovereignty to some supranational states would help in strengthening the states’ positions.

2.3.3 *Intergovernmentalism (Liberal) in the African Union Case*

The African Union is considered an intergovernmental organisation, in which its member states play the main role in supporting, opposing, and directing the process of its integration. There is clear evidence that demonstrates the intergovernmentalist structure of the African Union. First, the process of the creation of the OAU was solely conducted by African heads of states including Kwame Nkrumah, Haile Selassie, Julius Nyerere, and others. Therefore, one of the Liberalist Intergovernmental assumptions is applicable here focusing on the role of the national officials in deciding on the integration process. Moreover, the OAU Charter highlighted the role of the Assembly, considering it “the supreme organ” of the organisation. This denoted the supremacy that is given to the heads of states in the OAU. Another principle that confirms the intergovernmentalist principle in the OAU is non-interference in internal matters. This also

strengthened the power of the heads of states inside the organisation; the fact that led authors to call this organisation “a club of Heads of States and Government” (Michel, 2012, p.39).

The Abuja Treaty of 1991 (see Chapter Three) can also be considered as proof that demonstrates the strong role that the OAU member states had. This treaty, that created the African Economic Community, seemed to be more democratic in the creation of the African Parliament; however, the latter’s role was very limited, since it did not represent Africa’s citizens and African people were not involved in electing its members. The Abuja Treaty attempted to strengthen the African economy, and increase African economic performance, by encouraging inter African economic cooperation through the support of the regional economic communities. All of this was under the supervision and the will of the member states.

The development of the OAU, to become the AU in 2002, brought some changes in the integration process of African countries. Noticeably, this development was brought through the will of African heads of states including Maamer al Quaddafi (the former Libyan president), Thabo Mbeki (South Africa), and Olusegun Obasanjo President of Nigeria. The AU Constitutive Act confirmed that the Assembly of the Heads of States and Government was *the* supreme organ in the organisation; again, this refers to the idea that the organisation was still following an intergovernmental path.

The intergovernmentalist path of the African Union was not a random process that was followed in the AU, but it is mainly linked to the will of the heads of states, and their national preferences. Moravcsik (1998, p. 5) argued that the integration process is the result of the bargaining process between the various national interests of the different member states. These interests revolve around the economic interests of the states, their powerful domestic constituents, the relative power of each state in the international system, and finally the role of institutions in encouraging interstate commitments. Therefore, they bring their powers in the process of negotiating the type of integration that will be followed (*ibid.*).

In the African Union case, the majority of African heads of states supported the intergovernmentalist system that did not interfere in their own national choices, and that did not reduce their domestic and foreign sovereignty. This choice was purely based upon the will of the member states, responsible for shaping decisions in the AU. Importantly, sovereignty in the African context is a sacred concept, since the African states suffered during their colonial periods, with the seizure of their sovereignty, and then the colonisers threatened their autonomy. As a consequence, African countries preferred keeping an Intergovernmentalist system in the African Union, and not share their sovereignty with other institutions for political and economic interests.

2.4 Regionalism

Regionalism is a theory that originated after WWII. Its development can be divided into two main periods: the Cold War period and the post-Cold War period (Barbieri 2019, p.425). Concerning the Cold War period, it was characterised by many confrontations resulting in the building of two main global blocs. However, the post-Cold War era saw the emergence for political purposes of new regional blocs (ibid.)

Indeed, what is labelled as new regionalism (Soderbaum 2011, p.3) started to take shape after some developments in the EU, the passage of the Single European Act and some changes in the theories of European integration. The new meaning of a region relied on the idea that it is socially constructed and thus a politically contested area (ibid, p.6). It means the concept of a region depends on the way political actors perceive the concept of regional identity and the process of the formation of this latter (ibid, p.6). However, by the beginning of the 1990s, regional actors started to be influenced by other institutional and business actors (ibid.).

Indeed, the Cold War period limited the number of regional organisations by making them obliged to affiliate one of the two powers. Accordingly, what is labelled as the old regionalism was criticised for being a state centred approach (ibid, p.3) However, the post-Cold War period and the emergence of New regionalism led to the revival of the old regional organisations such as North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) the Southern African Development Community (SADC). These new organisations started to solve some new issues including internal and external security, political instability, terrorism, migration, and internal and external disputes. Therefore, the EU experience became unique when compared with these new global organisations, even though integration in some of these organisations is close to cooperation rather than integration (Borzel p.13).

Remarkably, Regionalism as a theory has brought some kind of revolution to the study of the integration processes. Indeed, the previous EU theories of integration focus their attention on domestic actors such as big businesses, trade unions, and regions that would push for further integration to serve their economic and political interests (Borzel 2016, p. 3). That is why new regionalism criticises these aspects old regionalism and their state centric assumptions. Therefore, the new regionalism focuses on the process of the construction of regions, the role of the markets and the civil society actors, trade, people, and the flows of capital (ibid.).

Regionalism has become an important theory especially for studying regions outside the EU. It promoted greater cooperation between the different regions at various levels including security, trade and foreign policy. However, this form of cooperation in Asia and Africa is harshly criticised for being much more regional cooperation rather than regional integration (ibid, p. 6). In other terms, the regional cooperation we find between for example the African continent at the level of the AU or the different RECs is said to be a state-based intergovernmental cooperation that attempts to solve political, economic and security issues (ibid., p12). By contrast, the regional integration that is found in the EU for example is different since it involves supranational institutions that are delegated by the political authorities of members states to make decisions at different levels including economic and trade relations (ibid.,). It is because of this issue; the EU is trying to promote integration rather than cooperation in its agreements with Africa and the Caribbean.

The ideas of regionalism spread all over the world, even to Asia and Latin America. The African continent also developed the ideas of unity with the independence of the first African countries, which later progressed to the creation of the OAU and then the AU. But before that, there were different attempts to create unions between several African countries through the Casablanca Group and Brazzaville Group. However, these groups were not successful in creating unions because of many reasons including differences of objectives and interests. After that, the OAU was created as a first step towards unity, thus ending the many differences between the African countries. The OAU and the AU are not the only form of unity that have been developed in the African continent; there are other forms of unity that were linked with the creation of the regional economic communities, which tried to establish unity between the different African countries.

2.4.1 *African regionalism through the OAU and the AU*

The OAU and then the AU helped the African countries to achieve certain goals and also helped in solving security issues and maintaining peace in different African regions (Baumann 2005, p.9). The OAU was the first to make Africa speak with one voice in international gatherings and to free the African continent from European colonialism. Moreover, the OAU tried to act like a conflict resolution agency since it tried to solve the different African conflicts and it somewhat succeeded in resolving some African conflicts (see Chapter Three for more details). However, the limited role of the OAU in deepening the economic and political unity in Africa led to the creation of the AU later.

The AU tried to achieve the economic and political objectives set in the AU Constitutive Act. The AU, like its predecessor, was able to politically unite the African countries and make them speak with one voice. The AU also tried to move beyond political integration between the African countries and it set economic integration as another goal that the union would try to achieve. Moreover, the AU put the sovereignty of African countries as another goal that the AU should aim at protecting.

From its creation in 2002, the AU is said to have achieved great peace, security and unity unlike the OAU because of many reasons. First, the AU created different agencies that would assist the union in achieving its security plans (Joshua and Olanrewaju 2017, p.5). The Peace and Security Council is one of the instruments that the AU created to achieve AU security purposes. Second, the AU is not obstructed by the principle of non-interference in the domestic matters of member states like its predecessor the OAU. The AU through the PSC was able to interfere in many situations to spread peace in different African conflict areas (ibid.).

Unlike the peace and security sector, the AU economic integration goals are limited. This may be linked to reasons such as the difference between the AU member states at the level of culture, history, financial instabilities and geography. Indeed, these were the main motifs that led the Abuja Treaty to create different regional economic integration communities that would serve the AU in achieving its economic plans.

2.4.2 *African geographical regionalism*

The African continent did not stop its unity plans at the creation of the OAU or the AU, but it moved forward and through the Abuja Treaty of 1991. The African leaders created regional unions that would boost economic integration between different African regions and assist the African Regional Community in achieving its designed economic goals.

The passage of the Abuja Treaty resulted in the creation of multiple Regional Economic Communities (RECs) across the African continent. However, currently there are just 14 functional RECs that are characterised by an overlapping membership that is why it is very complex to examine them one by one. Indeed, the AU approved eight main RECs and considered them as the instruments that would assist the AU in achieving its economic integration goals (Uzodike 2009, p.31). In the table below I present these and examine the members and the objectives of each one:

Regional Economic Community	Members	Objectives
The Arab Maghreb Union (UMA)	Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strengthen the economic links between these countries - Free circulation of goods and services between the UMA members. - Create Joint programs between the members in different fields including agriculture, industry, commerce and food.
The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)	Burundi, Comoros, Congo, Dem Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Seychelle, Sudan, Swaziland, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Development of the natural and human resources - Elimination of trade barriers between the members states - Harmonisation of monetary policies between the members - Promotion of peace and security in the region.
The Community of Sahel Saharan States (CEN-SAD)	Benin, Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Chad, the Comoros, Cote D'Ivoire, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Gambia, Gana, Guinea-Bissau, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierre Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Achieve economic unity through creating free trade area. - Cooperation in different fields including cultural, scientific and other domains. - Developing Regional integration plans.

The East African Community (EAC)	Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish a political federation of the East African States. - Formation of customs union, a common market and a monetary union.
The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)	Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Republic of Congo, Sao Tome, Principe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Create a common market for Central Africa. - Promote collective autonomy, raise the standards of life and maintain economic stability. - Maintain peace and security - Develop economic and monetary integration.
The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)	Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Cote D'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Main goal is the total integration of the economies of the member states. - Promotion of the cooperation in economic, social and cultural fields between the member states. - All the member states should be committed to attain African economic integration.
The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)	Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promote food security and environmental protection, peace and security, economic cooperation and integration. - Elimination of trade barriers between member states. - Harmonisation of policies in all fields.
The Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)	Angola, Botswana, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promote social, security and economic integration between the member states.

	Eswatini, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelle, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe.	- Strengthening consolidation of historical, social and cultural attachments between the different member states.
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After examining the membership of these organisations, we notice that African countries are members in more than one REC leading to what is known as the multiplicity of membership or an overlapping membership (ibid., p. 35). Moreover, the objectives of these RECs seem to be the same, including removing the trade barriers between the member states and achieving economic integration between the members states. This may be a reason for the slow progress of the integration plans of these RECs.

On examining the achievements of the RECs, it seems that there are little achievements in the field of economic integration as compared to their objectives. It is said that the reasons for this may be linked to the multiplicity of membership, the instability of the different African countries, lack of political commitment and the fear of moving their sovereignty to a new centre (ibid., p.36).

Basically, the RECs are intended to assist the AU in achieving its main integration goals. However, these RECs have challenged in some way the work of the AU since there are just few RECs that the AU officially recognises and the others seem to be threatening one another (ibid, p. 37). Moreover, the issue of the overlapping membership also helped in widening the gap between the RECs leading to different tensions. One example of the tensions between the RECs member is that of the UMA, where the Maghreb countries including Algeria were never successful in achieving the main goals of this REC. The political and border issues between Algeria and Morocco led to the inability of the UMA to proceed in achieving its goals of strengthening the links between its members and encouraging free trade between the member states (see Chapter Four and Chapter Five for further details).

Moreover, the Algerian government was considered as a promoter of African regionalism since it was the country which encouraged the creation of the OAU even before its independence. However, the Algerian FP was changing with the change of the circumstances and interests of the country. Algerian FP priorities varied from strengthening its connections with Arab countries, African countries, Maghreb countries, Europe, and sometimes with the

USA. This change of attitudes made the Algerian FP changeable contributing to obstructions to the AU economic integration plans rather than helping it to achieve its goals.

2.4.3 *African Regionalism through the EU*

Because of the problems that obstructed the AU and the RECs from achieving their main objectives, the African communities decided to make some agreements outside the continent for instance with the EU in an attempt to provide a free access to the European markets especially through the Lomé Agreement. (Cameron 2005, p.9). In 2000, the Cotonou Agreement replaced the Lomé agreement and it included all sectors of collaboration so as to develop the African Caribbean Countries (ACP)⁹. When establishing these agreements, the EU put regionalism as a condition so as to achieve the main goals of the union.

The EU negotiated regionalism with different African regional groups. In the West Africa region, all the ECOWAS members are part of the EU–African economic integration plans except Mauritania. Concerning the Central Africa regions, all CEMAC countries are members plus Sao Tome and the Principe and the Democratic Republic of Congo. In the Eastern and Southern Africa, all the COMESA are members except Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, Egypt, Libya and Swaziland. Moreover, all SACU members are part of these negotiations including South Africa as observer plus Angola, Mozambique and Tanzania (Kuhnhardt 2008, p. 12). Basically, this agreement aimed at reducing poverty, encouraging collaboration between state and non-state actors, supporting national budgets and most importantly promoting trade corporation (ECDPM, 2003, p.13)

However, there are many concerns that are raised here. One of them is the fear of the widening gap between the poor countries, the developing countries and the rich ones (Baumann, 2005, p.9). Therefore, the European initiative, Everything But Arms (EBA), attracted many of the poor countries which took part in it. Moreover, question about the future deals of the ACP and EC unity are always raised, leading to many suspicions about this EU and APC Unity (ibid.,).

This union tried to solve different conflicts and manage different peace plans in Africa. Noticeably, there were different attempts in Africa to create some regional cooperation committees in different parts of Africa, including the East, the South, and the West. However, out of these 14 regional integration communities just nine of them are working hard to achieve their main goal of achieving a full economic union (Hartzenberg, 2011, p.19)

⁹ The ACP Group involved 46 states in 1975 after that it became 79 in 2003.

2.5 Social Constructivism:

2.5.1 *Major Assumptions:*

There is considerable confusion and variance over the best definition of the concept or the theory of social constructivism, since it is used in many domains and fields. For Roya Amineh and Hanich Asl (2015, p. 13), generally speaking social constructivism is that theory of knowledge that is used mainly in sociology to examine the knowledge and understandings of the world that are developed by individuals. This means that it claims that meanings and understandings are developed in relation to other human beings.

In International Relations, social constructivism was introduced by Nicholas Onuf and Alexander Wendt, who agreed upon the idea that interaction with others is the primary factor that creates certain identities and makes them seem to be different (Jackson and Sorensen 2006, p.168). More simplified definitions for social constructivism were given by Risse (2009, p. 145) considering it “a truism that social reality does not fall from heaven, but that human agents construct and reproduce it through their daily practices”. This signifies that the social environment that surrounds individuals is responsible for shaping their different personalities. This indicates that this theory opposes alternative, individualist, theories that focus on the role of the individual in making rational choices and decisions.

Defining social constructivism, in relation with the theories of European Union integration, may lead to new definitions of the process of integration. This designates that studying the interests of actors should be linked with their identities, and their social environments that have a direct influence on them and thus their decisions (Risse 2009, p. 146). Indeed, the social constructivist theory agrees in some points with the liberal Intergovernmentalist assumptions of national preference formation. National preferences of states, as Moravcsik (1998) argued, are linked with the cultural and ideological interests of the actors. It means that different organisations are not created from scratch, but they are built on previous institutional designs. However, Risse (2009, p. 146) argued that the problem in this lies in the effects of these institutional structures on the different social identities and the fundamental interests of the actors representing different member states.

2.5.2 *Social Constructivism in the European Union Case*

In the study of the European Union case, social constructivist theory can be used to study three main phenomena.

First, the European Union member states have a European identity, in the sense that they belong to Europe (*ibid.*, p. 151). In political conceptions about the EU, this phenomenon is linked to the phrase “country first, but Europe, too” that can be explained in two main ways: inclusivism and exclusivism. The exclusive nationalists in Europe are the people that see themselves attached to their nation first and then Europe. By contrast, inclusive nationalists are those who perceive their nation and Europe as the same. Indeed, Risse (*ibid.*, p. 152) argued that even though there seem some differences in the attitudes of these groups at the level of their faithfulness to Europe, they both still encourage the process of European integration.

Second, Social constructivism looks at the relationships between the feeling of “Europeanness” and the national identities of the different member states in the European Union. Risse (*ibid.*, p. 153) attempted to shed light on these relationships and examine them. He concluded that there were two main types of identities: the first is the “nested” identity, as he called it. It is the type of people or nations that have a layered identity, where an individual has multiple identities, for example, being Rhinelander, German and European (*ibid.*). The second type of relationship is the one that links the multiple identities or what Risse (*ibid.*) called “cross-cutting” identity. It is the type of relationship that differs from one person to another even though they have the same identity. For example, a woman who is Rhinelander and German may feel predominantly female, rather than being German or European (*ibid.*).

The distinctions above concern *people’s* identities, and their relationships with a European identity. Where the political elites’ views are concerned, Risse argued that these attitudes differ from one-member state to another (*ibid.*). For example, the British elite wants to have a British identity rather than having a European one. However, this is not the case for Germany or France for example (*ibid.*). Consequently, these member states have different attitudes towards a European identity, but a question remains as to whether they have the same attitudes towards the European Union.

Under European Union law, member states are supposed to agree with EU values including democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. Consequently, EU hegemony in Europe was achieved, and thus the European Union started to be identified with a European identity, and shifted, to becoming used interchangeably (*ibid.*, p. 154). As a result, the project of European Union integration would succeed, because of the people’s faith in a European identity, that is, the European Union identity that they conceive (*ibid.*).

Risse (*ibid.*, pp. 156, 157) argued that European countries were very welcome to the idea of the enlargement of the European Union to include the countries of Eastern Europe. This was

explained through an argument that European countries' collective identity was the primary motivation that led EU member states to agree on Eastern European countries' membership.

2.5.3 *Social Constructivism in the African Union Case*

Since its early establishment, The African Union was formed on Pan African ideologies that called for African unity and celebrated what is labelled as “Africanness”. Indeed, it is the philosophy that encouraged African countries to unite, and end colonialism. Consequently, the African nations put aside their differences and agreed on the formation of the OAU. This organisation attempted to build an African shared identity, an act that would make Africa seem strong, even though it had many differences. Remarkably, the organisation was able to eliminate colonialism in Africa, and end the Apartheid system in South Africa. After that, there was the creation of the African Union that aimed towards accomplishing different goals, including political and economic integration between African countries. However, this latter organisation has encountered substantial obstacles in achieving its stated aims.

Pan Africanism attempted to create an African identity for African member states; however, this was a very complicated goal to accomplish. The reason behind this challenge is located in the great differences that characterise the African continent; this immense land displays more differences rather than similarities, rooted in language, culture, economic status, geography, political systems, history, and religion. These differences, undeniably, obstructed the process of African unity, and the formation of one shared identity. Indeed, the absence of an African shared identity is one of the main reasons that led to the slow development of integration plans in the African Union.

Because of the problem of the absence of a common African identity, African countries focussed more on small regional unions with countries that have some shared identities, cultures, and ideologies. For example, there was an emergence of different regional economic communities including unions between: the West African regions, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); the Southern African Development Community (SADC) for Southern African countries; the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD); the central African countries had the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS); and the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) was created for the Arab Maghreb countries. These regional communities started to be considered as primary rivals to the African Union's integration plans. In brief, the absence of an African collective identity can be considered as

one of the main reasons for the slow pace of development of integration plans in the African Union.

Another reason for the failure of the African countries to build a shared African identity is located in the nationalism of the African countries themselves. This means that African peoples are very nationalistic and patriotic since they experienced colonialism that attempted to destroy their national identities. Consequently, African states are less interested in their African belongingness, and instead focus on their national identities, since they argue that the country comes first, then the region, and then last comes Africa. For example, an Algerian citizen would say that he is Algerian, Arab, and then African (see Chapter Six).

2.6 Supranationalism

2.6.1 *Major Assumptions*

As a concept in integration theories, supranationalism is the phenomenon of offering some power to an authority or institution higher than the power of the state. It means, essentially, sharing sovereignty with a particular institution or authority, and it is linked to particular areas of competence, or fields.

In *The Uniting of Europe* Haas tried to differentiate between that concept and the federal system arguing that supranationalism is:

The existence of governmental authorities closer to the archetypes of federation than any past international organisation, but not yet identical with it. While almost all the criteria point positively to federation, the remaining limits on the ability to implement decisions and to expand the scope of the system independently still suggest the characteristics of international organisation. However, supranationality in operation- as distinguished from structure- depends on the behaviour of men and groups of men (Haas, 1958, p.59)

Accordingly, Haas attempted to draw a line between federalism and supranationalism, arguing that the power to legislate in the supranational institutions is limited to certain fields and domains that are previously discussed by the different members. This means that the difference that is located between federalism and supranationalism is located in the extent of the delegated power.

Correspondingly, supranationalism is defined in opposition to Intergovernmentalist assumptions. It is viewed as an act when states decide to delegate some responsibility for decision making to a body that stands above the nation-state. As a result, states lose their power, that was discussed in the Intergovernmentalist conventions, including the power of the veto; but states still have to agree on those policies, that coincide with their national preferences. In

The Government and Politics of the European Union, Neill Nugent claimed that “supranationalism takes interstate relations beyond cooperation into integration and involves some loss of national sovereignty” (2003, p. 475). For that reason, supranationalism does not mean a complete loss of sovereignty; however, this concept maps out restrictions to sovereign rights, how this depends on the common will of the nation-states themselves, and how they want to proceed with their supranational outline (Jerabek, 2016, p. 407).

2.6.2 *Supranationalism in the European Union Case*

The development of the concept of supranationalism is firmly linked with the development of the European Union itself. Certainly, it is the European Union integration system that opened the door for all these assumptions to appear. Haas, in his book *The Uniting of Europe*, examined the case of the European Coal and Steel Community to prove the concept of supranationality (1958, p. 33). He asserted that the creation of the ECSC produced great debates about the nature of the institution concluding, finally, that it stands, as Robert Schuman and others argued, between federalism and supranationalism (*ibid.*, p. 34).

Noticeably, the supranationalist characteristic of the ECSC can be observed through the power of the High Authority of the Community. Indeed, the prerogatives of this Authority go beyond federalism. The member States of the ECSC gave the power to control the pricing, marketing, and distribution of coal and steel to the Community. However, they did not discuss or delegate their power of controlling the conditions under which coal and steel are produced and sold (including wages, social welfare policy, and monetary capacities). Consequently, the High Authority of the Community can enter into all these issues and offer some pieces of advice reflecting the supranational system in the ECSC (*ibid.*, p. 58).

Throughout its development, the European Union moved towards embracing strong supranationalism. Its current Parliament and Commission are considered as two strong supranational bodies. This is clear when the majority, after a vote, wins and all member states have to implement the decisions that are made (Colletaz, 2013).

2.6.3 *Supranationalism in the African Union*

It is clear that from the early creation of African Union, African member states had not delegated any form of sovereignty to a particular organ or institution. In all instances, the Assembly of the Heads of States and government was responsible for the decision-making

process. However, with the reform of the OAU, and the movement towards the creation of the African Union, there were some changes in the African Union structural organisation that reflected their will to move from cooperation towards integration i.e. accepting supranationalism. Indeed, the creation of the Pan African Parliament, the movement of the Union from the principle of non-intervention to the principle of the non-indifference, as well as the creation of the African Court of Justice reflects the wish of the union to move from Intergovernmentalism to supranationalism.

However, in practice, to this day the Pan African Parliament for example “is still an institution standing at the side when important decisions are taken” (Michel, 2012, p.46). This means that even though the African Union had the potential of moving towards supranationalism, its Parliament is still considered as an intergovernmental structure that serves the national preferences of the member states. The member states of the AU were hesitant about reforming the PAP to become a legislative rather than consultative body, and to be an elected organ rather than being appointed. This reform could assist the African Union in achieving its plans of integration, since it would provide the AU organs with some competition of competences of powers, and would also establish relationships between the national and AU parliaments (Olivier 2015, p. 521).

There are many reasons behind the fact of the non-readiness of African countries to share some of their sovereignty with African Union institutions. The main one is related to the African experience with colonialism. They feared another form of colonialism that would control them. Therefore, they showed little interest in reforming the AU organs on supranational principles.

2.7 Conclusion

European Integration theories including Neofunctionalism, Intergovernmentalism (Liberal Intergovernmentalism), Social Constructivism, and Supranationalism are theories that can be used not only to study the development of the European integration process but also in other cases with international organisations. This Chapter attempted to shed light on the applicability of these theories to the African Union integration project, emphasising the different attempts of the African Union to move from cooperation to integration. The Chapter showed how Africa is moving slowly towards that aim. Moreover, Regionalism as a theory is used to explain certain issues in the process of the AU integration and the role of member states in that organisation. It helped in studying the process of the AU integration to unveil some reasons that led to the slow progress of the AU economic integration plans, including the focus on the role of the RECs

in deepening the gaps between African countries rather than uniting them. In addition to that, Regionalism helped in scrutinising the Algerian regional performance and efforts to assist Africa in achieving economic integration between its member states.

However, there are many reasons that led Africa to move with this slow pace towards its integration plans. These reasons mainly turn around the will of the member states and their disagreement with plans of integration that they saw as premature, or inappropriate for the African continent. Indeed, every member state had a different position towards plans of integration, that reflected the different domestic, economic, and ideological circumstances of these countries.

The earlier theories of integration can be used to study the performance of African member states in the African Union focusing on different conditions and measures. Neofunctionalism can answer some questions that are related to the African integration project including the following: why did integration work with the European Union and not the African Union? Why was there no spillover¹⁰ in the OAU and the AU when compared with the EU? Why was there no push in the African Union to achieve integration? Neofunctionalism can be also used to study Algerian performance in the African Union, its elites' and pressure groups' role in encouraging or discouraging African Union plans for integration, and its changing attitudes towards the integration procedures of the African Union.

I selected Neofunctionalism to study the Algerian role in the African Union for a number of reasons. Firstly, Neofunctionalism is the theory that answers most of the research questions, especially those which are related to studying the role of the Algerian elites and their stance on the African Union integration project. This theory focuses on the phenomenon of the shift of loyalties, and its direct effects on the progress of integration plans in any organisation. It is mainly related to the idea of the redefinition of interests, moving from narrow and national to be regional and larger in scope (Haas, 1958, pp.13-14). Consequently, the representatives of the different member states have to change their view from being too narrow and nationalistic, to become general, regional, and universal, including the emergence of a new kind of loyalty; a loyalty to the international organisation in which they are members. Richard Van Wagenen (1955, p. 3) argued that the effectiveness of certain organisations is linked to imposing certain kinds of loyalties on the member states.

¹⁰ In Ernst Haas' integration writings spill over is written as two words, but later studies recorded it as a one word and for continuity purposes I am also writing it attached

Before studying the applicability of the process of the shift of loyalties of the Algerian representatives in the African Union, we must define first these elites. The elites that the following analysis chapters (see Chapter Six) highlight are the Algerian decision-makers in the African Union. These groups are the Algerian Pan-African Parliament representatives (see Chapter Three), the Algerian President, the different ministers of foreign affairs, or the different political parties. First, there are five Algerian representatives in the Pan-African Parliament that are Boudina Mustapha, Draoui Mohamed, Kara Baya, Chara Bachir, and Hammi Larouiss. The Second decision-maker in Algerian foreign affairs is the president, who is the head of the state, the chief executive and the commander in chief of the Algerian Armed Forces. Currently, Abdel Majid Tebboun is the president of Algeria following Abdel Aziz Bouteflika who was representing the FLN¹¹ party. The third group that is responsible for decision making are the ministers and, in this case, the minister of foreign affairs who is currently Sabri Boukadoum following Abdel Kader Msahel. The last group defined as an elite in Algeria are the political parties. Algeria has a multi-party system with numerous political parties. The prominent ones are the FLN, the PT¹² (Worker's Party), RND¹³ (the National Rally for Democracy), RCD¹⁴ (Rally for Culture and Democracy), El Islah/HMS/MSP (Movement for National Reform), and a number of others.

As a result, this study focuses on those responsible for the decision-making process in Algerian foreign affairs, and more precisely in the relationship with the African Union. I proceed here by drawing on interviews with current or former ministers of foreign affairs in which I inquire about Algerian performance in the African Union integration processes, and the different motives that led Algeria to take specific decisions towards the continental organisation in its different development stages.

Neofunctionalism also focuses on the role of different interest groups in influencing the integration process, and the performance of member states in the different organisations. These pressure groups include interest groups, political parties, and governments (Haas, 1958, p. 15). Consequently, the position of these groups towards integration plans should be observed, with an assessment of whether they support or refuse integration plans of their country with a particular intergovernmental organisation. Haas (*ibid.*, p. 16) argued that the support or opposition of these groups to integration plans is connected to their different ends and

¹¹ FLN is the socialist party in Algeria. It was the most powerful nationalist movement during the Algerian War of Independence.

¹² PT is an acronym in French that refers to Parti des Travailleurs (the Party of Workers).

¹³ RND in French refers to Rassemblement National Démocratique

¹⁴ RCD is a French acronym referring to Rassemblement pour la Culture et la Démocratie

objectives. If their goals resemble those of integration, they will support it, if not they will not. This will lead us to have a brief description of the Algerian pressure groups.

In an analysis of pressure groups in Algeria, these include big businesses, different interest groups, different Non-Governmental Organisations, and trade unions. Regarding the Trade Unions in Algeria, there is just one influential trade union, the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA).¹⁵ The union was created before Algerian independence in 1956, and then continued even after independence as a supporter for the FLN (Front de Liberation Nationale). In 1989, with the legalisation of the other parties, the UGTA started to distance itself from the FLN, aligning with other ideologies, but continued to be the strongest and most influential trade union in Algeria.

Another group is the pressure groups in Algeria that are linked to the different big businesses of the country. These groups represent the different owners of the big industrial companies in Algeria. They are generally state owned, so their role in the Algerian political decisions is limited since it is the government that decide upon their regulations and their deals. These companies include Air Algérie,¹⁶ Air Express Algeria,¹⁷ Algerian Petroleum Institute,¹⁸ Djazzy,¹⁹ Sonelgaz,²⁰ Sonatrach,²¹ El Watan,²² Echourouk TV.²³ In politics, these groups are very active in the world of politics, since they influence the decision-making process by hiring lobbyists that have a direct effect on the different decision-makers themselves. The thesis, then, will investigate about the role of these Algerian business groups in the Algerian politics and in its relations with the AU

The third type of pressure group that exists in Algeria comprises the different Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). There are many NGOs in Algeria, including those functioning in advocacy, animal welfare, development, education, environment, finance, food, health, people, and relief. After consulting different groups of these organisations, we can claim that most of them have made alliances with Arab, Maghreb, and European countries; for example, the Arab Banking Corporation in Morad Rais Algiers, Délégation de la Commission

¹⁵ UGTA stands for the French translation for L'Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens.

¹⁶ Air Algérie is the Algerian national Airlines

¹⁷ Air Express Algeria is the Algerian airline dedicated to the oil and gas industry.

¹⁸ Algerian Petroleum Institute is an institute that is specialised in training the highly skilled trades in petroleum industry

¹⁹ Djazzy is the Algerian principle mobile network operator

²⁰ Sonelgaz is a state-owned company that is charge of electricity and natural gas distribution in Algeria

²¹ Sonatrach is the Algerian government owned company formed to explore the hydrocarbon in the country

²² El Watan is an independent French language newspaper in Algeria

²³ Echourouk TV is an Arabic language satellite television channel that is broadcasting from Algiers.

Européenne and others. This reflects the idea that the Algerian NGOs make alliances mostly with the Arab and European world, and more than with the African countries.

In the world of politics and foreign affairs in specific, Neofunctionalism argues that where these lobbyists are supportive of plans for integration, political integration will follow, having convinced the governmental elite of integration's effectiveness, and thus guaranteeing a shift of their loyalties to a new centre. This leads us to inquire about the effectiveness of these groups in the process of decision making in Algeria; are they with or against Algerian-African Union integration or do they prefer Algerian Maghreb integration (regional unity)? Can we consider that the changeable Algerian elite attitudes towards African Union integration plans are a result of the Algerian pressure groups' influence, or is it an outcome of the historical circumstances that Algeria was subject to, or is it more simply related to the individual characters of the actors themselves?

In addition to Neofunctionalism, Regionalism is used in the thesis to study the process of integration in the African continent through the African Union, and the different RECs and their plans to achieve that objective. Moreover, this theory helps in investigating the reasons for the slow progress of economic integration plans in the African continent and the attainment of regional cooperation between African countries rather than regional integration. Furthermore, the theory assists in investigating the role of regions in pushing for African integration plans. Therefore, the role of Algeria as a member state in the process of African integration and how this country is assisting Africa in achieving its integration goals through its performance in the AU and in the AMU is studied. The thesis looks, also, at the change of the Algerian role in these African unions and the reasons that led to this.

As a conclusion, the decision-making process in politics is a very complex issue to be discussed, since it incorporates different agents that can influence the procedure. Studying the Algerian case reflects the same complexity, as it is not easy to define the decision-makers in the Algerian political scene and specifically in Algerian foreign affairs. The Algerian political scene may be influenced by the elites, that can be the president, ministers, the military, and the different political parties. Moreover, pressure groups in Algeria also can have a hand in influencing the political decisions in the country, advocating the positions of the big businesses, different interest groups, NGOs, trade unions, and the think tanks of the country. This is what is going to be analysed in the following chapters, scrutinising Algerian foreign policy and Algerian decision making generally, and towards the African Union specifically, but before that, the following Chapter will study the slow development of the integration process in the AU.

3 Chapter Three: African Union Integration

3.1 Introduction

Between the 1870s and 1900, Africa faced different conquests, colonising forces, and various imperialist missions. By the beginning of the 19th century, most African countries were under different colonial rulers. Therefore, African heads of state started to think about the effectiveness of boosting unity and concordance among them. By the time of the independence of Ghana in 1957, and with the assistance of Kwame Nkrumah, who was the leader of Ghana's independence movement, African leaders started to think seriously about the usefulness of political agreement and cooperation between them (Badejo, 2008, p. 27). After numerous attempts, African leaders were able to create the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in May 1963. This aimed at not only endorsing the spirit of unity and agreement between African countries but also to intensify African relations and build a united Africa (OAU Charter Article II, 1963 p. 3).

By the mid-20th century, most African countries were independent. Consequently, there were many calls for the reformation of the OAU, since most of its basic goals had been achieved. Therefore, the Organisation needed to define new aims and objectives that matched the development of the continent. The Sirte Declaration of 1999 set the stage for the establishment of a new organisation, with fresh perspectives and objectives (Badejo, 2008, p. 34). Moreover, there were renewed calls for deeper integration from the leaders of the Pan Africanist movement.²⁴ This was an idea that was advocated in the late 19th century by Sylvester Williams, a young Indian lawyer, who had called for the first conference of Pan Africanism, which was to be held in July 1900, in London. He aimed to bring together different African groups, to establish friendly relations among them, and with the "Caucasian" groups, and to

²⁴ Pan African Movement/ Pan Africanism is the idea that started in the United States of America in the Harlem Renaissance with two main trends. The first view was represented by Marcus Garvey who founded his Negro Empire and attracted many Afro- Americans with his slogan of Back to Africa Movement. William Burghardt du Bois was the second Pan African leader who rejected Garvey's extremist assumptions. Indeed, he organised different conferences in which Kwame Nkrumah was present. After 1945, these ideas of Pan Africanism moved to Africa and it started to be highly supported leading to a more united African motivation for independence since it called also for African solidarity and unification (Mangwende 1984, pp.21- 22).

guarantee the rights and liberties of African citizens (Logan, 1965, p.90). Moreover, this movement had paved the way for the emergence of new positive thinking about Africa by urging them to celebrate their blackness, their history, and their culture. On the 9th of July 2002, the new African organisation was created, it was named the African Union (AU) and all African countries signed its constitutive act as its basic framework (Williams 2007, p.262). Africa, therefore, had entered into a new era; it is the age where African leaders wanted to achieve deeper integration that would take different directions.

African Integration plans had been the focus of controversial discussions since the creation of the Organisation of African Unity. It started with Kwame Nkrumah, who perceived that Africa must be united, and there must be a creation of a United Africa where all African countries would be combined (Nkrumah 1967, p. 18). Thus, he called for a United States of Africa, along with the creation of a unified African military (Badejo, 2008, p. 30). On the other hand, Nyerere, the President of Tanzania, disagreed with the concept, and argued that it was too early to speak about the idea (Moshi, 2013, p. 43). This debate did not stop at the level of the OAU, but strongly re-emerged in the summits of the present-day AU. Following these tensions, this Chapter is going to focus on the study of the history of the Organisation of the African Unity, the African Union, and the integration plans that proposed achieving a more united Africa. The Chapter is going to make use of regional integration theories, including Regionalism, Intergovernmentalism, Liberal Intergovernmentalism, and social Constructivism that were created to study the European Union, in attempting to understand integration inside the African Union, its application of contemporary strategies, and the current debate about the processes of integration.

3.2 The Organisation of African Unity

3.2.1 *History of pre-establishment*

The beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed the colonisation of different parts of Africa. In the 1940s and 1950s, African political parties called for immediate independence from the coloniser. Accordingly, Libya, and Ghana were granted their independence in 1951, 1957 respectively. After that, Kwame Nkrumah²⁵ called for the creation of an African Union that would make them united and strong and, therefore, they could put an end to colonial rule in Africa. Nkrumah delivered different speeches in various sessions of the United Nations, in some

²⁵ Kwame Nkrumah was Ghana's independence movement leader then he served as a president for the independent Ghana. He was the one that called for the creation of the United States of Africa and he worked hard so as to achieve this aim (Badejo 2008, p. 27; 30).

African events, such as the one delivered in Ghana after their independence, and at an All-African Conference in Leopoldville in August 1960.

In his address to the National Assembly in March 1965, for example, Nkrumah asserted that ‘we look forward to the early establishment of a Continental Union Government of Africa which will throw the whole weight of a united Africa to the support of world peace and prosperity’ (Nkrumah, 1967, p. 14). In another speech at the Fourth Afro- Asian Solidarity Conference at Winneba on the 10th of May 1965, he said that:

I do believe...that the emergence of a Continental Government of Africa will immediately make the independent states of Africa a mighty world influence. We shall then be in a far better position to liberate our brothers in colonial bondage and rule, to drive out Imperialism and neo-colonialism from our continent... (ibid., p. 18).

All these speeches attempted to highlight the need for unity to ensure the better future of Africa. In all of these conferences, Nkrumah stressed the need for smart, future strategies for the prosperity and strength of Africa. Consequently, he introduced African leaders to his plans for unity and collaboration between the African countries. He attempted to convince African leaders about the inevitability of the formation of a unity government that would be similar to the United States of America, and thus gain strength and power (*ibid.*).

African leaders reacted to Nkrumah’s ideas in two different ways. The first group assisted Nkrumah and supported his idea of unity. This included Guinea’s President Sekou Toure, and the Malian President Mobido Keita, who reinforced Nkrumah’s calls for unity and the creation of an African military (Badejo, 2008, p.30).

Julius Nyerere, the President of Tanzania, however, opposed this view. He asserted that it was too early to speak about this, and, moreover, Nyerere saw that there must be a collective will among the member states “to sacrifice anything central to that purpose, only then would unity be achieved” (Moshi, 2013, p. 44). Nyerere had another view of the issue of the future of the African Continent. In a speech that he delivered in April 1961 he stressed the idea that African unification at that period could be detrimental to the future of the African continent. He said that:

...before we can talk complacently about ‘African Unity’ we should examine carefully the external ideas which are likely to be imposed on us – imposed not to unite us, but for the purpose of dividing us!’ (Nyerere, 1962, p.1)

In this he meant that the emergence of the Cold War blocs and ideologies are external issues that should be considered before speaking about the internal unity of the African continent

(*ibid*). He added that ‘the role of African Nationalism is different - or should be different- from nationalism in the past’ (*ibid.*, p. 6).

Another conference had been held in Casablanca (Morocco) in January 1961. Many African countries attended, including the heads of states of Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, representatives of the provisional government of Algeria, and representatives from Libya. The participants in that conference concluded with an agreement to establish an African Military Command, and an African Common Market (Soderbaum, 1996, p. 14).

As a response to the Casablanca meeting, several other conferences were held. The most significant of these was the Brazzaville Group that took place in Brazzaville (Congo) comprising members that were not present in the Casablanca conference. The outcome of their meeting was the establishment of L’Union Africaine et Malgache (UMA) and then the Organisation Commune Africaine et Mauricienne (OCAM) that attempted to create an economic, social, and technical union between the independent, Francophone countries in Africa; it was dissolved in 1985 (Soderbaum 1996, p.17).

The third conference was held by the Monrovia Group in May 1961, in Monrovia, Liberia. The participants of the conference were those who had attended the Brazzaville conference, in addition to seven other countries. After many meetings of the group, they were able to establish a permanent secretariat and a finance committee (Soderbaum, 1996, p. 18). These conferences showed the different perspectives that the African countries held about the future of their continent. Badejo (2008, p. 30) asserted that many people believed that this division of thinking on Africa’s future would become a permanent trend that would rule the African continent, and thus African hopes for unity would be destroyed.

However, Haile Selassie,²⁶ the emperor of Ethiopia, was able to break this assumption and unite the African countries into one union. In May 1963, Haile Selassie called for a meeting of 32 African countries. Thus, he was able to bring them together and form the Organisation of African Unity, and he was able to make them ratify its charter. This charter was considered as a compromise between the concerns of all the contesting African groups. It merged the concerns of the Monrovia Group, that called for a loose association of states, and the Casablanca Group⁴¹ that called for the creation of a federal system for the whole of Africa (Soderbaum 1996, p. 18).

There are many interpretations that surround the ability of Haile Selassie to unite all the antagonising voices inside Africa and form the Organisation of African Unity. Diedre Badejo

²⁶ Haile Selassie was the Ethiopian emperor that served from 1930 until 1974. He is credited to be the launcher of the Organisation of African Unity and the leader that convinced the African leaders to put an end to their differences and create the OAU in 1963.

in his book *Global organisations: the African Union* (2008) detailed two main reasons behind this (p. 31). First, he asserted that Ethiopia was seen by the African countries as a neutral part of the discussion since it was colonised neither by France nor by Britain. Second, Ethiopia at that period was searching for security since it was threatened by Italy. So, a union with Africans would improve its security.

3.2.2 *The OAU Charter: Principles and Doctrines*

The OAU Charter was the codified framework of the Organisation of African Unity. It contained 32 main articles comprising the core purposes, principles, criteria of membership, and the different institutions and bodies of the organisation. There were many goals and objectives of the Organisation of African Unity that were mentioned in the OAU Charter, and specifically in the second article. The main aim of the organisation was to promote unity and cooperation in different fields including economics, health, and scientific and technical grounds. The second basic objective of the OAU was defending the sovereignty, independence, and autonomy of its member states. Consequently, they aimed, through the OAU put an end to colonialism in all its forms and work together towards this goal (OAU Charter 1963, p. 3).

According to the third article of the OAU charter (*ibid.* pp. 3-4), there were a number of principles and doctrines that should be respected by the member states. The first doctrine was based upon the total sovereignty of the member states. It meant that the Organisation of African Unity would not diminish the proportion of independence of the member states, and they would remain free and autonomous at the domestic and exterior level. Moreover, the OAU was based upon the principle of encouraging peace and cooperation between different African member states. It was a call for ending disputes and border issues between different African countries. Another doctrine of the OAU was the non-alignment policy (*ibid.*, p. 3). It meant that the organisation would remain neutral regarding the Cold War issue and would prefer neither the Soviet Union nor the USA.

3.2.3 *OAU Structure:*

The OAU Charter also discussed the different bodies and assemblies of the Organisation of African Unity. Initially, it was composed of four main institutions (see figure 1). The first was called the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government. It was considered to be the supreme body of the Organisation, since its main aim was to discuss the main issues leading to African progress. According to the Art. 8 of the OAU Charter, the Assembly of Heads of State and

Government was composed of the different heads of states and their representatives. These bodies would meet at least once a year; however, they do have the right of requesting extraordinary sessions. This body is considered to be a legislative body, since it had the power of determining legislation and regulations, initiating them and approving them by majority (*ibid.*, p. 5).

The Council of Ministers was the second institution inside the OAU. It was composed of the different ministers of foreign affairs or other ministers that are selected by the heads of states themselves. This body was required to meet at least twice a year. Their main job was to prepare conferences for the assembly of the heads of states. Consequently, it was the entrusted commission of the assembly of the heads of state and government (*ibid.*, p. 6).

The third institution of the OAU was the General Secretariat. The members of this body were appointed by the heads of states themselves. It was headed and directed by the Secretary-General, an appointee of the heads of state. According to article XVIII of the OAU Charter (*ibid.*, p.7), the functions of this institution and the Secretary-General should be protected by the OAU Charter and should not accept influence from any party or state.

The Commission of Mediation, Conciliation, and Arbitration was the fourth institution of the Organisation of African Unity. It was the institution whose function was to mediate the different disputes and disagreements between member states using different peaceful means. Their working protocols were to be approved by the assembly of the heads of state and government, as set out in article XIX of the charter (*ibid.*, p. 8).

In addition to the four main institutions of the OAU set out above, there were other specialised commissions, established by the Assembly of the heads of state and government. They included the Economic and Social Commission; the Educational, Scientific, Cultural and Health Commission; and finally, the Defence Commission. These commissions were composed of the ministers that were designated by the heads of the member states themselves. Their functions and activities were to be approved by the Council of Ministers.

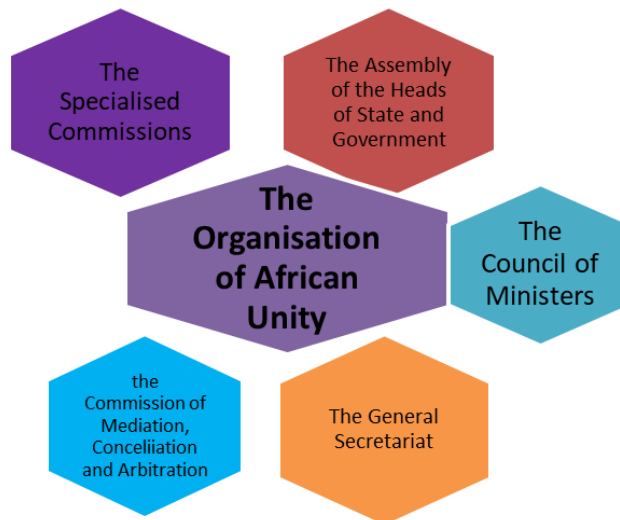


Figure 1 The initial structure of the Organisation of the African Unity

In 1991, the Abuja treaty attempted to move forward, from the political cooperation achieved in the OAU, to achieve African economic integration by creating the African Economic Community (AEC), made up of seven main organs (see figure 2). This treaty is a project rather than a treaty, because it contained the different stages that Africa must go through to achieve deeper integration, and especially economic integration. It means that This treaty designed the different steps that the OAU should follow to achieve economic integration between the different OAU member states. Thus, the Abuja Treaty started its project by creating the African Economic Community as a first stage to attain African economic integration. Therefore, the Abuja Treaty approved the creation of different African Regional Economic Communities; it considered them as small communities that would help the AEC in achieving its basic goal: African economic integration.

The Abuja treaty created organs that were like those discussed above in the OAU Charter, but other, new bodies, were also created. The first organ of the association was the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government, which, in the same way as the OAU Charter, created a supreme body of the community. However, the Abuja Treaty went further, in discussing the different prerogatives of the organ. The treaty pointed out, in Art. 8, that this institution would be responsible for the decision-making process, act via approving or disapproving staff regulations, supervise the procedure of the functioning of the community, request assistance from the Court of Justice in case of the appearance of any inconsistencies, and decide on the budget that should be paid by each member state (Abuja Treaty 1991, p. 13-14).

Like in the OAU Charter, the Council of Ministers was the second organ of the community. According to Art. 11 of the Abuja Treaty (*ibid.* p.15), this Council would be the same as detailed in the OAU Charter; it was the Council whose many duties including assisting the Assembly via proposals, recommendations, and the provision of additional work- guidelines; moreover, this Council would advise other organs of the community, even including the Court of Justice.

The third organ of the AEC was the Pan-African Parliament. According to Art. 14 of the Abuja Treaty (*ibid.*, p. 16), this parliament would provide full representation and involvement of the African people in the process of African economic transformation. However, there was no detailed description of the functions, powers and objectives of that body mentioned in that treaty. All these details were made clear in 2002, with the establishment of the African Union Constitutive Act.

The Economic and Social Commission was another organ of the AEC. According to Art. 15 of the Abuja Treaty, this commission comprised the ministers responsible for economic and social affairs in the OAU member states. Their roles included that of the reinforcement of the economic and social integration of their member states in the OAU (*ibid.*, p. 17). Other functions of this commission include its leading role in preparing the ground for deep integration between the different social and economic communities of the member states, and also between the OAU and international economic and social organisations, suggesting, guiding and supervising the work of the Secretariat and the other communities, and finally directing the operation of the rules produced by the different committees (*ibid.*, p. 17).

The other body of the AEC was the Court of Justice. This organ would be responsible for supervising the observance of the law and ensure the punishment of any violation of the regulations of the AEC. As such, the Court would be responsible for pointing out any abuse or lack of respect towards an organ of the African Economic Community, or to any member state in the OAU (*ibid.*, p. 18).

The sixth organ of the African Economic Community was the General Secretariat, that is headed by the Secretary-General, who is elected by the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government. According to Art. 25 of the Abuja Treaty (*ibid.*, p. 21), their function included supervision the process of the implementation of the rules that are established by the Assembly, deciding on proposals about the program and the budget of the community, drafting reports about the different meetings of the assembly, and also taking responsibility for the recruitment of the staff of the AEC.

The seventh organ of the AEC comprised the different Specialised Committees, as set out by Art. 25. As their name denotes, these agencies are specialised in different fields and domains,

including those of the rural economy, financial affairs, trade and immigration, science and industry, transport, and others. Their basic functions revolve around initiating, and preparing for, the future projects of the community, supervising their progress and thus attempting to foster forms of cooperation between the diverse programs under their control (*ibid.*, p. 21).

Remarkably, the AEC retained some of the bodies of the OAU; here I refer to the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government, the General Secretariat, and the different Specialised Commissions. So, the Community retained elements of the previous Intergovernmentalist system, where power is given to the heads of states or their elected representatives (the Council of Ministers). However, the Community created different organs, such as the Pan-African Parliament and the Court of Justice. This development can be related to the progress of African goals of achieving democracy through the African Court and attaining equal representation through the initiation of the Pan African Parliament. More, it aimed at including the civil society in the project. However, the Pan African Parliament was a consultative organ, dominated by the heads of states, who retained ultimate power. The introduction of the Economic and Social Commissions showed the improvement of the stated goals, aimed at establishing greater African economic unity, as opposed to increased political unity

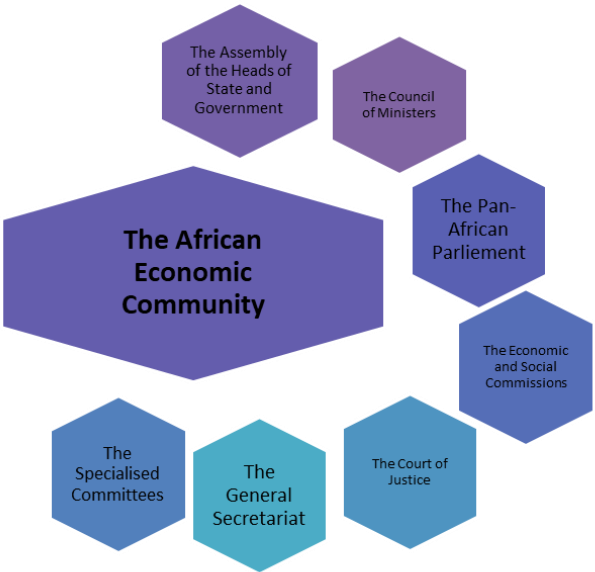


Figure 2 The Different organs of the African Economic Community after the Abuja Treaty of 1991

3.2.4 *The OAU: Successes and Achievements*

After many divisions inside Africa, and different debates between African leaders about the best ways of achieving unity, the OAU was created, and the OAU Charter was ratified by 32 African countries. Consequently, the OAU started functioning according to its main principles. During that period, many eyes were directed towards the OAU, inquiring what this organisational body could do to bring together the different African countries, and achieve its main established aims. The OAU has achieved different political, social, and economic outcomes, as we now discuss (Osara Edo and Abiodun Olanrewaju 2012, p. 44).

3.2.4.1 *OAU: Political achievements.*

When it comes to the evaluation of the OAU's performance, many writers accuse the OAU of being a political rather than an economic association (Edo and Olanrewaju 2012, p. 46). This claim is valid, because of the different accomplishments of the OAU in the political sphere, rather than in other domains. According to Edo and Olanrewaju, the OAU was able to bridge the differences of cultures, identities, languages, and histories from which Africa suffered. As a result, Africa started to speak with one voice in the international sphere, especially at UN conferences. The African voice became harmonised and united in the voice of the OAU representatives (*ibid.*, p. 45).

The single, united African voice greatly helped the African continent put an end to the different foreign dominations over African countries (*ibid.*). There are many examples that illustrate this issue. Indeed, it is the OAU that was able to take Portugal to the International Court of Justice over the case of Namibia and its territorial autonomy. Moreover, the OAU exerted immense pressure on the UN to convince Britain to grant total independence to Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in 1965.

Another great achievement that the OAU had was ending the Apartheid system in South Africa. Indeed, the OAU exerted pressure on the UN, which led to the UN's decision to boycott South Africa. Subsequently, South Africa also was excluded from the Commonwealth of Nations (*ibid.*). These decisions helped the Black South African leaders in their mission of eradicating the Apartheid system from the African continent, and thus helped the OAU to achieve one of its basic, significant objectives: namely the abolition of social discrimination.

In addition to all of that, the OAU attempted to spread peace in the continent in many different ways. The first mission of the OAU was in mediating diverse boundary disputes between different African countries. This was achieved with the help of the Conciliation,

Mediation, and Arbitration Commission, that was greatly supported by the UN (*ibid.*, p. 44). In North Africa, the OAU was able to mediate over a series of boundary disputes including those between Somalia and Ethiopia; Libya, and Chad; and Algeria and Morocco in their Sand War (La Guerre des Sables) that took place in 1963.

Because one of the core aims of the OAU was to eradicate all forms of colonialism inside Africa, it supported and assisted the different liberation movements in Africa materially, financially, and diplomatically (Omar 2013, p. 2). In the thirteenth Ordinary session of the OAU, that was held in Addis Ababa from the 27th of August to the 6th September 1969, the OAU Council of Ministers confirmed the legitimacy of the struggles that had started in Zimbabwe, Angola, Guinea, Namibia and other African countries, including the Western Saharan issue with Spain. This recognition was followed up by substantial support to these counties at many levels. Moreover, the OAU supported their calls for their right to self-determination.

Having cited the political accomplishments of the OAU, it is evident that the OAU achieved many more political than economic or social aims. The reason behind this is that from the very beginnings of the organisation its aims pivoted around the political, and every member state agreed on that. Certainly, this continental organisation was capable of solving a number of African problems, both internal to the continent, and domestic at the national level, without needing foreign intervention. In addition to that, it was able to end the Apartheid system in South Africa and also colonialism in its territories. This did lead to the opening of a new challenge for Africa: that is aiming at achieving economic integration.

3.2.4.2 OAU: Economic Accomplishments

Even though the OAU was considered to be a political organisation, it did achieve outcomes in the economic sphere. The OAU was able to encourage the construction of many roads that would facilitate movement between the African countries. This then set the stage for the creation of the Continental telecommunication network (Edo and Olanrewaju 2012, p. 47). This was based upon developing the legacy road and air transport infrastructure that was left by the colonisers in the African countries.

Encouraging the creation of small regional economic communities by the OAU, and then officially through the Abuja Treaty of 1991, was another economic achievement of the organisation. The consequence was the early establishment of many economic communities like the African Declaration on Economic Cooperation, Development and Independence that was created on May 1973, the Kinshasa Declaration of December 1978, the African Economic

Group on July 1979, and finally the creation of the African Economic Group on 1991 (*ibid.*, p. 46).

The Abuja Treaty of 1991 established the African Economic Community as an association that would encourage economic, social, and cultural development of the African countries (1991, p. 8). Moreover, Art. 3 of the Abuja Treaty about the AEC called for the promotion of economic, social, and cultural integration between African countries to generate a better Africa (*ibid.*, p. 7). In addition, the AEC stimulated the foundation of further economic communities that would boost the spirit of economic unity among African countries. This would lead to an increase in economic self-reliance on the African continent. However, even though there are some achievements at the economic level of the OAU, they are still limited, if compared with those attained in politics.

The official sanction of African heads of states to the officialising of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) through the Abuja Treaty gave rise to the creation of a number of RECs including: the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); the Southern African Development Community (SADC); the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD); the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS); and the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU). The main objective of these communities was to be the gradual establishment of economic integration in Africa. In fact, Art. 28 of the Abuja Treaty (*ibid.*, p. 23) stipulated that there must be a harmonisation of activities between these small communities and the African Economic community; a fact that was not ultimately respected. The RECs in the AEC had conflicting relationships with each other, and with the AEC itself, and became rival communities, rather than cooperative agents. This issue led to the slow development of Africa towards its goals of achieving economic integration (Fawcett and Gandois, 2010, p. 620).

3.2.4.3 OAU: Social Achievements

Uniting the different trade unions across the African continent can be considered as one of the greatest social accomplishments of the OAU at the social level. The formation of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity greatly facilitated the process of uniting African youth to face all the future challenges that would hinder the African unity project. The OAU also attempted to achieve developments at the level of health, science, and education; thus, it encouraged all African countries to share their experiences and benefit from their progress in these domains (Edo and Olanrewaju 2012, p. 47).

In addition, the OAU restored peace and security to different African countries and resolved different emerging conflicts. This can be clear in the intervention of the OAU to restore peace

In Sudan, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote d' Ivoire, Mozambique, and other African countries. Moreover, the OAU obliged its member states to provide shelter to different asylum seekers on the African continent, with the OAU signing different treaties to guarantee this right. This included the right of African refugees to be educated. This convention was ratified in the 1969 summit (*ibid.*).

3.2.5 OAU: Challenges and Problems

There were many obstacles and problems on the OAU's road to achieving African Unity, that hindered the growth of this continental organisation, and obstructed its future, planned schemes. The first major problem that faced the OAU was the instability of the majority of its member states, and the spread of internal problems. In the west of Africa, for example, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and other states like Congo and Algeria witnessed the overthrow of their political leaders by their military forces. In fact, some foundational members of the OAU, notably Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Haile Selassie the Emperor of Ethiopia were deposed (*ibid.*, p. 48).

The various civil wars in African countries also affected the OAU and were considered to be great challenges that the OAU faced at that time. Many African countries experienced instability and internal chaos in their territories, and the OAU was unable to intervene due to the non-interventionism principle that was agreed upon by all the member states and ratified in the OAU Charter. Indeed, the majority of the African countries witnessed during this period internal clashes leading to dangerous civil wars (*ibid.*, p.49).

There are many examples of these wars including the Nigerian Civil War from 1967 to 1970, the Chad Civil War in 1965, the Liberian, the Malian, the Algerian, and the Ethiopian civil wars. Saliently, the OAU was accused of being too weak to resolve many of these problems, or develop any concrete tools that would make it strong enough to put an end to these internal problems, and obviate the need for foreign interference; that is why it was criticised, and why the idea of the need for the development of a new organisation started to take shape (*ibid.*, p. 49).

Another problem that hindered the development of the OAU lay in the differences of belongingness, cultures, histories, and thus interests of the different member states (Mangwende 1984, p. 26). As a result, ideological confrontations were present between the different leaders of African member states. The example that can be mentioned here is the problem of Arabs and Africans in the OAU. Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania, Somalia,

and Tunisia are all members of Arab and Islamic organisations; however, there are other countries that are not (they were called Christian black Africans). This division, among other divisions, (like that of Christians and Muslims, Arabs and Africans, anglophone and francophone...etc.) hindered the process of integration in Africa through the OAU.

“The economic fragility” of Africa, as Mangwende (*ibid.*, p.28) called it, was another problem that confronted the OAU. Notably, economic funds for the OAU were limited, due to the limited economies of most African countries, that were almost all suffering from economic weakness. Moreover, most African countries were agricultural rather than industrial states.

There were many reasons that had led to the economic weakness of African countries, such as foreign colonialism, internal and border conflicts leading to the instability of the majority of the African countries, and also to the natural calamities that Africa was subject to including drought, desertification, and floods (*ibid.*). Consequently, these problems made the majority of the African countries suffer from great financial problems, leading to the lack of funds for the OAU, and thus its economic feebleness.

The OAU’s impassiveness towards the economic fragility of the continent was greatly criticised. Remarkably, the OAU remained passive towards the economic challenges of the continent and did nothing to assist African countries in improving their financial situation and thus that of the organisation. Consequently, the different RECs that were created in the Abuja Treaty of 1991, including the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the southern African Development Community (SADC), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), emerged as great rival communities for the OAU. These organisations sought to encourage their member states into regional economic integration, since they thought that the OAU would never be able to achieve complete African economic integration. Consequently, they were considered as the new rivals for the OAU, as they started to gain support from different African countries that wanted, at that time, economic rather than political unity. However, these regional communities faced problems that are related to the lack of leadership and constant disputes between the members themselves (Moller, 2009, p.1).

In 1991, the African Economic Community was established, that had more shared, continental economic goals, that would support the countries, the continent, and thus the OAU. Among its main goals were the creation of an Africa free trade zone, the creation of a single market, the establishment of a central bank, and the settlement on one common currency (Edo and Olanrewaju 2012, p.51). More, the AEC treaty attempted to assist the African small businesses that can be hurt by the other big economies. Additionally, the treaty would facilitate

African currency exchange and thus facilitating African regional economic transactions (Danso, 1995, p. 45

signing the AEC creation treaty is not enough as the Kenyan Foreign Minister Mr Nddo Ayah argued that without a collective commitment of all the member states that signed it (*ibid.*, 47). Therefore, there are many problems that face the progress of the AEC including the division between the different African countries (factors of the split are mentioned above), and different political conflicts leading to the instability of the continent. Another problem that obstructed the development of the AEC was the strong faith of African leaders in Nkrumah's first speeches about African unity, in which he called for them to first achieve political unity that would lead automatically to the economic unification of Africa (Edo and Olanrewaju 2012, p. 52). It meant that African countries saw that would be premature to seek economic integration before achieving political unity. This among other reasons led to the weakness of the OAU, and its criticism leading to its reformation in 2002 to become the African Union.

3.3 The African Union

3.3.1 *African Union: History of Establishment*

The OAU was successful in its major aims of freeing Africa from foreign colonialism and the Apartheid system. However, the appearance of new challenges in the 21st century in Africa, and the different shortcomings of the OAU, led African leaders to start thinking about the effectiveness of the organisation, and its reformation to attain deep economic integration, strong African government, effective continental cooperation, social prosperity and the eradication of all forms of division within the African continent. All these plans were crystallised in the fourth extraordinary session in Sirte (Libya) in September 1999, where the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government attempted to reform the OAU and set new goals for the continent. The Sirte Declaration was the product of that meeting, and we can consider it to be the first step that the African leaders took to make reforms in the OAU. Consequently, the OAU's leaders, such as Maamer al Quaddafi²⁷ and others, were seen in much the same light as 1960's African leaders Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana or Sekou Toure from Guinea (*ibid.*, p. 53).

The Sirte Declaration started with the overwhelming African expression of a desire to unify the continent and confront the new challenges which Africa faced at that period. The African

²⁷ Maamer al Quaddafi was the former Libyan president who ruled Libya for more than four decades (from 1969 to 2011). In February 2009, he was elected as the chairman of the African Union when he started giving very controversial speeches about the AU integration.

participants maintained the same motivations and principles as the early principles of the OAU, the motifs that were agreed upon by the OAU founding fathers, including Haile Selassie and Kwame Nkrumah. As a result, they settled on the establishment of an African Union, the strengthening of the African Economic Community, and a substantial strengthening of its institutional structure, including the Pan African Parliament, an African Monetary Union, and an African Central Bank. Other points of discussion included the call for effective actions by the Council of Ministers to prepare for the implementation of the regulations discussed on the Constitutive Act that would be drafted, and that would form in the future the official law of the African Union (Sirte Declaration, 1999).

In addition to the decisions made in the Sirte Declaration of 1999 discussed above, there were other directives and commands that were addressed to the different member states and African leaders. The first instruction was to encourage member states to foster cooperation with the parliamentarians and the council, to reach good results in the future. Moreover, the Act set December 2000 as the final date for the adoption and ratification of the Constitutive Act, and 2014 as the date of the actual coming into force of the Act. Additionally, the Act mandated Abdel Aziz Bouteflika, the former president of Algeria, and president of South Africa Thabo Mbeki, along with the OAU Contact Group, as the cluster that would investigate the issue of the cancellation of Africa's debts, since this was considered to be a matter of urgency (Sirte Declaration, 1999). Finally, the act concluded by requesting the Secretary-General of the Organisation to take full action for the best implementation of the rules as discussed.

After the agreement on the regulations mentioned in the Sirte Declaration, the General Secretariat had a series of meetings, in preparation for the official establishment of the African Union. The first meeting was in Addis Ababa in April 2000, the second in Tripoli in May 2000, and the third was in June 2000. The outcome of these meetings was the drafting of different institutional documents that were submitted at the Lomé Summit (Togo) in July 2000 and which together made up the Constitutive Act. In total, 27 African states approved these documents at the end of the Summit (Edo and Olanrewaju 2012, p.53).

The outcome of the Lomé Summit of 2000 became known as The Lomé Declaration, and stressed the fundamental African principles that had been agreed on by the founding fathers of the OAU. These principles were

...political independence, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, promotion of peace, security, cooperation, development, and human and peoples [sic] rights (Assembly of the Heads of State and Government 2000).

This document went on to set out the different challenges to which Africa was exposed, reaffirming the necessity for the reformation of the OAU. Then, it asserted its complete support to the range of decisions that were taken in the Sirte Declaration, and declared its total backing of them.

After the Lomé Summit of 2000, a Summit took place in Lusaka, Zambia on 9-11th July 2001, as the 37th Ordinary session of the Heads of the State and Government. The Lusaka conference is considered to be the event that attempted to explore different strategies that could help in the implementation process of the regulations of the newly created union (i.e. the regulations that were mentioned in the constitutive act) (Edo and Olanrewaju 2012. p.56). The Lusaka Conference started by giving credit to the different actors that helped the African continent with its challenges and political meetings including the United Nations, Dr Salim Ahmad Salim,²⁸ and Algeria. The Summit moved on to discussing the utility of the Sirte Declaration, and encouraged all African Countries to ratify this Legal Act (Conference Des Chefs D'états et De Gouvernement, p. 1). Then, the Lusaka Summit stressed the necessity of the creation of new organs and bodies that would serve in the development of the African Union. It went further, and stressed the obligation of the Secretary-General to search for the best strategies, techniques, and processes that would help in the process of the implementation of the previously agreed laws, and in popularising the union (Conference Des Chefs D'états et De Gouvernement 2001 AHG/Dec.160 p.1).

After the Lomé Summit, the subsequent Summit took place in Durban (South Africa) on the 08th of July 2002, between the heads of states. This was considered as the 38th ordinary session of the OAU and was considered as a preparatory session for the official initiation of the African Union. The gathering was about taking some decisions about diverse issues in African countries (Angola for example) and the institutions of the organisation (the need for a Security Council and that of human rights) (Assembly of the Heads of State and Government 2002, p. AHG/Dec.171). In a second meeting, the next day, they initiated the official formation of the

²⁸ Dr Salim Ahmad Salim was the Secretary General of the OAU for three successive mandates (1989-2001) and the Lusaka Summit appreciated his efforts in developing the OAU (Conference Des Chefs D'états et De Gouvernement (2001) p. AHG/ST.1).

African Union. On this occasion, the United Nations' Secretary-General Kofi Annan²⁹ was invited to give a speech at the event (Diedre 2008 p. 36).

3.3.2 *African Union Constitutive Act*

Following Kofi Anan's speech to the African Union members, Thabo Mbeki, the president of South Africa, became the chair of the African Union and the Constitutive Act became its ratified framework. The AU Constitutive Act contained different objectives, principles, organs, and admission regulations. As far as the Objectives of the newly reformed organisation are concerned, the African Union was intended to realise a range of goals (Farrell, 2005, p. 273). Undeniably, the Act resembled the OAU Charter, that contained its own different objectives, rules, and bodies of the OAU. However, While the OAU main objective was the end of colonialism in Africa, the principal goal designated for the African Union was to reach unity, and then economic and political integration between different African countries and thus make them solid and strong (Constitutive Act of the African Union 2000, p. 5).

Farrell, Marry (2005) A Triumph of Realism Over Idealism? Cooperation Between the European Union and Africa. *European Integration*. 27.3

Another goal of the AU was that of protecting the sovereignty and independence of the member states. Moreover, the Act stressed the idea of integration, and called for African countries to unite to achieve political and economic integration. Through this, African countries would be able to defend their territorial integrity and common interests. Another objective set out by the AU Constitutive Act was the promotion of peace and stability among different African countries. Through this process, stability and unity would be achieved in the African continent (2002, p. 5).

The AU Constitutive Act also stressed the importance of African international relations. Here, the Act pointed out that the AU should build good relations between the AU and other international organisations especially with the United Nations; this "will enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and international negotiations" (Constitutive Act 2002, p. 6). According to the Act, this objective was set out to improve the living conditions of the African people, and thus develop their health and well-being. Another idea that the Constitutive Act called for was cooperation between different African countries, and achieving

²⁹ Kofi Annan was the Secretary General of the UN between 1997 and 2007. He was an important African figure since he was born and raised in Kumasi (Ghana). He worked for the spread of the ideas of peace and the protection of human rights in the world (Kofi Annan Foundation 2009).

improvements in all fields of technology, science, and in different types of research (Constitutive Act 2000, p. 6).

Noticeably, the newly designed aims for the African Union were detailed, and fully explained, when compared with the ones that were planned within the second article of the OAU Charter. A second major difference was that the AU Constitutive Act encouraged unity and collaboration between the African countries, not only at a political level as the OAU Charter had done, but at many more levels including the economy, society, culture, science, technology, and even education and health.

The Constitutive Act then set out the institutional bodies of the AU. The OAU had been set up with four main bodies, established in its Charter; the AU retained these, and added the ones that had been discussed in the Abuja Treaty of 1991. Therefore, according to the Art. 5 of the Act, the AU contained the following organs: the Assembly of the Union; the Executive Council; the Pan-African Parliament; The Court of Justice; The Commission; The Permanent Representatives Committee; The Specialised Technical Committees; The Economic, Social and Cultural Council, and the Financial Institutions (see figure 3). Art. 5 also pointed out the fact that other organs might be added when needed (The AU Constitutive Act 2000, p. 8).

3.3.3 *African Union Structure*

Like the OAU, the first organ of the African Union was the Assembly, considered to be the supreme body of the African Union. According to Art. 6 of the Constitutive Act, the assembly is the body that is composed of the different Heads of States and Government or their own agreed representatives or delegates. Concerning the meetings of the body, it is required to meet at least twice a year in two ordinary sessions. Moreover, extraordinary sessions are also accepted by the Union, whenever there is a request from a member state, and subject to approval by the two-third of the members of the Assembly. On the issue of the chair of the assembly, it was agreed that they should be elected by the member states and can serve only for a one-year time (the AU Constitutive Act 2002, p. 8).

Art. 9 of the AU Constitutive Act discussed the powers and functions of the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government. The assembly is responsible for taking different decisions at the level of new suggestions and recommendations related to other bodies of the Union (Haastrup, 2013 p.789), the acceptance or refusal of membership requests, approving or rejecting the formation of new organs inside the union, directing the states of peace and war in some regions of the continent, the appointment of Judges of the Court of Justice, and the

Chairman of the Commission. The assembly is also in charge of regulating the different policies inside the Union and is also responsible for approving the budget of the AU (the AU Constitutive Act 2002, p. 9).

This reflects the idea that the African Union preserved Intergovernmentalist principles, as the Assembly of Heads of States would continue to be considered as the supreme body in the Union, and responsible for the decision-making process. This organ would be the most powerful in the Union, and its decisions could not be challenged, even by the Court of Justice. In addition, it is the organ that has the power to appoint members of the Executive Council and direct its work; and even the power of determining the structure and functions of the Commission (Secretariat of the AU) (Olivier 2015, p. 519).

The second organ of the AU is the Executive Council that is composed of the ministers of foreign affairs of the member states, or other ministers that are appointed by the governments of the member states. Like the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government, the Executive Council should meet at least twice in a year in two ordinary sessions; and extraordinary sessions can be proposed, subject to ratification by a majority of the members of the Council (the AU Constitutive Act 2002 Art.10, p. 10).

The Executive Council is responsible for making majority decisions at many levels. According to the Art. 13 of the AU Constitutive Act, this organ should decide on economic matters including foreign trade, irrigation, industry, and resources: natural, energy, animal and mineral. In addition to these functions, the Executive Council is responsible for civil matters including residency, nationality, immigration issues, health, culture, and the supervision of the development of human resources (2002, p. 11). However, according to the same article, the Council can delegate some of its responsibilities to other specialised committees.

Even though the AU Executive Council is theoretically considered to be the executive body of the Union, it is argued that it still has a “limited and focused responsibility compared with the assembly’s power to monitor implementation of AU policies and decisions” (Olivier 2015, p. 520). As such, the Assembly has greater powers than the Council.

Like the OAU, the AU has specialised technical committees. These committees work hand in hand with the Executive Council and are answerable to it in the decision-making process in their different fields. Unlike the OAU’s Specialised Committees, the AU’s were fully defined, including their names and their functions. According to the Art. 14 of the AU Constitutive Act, these consist of six main committees, namely: the Committee on Rural Economy and Agricultural Matters; the Committee on Monetary and Financial Affairs; the Committee on Trade, Customs and Immigration Matters; the Committee on Industry, Science and Technology,

Energy and Natural Resources and Environment; the Committee on Health, Labour, Social Affairs and finally the Committee on Education, Culture and Human Resources (2002, p. 12). As was the case with the OAU's Specialised Committees, the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government retained the ultimate right of reforming, renewing, restructuring, and even dissolving these committees. In terms of their composition, the Art 14 stressed the idea that these committees would be composed of ministers and officials that match their area of expertise and relate to their competences.

In respect of the duties of these committees, the Art. 15 of the Constitutive Act points out that these committees are supposed to design programs in their field of work, and submit these to the executive council for consultation, discussion, and then approval or disapproval. In the case of the passage of certain programs, the committee that create the plan should then supervise the project and evaluate the process of its implementation by the executive council. In addition, the committees are obligated to remain united, to obtain better results, and thus achieve the Union's basic goals (AU Constitutive Act, 2002, p. 13).

The Pan-African Parliament is the fourth body of the AU. It is a new body, inspired by the Abuja Treaty of 1991, as the OAU did not have one. Its creation in the AU denotes a move by the AU to become more democratic, and thus ensure the participation of all the voices of the continent in the project of the African Union. The Constitutive Act, however, did not detail the main functions, aims, and principles of that body within its articles, but created another protocol that concerned the body (AU Constitutive Act 2002, p. 13). This fact has been considered to be of the main weaknesses of the AU, if compared with the European Union. Here, the argument made is that leaving the functions and the rules of the PAP unspecified, and leaving decisions on the issue to the AU Assembly, is a weakness (Adamu and Peter, 2016, p. 52)

The Pan-African Parliament was officially created in the Abuja Treaty of 1991, and it was also incorporated within the AU's institutional bodies. Essentially, the full description of the body was officially implemented on the 2nd of March 2001 and entered into force on the 14th of December, 2003 and the date of the last signature of its ratification was on the 29th of January 2016. In this protocol, there were many objectives that were set out. The first was to facilitate the process of implementation of the different regulations developed by the old OAU, the African Economic Community, and finally the African Union. Another aim of the PAP would be the supervision of the application of the principle of transparency in the Union, and thus the encouragement of ideas of cooperation between the different member states. Consequently, the PAP is considered, theoretically, as the democratic body in the AU that ensures the application of democracy in the continent, and between the member states (Protocol to the Treaty

Establishing the African Economic Community Relating to the Pan African Parliament, 2001, pp. 4-5).

Regarding the composition of the PAP, it is made up of five representatives from each member state, with at least one female representative. Another regulation in the protocol about the representatives is that they should not be from one political party only but represent a range of different political opinions to demonstrate the diversity of thought, and thus open the door for greater variety of ideas. Concerning the choice of the parliamentarians in the PAP, they can be elected or appointed by the legislatures of each member state (Protocol to the Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community Relating to the Pan African Parliament, 2001, pp. 5-6).

However, the PAP is the most controversial and criticised organ in the AU. The first reason is that it does not represent the African people, since in practice it is still an advisory and consultative organ, even though this advisory function was supposed to have ended five years after its creation (Olivier, 2015, p.520). The proposed development of the PAP, to become a full legislative body, has led to a number of debates. In 2009, there was a request to review the functions of the PAP, however, this ended up by giving more consultation functions to the PAP. This created more controversies about the PAP members, who are not elected but nominated, and also about its function, that should be legislative and not consultative (*ibid.*, p.521).

Michele Olivier argued that this consultative function of the PAP was among the reasons that were responsible for the failure of the integration projects in the AU. He said that if the PAP were to become “a model of parliamentary democracy” (*ibid.*) it would then find a way to get ideas into member states’ national parliaments with which they initially disagreed. It means that by retaining the consultative functions of the PAP, this led to a large degree of congruence between the Assembly, the Council of Ministers (Executive Council), and the PAP which, in fact, should have had a legislative function. This effectively eliminated any future competitions between the bodies, since they came to represent the same ideologies as the Assembly. However, if the PAP members were elected by the people, this would have led to competition of powers between the three organs (*ibid.*).

Here Olivier argued that “National parliaments of member states are often perceived as natural allies for enhanced regional integration” (*ibid.*). This means that if the PAP were to become an organ elected by universal adult suffrage, this would lead to an interaction of these regional matters with the states’ national parliaments, leading to greater success in the AU integration plans. However, this seems to be a plan that is controversial in the African Union,

since AU members are hesitant about the consequences of the transformation of the PAP into a 'supra parliament' (*ibid.*).

The PAP needs new reforms to assist the African Union in reaching integration. First, it should become an elected legislative body. Second, it should forge relations with the national parliaments of the member states. Third, it should establish deeper relations with the states in the Regional Integration Communities which have very weak and limited parliaments. This act would harmonise their work and contribute to the development of Africa's integration plans.

The next organ of the AU is the Court of Justice, inspired by the organisation of the African Economic Community as discussed in the Abuja Treaty. In the Constitutive Act, there is no detailed elaboration of the functions, objectives, appointments, or composition of the organ. The Act merely asserted that there would be another protocol that would discuss all these issues. This also what Abdulrahman Adamu and Abraham Peter considered as one weakness of the AU structure, since the treaty's signatories did not decide on the Court's make-up at the time, but left this as plans to be decided by the Assembly (Adamu and Peter, 2016, p. 52).

According to the AU Commission, the AU Court of Justice was adopted on the 1st of July 2003, and it entered into force on 24 January 2013 while the last signature of ratification was on February 11th, 2009. The protocol set out the composition of the Court, affirming that the court would be composed of eleven main judges, nationals of States party to the treaty. It added that the Assembly of Ministers would be responsible for reviewing the number of judges and making any necessary modifications in their method of appointment. The protocol also set out the criteria for choosing or appointing the judges: they should have great professional and moral qualifications, be competent in the judicial branch, and have an abundant reputation in their country or international law community (Protocol of the Court of Justice 2002, pp. 3-4).

Art. 5 of the protocol set out the process for the nomination and appointment of the members of the AU Court of Justice; it asserted that each state must submit to the chairperson of the Commission a nomination of an individual that it considered appropriate for the occupation (*ibid.*, p. 4). Then, the names of these candidates would be listed and sent to the member states to hold elections in their coming ordinary session of the Assembly (*ibid.*). After that, the elections would take place in a summit of the Heads of State, and candidates that obtain two-thirds of the votes would be elected. Art. 8 sets out the tenures of the judges. The judges of the court are elected for a six-month period, and can be re-elected just once (*ibid.*, p. 5); however, Art. 10 creates longer tenures for the president and the Vice-president of the court, who are elected by the panel of judges for 3 years and can be re-elected for a one further period (*ibid.*, p. 6).

The AU Court of Justice is characterised by many features. Firstly, following Art. 13, the judges of the Court are considered as independent actors, that must remain objective and neutral in all the cases that they are responsible for (*ibid*, p. 8). Another criterion set by Art. 15 is that the judges of the AU court have is the incompatibility. It means that their occupation should not intermarry with other positions that can influence their independence and their autonomy (*ibid.*, p. 8)

Regarding the functions of this body, Art. 19 of the protocol set out its many responsibilities. The first one is interpreting the different articles of the Constitutive Act, and the documents that are related to it, like the different protocols, treaties, and legal documents of the union. Moreover, Art. 19 states that the members of this body are responsible for taking action in case of conflicts or disputes that are submitted for discussion (*ibid.*, p. 11). Then, the Art. 20 of the protocol focused on the different functions of this court in international law. Consequently, it asserts that the organ has competence to interpret the international regulations that will be passed by different international organisations. Besides, the AU court is responsible for making decisions regarding the international treaties that try to mediate the problems between the different contesting states, and also about international custom (whether an action is accepted by the law or not) (*ibid.*). However, this is considered just letters on papers: theoretically they should solve the different African problems and mediate African conflicts. However, practically they are doing little when it comes to these missions, since this organ is totally dominated by the Assembly and thus there is no application of the system of the separation of powers (Babarinde 2007, p. 10).

The African Court of Justice is still restricted in its powers: because not all African countries agree with the decision of its creation. In February 2015, for example, its protocol was ratified by just 27 member states whereas other 27 members signed it but with no ratification. Moreover, and from all of the 53 AU members just seven have accepted the jurisdiction of the Court to start hearing cases from individuals and non-governmental organisations (Olivier 2015, p. 524). Once again this supports the theory that African countries disagree about the transfer of powers to the Court for it to become a supranational body; the fact that would limit their sovereignty and challenge their impunity. Michele Olivier argued that:

The reluctance of the AU members to ratify the protocol may be indicative of their unwillingness to achieve just that- robust enforcement of human rights by a supranational African body that might infringe on national sovereignty and the concomitant impunity of political elite (2015, p. 524).

The next body of the African Union that is mentioned in the AU Constitutive Act are the Financial Institutions of the Union. The Act is limited: it mentioned their names without providing any description. These institutions are the African Central Bank, the African Monetary Fund, and finally the African Investment Bank. However, the act does not explain any of their functions, objectives, composition, and membership. Unlike the Court of Justice, the act did not mention any protocol that could be used to give more description to the institutions.

On the official website of the African Union, a brief description of these financial institutions was provided. This claimed that the institutions were present in the Abuja Treaty of 1991, since their function was to implement the different regulations passed by the African Economic Community to achieve deeper economic integration (African Union Commission). Then, the webpage discusses one of the AU financial institutions: the African Central Bank (ACB). It asserted that the main objective behind the creation of this institution was to help African countries creating a common currency that would facilitate the process of integration among them. This bank would also attempt to encourage African monetary cooperation through its promotion of the creation of monetary institutions in the different member states. In addition to that, this bank would attempt to put an end to fiscal competition between African countries and maintain a stable exchange rate. This would lead to the formation of a multilateral system that would eliminate foreign exchange restrictions (The African Union Commission, The Economic, Social, and Cultural Council).

The second financial institution is the African Investment Bank (AIB) whose objective is to speed up the process of integration in Africa. This organ attempts to encourage public and private investments that would accelerate the process of economic integration in Africa. The AIB would also seek to use different African resources as tools that would bring investments; then, there would be a formation of some markets and economic projects to benefit from these projects. This way, there would be African control over the African investment of resources.

The third of the African Union's financial institutions is the African Monetary Fund (AMF). Its main function would be to facilitate the process of integration and put an end to all the monetary barriers from which Africa suffers. In its main role, this body would serve as "a pool for central bank reserves and AU Member states' national currencies" (The African Union Commission, The Financial Institutions). In addition, the AMF would act as the institution that ensures the provision of financial help to different African countries. In addition, it would have a surveillance function, since it would inspect the different economic deals of the continent. As a result, it would attempt to coordinate the different monetary policies of the member states,

and then urge them towards greater cooperation, and the movement of capital between them (The African Union Commission, the Financial Institutions).

Noticeably, these institutions took a long time to be officially established, and each was initiated in a different year and a different place. It was proposed that the African Central Bank (ACB) be established in Nigeria (Abuja), since it had its origins in the Abuja treaty of 1991, and it was officially declared in the Sirte Declaration of 1999. As far as the AIB is concerned, this entered into force in February 2009, and on the 1st of September of 2014, about 20 AU members signed its ratification protocol leading to its official establishment. Finally, the AMF was adopted at the Malabo Summit in 2014, and in September of 2014, it was officially ratified as an institution with an agreement of 15 members on its protocol (The African Union Commission, The Financial Institutions).

The next organ in the African Union as mentioned in the AU Constitutive Act is the Commission. According to Art. 20, the Commission is considered to be the Secretariat of the Union. This organ had its origins in the OAU and the Abuja treaty under the name of the General Secretariat. It is composed of ten members including the chairman, his deputies, and the different commissioners who are considered as the staff that would help him in directing his work. In respect of the terms of reference, and the functions of that body, the Art. 20 points out that the Assembly is responsible for deciding on that issue (the AU Constitutive Act Art.20, 2000, p. 14).

According to the African Union Commission's pages on the AU official website, the Commission is considered as the secretariat of the Union. It is the organ that attempts to protect the AU's interests under the supervision of the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government. Eight commissioners oversee portfolios: Peace and Security; Political Affairs; Trade and Industry; Infrastructure and Energy; Social Affairs; Rural Economy and Agriculture; Human Resources, Science and Technology; and finally, Economic Affairs (the African Union Commission, The Commission).

Because of its variety, there are many principles that govern this institution. First, the respect of the team and the acceptance of variety. Second, to think logically about Africa and considering that act as their supreme goal. Third, there is a focus upon the ideas of transparency, professionalism, knowledge sharing, and integrity (the African Union Commission, The Commission).

The eighth organ of the African Union discussed in the AU Constitutive Act is the Permanent Representatives' Committee (PRC). The function of the organ is set out in Art. 21 of the Act and is preparation for the work of the Executive Council, and follows the different

guidelines given by this Council. Consequently, it is composed of groups that function according to the type of work that is required (the AU Constitutive Act Art.21, 2002, pp. 14-15). The other functions of the PRC are, firstly, assisting the executive council by doing many jobs including, the preparation and submission of the procedures of the Executive Council, making recommendations on future projects of the Council, advising the working process of the Council and also supervising the process of implementing rules that are ratified by the Executive Council (the AU Commission, the Permanent Representatives' Committee).

In addition to the functions discussed above, the Committee also attempts to act as an intermediary channel between the AU Commission and the member states' capitals. Moreover, this institution is tasked with making recommendations for the AU's financial budget and supervising the financial sector of the Union. In addition to all of that, the PRC organ participates in all the meetings of the AU and makes recommendations where necessary (the AU Commission, the Permanent Representatives' Committee).

The ninth body of the AU is the Economic, Social, and Cultural Council (ESCC). Remarkably, this organ was even a part of the OAU, but was not as well-structured there as it is within the AU. The reason behind this can be linked to the domination of political objectives in the OAU, and the development of African thinking towards achieving African social, educational, and cultural goals. According to the Art. 22 of the AU Constitutive Act, this organ is an advisory body, composed of social and professional groups appointed by the member states. Once again, the Assembly of the Union is responsible for establishing its functions and principles (The AU Constitutive Act Art. 22, 2000, p.15).

The ESCC's functions include a responsibility for the interpretation of the different rules and regulations that are present in the African Union's Constitutive Act. As such, it can make recommendations regarding some of the rules. Moreover, this organ tries to seek the protection of civil rights through contributing to developing an African conceptualisation of human rights, the supremacy of law, supremacy of democracy and a focus on solving gender issues and children's rights (The African Union Commission, The Economic, Social and Cultural Council).

Other functions of the ESCC include the call for the development of a better Africa through supporting existent African institutions and urging the Assembly to establish new institutions that will ensure a better African future. As for its membership, it includes a range of Civil Society Organisations that represent social groups such as women, children, and old people, and professional groups such as health professionals, media practitioners, legal actors, business

organisations and others (The African Union Commission, The Economic, Social and Cultural Council).

After mentioning all the bodies of the Union, the Act discusses in the subsequent Arts. 23, 24 and 25 issues that are related to the imposition of sanctions on the member states that fail to pay their budget dues to the union, the location of the headquarters of the Union, Addis Ababa, and the official languages of the Union, Arabic, English, and French (AU Constitutive Act, 2000, p. 15-16).

The Arts. 26 and 27 discussed the supremacy of the Court at the level of interpretation of the different articles of the Act. Then, Art. 28 discusses the process of the ratification of the Act, and how the act would enter into force after 30 days from its submission and discussion (AU Constitutive Act, Art.26-27-28, 2000, p. 16).

In the First Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the African Union in Durban in the 9th of July 2002, there was the official initiation of the African Union and also there was an addition of a new council to the previously established AU organs; the Peace and Security Council (PSC). This organ had origins neither in the OAU Charter nor in the Abuja Treaty. In its descriptive Protocol, the council draws attention to the fact that this organ would follow the steps of the United Nations' Security Council that is attempting to generate peace all over the world (The African Union Commission, 2002, p. 1). As a result, this council had different objectives, including the protection of peace and security in Africa, prevention of any future conflicts, harmonisation of efforts to combat terrorism, developing similar strategies of conflict resolution and defence policies, and finally encourage peaceful and democratic governing systems (the African Union Commission, 2002, p. 5).

Article four of the protocol of the PSC discusses the different principles of the Council. The first principle of the council is the use of peaceful tools to mediate or solve different disputes. More, it stresses the point of the necessity of its early intervention in different conflicts to prevent them from developing. The respect of states' sovereignty, human rights, and borders is another principle of this Council (The African Union Commission 2002, Art.4, p. 6).

As far as membership of the PSC is concerned, it is composed of 15 elected members representing each member state in the council. The first ten members are elected for two years, and the other five for three years, to ensure continuity in the council (Peace and Security Protocol 2002, Art.5, p. 7). In addition to these members, there was an establishment of the Panel of the Wise, a body that attempts to provide support for the Council and to its chairperson. It comprises five highly respected personalities around Africa and those who made great contributions to spread peace and security. They are selected by the chairperson of the

Commission after some discussions with the member states (Peace and Security Council 2002, Art.11, p. 16).

Clearly, The PSC showed some movement of the African Union towards a supranational union, as under the rules of sub-articles 2 and 3 of Art. 7 the member states should agree that in doing its duties the PSC is acting on their behalf. In addition, the states should accept the implementation of the rules of the PSC in the same way as those of Constitutive Act (Olivier, 2015, p. 525). As Olivier argued, this act had in a way expanded the powers of the AU; this now includes the AU's right of intervention in a member state whenever there is a violation of peace and security standards (*ibid.*).

The New Partnership for Africa's Development, or what is known as the NEPAD, is an African initiative that was initiated and added to the African Union later as a supporting program; it was proposed in 2001, in the OAU, and ratified on 2002 in the AU. It is the project through which African leaders (mainly those of Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal, and South Africa) sought to establish suitable conditions of peace and security in Africa to improve Africa's economic and social conditions and give empowerment to women. This project's aims also include promoting African investment in many areas such as infrastructure, environment, science, and technology and encourage African integration (African Union, 2003, pp. 6-7). Hence, this project attempted to focus on making improvements at the level of African domestic affairs and solve its internal problems.

However, it is argued that the NEPAD and the AU have had conflicting relationships, instead of supporting each other (Landsberg 2012, p.50). The NEPAD and the AU have become substantial competitors over financial and human resources, policy influence, and in conflicts between diplomats and officials. However, their relationship should ideally be based upon cooperation and harmony since they work together for the same aims, the development of Africa. Consequently, according to Landsberg (2012) the relationship between the AU and the NEPAD should follow three main steps to achieve this outcome. The first is that the NEPAD should admit that it is the child of the AU, who is the parent, and not vice versa. This means that the NEPAD should admit that it is an agency created to assist the AU in achieving its objectives. Second, the NEPAD should be changed to become a developmental body, launching its initiatives using the previous experience of African failed programs. This would mean that it would acquire great support from Africa as a whole. Thirdly and most importantly, the NEPAD should become an open environment where the heads of states, private sectors of Africa, and the public would interact equally. This way the NEPAD would greatly assist the

AU in achieving its goals (*ibid.*, p. 56). Finally, Landsberg (*ibid.*, p. 59) argued that NEPAD programs should be urgently harmonised with the AU to establish African integration.

In addition to the NEPAD project, the AU recently initiated a new project, the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA): this project aims at accelerating the economic deals and transactions between the different AU members, and develop Africa’s position in the global economic market by strengthening the African voice and performance in the global trade relations. Negotiations around the creation of this project were initiated by the African Union Heads of State and Government in June 2015 (African Union, 2018, p.5). Negotiations about this project are ongoing at the time of writing, since the many different issues that needed to be discussed and agreed upon by the heads of states have resulted in delays in the development of that project.

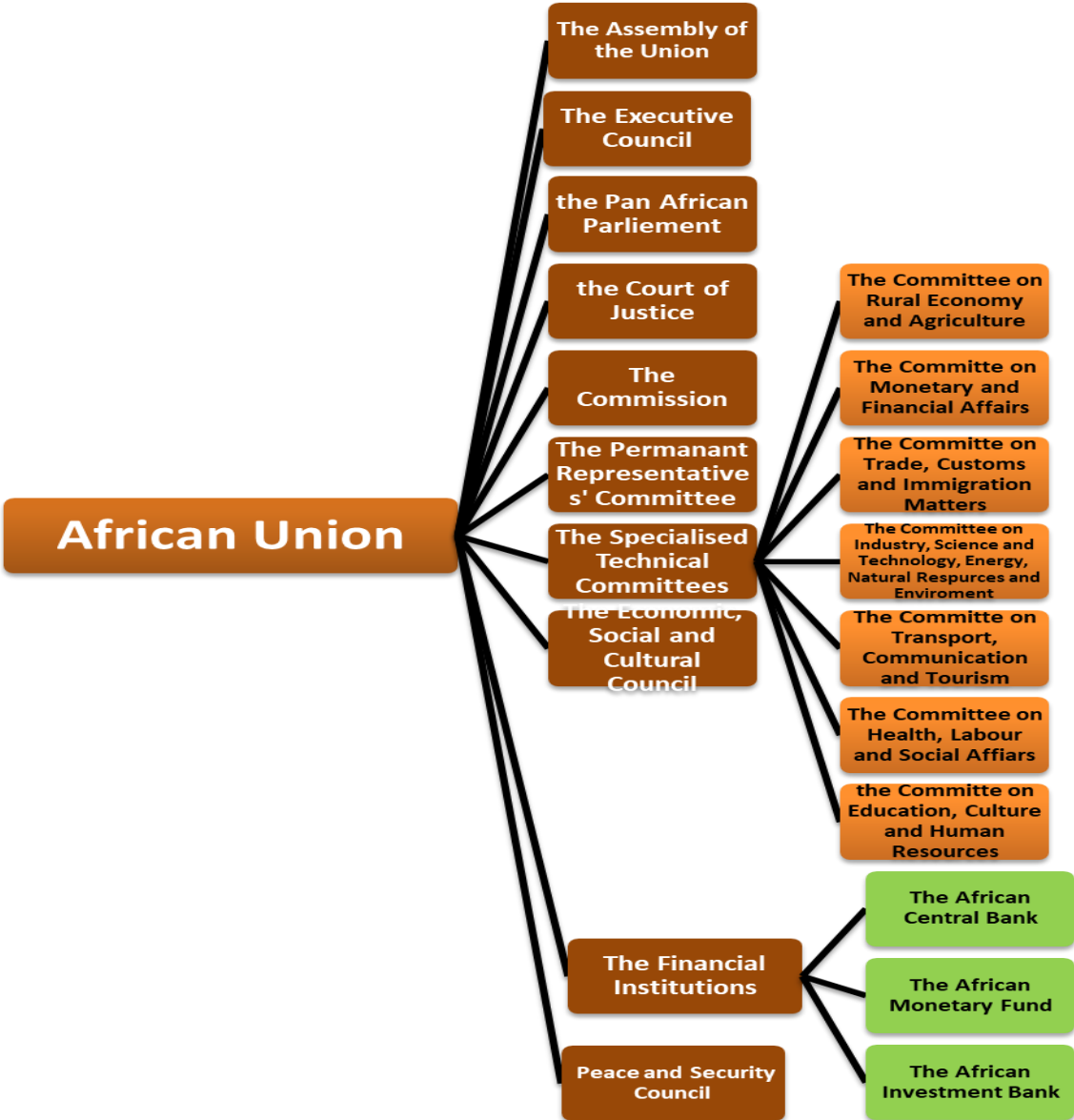


Figure 3 The African Union's structure

Through the establishment of the AU, African leaders were able to reform the Organisation of African Unity and replace it with a new Union, changing different components, principles, and objectives. However, they still faced new challenges and new controversial issues that we discussed above. One of the controversial subjects that Africa faced was that of integration, and the best ways of achieving deep African economic and political integration. It is this fundamental question that leads us to study the plans of integration in Africa from their early appearance until the formation of the African Union.

3.4 African Union Integration

3.4.1 *Process of Integration*

Scrutinising the process of integration inside the African Union entails the idea that the African leaders implemented many changes, and took different steps to reach deeper economic, political, and social integration between the African countries. Widening the scope of the African Union through the creation of a variety of economic, social, and political institutions in the African Union is one of the key features that characterises the institutionalisation process of the African Union and its movement towards deeper integration.

While studying the history of the development of the African Union, it is clear that in each stage of the deepening of that organisation, there is an implementation of different institutions and organs that attempt to deepen the integration of the Union and thus achieve its aims. Noticeably, the Organisation of African Unity was at first composed of five main organs: the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government, the Council of ministers, the General Secretariat, the Commission of the Mediation and the Specialised Commission. Remarkably, this framework of the Organisation can be linked with the main objectives of the government which were at that period centralised around the end of colonialism and internal conflicts in Africa and in considering economic integration as a long-term goal.

After that, reforms of the OAU became essential, since an end to colonialism, the priority in the OAU, had largely been achieved. Consequently, there was the ratification of the Abuja Treaty of 1991. This created the African Economic Community that was composed of 7 main organs, by adding the Pan African Parliament, the Economic and Social Commissions and the Court of Justice to the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government, the Council of Ministers, the General Secretariat, and the Specialised Commissions. As a result, Africa had by then, started to look forward to integration as an objective that should be achieved: one of the main aims of the Abuja Treaty was indeed the encouragement of interstate cooperation, and the

harmonisation of economic activities between the member states (Abuja Treaty, 1991 Art. 3, p. 7). Consequently, the Abuja Treaty gave the green light for the establishment of Regional Economic Communities that would help the African Economic Community in achieving its aims; however, their developing relationship was based upon rivalries rather than cooperation.

With the independence of the majority of African countries, African leaders agreed on the need for the reformation of the OAU, since its basic objectives had been achieved. Consequently, the African Union was created, and new documents were drafted to direct the functioning of that newly created organisation. The Constitutive Act, as the basic document of the African Union (2002) detailed the different institutions of the newly created organisation. In its institutional architecture, the AU was composed of nine main bodies along with different sub-bodies under each main organ; they are the Assembly, the Executive Council, the African Parliament, the Court of Justice, the Commission, the Permanent Representatives Committee, the specialised Committees, the Economic, Social and Cultural Council and the Peace and Security Council.

The African Union institutions showed some potential of developing to be like the EU organs; however, this was never the case. Indeed, the laws of the AU organs were just words on paper, and they have shown no development towards achieving their main goals. A prime example of this is the Pan African Parliament, which is until today still a consultative organ, rather than a legislative elected body. This showed the slow movement of the AU to develop its organs, and thus set the stage for the economic integration of the continent.

Concerning the other sub-organs that were included in the Organisation, it is clear that the majority of them were economic and financial institutions that aimed at gaining more investment and more financial support for the future projects of Africa. This explains in full detail the features of the movement towards encouraging the deeper economic integration in the AU.

3.4.2 Integration as a Learning Process

3.4.2.1 Learning from the OAU

Before achieving this stage of development, the AU had learned great lessons from its predecessor, the OAU and had attempted to build on its weaknesses (Murithi, 2008, p. 73).

This means that the AU integration process that we now observe is not a newly created system, but can be considered as the result of a range of examinations of the previous experiences of the OAU and the other African Communities (like for example those created in the Casablanca Group, Monrovia Group). Consequently, the AU attempted to highlight the different

weaknesses and faults of earlier organisations and try to avoid them. This can be considered as a very smart learning process.

With the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity, the African continent started to be united. However, the OAU had different weaknesses. One of the flaws of the OAU is that it was considered more a political than an economic organisation. Consequently, the African leaders in the subsequent meetings stressed the point that the organisation must in future focus on the economy, and the way to integrate their continent economically. This can be observed in the Abuja Treaty of 1991 where in the first pages (after listing the members of the OAU) of the article, it was mentioned that one of the motives behind the conference, and the drafting of the charter, was the acceleration of the steps and processes that would boost economic integration within the African countries (Abuja Treaty, 1991, p. 3).

As a result, the first aim of the OAU, which espoused the ideas of independence and freedom for colonised African countries, changed in 1991 with the passage of the Abuja Treaty. This project (to be accomplished by 2026) called for the creation of the African Economic Community for more unity and integration between African countries, asserting that this scheme would attempt to share a “balanced development in all the parts of the continent” (the Abuja Treaty, 1991, p. 3). Consequently, the Abuja Treaty focused more on the necessity of the economic integration and development of Africa. The initiation of the RECs, that would assist the AEC in achieving its aims, was a step towards these goals. However, this not to be the case in reality (Seck 2014, p.188).

After the Abuja Treaty, the African Union was created, and its Constitutive Act mainly emphasised that the economic integration of Africa was the most important aim to be achieved. Accordingly, the AU Constitutive Act set the stage for the creation of new institutions in the AU; this move would increase economic and financial integration between the AU member states. This act founded different financial institutions comprising the ACB, the AMF and the AIB (AU Constitutive Act 2002, p.14). It also introduced the Economic and Social Council (ESC) that comprised different economic institutions including the Committee of Rural Economy and Agriculture, the Committee on Monetary and Financial Affairs and the Committee on Transport. The AU also attempted to be more democratic, through the creation of the AU Court of Justice and the PAP. However, the Union is still largely Intergovernmentalist, since the Assembly is the decision-making organ in the Union, and the PAP and Court are its agents.

Another problem that the OAU faced during its existence was the Civil Wars around the African continent, and its inability to intervene, because of the non-interventionism principle

that was enshrined in the OAU Charter (OAU Charter, 1963, Art III, p. 4). The African Union sought to remedy this and created an institution that would help it in solving the different problems of the continent.

In effect, the first session of the AU in Lomé (Togo) created the Peace and Security Council (PSC). By examining the missions of the PSC, they can be divided into 3 main areas. The first one is keeping or building peace and stability in African countries. This can be seen in action with its early mission in 2003 in Burundi (Congo), its intervention in Darfur (Sudan) from 2004 until 2007, and finally in the International Mission of Support of Central Africa (Mission Internationale de Soutien a la Centrafrique) that attempted to end to the different conflicts located in the central Africa region between 2013 and 2014 (Joshua and Olanrewaju, 2017, p. 466).

The second type of mission that the PSC carried out were those of state observation or election observation. The first examples to be given of the observer status of the PSC are Comoros in 2004, and Libya 2011. In addition, the PSC attempted to supervise the election process in different member states that were going through internal conflicts, including in Mali (2013) Tunisia (2014) Gabon (2016) and Gambia (2017) (*ibid.*, pp. 466-468).

The PSC is facing a number of challenges that are hindering its progress. The first problem that the PSC faces is a shortage at the level of financial and human resources (*ibid.*, p. 460). This issue may obstruct this organ from achieving its basic aims. The second challenge to the PSC is the lack of professionals and experts in different fields. Indeed, this body needs numerous translators, engineers, lawyers, experts in conflict management, and legal specialists to bring professionalism to the basic activities of the council (*ibid.*, p. 460). In addition to all that, Joshua and Olanrewaju (2017, p. 462) have argued that the Council also needs some attention from the AU member states, since the majority of the contributors to the organisation are just five countries including Mauritania, Mali, Republic of Congo, Uganda and South Africa.

Remarkably, even though the PSC faces great challenges to function as intended, the body was able to intervene on several occasions and resolve African conflicts without foreign interference. But even so, it continues to play a weak role in restoring peace in African countries, as shown by the fact that right up to the present day Africa is witnessing foreign intervention, including that of the US in Libya in 2011, and the French in Mali in 2013.

All in all, the integration process in the AU was not a new project that was developed from scratch; it is a scheme that came about as a result of a lengthy learning process. Indeed, the OAU was considered as the great source of lessons for today's African Union. Through its

previous weaknesses and faults, the AU developed and is still developing to accomplish its mission in integrating the African continent socially, politically, and economically.

3.4.2.2 *Learning from the European Union*

The development of integration in the African Union is not new, or a product of Africa; it was the result of a long learning process. In other words, the AU had not just learned from the previous weaknesses and faults of its preceding institutions, but it widened the scope of its learning to include lessons from different intergovernmental organisations that existed at that time, to take benefit from their experiences, since their aims were approximately the same. Because the European Union was, and is still, considered as the “big model and a success story of regionalism and regional integration (Oyeranmi, 2014, p. 6), the AU integration process can be considered in some cases similar to the procedure that the EU followed to achieve its present level of regional integration.

A study by Nubong Fohitung (2016, p. 195) on “The Applicability of the European Process of Regional Integration in the African Context” concluded that the African Union, in different instances, was following the EU route of integration, because they passed through the same situations and faced the same obstacles. Both organisations aimed to deepen the proportion of integration between their member states. Consequently, the AU attempted to gain benefit from the European experience and follow its steps.

The AU followed the institutional organisation of the EU through the establishment of Commissions, Parliaments and Councils. Indeed, with the early formation of the OAU, there was a launch of a certain structural arrangement that was closely related to the basic objectives of the organisation at that period, focusing much more on ending colonialism in Africa (Fioramonti, and Mattheis, 2016, p.680). Then, with the accomplishment of that goal, integration became the new African project, and because the EU constituted the supreme model of integration at that period, the African Economic Community was modelled along the lines of the 1957 European Economic Community (EEC). Undeniably, their basic institutional structure was the same; these bodies had the same functions as those that are present in the AEC, established in the Abuja Treaty of 1991 (Olivier 2015, p. 515).

Another similarity that existed between the EEC and the AEC were their similar aims. The EEC aimed at deepening integration between the European countries through the creation of a common market that would eliminate all economic barriers between its member states, encourage the initiation of external common trade, and encourage the creation of the free European zone where there is a free movement of people, goods, services and capital (Treaty

of Rome, Art.3, 1957, p. 4). Noticeably, the same targets were present in the AEC, which were set out in the Abuja Treaty of 1991, that included the promotion of integration of the different African economies, and the harmonisation of policies to reach deep economic integration (Abuja Treaty Art.4, 1991, p. 7).

On the one hand, In the treaty of Rome establishing the EEC, these objectives were to be achieved in 12 years, divided into three stages of between three or four years for each stage Treaty of Rome, Art.8, 1957, p. 5). On the other hand, the Abuja Treaty followed the European Economic Community path and also designed an African program of attaining deep economic integration through the gradual removal of the economic barriers between the member states creating a common African market and encouraging African monetary harmonisation and African free trade zone. This was to have been achieved in six main stages, through a period not exceeding 34 years (Abuja Treaty, Art.6, 1991, p. 10). In brief, we can conclude that the same idea of integration was present in these two communities, but there were differences at the level of the division of stages, and years to accomplish goals, as can be seen in the wide differences between the two cases.

After the Treaty of Rome, the EC moved towards deeper integration after the ratification of the Maastricht treaty in 1992. This Treaty gave the European cooperative nations the name of the European Union, and encouraged deeper European integration, asserting that “this treaty marks a new stage in the process of creating an ever-closer union among the peoples of Europe” (Maastricht Treaty 1992, Art.A, p. 7). The Maastricht Treaty discussed the structural organisation of the newly established union. It created a European Parliament, a Council, a Commission, a Court of Justice and Court of Auditors. Moreover, Art.4 set out the roles of the Economic and Social Committee, and the Committee of Regions, that would assist the Council and the Commission in the process of decision making (*ibid.*, p. 14). Furthermore, the treaty referred to a European system of central banks, and asserted that these banks should be established, and should follow the rules that discussed in this treaty (*ibid.* p. 14).

The African Union alternative of the Maastricht Treaty, the Constitutive Act, was initiated in 2002 with the official launch of the AU. Indeed, there are many similarities between these two documents, including correspondences at the level of the focus on the best ways of achieving deeper integration, the focus on economic collaboration between the member states, and stress on the inevitability of social, educational and cultural integration.

Even though the structures of both the EU and the AU seem to be similar, there are many differences that can be observed between these two organisations. The EU was able to achieve its goals of integration, creating one of the world’s biggest single markets, ensuring the freedom

of movement of goods and people around Europe, through the creation of the passport-free zone known as the Schengen Area, generalising the European common monetary policy. This way Europe had removed the political borders between its member states to be one united country. Despite the fact the AU had the same intentions; it is still far from achieving these goals; the primary reason for that is the great differences across the African continent.

The AU structure is still too weak to achieve the levels of integration that have been reached in Europe through the EU. First, the RECs that the Abuja Treaty created in 1991 have not even established free movement areas between them, because of the enmities existing between them and with the AEC. Second, even though the AU created a structure like the EU, the practical steps to achieve these laws have been very modest. Today the PAP is still an appointed consultative body, rather than being a legislative elected organ; the AU Court is still restricted in its powers and authority because its charter has still not been completely ratified by the member states. Therefore, we can argue that the AU is still an Intergovernmentalist organisation that is dominated by the Assembly.

Indeed, the AU has not yet created its path to achieving deep integration between its member states, but it has continued to learn from similar experiences about the process. Undeniably, the European model of integration was one of the inspirations that taught the African leaders many lessons on integration, and the best ways of achieving greater unity. However, the African imitation of the European model of integration was not a complete mirror-image, for the reasons cited above, and also because Africa, as a land of great differences, is different from Europe.

3.5 African Union: Compromise of Differences

3.5.1 *Integration Camps*

In the study of the history of the initiation and development of the African Union, it is evident that the idea of integration has been always surrounded by a range of controversies and debates. It means that right from the early years, and the launch of the OAU, debates over the best ways of integrating Africa started; these have continued right up to the present day with the African Union (see figure 4). Protagonists of these debates and controversies can be divided into two ‘camps’, discussed below.

3.5.1.1 *OAU Integration Camps*

Since the early emergence of the idea of unity in the African continent, African leaders have been consistently divided into two camps: supporters and opponents. The first camp can be

linked with the pre-establishment of the Organisation of African Unity. Indeed, this division emerged with the early beginnings of the idea of African unity, from Ghana's leader Kwame Nkrumah. In his book of *Africa Must Unite* (1963, p. 205), he stressed the idea of the unavoidability of unity. He asserted that the world was full of unions and collaborations including the United States of America, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, Australia, Canada, Switzerland, and Venezuela.

In his account of supporting the idea of unity between the countries, Nkrumah asserted that the basic aims of creating these larger communities came from the wish for the protection of states from internal and the external influences, thus guaranteeing the economic evolution and prosperity of these nations (Nkrumah, 1963, p. 205). Then, he moved on to discuss the successful American experience with unity, and how their collaboration helped them to resist the different challenges that America experienced, including the Civil War that made America emerge stronger than before (*ibid.*, p.211).

Then, at the end of his book, Nkrumah stressed the necessity of unity on the African continent. He said that Africa is one of the largest, richest lands in the world; thus, it should be preserved by the unification of African resources, efforts, skills, and intentions (*ibid.*, p. 216). He added that African states should not be afraid of the idea of political unity as an indication that in the future their independence and sovereignty would be diminished. Countering this, he said that these two principals were already protected in the national constitution of each member state (*ibid.*, p. 217).

Consequently, Nkrumah suggested the formation of an African Union government where there was deep economic unity, a unified military and defence strategy, and finally integrated African foreign policy and diplomacy (*ibid.*, pp. 218-220). Nkrumah concluded that:

it is for us to grasp what is a golden opportunity to prove that the genius of the Africa people can surmount the separatist tendencies in sovereign nationhood by coming together speedily, for the sake of Africa's greater glory and infinite well-being, into a Union of African States (*ibid.*, p. 222).

Remarkably, Nkrumah attempted to present his ideas about the creation of a united African state on different occasions, both in his writings, and in his different speeches. After the independence of Ghana in 1958, Nkrumah presented his ideas of unity to all the African countries in different speeches where he attempted to convince the African countries about the necessity of the formation of a union that would protect, unite and strengthens them. These presentations resulted in the division of the African leaders between supporters and opponents.

Supporters of Nkrumah are the states that met in Casablanca (Morocco) in January 1961. This included the presence of Kwame Nkrumah as a representative of Ghana, and other representatives from Algeria, Mali, Guinea, and Libya. This group can be considered as radicals; they advocated the idea of the immediate creation of an African union under the rules that Nkrumah discussed in his speeches. It means that that they appreciated the creation of an African federation that would have a centralised government deciding over issues of economy, military, foreign policy, and social life (Framer, 2012, p. 96). Hence, they saw that achieving political unity is most important than discussing sovereignty at that period (*ibid.*).

Opponents of Nkrumah's ideas about political unity were reflected in the views of the Monrovia Group that was much more concerned with the protection of ideas of sovereignty, autonomy and independence rather than unity itself. The states that supported this opinion are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Republic, The Congo, Cote D'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Togo and Tunisia. This group was supported also by Julius Nyerere the president of Tanzania who saw that unity between the African countries should not be the unity of conquest instead it should be a "negotiated unity...the unity of equals" (Nyerere 1963, p.2). It means that he stressed the point of the necessity of unity between the African countries but without the creation of one powerful central government that would exercise dominance like that of colonialism. Instead, he suggested unity in some fields including some economic and educational plans no more no less (Nyerere, 1963, p. 2). Consequently, the Monrovia Group can be considered as realists if compared with the Casablanca Group; they supported the gradual creation of an African state rather than an immediate creation of an African single government (Farmer, 2012, p. 97).

Even though the African countries valued the necessity of unity for the African future, they kept divided at the level of the issue of sovereignty. However, this came after many attempts the last one came in 1963 when the Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie called the African countries for a meeting in Addis Ababa where he was able to convince them about the necessity of unity and bring them into a compromise. This compromise was crystallised in the initiation of the Organisation of African Unity that attempted to be a middle point between the two antagonising camps and focus mainly on their similar targets that are achieving African cooperation, celebrating "African-ness"³⁰ through ending African colonialism and promising African, future economic collaboration. However, the differences of opinions are still till today dividing the AU and obstructing the AU from achieving integration through the AU.

³⁰ African-ness is a term that was used by Julius Nyerere in his article Africa Must Unite

3.5.1.2 *African Union Integration Camps*

After coming to a compromise between the 1960's groups, the issue of the best ways of achieving African unity reappeared; thus, different, conflicting camps were reformed. These camps were the same as the previous ones of the Monrovia Group and the Casablanca Group; however, new leaders appeared, and new positions were taken (Leshoele, 2020, p.5). The debate was reopened by Maamer Al Quaddafi who advocated the idea of the reformation of the OAU and the creation of a new African political union under the same rule that Nkrumah suggested in the 1960s in his United States of Africa Plan (Farmer, 2012, p. 98).

Leshoele, Moorosi (2020) AfCFTA and Regional Integration in Africa: Is African Union Government a Dream Defferred or Denied? *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*

Indeed, this suggestion reopened the 1960's debate over the issue of political unity and sovereignty leading to the division of the African countries into two camps: supporters and opponents. The opponents of that plan included Thabo Mbeki the president of South Africa who saw that Africa needs much more economic regional integration rather than this suggestion of the African political integration.

After that, the African Union was created, and it attempted to satisfy the preferences of all the camps. Undeniably, the AU attempted to give much more importance to the economic integration of African countries by creating different economic institutions inside the union. More, it attempted to encourage deeper political unity between the African countries via having the right of intervention that was blocked in the OAU charter. This way the sovereignty of African states started to be linked to certain criteria and any deviation from these rules lead to the AU intervention (Farmer, 2012, p. 99). In addition to that, the AU moved from being a state-centric union (in the OAU) to be a more citizen-centred union where people have a parliament that represents them (*ibid.*).

As a conclusion, it is clear that the history of the creation of the AU passed through different stages where there were different ideological confrontations. However, the spirit of 'African-ness' as Nyerere called it (1963, p.1) was able to bring them together and put an end to their divergences. Indeed, the construction of that organisation was a process of making smart compromises between the different ideologies, cultures, geographies, economies that Africa had and has until today.

However, one cannot deny that these differences of opinions between the African radicals and realists are still present in the AU and they are obstructing its development to become an economically integrated body. This appeared clearly in the opposition of the heads of states to

ratify some treaties that they thought would diminish their sovereignty and would interfere in their domestic and foreign affairs (Welz, 2013, p.9).

OAU Integration Plans	Initiators	Motivations	Supporters	Opponents
<i>United States of Africa (1958)</i>	Kwame Nkrumah Ghana's president	End colonialism and Apartheid System.	Casablanca Group	Julius Nyerere along with the Monrovia Group (call for economic integration first).
<i>Organisation of African Unity (1963)</i>	Haile Selassie	-Unite African countries -End Colonialism -End Apartheid	All independent African countries	
<i>Abuja Treaty and the creation of the African Economic Community (1991)</i>	The Assembly of the Heads of the African States and Government	Encouraging economic integration between African countries	All the African countries ratified that act (51 members).	
<i>African Union (2002)</i>	The Assembly of the Heads of the African States and Government	Achieve economic integration and in different fields (education, health, society, and economy).	53 African states ratified it.	
<i>United States of Africa Plan: Accra Declaration (2007)</i>	Maamer al Quaddafi and later Robert Mugabe ³¹	In his road to Accra, he observed the state of many African people like those of Mali and Ghana, so he suggested that plan to put an end to the African parting and poverty.	This project was supported mainly by the poor and small African countries.	The presidents of larger countries such as Thabo Mbeki of South Africa and Yar'Adua of Nigeria were less interested in the creation of an African federation.

Figure 4 integration proposals in the African Union

3.5.1.3 Africa: Land of Difference

The creation of the African Union can be considered as a very important step that Africa did since it was able to surpass all its differences and establish a union that collected all their voices. However, we cannot deny the fact that Africa is considered as the land of differences and its member states are having great conflicting ideologies. It means that this continent comprises different countries that have different variations instead of commonalities. First, religious variations are one of the most striking features of the African continent. Africa is comprising different groups including Muslims and Christians who were experiencing different clashes.

³¹ Robert Gabriel Mugabe: was the president of Zimbabwe 1987- 2017, he was born on the 21st of February 1924 in the South of Rhodesia. He encouraged the United States of Africa plan (Immelman 2017; p. 1).

The example that might be given is that of the Nigerian civil war that was between the Muslim North and the Christian Biafra's that caused great problems in the OAU (Mangwende 1984, p. 26).

Another difference that existed in the African continent is that of the variety of geography and belongingness. Noticeably, the African Union is composed of many North Abdul Nasser described Egypt (in Mangwende, 1984, p. 25). It means that these countries give much significance to their Arab belongingness rather than their African origins as Mangwende (1984, p. 25) said "some of the OAU member states let the OAU affairs come second to those of the Arab world". This variation that can enlarge the scope of differences between the African Union member states.

Indeed, the geographical variety of the African continent has led to the emergence of other differences including those of economy and culture. At an economic level, African countries are divided between diverse locations including the coastal areas, the tropical areas, and the deserts, and indeed every place is different from the other one. These geographical differences had their effects on the distribution of resources and economy of these African countries leading to the emergence of great divergences between the African countries at the level of economy (Bloom et al. 1998, 2014). For instance, the United Nations Economic Report (UNER) for 2017 about Urbanisation and Industrialisation for Africa's Transformation asserted that on 2016 East African countries owed the fastest economic growth of about 5.5%; while North Africa had about 2.6 % (this was due to the low oil prices) (UNER, 2017, p. 6-9). This can clearly show the geographical and economic inconsistencies that the African continent is experiencing.

Indeed, these differences can justify the difficulty of achieving deeper integration in the African Union and the challenges that Africa was and still facing to achieve that target by 2035 as it was planned to be in its agenda 2063. However, it might be noticed that despite all these divisions between these African countries, the common spirit of "African-ness", along with the Pan Africanist movement was stronger than the cultural, religious, geographical, and economic differences of Africa. However, the great challenge for Africa now is the moving process from unity to integration.

3.6 Conclusion

Undeniably, the process of the creation of the African Union passed through different stages that attempted in every stage to deepen integration between the different African countries and call them to corporate and unite. Undoubtedly, the African Union kept updating its regulations,

objectives, and institutions in a hopeful attempt to achieve deeper unity between the member states and thus reach deeper African integration. More, the African Union leaders kept learning from their previous weaknesses and also gain lessons from the previously established unions and try to follow their successful strategies of integration.

However, the process of integration in the African Union faced many challenges. The first obstacle is the differences located in the continent. Undeniably, Africa can be considered as the land of differences and every act of uniting all these variant groups can face different obstacles. Indeed, the large economic, social, cultural, and religious inconsistencies played a great role in dividing rather than uniting the continent.

The second challenge to the African Union integration project is the multiplicity of philosophies at the level of the best ways of achieving that plan. Remarkably, the African leaders had controversial opinions about integration as an objective; they were divided into two groups between supporters and opponents of that plan, between supporters of deeper political and economic integration and between callers for economic unity and cooperation. Because the African Union is following an intergovernmental system, the union kept following the wish of the majority of the member states at the level of their opinion about that issue. Certainly, every member state in the African Union had an attitude towards that issue and this can be explained through historical, economic, and even social circumstances of that country. This would become clearer in the coming Chapters where the foreign policy of Algeria towards the African Union would be scrutinised.

Chapter Four: Algerian Foreign Policy: Continuity or Change?

3.7 Introduction:

Algeria is situated in the northern part of Africa and was colonised by France from 1830 to 1962. As such, the country experienced 132 years of isolation from the international world, with its focus limited to a fight for independence. However, some Algerian-African relations were built during the Algerian colonial era, to assist the country in its mission of freeing itself from the control of the colonisers. These relationships included the Algerian support of the creation of the Organisation of African Unity, since in its early stages of establishment this organisation aimed at liberating Africa from all kinds of foreign occupation.

Post-independence, Algeria wanted to demonstrate its diplomacy beyond its geographical borders, and to revive its regional, continental, and international connections. Therefore, different strategies were adopted to attain this aim, even though it seemed difficult to reintegrate the country in the international arena after so many years of isolation. Noticeably, there was no clear path, or system, in the conduct of Algeria's nascent foreign policy (FP). Some Algerian presidents supported different international, regional or African connections; others attempted to create a rich and varied Algerian FP connection by forging links with Europe, Africa, the Arab world, and even with the United States of America; but others preferred to focus just on domestic affairs for various reasons.

Because of the rarity of the English written resources on the Algerian FP and the development of the Algerian international relations the research attempts to examine this in details. Therefore, the research's contribution is clear since there are no literature discussing the Algerian relations with the OAU and even the AU exists so far. Therefore, the Chapter looks at different presidents' orientations in FP, the reasons behind their choices, and the different pressures, if any, that, made them decide on a particular way to conduct FP and also look to the development of Algerian FP views about regional integration. The Chapter also investigates the continuity principle, or change in Algerian FP, linking this to the different domestic circumstances of the country, the personality of the leaders, their different FP goals or the different pressures that the Algerian political groups were subject to. Therefore, the Chapter uses the president centric approach; it means that it investigates the historical continuity or change of the Algerian FP and provides the first comprehensive overview of the Algerian FP priorities, and changes.

3.8 Algeria: Colonial and Post-Colonial History

3.8.1 *History of Colonial Algeria*

3.8.1.1 *Algeria: Geography, economy, and politics:*

Algeria is the biggest African country, covering an area of 2.382 km² (it is four times the size of France). Extending from the Mediterranean Coast in the North, to the Sahara Desert in the South, Algeria is bordered by Tunisia in the northeast, Libya in the east, Morocco in the west, Western Sahara, Mauritania, and Mali in the northwest and Niger in the southeast. The location of Algeria has given it a diverse climate: the northern parts of Algeria enjoy a mild, Mediterranean climate – however, the southern areas of the country are very dry, and have very high temperatures, especially in the summer.

According to the World Bank list of economies, Algeria is considered an upper-middle-income country (2018). The Algerian official currency is the dinar, and its economy is controlled by the state. Algeria's economy is dominated by petroleum and natural gas exports, which represent one-third of the country's gross domestic product (GDP). Before 1962, the Algerian economy was agricultural, and was linked with the French economy. But after independence, the extraction and production of hydrocarbons led to the rapid industrialisation of the country. Algeria's geographical diversity made it rich in forests, agricultural land, and the fishing industry. However, these industries are not as well developed, even though the government has attempted to support them.

In respect of the Algerian governmental system, Algeria is a democratic republic, whose citizens vote for their president who is the head of the executive branch, as determined in the Constitution of the nation. The legislative power of the state is embodied in the government and the two chambers of parliament: The People's National Assembly,³² and the Council of the Nation. The judicial branch is composed of civil and military courts that are supervised by the Algerian Supreme Court. Theoretically, these are the direct decision makers in the Algerian politics. However, there are practically other agents like the Algerian National Armed Forces that have some influence on Algerian political decisions in general, and more specifically in Algerian FP (further details are provided later).

The Algerian constitution also guarantees the rights of political competition between political parties, as such the government encourages the process of formation of political parties that compete over political positions (whether for the executive in competing in the presidential

³² The People's National Assembly is the lower house of the Algerian parliament. Its members are elected directly by the people. The first election of the people's National Assembly was organised by President Ahmed Ben Bella on the 20th of September 1962

elections or the legislative for gaining seats in the People's National Assembly). However, the Algerian political system is dominated by a one party, the FLN, considered to be the party that represents Algeria's history with the coloniser and the Algerian Revolution (details are provided later).

3.8.1.2 *Algerian Colonial History*

Before the French colonial era, Algeria was an Ottoman province, from 1516 to 1830. However, this created different problems for the country, and for the Ottomans themselves, who were constantly threatened by Spanish and other Christian groups who continually attacked the Algerian fleet. Ottoman Algeria was, indeed, a rival area. Algerian wealth at that period was derived from agricultural production: the great diversity of geography stimulated Algeria's agricultural wealth and diversity. Consequently, the majority of the population were peasants and farmers (McDougall, 2017, p.13).

By the 17th century, Algeria had become a base for Anglo-Turkish piracy. Therefore, to secure the passage of the different European maritime ships, many Turkish rulers imposed a tribute that would protect their ships from pirates. After the end of the Napoleonic wars in Europe, Algiers became a centre for many attacks from the Netherlands, Prussia, Denmark, Russia, and others. This somewhat weakened the Algerian fleet.

During these years, the *Dey*, the Ottoman rulers in Algeria, furnished grain to France. Then, the *Dey* requested that France pay all its previous debts to Algeria, which the French Consul refused. This act provoked the Algerian *Dey* and led to him threatening the consul with stopping Algerian-French trading relations, during which encounter the *Dey* brandished his ceremonial fly whisk (Khatun 2014, p. 80). France considered this act to be a humiliation for its Consul, leading to its invasion of Algeria in June 1830, by sending 36,000 troops led by French monarch Charles X. On June 14th. 1830 a follow up force, of about 600 French ships and 37.,000 men, was sent to the shores of Sidi Ferruch. This led finally to the capture of Algiers after a three-week campaign. Finally, on the 5th of July, the *Dey* was forced to surrender leading to the signing of a treaty protecting the people's properties and religions (*ibid.*). Then in 1848, the French declared Algeria as an integral part of France, even though Algerians were against that act.

The Algerian people had started to create opposition movements, notably led by a few educated Muslim Algerian communities. In the period 1933-1936, Algerians started to organise more extensive national and political protests against the French occupation of their land. The most important political organisation was the FLN (Front de Liberation Nationale); it was the

most powerful Algerian liberation political movement which then launched a war against the French occupiers in 1954. People like Emir Abd Al Qader, Ahmed Ben Bella, Messali Hadj, Hadj Ahmed Bey, Abane Ramdane, Krim Belkacem, Larbi Ben M'hidi, Mostefa Benboulaïd, Colonel Amirouche, Ferhat Abbas, Yacef Saadi, Ali Ammar, Hassiba Benbouali and other heroines like Djamila Bouhired, Lalla Fatma N'Somer, and others encouraged the emergence of the Algerian nationalist movement, and its spread all over the country (Khatun 2014, p. 79).

These figures launched the Algerian War of Independence on the 1st November 1954, which became known as 'as one of the most brutal and violent confrontations in the world's recent history' (*ibid*, p. 79). This date refers to the first identified Algerian attacks on military and French governmental installations, including police posts, radio stations, telephone exchanges, and French warehouses in different parts of Algeria, and not just in Algiers (Bottaro 2011, p. 13). However, the first attack was in the Aures Mountains³³ in the east of Algeria, before more widespread incidents spread across the country. These attacks increased the French government's concern about the situation, since similar actions in Indochina had earlier led to its 'humiliating defeat by the Viet Minh at Dien Bien Phu' (*ibid.*). This is reflected in French Prime Minister Pierre Mendes' declaration that:

the Algerian departments are part of the French Republic. They have been French for a long time. And they are irrevocably French . . . Between them and metropolitan France, there can be no conceivable secession (ibid.).

This clearly demonstrated that the French government was ready to start a war against the Algerian nationalists so as not to lose Algeria; this resulted in eight years of bloody fighting.

The launch of the Algerian war of independence was not, as the French thought, a set of isolated incidents in the country, but organised military, political, and social nationalistic uprisings. To confirm that idea, the FLN renewed its attacks in early 1955, and in August 1955 targeted Europeans in the Philippeville district in Algiers. Among other reasons, this led the French to grant independence to Morocco and Tunisia and focus its resources on the Algerian uprisings. However, this act also assisted the Algerian nationalists, since they started seeking sanctuary across the borders in these countries.

After this, the French military focused their attention on fighting Algerian nationalists and in trying to quell uprisings, and increased the number of troops. In 1957, the FLN developed new tactics, and called for a general strike that would affect manufacturing and commerce in

³³ The Aures Mountains are a set of mountains and valleys spreading from the south-west to northeast, dividing the plains of the Constantinois from the Sahara (McDougall 2017, p. 18).

all parts of Algeria. Moreover, the FLN groups bombed different bars and cafes frequented by French officials (*ibid*, p. 19). As a reaction to these attacks, the French forces started to conduct house searches, arresting different people and torturing them. By then end of 1957, over 24,000 Algerians had been arrested, and about 3,000 had died in custody (*ibid.*). Another tactic that the French army used to cut off the FLN guerrillas' supplies and materials was the construction of a barbed-wire barricade along the borders between Algeria and Tunisia. However, the FLN attacks continued even though their equipment supplies were restricted.

The instability in Algeria, and the launch of the Algerian War of Independence against the French, led to great instability in French domestic politics. Remarkably, the French political system witnessed the fall of six prime ministers, along with the collapse of the French fourth republic. French citizens were divided between supporters and opponents of French colonisation in Algeria. Consequently, the French public placed great hopes in the coming of Charles de Gaulle, who became Prime Minister and then president of France.

Julia Voelker has argued that in his book *France, the United States, and the Algerian War* (2001), Irwin Mall affirmed that the first intentions of de Gaulle in Algeria were to keep on the colony, and never liberate it. de Gaulle tried to get support from the United States of America to achieve that aim (p. 201). Subsequently, de Gaulle exerted great efforts to keep the colony part of France. He started with the Constantine Plan of 1958, intended to industrialise the Algerian economy. However, this plan failed in its goal to weaken the Algerian nationalist movement. The movement developed many other nationalist commitments, of which one example was the creation of the GPRA, the Gouvernement Provisoire de la République Algérienne, a government formed in exile by the Algerian nationalist Farhat Abbas with offices in Tunisia and Cairo (Bottaro 2011, p. 20).

After the failure of de Gaulle's previous plans, he moved on to negotiations with the FLN representatives, known as the Evian Accords since they were held in a place called Evian- les - Bains (France). The main aim of the Algerian nationalists in this meeting was an immediate cease-fire and the end of the Algerian- French war (Bellisari 2017). These diplomatic negotiations resulted in France proposing a range of suggestions to the Algerian representatives, including Algeria's total independence, Algerian-French integration, and self-government linked with France. However, de Gaulle tried to frighten the Algerians of the consequences of the total independence of Algeria, that, according to the French, would be a predominance of poverty, political instability, economic fragility, and other political issues. After that, de Gaulle announced that a referendum will be organised in Algeria.

At the end of the negotiations, on the 18th of March 1962, the FLN representatives and the French government reached agreement. This brought about a cease-fire in the country, and agreement on the organisation of a referendum to decide on the future of Algeria. After that, the referendum was organised and about 75% voted for independence. This led directly to the independence of Algeria, and on the 3rd of July 1963 the Algerian government in exile was able to return to Algiers. Furthermore, more than a million *pieds noirs*³⁴ left Algeria, marking the end of French Algerian colonialism, and the beginning of the history of independent Algeria that celebrated its independence officially on the 5th of July 1962.

3.8.1.3 *The FLN Party: Diplomatic Affairs*

During the Algerian War of Liberation, the FLN was the sole political party, and responsible for the organisation of political, military, and foreign issues in colonial Algeria. Consequently, the FLN attempted to reach its main objective, the total independence of Algeria, by using all means, and all available weapons. One of the tactics used by the FLN was the creation of diplomatic relations with different liberation movements from around the world, and with different heads of state as well.

FLN representatives created relationships with Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt, the Arab countries in the Middle East, different Communist states, different states of Western Europe, and the United States of America (Fraleigh, 1967, p. 7). In the cases of pre-independence Tunisia and Morocco, the FLN representatives did not receive much assistance, since they were also French colonies. However, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco were members of the Committee for the Liberation of North Africa that was located in Cairo (Egypt). The committee was created to coordinate the efforts of these countries to achieve their independence.

After the independence of Morocco on the 2nd of March 1956, and then the independence of Tunisia on the 20th of March 1956, these countries tried to assist the FLN nationalists in gaining Algeria's independence. Consequently, they decided to provide the necessary help for the FLN representatives to achieve independence. Indeed, these countries issued passports for the Algerian FLN nationalists to travel abroad and get the necessary recognition and help from around the world. Here, they supported them to build arrangements with other countries that could supply them with the necessary arms for their rebels.

³⁴ Pieds noirs in the Algerian Revolution context is a name that is controversial. Some argue that it is a name that was invented by the Arab to describe the French soldiers that wore black boots in Algeria. Others say that this name came from their work in tramping grapes so as to make wine (Khatun 2011, p. 6).

Noticeably, the Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba greatly supported the FLN. First, he allowed the Algerian GPRA to establish its headquarters in Tunis. Then, in every speech he delivered he declared that he would give all kinds of assistance to the Algerian nationalists to get their independence from France (*ibid.*, p. 8).

In addition to Morocco and Tunisia, Egypt and other Arab states of the Middle East supported the Algerian FLN nationalists. For this purpose, the League of Arab states was formed to help Arab countries gain their independence. Consequently, Egypt also allowed the Algerian rebels to establish their headquarters, in Cairo. Egypt supported Algeria with military equipment, and also made areas available as training grounds for Algerian soldiers (*ibid.*). While Tunisia and Egypt helped Algeria in practical terms, all the Arab countries stood with Algeria, announced their recognition for the GPRA, and started exchanging diplomatic representatives.

Conversely, when it came to the FLN's relationship with global Communist parties and states, they were mixed. Indeed, the FLN did not initially receive much aid from European and Russian Communist parties, the FLN did not want to allow European communist groups to join the Algerian liberation movement. However, Communist parties in Asia supported the FLN, and announced their recognition for the GPRA within its first week of the establishment (*ibid.*). However, European countries remained aligned with France on the Algeria question.

In brief, the FLN attempted to build up diplomatic relations with the international world to acquire international recognition for the Algerian cause. Achieving this would give them support politically by defending Algerian rights to self-determination in different international conferences, like the ones of the United Nations, and financially speaking by providing military aid to Algerian fighters. Noticeably, the help came from the different Arab and Maghreb countries and some Asian communist countries. However, European countries and America preferred to stand alongside with France. Consequently, after the independence of Algeria, as one of the FLN leaders Ben Bella sought to continue in the FLN's steps in his conduct of foreign policy.

3.8.2 *History of Post-Colonial Algeria*

3.8.2.1 *Ahmed Ben Bella Administration (1963-1965)*

After Algerian independence, in 1963 the very popular Ben Bella became president of the newly independent Algeria. At the FP level, Ben Bella pursued an anti-imperialist FP of third world solidarity (Mortimer 2015, p. 466). Following this, Algeria became considered, as Robert Mortimer called it, the Mecca for anti-colonial movements (*ibid.*, p. 467). In effect, Algeria

became the country that was foremost in the support for the rights of people and nations of other colonised countries to be free and independent, seeking to assist them by drawing on its experience with French colonialism.

In addition to supporting different liberation movements, Ben Bella maintained a neutral Algerian stance in the Cold War era and visited the United States of America after the admission of Algeria into the United Nations. He travelled from New York to Washington DC, where he had a meeting with the American President John f. Kennedy (*ibid.*, p. 468). After this visit, Ben Bella visited Communist Cuba, where he met Fidel Castro. This was clear evidence for Algerian neutrality in the Cold War era.

In his developing FP, Ben Bella encouraged Algerian affiliation to different organisations, and her participation in different conferences. First, he encouraged the creation of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963 and participated greatly in its organisation. Indeed, he led Algerian FP in playing a substantial role in shaping the OAU in its advocating the anti-imperialist system in the African continent. Moreover, Ben Bella encouraged African unity against the South African racist regimes (Kesseiri 2005, p.44). Ben Bella also took part in different international conferences, including his participation in the International Trade Conference, and the second summit of Non-Aligned Countries that was held in Cairo in October 1964.

In addition, Ben Bella had wider FP goals, such as liberating the African continent and encouraging Third Worldism and Arab nationalism. Remarkably, he encouraged the ideas of nations' coexistence, nations' mutual respect for independence and equality of rights, and the policy of non-interference. Practically, he supported the Palestinian cause, and attempted to put an end to border conflicts between Algeria and Morocco over areas of the Algerian Sahara; this was driven by a desire to encourage the unity of Maghreb countries (*ibid.*, p. 43). However, the resolution of this issue was very complicated, since Algerian-Moroccan relations had become more complex following the Western Saharan issue between the two. Finally, Ben Bella was one of the supporters of the Bandung³⁵ meetings, and welcomed its forthcoming meetings in Algeria, in June 1965.

As set out, Ahmed Ben Bella had many objectives in foreign and domestic policy, but he was not able to carry out these, since his administration was only to last for just under two years. Ahmed Ben Bella was overthrown in a coup d'état by Houari Boumediene, who was Ben Bella's Minister of Defence, and Vice president.

³⁵ **Bandung Conference** is a meeting that is held in Bandung (Indonesia) between the different Asian and African newly independent countries. It promotes the Asian-African Corporation. Algeria was a member in it

3.8.2.2 *Houari Boumediene Administration (1965-1978)*

Houari Boumediene was appointed by Ahmed Ben Bella to become Minister of Defence and Vice president of the newly independent Algeria. After that, many problems emerged between the two, leading to the day when Boumediene overthrew Ben Bella and installed himself as the new president. After that, Boumediene started to gain much more popularity, because of his efforts in developing the Algerian economy, and in nationalising Algerian natural resources that had been appropriated by the French colonists. Furthermore, Boumediene attempted to transform Algeria from an agricultural society into an industrial one, by exploiting Algerian natural resources, notably gas. He thought that this policy would put an end to unemployment problems in the country, and lead to economic development of the country. These were his main domestic policies.

Turning now to Boumediene's FP, this was based upon the principles of the Algerian War of Liberation, since these had bestowed Algerian FP with its ideological direction (Kesseiri 2005, p. 48). In the Bandung Conference of the 19th June 1965, he argued that 'The institutions of the party and the state operate in harmony and the limits of their respective powers, and this is the strict respect of the revolutionary legality' (Boumediene, 1965, p. 7). Consequently, his FP was based upon the ideas of the fight against imperialism and colonialism, supporting the different liberation movements in their fight for liberation, calling for international cooperation, and supporting liberation movements across the world. Because Algerian FP supported different liberation movements, from 1967 till the mid-1970s Algeria hosted different gatherings of new developing states, including Bandung conferences, the meeting of the Group of 77,³⁶ the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and others (Mortimer, 2015, p. 467).

One of the most important speeches that Boumediene delivered was in the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, where he highlighted different interesting points of Algerian FP. He stressed the idea that international cooperation must be pursued, to eliminate any form of political or economic domination, to respect the notions of sovereignty, equality of states, and to aim towards establishing peace and security in the world (United Nations General Assembly 1974, p. 1). In addition, Boumediene argued that the different initiatives in international relations were merely aimed towards serving the interests of the developed countries (*ibid.*). In the speech he went further, to emphasise the fact that his aim of

³⁶ **Group of 77** is a United Nations coalition created on 1964 containing 134 developing nations. It is created to promote the collective economic interests of the member states and create a negotiating, united group in the United Nations.

supporting the Non-Aligned Countries Movement was to protect the security of countries, supervise the disarmament process, achieve the banning of nuclear weapons, and more importantly eliminate the military bases that the superpowers had established in different parts of the world (*ibid.* p. 2). Boumediene also highlighted the idea that states must assess, and then develop, their domestic resources as the only way for the development of new developing states and argued that Algeria would follow the strategy (*ibid.*, p. 4). Boumediene also supported different liberation organisations in the Arab world, Africa, and elsewhere across the whole world. Algeria considered the cases of South Vietnam, Rhodesia, South Yemen, the Portuguese colonies in Africa, and Israel as areas in which there were liberation movements that should be supported (Roughton 1969, p. 436). The Algerian government subsequently sought to provide help to these movements, donating money, supplies, and military training for guerrillas (*ibid.*).

Algeria's press also contributed to these efforts, shedding light on the different liberation movements' cases, and attempting to give voice to their struggles; for example, the Algerian national daily newspaper *Al-Mujahid* discussed in many instances the Viet Nam struggle; it considered Viet Nam as one of the active third world countries that should be assisted. In addition to supporting that case, the Algerian government under Boumediene also supported the Palestinian's cause against Zionist colonisers. This support drew first on the Algerian Arab's sense of belongingness, from Algeria's own colonial experience, and its overall support for liberation movements around the world. Therefore, Algeria's media and government expressed sympathy towards the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO),³⁷ that sought the liberation of Palestine from the Zionist occupation. The Algerian government had clearly shown its support for the Palestinian cause, with its support for Egyptian President Jamal Abd Nasir's announcement of the closing of the Strait of Tiran on the 22nd May 1967. After that, the Algerian government sent assistance to help Middle Eastern Arabs in their struggle; as such, Algeria decided to participate in the war that was known as the Arab Revolution (*ibid.*, p. 440).

After the Arab-Israeli war³⁸ of 1967, Algeria broke off diplomatic relations with the United States, considering it as the direct supporter of Israel, and also as 'responsible for imperialist aggression throughout the Third World' (*ibid.*, p. 442). However, in the mid-1970s, Algeria-United States diplomatic relations were resumed, although a normalisation of relations was not

³⁷ **PLO** is the **Palestine Liberation Organisation** that was founded in 1964 aiming at liberating Palestine through the armed struggle. It was considered as the official representative of the Palestinian citizens that is why it was granted the observer status in the United Nations since 1974.

³⁸ Arab Israeli War is also called the Six Day War

achieved until the late 1970s. By the 1980s, the United States and Algeria started a new era of diplomatic relations based upon economic exchanges.

During his administration Boumediene also gave great support to the case of the contested sovereignty in Western Saharan. In 1975 (this marked the official military invasion of Morocco of Western Sahara), Algeria showed its support for the Western Saharan case. Algeria had no claims on this territory, which Mauritania and Morocco were disputing. Consequently, Algeria supported the Polisario Front's principles for self-determination at the diplomatic, military, financial, and moral levels. This position led Algeria to experience some diplomatic complications with the Moroccan government, since they argued that the Western Saharan issue would never have been as important without the Algerian support for it (Mundy 2010, p. 3). Indeed, Boumediene's support for the Western Saharan case was not interrupted with his death, but was taken up as one of the main principles of Algerian FP. We discuss this in the sections dealing with subsequent administrations.

3.8.2.3 *Chadli Benjdid (1979-1992)*

After the death of Houari Boumediene in 1978, Chadli Benjdid became the president of Algeria, having served as Minister of Defence during Boumediene's administration. Benjdid sought to make substantial changes in the Algerian governmental system, society, economy, education, and culture. He was the president who opened the doors to opposition parties and groups, and in this way, made Algeria embrace more democratic politics (Lounici 2015, p. 310). Alongside this political evolution, Benjdid tried to develop the economic situation of Algeria through the construction of new infrastructure, with the building of roads, hospitals, and cultural institutions. Moreover, he stimulated the agricultural sector of the country, arguing for its importance in developing the country's economy (*ibid.*, p. 331). Benjdid's administration was also known for the reform of different Algerian economic, educational, and cultural institutions. As part of this, Benjdid focused on the need for the use of the Arab language in Algeria's educational institutions, as the official language of the country. Indeed, Benjdid encouraged the use of the Arabic language, and he used it even when he was presenting Algeria in non-Arab countries (*ibid.*, pp. 338-339).

Turning now to Benjdid's FP, Mortimer (2015, p. 472) has argued that the new president lacked both the charisma of his predecessor Ben Bella, and the militancy of Boumediene. Benjdid was a pure nationalist, rather than an internationalist; as such he favoured building regional relationships, rather than international ones (*ibid.*). There is evidence to show the regional orientation of Benjdid's FP, which was linked to his great concern over the Western

Saharan issue with Morocco. Here, he called for the creation of the Greater Maghreb project (Le Grand Maghreb), which led to the creation of a new organisation, the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) known in French as l'Union de Maghreb Arab.

Noticeably, during his administration Benjdid shifted Algerian FP from its focus on the international, to a new advancement of regionalism. This was embodied in different treaties that were signed by the Algerian government with Maghreb countries,³⁹ including the Algerian-Tunisian Fraternity and Concord Treaty signed in March 1983. This first treaty opened the doors for the emergence of other alliances, for example that of Morocco with Libya, under the conditions of the treaty of Oujda⁴⁰ of 1984. However, President Benjdid also attempted, on different occasions and in different ways, to offer help to the Libyan President Maamer al Quaddafi, which he did when hostilities developed in the Gulf of Sidra between the US and the Libyan forces. The ongoing conflict effectively forced President al Quaddafi to seek the diplomatic help that Algeria had previously offered (Mortimer, 2015, p. 472).

Further evidence of Benjdid's changing orientation towards embracing regional frameworks can be seen in Algeria's decision to host different Arab summits, like the Pan Arab Summit on Palestine in 1988. Benjdid was able to convince the Arab participants to attend the summit, and this provided an ideal occasion for opening more discussions over the Greater Maghreb project, which paved the way for the creation of the AMU. The AMU project was not a new idea, it dated back to the first conference of Maghreb Economic Ministers that took place in 1964 in Tunis; this conference established the Conseil Permanent Consultative du Maghreb (Permanent Consultant of the Maghreb) (CPCM) between Maghreb countries including Algeria, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia. The meeting aimed at harmonising economic development plans between these countries, and also with the EU. However, these objectives were not reached.

In the late 1980s, further attempts were made to revive this project and achieve some of its objectives. Therefore, the inaugural summit of the five heads of states of the AMU was held on June 1988 in Zeralda (Algeria), this meeting ended up with a decision to set up structures and intuitions in the union.

After that on February 17th 1989, in Marrakesh, this new Arab union, the AMU, was official launched. However, these agreements between the five countries were not always subsequently

³⁹ Maghreb countries from an Arabic world that means the West. It refers to the countries situated in the Northwest of Africa in the west of the Arab world that are Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia that share common borders, history and religion.

⁴⁰ Oujda: a major Moroccan city situated in the Northeast near the Moroccan borders with Algeria

ratified and agreed upon (The Institute for Security Studies, n.d.). It is estimated that among the 30 multilateral agreements, that covered different domains including economy, culture, society, and commerce, only five have been ratified by all the members of the Union, which continues to make the process of achieving Arab Maghreb unity more difficult. In respect of the agreements that were ratified by all the members of the Union, these comprised those on trade and tariffs covering all industrial products, trade in agricultural areas, commercial investments, and taxation. However, progress of the union in achieving deeper Arab economic unity remains slow.

There are many reasons that were behind the lethargy of the Arab Maghreb Union's development (*ibid.*). The first major reason is in the slow progress of the AMU in achieving its objectives, and its separation from the African Economic Community – logically the mother organisation of these smaller regional organisations. A second reason for the slow progress of these regional integration plans was the dispute over the Western Saharan issue, which led to great tensions between Algeria and Morocco. Algeria continued in its support for Western Sahara's right to self-determination and contested Moroccan claims over this territory. Algeria supported the Polisario Front in its calls for Western Saharan total sovereignty, increasing the tensions between the Algerian and Moroccan governments.

In 1991, Benjdid organised the first round of national level elections . These elections ended with the first-round defeat of the ruling National Liberation Front (FLN), by competitor party the Islamic Salvation Front (Front Islamic Du Salut) (FIS), who won 188 seats out of 232 (Peckarsky, 2013, p. 24). Because the results of the second-round elections were obviously going to result in defeat of the FLN, the military took over control of the government, on the 11th of January 1992, advising Benjdid to announce the cancellation of the results. The reason given for the cancellation of the results of these elections was that the constitution prohibited political parties based on religion, race, or regional identity. Because the FIS was considered to be an Islamic extremist party, the government cancelled the results of the elections. However, Benjdid refused the idea, and resigned, with Mohamed Boudiaf taking over.

Benjdid's domestic and foreign policies can be seen to be starkly different to his predecessors Ahmed Ben Bella and Houari Boumediene. But many argue that he was primarily responsible for the outbreak of the subsequent bloody Algerian civil war, since he opened the doors to democracy even though it was too early for the country (Ben Lambarek 2018, p. 9). Subsequently, in his resignation letter to the Algerian people, he sought to convey the message that he never wanted to become the Algerian president after Boumediene's death, but it had been the Algerian people who wanted him in the position. Therefore, he had made great efforts

to make the country take a step towards democracy and equal representation; however, he argued that the many clashes and confrontations in the political arena were primarily at the root of the Algeria's civil unrest. Therefore, he decided to resign, considering this step to be a 'great sacrifice for the better future of the country' (*ibid.*, pp. 71-72).

3.8.2.4 *Mohamed Boudiaf Administration (Feb 1992 - June 1992)*

After the cancellation of the first round of the parliamentary elections, and the resignation of Benjdid, the High Council of State (the Haut Comité d'Etat) was established, composed of five men: Khaled Nezzar, Ali Kafi, Ali Haroun, Tidjani Haddam, Reda Malek, and Mohamed Boudiaf as the head of the council – the last of whom had been in exile for more than 30 years in Morocco. The committee was established to find a third way between the two conflicting parties (FLN and FIS) (Mortimer, 2015, p. 474). However, this was impossible, since FIS members were very violent, and threatened the political, social, and even the economic situation in Algeria, a situation that the Algerian government and military forces were unable to control.

Boudiaf tried to work with the army to find a solution to the situation and calm down the FIS groups. Indeed, the situation became peaceful, although from time to time there were some scattered riots around the country, but they were controllable. This led Boudiaf to announce his first visit to an Algerian region outside Algiers, to Annaba in June 1992 for the opening of a cultural centre. However, during this visit, and in full view of the public, the president was assassinated, contributing to a deterioration of the situation, and a drop in the public's general confidence. Indeed, it was Boudiaf's assassination that led the Algerian government to believe that the impending conflict with the FIS groups would be bloody and violent.

Evidently, when it came to FP, Boudiaf had not given much attention to this sphere, since Algeria at that period had preferred isolation from the outside world, and was focused on its internal issues, as the situation was very chaotic and violent.

3.8.2.5 *Algerian Black Decade 1992- 1994*

The assassination of Boudiaf by FIS members had created doubts and fears in the Algerian government and the public. The FIS members left the Algerian cities, went to the hills and mountains of the country, and conducted attacks on different civilian and military groups and institutions. These conditions made Algeria an unsafe country, since these terrorist groups were killing civilians and even intellectuals including journalists, doctors, teachers, and researchers. Moreover, different governmental institutions were attacked, like the bombing of the airport of Algiers on the 26th of August 1992. This, and other attacks between 1992 and 1994, led to the

death of 30,000 to 80,000 Algerians, the majority of whom were civilians. Algeria's FP in this period became a minor issue to be discussed or developed, since the government was focused on solving its chaotic internal situation and was unable to think about foreign relations. As Mortimer argued:

Foreign policy took a back seat as violence engulfed the country. Not only was Third World leadership abandoned but the Greater Maghreb project ground to a halt as well while the Western Sahara question became stalemated – Morocco has no reason to negotiate with an embattled regime. Algeria had lost its way (2015, p. 474)

Put simply, Algerian foreign policy plans were put on hold until the improvement of the internal situation in the country.

3.8.2.6 *Liamine Zeroual: 1995-1999*

Before running in the presidential elections, General Liamine Zeroual was one of the Algerians who had participated in the Algerian war of independence, and also been the head of Haut Comite d'Etat (HCE).⁴¹ On the 30th of January 1994, he was elected Algerian president and head of the Algerian military forces. The following month, on the 23rd of February, Zeroual attempted to calm the situation in Algeria by releasing a number of imprisoned FIS leaders, an act that made people start to think him to be a pragmatist. The following month, Zeroual informed the nation of the start of negotiations between the government and the FIS groups to resolve the situation (Ben Lambarek, 2018, p. 28). On the 31st of October 1994, Zeroual stated that negotiations between the government and the FIS groups had broken down, as the leaders of these groups were not open to dialogue (*ibid.*, p. 32).

After that, new presidential elections were organised, for the 16th of November 1995. These elections are considered to be Algeria's first multi-candidate democratic elections, between the incumbent, Zeroual, Mahfoud Nahnah, Said Saidi and Noureddine Boukrouh. The results were announced on the 23rd of November 1995 and showed the resounding victory of Zeroual with 7,088,618 votes, some 61% of votes cast (*ibid.*, 2018, p. 40).

However, the fragile peace did not last long, as the terrorist groups continued their bombings and attempted attacks throughout the country, and especially in Algiers. On the 11th of February 1996, there was the bombing of *La Maison de la Presse* in Algiers killing 26 persons and injuring many, along with substantial material damage. After that, President Zeroual oversaw

⁴¹ Haut Comite d'Etat HCE is the High Council of the State that was formed in January 1992 under pressure from the military to collectively govern the country (Watanabe 2017, p. 2)

many reforms in Algeria's political sphere, including the reformation of the constitution, the organisation of local elections, and different changes that he made at the governmental level, including a reform of ministerial staff. Having achieved these reforms, President Zeroual then set the date for the next presidential elections, that were to be held on the 15th of April 1999. Moreover, he announced that he would not run for these elections (in line with the new modified constitution which prohibited a president serving two terms). The outcome of the presidential elections was a victory for the independent candidate Abdel Aziz Bouteflika, with more than 74% of the votes (*ibid.*, p.70).

3.8.2.6.1 *Liamine Zeroual internal policies*

As we have discussed, President Zeroual sought middle ground between the different conflicting parties: the government and the FIS groups. However, these negotiations failed for a number of reasons. In this sense, he released imprisoned FIS leaders in an attempt to calm the situation; however, they were not responsive to these efforts. Zeroual's first Prime Minister, Belaid Abed Assalam stated that

one should not deny the fact that the president Liamine Zeroual had made different positive steps towards the establishment of a serious dialogue between the government and FIS members; however, the FIS kept passive and done nothing to solve the situation that is threatening the innocent civilians and the country as a whole... (ibid., p. 72).

In addition, Zeroual was the president who organised the first democratic parliamentary elections in Algeria, which led to future elections being better organised and peaceful. However, the Algerian economy at the time was somewhat unstable, and faced multiple challenges, related to poverty, unemployment, housing problems, and other social crises that the Zeroual government was unable to resolve.

3.8.2.6.2 *Liamine Zeroual Foreign Policies*

In his mission to reform the country politically, Zeroual received assistance from American President Bill Clinton; however, at the same time Algerian-French relations were poor, as the French press persisted in its distorted reporting about the situation in Algeria (Ben Lmbarek, 2018, pp. 74-75). President Zeroual conducted many visits to different Arab and European countries in an attempt to bring Algeria out from its foreign isolation. However, many writers, including Mortimer (2015, p. 474), have also claimed that Zeroual's presidency focused more on solving the internal problems of the country rather than focusing on the renewal of Algerian FP, paralysed by the conflict between the Algerian government and FIS. However, he allowed the presence in Algeria of international observers from the European Union and the United

Nations to evaluate the situation. However, he was unable to continue his mission, as he did not stand for re-election, opening the way for new presidential elections, that marked the return of the golden era of Algerian foreign policy as Mortimer called it (*ibid.*).

3.8.2.7 *Abdel Aziz Bouteflika (1999-2019)*

The presidential elections of 1999 saw the victory of Abdel Aziz Bouteflika, who ran as an independent candidate. Before becoming president, Bouteflika had served as the minister of youth and sport in the government of Algeria's first president, Ahmed Ben Bella. Soon after, he was appointed to be the minister of foreign affairs. In the era of Boumediene, he helped him to overthrow Ben Bella and participated in the military coup d'état. Until the death of Houari Boumediene, he served as the minister of foreign affairs. Bouteflika also served as the president of the United Nations General Assembly in 1974, and also represented Algeria in the different Non-Aligned Nations movement (NAM). In 1989, Bouteflika was brought back from exile to manage the central committee of the FLN. After that, he ran for the presidential elections of 1999 and won with a majority, polling 74% of the votes. The return of Bouteflika to the Algerian political scene was supported by the army, since they saw in him a renewal of Algeria, not only at the domestic level but also at the external level (*ibid.*, pp. 474-475).

Initially, Bouteflika was able to convince the African presidents to plan the next OAU summit in Algiers, which was in July 1999. Bouteflika had been one of the greatest advocates of the organisation during his 15 years as minister of foreign affairs, and this step was an attempt to re-impose its position after about ten years of isolation because of the Black Decade of the 1990s. Consequently, Bouteflika exploited his leading role in the OAU, and represented the African continent on different occasions. Moreover, he started mediating in different internal African issues, such as the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and the conflicts in the Great Lakes region (*ibid.*, p. 475). Bouteflika also attempted to create new African relationships through new partnerships that would protect Africa's interests. Therefore, he launched the New Partnership for Africa's Development program (NEPAD), an economic program that aims at providing different strategies and methods to accelerate economic interactions between its African member countries. In addition to his substantial activities in Africa, Bouteflika also attempted to rebuild Algerian-European relations. In June 2000, he went to France where he delivered an address before the French National Assembly and made another speech at the World War I Monument in Verdun. He had also organised meetings with the groups of businessmen, political figures, and civil society associations that had sympathised with Algeria's cause during the Black Decade. This was considered as a great step; no Algerian

president since independence had made such a move, as previous Algerian presidents had not been interested in building Algerian-French foreign or domestic relations. During his presidency Bouteflika endeavoured to revive Algerian-Maghreb relations, with a relaunch of the Greater Maghreb project through the UMA.

Consequently, he called for a summit meeting, with King Hassan of Morocco expected to attend. However, King Hassan died in July 1999, before the summit; Algerian President Abdel Aziz Bouteflika then attended the funeral, making him the first Algerian president to visit Morocco for a decade. These events had the effect of reducing the diplomatic strain that Algeria and Morocco suffered from and led to the opening of the Algerian-Moroccan border. However, this detente not last for long, as tensions between the two states resurfaced in the wake of the massacre in the south-western city of Beni-Ounif, an act that was considered a terrorist attack facilitated by Morocco. This led to Bouteflika accusing Morocco of having insecure borders, which had allowed for arms, terrorists, and drugs to cross over into Algeria, leading to the massacre discussed above (Zoubir, 2006, p. 172). Subsequently, Bouteflika imposed different conditions for the reopening of the border under the terms of the UMA project. After that, tensions over the Western Saharan issue re-emerged between the two countries, leading to more disagreements than agreements. As discussed, Algeria had continuously supported the right of self-determination for Western Sahara in UN summits, a stance that Morocco did not support; this led to the revival of their previous conflicts, and a failure of the integration aims designed for the Union Maghreb Arab.

Bouteflika did not just attempt to strengthen Algerian-Arab relations, but he also tried to revive Algerian-European relations, including her diplomatic relations with France. Between 1999 and early 2000, the Algerian and French presidents exchanged diplomatic visits. This door had initially been opened by President Zeroual, and then Bouteflika worked to strengthen these relations. Bouteflika then carried out a state visit to France between the 14th and 17th of June 2000, becoming only the second Algerian president to visit France, after Chadli Benjdid in 1983. During the visit Bouteflika sought to encourage French businesses to build economic relations with Algeria and start investing in the Algerian markets. Beyond these considerations, Bouteflika saw France as a country that would help Algeria to build better relations with other European countries. Therefore, Bouteflika promised to carry out reforms that would smooth Algerian-French business relations (*ibid.*, p. 175).

In December 2001, French President Jacques Chirac made a one-day visit to Algiers. This was the second French visit to post-independence Algeria after Francois Mitterrand's visit of 1989. These visits, indeed, were in an attempt to increase French-Algeria deals, as at the time

France was considered to be the main source of Algeria's imports, with 25% of market share (*ibid.*). In fact, an improvement in trade was immediately evident, as their business volume grew from €4 billion in 1999, to become €6.4 billion in 2001 (*ibid.*), making France Algeria's second-largest commercial partner after China. Jacques Chirac's visit was an opening to other French diplomatic visits to Algeria, as the French foreign minister Dominique de Villepin made another visit to Algiers on December 2002, and then on March 2003, Jacques Chirac revisited Algiers to reinforce all previous visits. Chirac stated that his visits to Algeria were aimed at establishing a special partnership with the country, based on the creation of a model Algerian society based up respecting human rights, democracy and a very open economy (*ibid.*).

Bouteflika's reinforcement of Algerian-French relations was a first step in his process of reviving Algerian-European diplomatic and economic relations. The first step that Bouteflika took with Europe was the signing of an agreement in Brussels in 2001 with the EU; this was an economic agreement, as well as a security agreement, between Algeria and the EU. Subsequently, Algeria took part in talks with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), an organisation from which Algeria was excluded until 2000. The Algerian president sought such ties at this time, as the organisation would provide him with military equipment that would help the country fight terrorism (*ibid.*, p.176). In his mission to revive Algerian foreign relations, Bouteflika also attempted to build better relationships with the United States. President Bouteflika visited the United States in July 2001, only the second Algerian visit to the US after Chadli Benjdjid's visit in April 1985. As a consequence, the US and Algeria signed a trade investment framework agreement leading the US to become the largest investor in Algeria, with \$4 billion, primarily in hydrocarbons with US investments in Algeria increasing to \$9 billion by 2005 (*ibid.*, p. 178).

After the 9/11 attacks, Algeria emphasised its security aims in the world, stressing the necessity of combining efforts in fighting terrorism globally. Consequently, Bouteflika again visited the US on the 5th of November 2001 where he met George W. Bush. This visit aimed at boosting the economic investments between the two countries, and also discussed the reasons behind the spread of terrorism in the two countries. As a consequence, President Bush offered to help Algeria economically, a move designed to help the country reduce the threat of terrorism. Moreover, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State William Burns stated that the United States would help the Algerian military forces with weapons that would combat terrorism in the country (*ibid.*, p. 181).

Algeria's terrorism issue did not take long to be addressed in Algeria; immediately after his victory in the presidential elections Bouteflika started thinking about the Civil Concord project,

known as the National Reconciliation Plan. The principle idea in the plan was that of solving the Algeria's dilemma of terrorism by amnestying all terrorists of their crimes. However, this idea had not been welcomed by all groups, since some considered it to be a step that would increase terrorism in the country. However, the referendum that was subsequently organised in Algeria revealed that the majority of Algerians were in support of the project.

Remarkably, Algerian foreign policy had greatly improved with the election of Bouteflika as president. He attempted to revive Algerian foreign policy after her extended isolation from world affairs caused by the spread of terrorism. Bouteflika aimed at the reintegration of Algeria in all world affairs; thus, he revived Algerian diplomatic relations with different countries including Arab states, Europe, and even with the United States.

3.9 Algerian Foreign Policy Analysis: Continuity or Change?

In his book *Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century* (2016), Christopher Hill argued that a common understanding in the literature was that FP is the set of behaviours done by a state with other states that comprise different types of cooperation and conflict. However, he added that academics are increasingly challenging this idea, since FP is not always linked with ideas of autonomy, independence, and the sovereignty of states (Hill, 2016, p. 1). Essentially, the argument is that decision-making on FP issues is not autonomous, and finally made by the government, but that there are many parties that can intervene in the process of decision-making and thus influence it.

Consequently, Hill thoroughly redefined foreign policy, arguing that it is

the sum of official external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually but not exclusively a state) in international relations (ibid., p. 4).

This definition seems to encapsulate Hill's thinking about decision-making in FP, linking it not only to governmental orientation but also to other actors that can influence the decision-making process in the foreign policy of nations. Hill's ideas are going to be tested in the case of Algerian FP decisions, where I examine whether actors in Algeria are still independent when conducting FP, or if their decisions are influenced by some other factors. An initial examination of the different Algerian presidents' administrations results in defining their different orientations while supervising foreign policy of the country. Each president in Algerian history focused their attention on one particular issue in FP, a fact that made their FP choices seem random. Some focused their attention on international issues, others on the Maghreb issues others on just domestic affairs, while some presidents attempted to work on all these

orientations and alignments. The result of this analysis is a division of the history of Algerian foreign policy into five main stages.

3.9.1 *Boumediene: Semi-Isolation Years*

President Houari Boumediene's interest in FP was limited when compared with his focus on domestic affairs. His belief was that before Algeria could start to forge foreign connections, it was necessary for the country to build a healthy and strong economy (Kesseiri, 2005, p. 29). In saying this, Boumediene linked FP to the economy of the country and thus its domestic affairs. This, clearly, shows the fact that when making decisions in foreign policy, actors are not isolated or independent, but there are many factors that can influence their decision-making process (Hill, 2015, p. 1). It is the case in Boumediene's choices in FP, which were influenced by the domestic conditions of the country. Therefore, the ideas of sovereignty, and the independence of states in conducting FP decisions, started to be questioned in a changing world, supporting Hill's ideas about the sovereignty of states (*ibid.*).

Additionally, When conducting his FP, Boumediene drew strongly on his belief in the ideas of the FLN party, respecting the Algerian constitution of 1963 that states in its second article that 'Algeria forms an integral part of the Arab Maghreb, of the Arab world and of Africa' (Algerian Constitution, 1963, Article 02). This is a concept that made Boumediene focus his somewhat humble contributions to Algerian FP on the Arab, Maghreb, and African belongingness of Algeria. In pursuit of this ideal, Boumediene, tried to end all border conflicts between Algeria and Morocco, for example. This is what led him to visit Morocco from 11-16 January 1969, leading to the signing of the 20-year Treaty of Fraternity, Good Neighbourhood, and Cooperation between the two countries, which opened the doors for a new era of relations between the two. After that, there were other visits that led to the establishment of peace, harmony, and cooperation between these two countries (Bougherira 1999, p, 96-97).

Boumediene also worked collaboratively with the Algerian army that he believed to be the legitimate successor of the National Liberation Army. Therefore, many political analysts argue that during Boumediene's administration (1965-1978), 'Algeria could be listed within the countries with clear military regimes' (Kesseiri 2005, p. 74). In addition, the creation of the Revolutionary Council, which contained a majority of military, and was headed by Boumediene, gave the military significant influence in the country.

At that time, Boumediene's FP decisions went unchallenged, since he was head of the executive, head of the National People's Assembly, president, and general secretary of the FLN

party. This means that all matters were decided by him. As a result, Boumediene's approach to FP was a response to the needs of the Algerian domestic scene and aimed at ensuring a better future for the country, especially in the economic domain. Therefore, he underlined the need to keep harmony between the military and the political spheres; a state that would lead to 'guaranteeing state survival and national security' (*ibid.*, p. 77).

3.9.2 *Ben Bella: International Recognition Purposes:*

Ben Bella's foreign policy focused on creating a range of regional and international relations, as he firmly believed in the idea of coexistence between different nations. He created Algeria's connections, not only with Arab or African countries, but also with European states and the United States. Consequently, he visited the United States and Cuba; these connections would help the country economically, socially, and culturally. There are many reasons that can be ascribed to Ahmad Ben Bella's active status in FP, and his support for the Algerian African, Arab, and European foreign relations. As Breuning Markije argued in her book *Foreign Policy Analysis: A comparative Introduction* (2007, p. 31-32)

a leader who has a genuine and deep interest in foreign policy is likely to play a more active role and be involved in a larger number of foreign policy problems than someone who lacks such an interest (2007, pp. 31-32)

Accordingly, the personality of the leader himself can affect his strategies for the conduct of FP; before being appointed as Algerian President Ben Bella had been an active member in the FLN party, an office that offered him a clear perspective about FP in the world. As a member of the FLN, he attended different meetings and conferences with Jamal Abd Nasir, and, thanks to his Pakistani passport, during the Algerian war of independence he was able to travel widely, to different parts of the world. Ben Bella took a very optimistic approach in his conduct of Algerian FP; that met with disapproval by the military men of the country, leading Mortimer (2015, p. 469) to argue that the 'Ben Bella years can be seen as a period of youthful exuberance in Algerian foreign policy'. What is evident is that Ben Bella's strategies in conducting FP were responsible for tarnishing the relationship between the president of Algeria and the military with suspicion and mistrust (Bougherira, 1999, p. 43). Subsequently, there was a military coup d'état against Ben Bella on 19th of June 1965, when he was overthrown by Houari Boumediene, who had a military background, leading to a new era where the military became directly involved in managing the policies of the state (*ibid.*). It is because of that this coup d'état is

considered to have been a rapprochement of military and civilian governance (Kesseiri, 2005, p. 72).

3.9.3 Chadli Benjdid: Regional Integration

After the death of Boumediene, Chadli Benjdid was selected by the army to be the third president of Algeria having served as the minister of defence from 1978 to 1979, during the last year of Boumediene's presidency. Benjdid's FP gave priority to Algerian regional integration. Hence, his foreign policy was based on building different regional connections, that contributed to the creation of the Greater Maghreb Project (Le Grand Maghreb) and then the creation of the Arab Maghreb Union.

According to Markije Breuning's book, *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction*, choices made by actors in FP are not just random decisions but are based upon a number of principles (Breuning, 2007, pp. 3-4). Essentially this means that when deciding on a particular choice in foreign policy, leaders are aiming at achieving different goals, and this is what is embedded within the rationality principle in foreign policy (*ibid.*). For example, the shift in Algerian FP, from supporting African, Arab and Maghreb issues, to just focusing on strengthening its regional Maghreb relations can be linked to specific reasons.

First, The Maghreb region would contribute to Algeria's development at the economic level through the exchange of goods and services. More importantly, this collaboration could help the Maghreb countries strengthen their security services, making the regions safer and better protected, and thus their independence will never be threatened by foreign invasions.

It is also of note that this era was also characterised by a continuity in the military's directing of Algeria's FP, with its focus on building security relations with neighbouring Maghreb countries, since the area was prone to a range of border issues, that could have developed into more serious confrontations (Bougherira 1999, p. 43). Consequently, establishing such political unions would calm down the situation and eliminate any future conflicts.

Drawing on the above discussions, we observe between 1962 and 1992 Algerian FP shifted from globalism to regionalism; this was a consequence of a shift in Algerian interests, from embracing third Worldism, to seeking to protect its security, and its safety. Mortimer argued that Algeria saw Morocco as a neighbouring threat to its security, since it claimed Algerian territories, and had engaged with it in the War of Sands in 1963; as a result, Algeria started seeking peaceful alliances with Morocco (2015, p. 473). Moreover, Morocco's economic development constituted a geopolitical threat to Algeria's relations with Europe and the West.

Consequently, in her FP Algeria attempted to find smart ways to deal with all these new challenges. However, these attempts did not attain planned objectives, since the Maghreb project was obstructed by the Western Saharan issue, in which the Algerian government supported their claims for autonomy against Moroccan claims on this territory. Lastly, Benjdid's projects in FP were not fully realised, as he was interrupted by domestic civil unrest that led later on to the Civil War in Algeria. This era had known great internal instability, and chaos in the country, and this had led Algeria to close its borders. Algeria's subsequent focus was on this problem, with the government making substantial efforts to solve it as soon as possible, since these internal affairs greatly affected the economy, foreign relations, security, and even their society.

3.9.4 *Black Decade: Isolation Years*

In November 1995, Liamine Zeroual was elected, and set out to attempt to solve the instability issues from which Algeria had suffered. Therefore, he sought for the best ways that would help the country restore its peace and stability. Consequently, he opened Algerian borders for EU and UN observers (*ibid.*, p. 474). However, he did not stay for long in office, and resigned in September 1998 leading to the election of Bouteflika, whose era was considered as the 'golden era of Algerian foreign policy' (*ibid.*).

3.9.5 *Bouteflika: The Golden Era of Algerian Foreign Policy*

If we look for one direction that Bouteflika preferred when conducting his FP, we can say that he attempted to build up Algerian connections around the world, and he did not eliminate any region or country. In analysing this, one explanation is that Bouteflika had previously occupied a number of different diplomatic and governmental positions, and, moreover, he had represented Algeria on a number of different international occasions as Algeria minister of foreign affairs; this experience in diplomacy led Bouteflika to acquire good skills in conducting the FP of the country. Starting with the Maghreb region, Bouteflika attempted to revive the Greater Maghreb project, since he is Moroccan in origin; he was born in Oujda and grew up there. Therefore, he visited Morocco on different occasions attempting to improve Algerian-Moroccan relations. However, support for the Western Saharan independence issue continued to be a fixture of Algerian FP (even if Bouteflika supported the Algerian-Moroccan diplomatic relations), and this can be considered to have been a military choice for the protection of Algerian security, and national interest.

Bouteflika attended many Organisation of African Unity sessions when he was foreign minister. It was this earlier mission that encouraged him try to host summits of the African Union in Algeria, in an attempt to start a new age of Algerian-African Relations. This strategy led to Algeria's emergence as the new African representative, and the continent's mediator as well. Developing from this base, Algerian FP started to take shape in the global arena. Bouteflika's career as a foreign minister for more than 15 years greatly helped here, as he was widely considered an active, positive, leader⁴² (Breuning 2007, p. 39).

Another reason that led Bouteflika to focus his diplomatic activities on Africa, and on the African Union, was his search for support from other powerful African states including Nigeria and South Africa. This later led them to launch the New Partnership for Africa's Development project (NEPAD), that had primarily economic objectives. Indeed, the same motivations had also driven Bouteflika's attempts to make connections with the wider world including Europe, the United States of America, and others. Bouteflika attempted to build good relations with France for a range of reasons. First, Bouteflika urged French businessmen to invest in Algeria promising reforms that would facilitate the process; furthermore, Bouteflika wanted to conduct negotiations over the French debt to Algeria. Furthermore, Algeria's efforts to consolidate its relations with the French was also aimed at facilitating, in the longer term, Algerian-European Union economic relations (Zoubir 2015, p. 175). Bouteflika also built up economic relations with many EU countries, and with Russia, with whom they attempted to build up economic, political and military connections. These developing ties led to Russia supplying Algeria with \$3 Billion of military equipment and expertise (*ibid.*, p. 177).

Elsewhere, Bouteflika signed a series of economic treaties with the United States of America, starting a new era of US-Algerian mutual relations. This culminated in the US becoming the largest investor in Algeria, with by \$4 billion particularly addressed to the hydrocarbon sector (*ibid.*, p. 178). Then, specifically after the 9/11 attacks, Algeria sought military relationships with the US.

In brief, Algerian FP after independence was not stable, but changed with the change of the president, the domestic circumstances, and the economic situation of the country. Indeed, the country after independence witnessed the military domination of FP, leading to Algeria disregarding the pursuit of foreign connections, and focusing just on protecting the security of the country, that necessitated occasionally making regional connections, rather than foreign or international ones. However, after the coming of Bouteflika, the situation changed as he sought

⁴² Active positive leader is the one that invests a lot of energy and derive a lot of satisfaction from his job in foreign policy (Breuning 2007, p. 39).

to build up a range of foreign connections with different European and non-European countries, with the aim of creating economic benefits, and improving the economic situation of the country. Consequently, this change in FP led to the emergence of increasing tensions between the military and the political elites of the country, including the president. This can also be observed in the current Algerian situation, where the military supported the people in their uprisings against the president, leading to his resignation.

3.10 Algerian Foreign Policy: Reasons for Change

Studying FP in general can result in observing different changes because of many reasons. However, Hermann (1990, p. 5) argued that we have to distinguish between the change and the redirection of FP. First, the redirection of FP is a logical condition that results from the change of the political regime and the transformation of the state (*ibid.*). The change of FP, however, happens when an already existing government decides to move its FP in a different direction (*ibid.*).

The Change of FP according to Hermann (1990, p. 5-6) had different types. The first is called the Adjustment Change where the FP differ at the level of efforts and what is done in FP area whether it is a big or small contribution. The Program Change is the second FP type of change. It is the change at the level of the methods used to achieve FP goals. The third type of change in FP is called Problem/ Goal Changes where the purposes and policies of conducting FP start to be replaced. The last change that can happen in the FP of a country is called the International Orientation Change. It means that there is a basic shift of actor's international role and activities (Hermann, 1990, p.6). These changes are to be projected on the Algerian change of FP.

Through this study of the history of Algerian FP, we have been able to observe of both a redirection and a discontinuity and change in Algeria's FP priorities. The process of redirection can be noticed in the change of presidents and their focus on different areas bringing change to the Algerian FP at the regional and international levels. These changes were linked to regional unity; to improving international diplomatic relations; to working on the internal affairs of the country; and all kinds of building Algerian foreign relations to regain the Algerian position in the internal arena.

Concerning the change that happened in the Algerian FP, it was because of many causes. The first reason that greatly affected Algerian FP was the instability of its internal affairs. Algeria, after independence, witnessed great domestic issues, since successive colonisers had

changed everything in the country, including the system of government, cultural and the religious institutions, and even educational systems. Consequently, many presidents decided to focus their activities on the domestic reconstruction of the country. Houari Boumediene's administration, for example, witnessed the development of new economic systems for the newly independent state. He opted for a state-driven economy, and the nationalisation of the oil industry. In addition to that, he created a revolution in the educational and cultural systems of the nation. However, his performance at the international level was more modest.

Another factor that led to a change of priorities in the Algerian FP was the instability of the Algerian neighbourhood, and in the wider world this comes under the International Orientation Change that Hermann (1990) linked to FP change. It means that the world circumstances were considered as a force that obliged the Algerian decision-makers to reorder its priorities and give more attention to certain international issues. The example that can be given here is the movement of Algerian FP towards embracing regionalism and Arab Maghreb integration, when there was a border issue with Morocco after independence that led to the outbreak of what was called the Sand War of 1963. With this reorientation, the Algerian government attempted to protect its peace and stability and avoid any external conflicts or wars.

In an example of a reversal of this, Algerian FP started changing after the Black Decade, when the country began extensively supporting power systems around the world in a process of International Orientation Change (Hermann, 1990, p. 6) In this context, President Bouteflika built up good diplomatic relations with the United States of America under the umbrella of fighting terrorism of all types. Bouteflika also supported the African Union's creation of its own Security Council, that sought to eradicate terrorism in Africa especially where aggravated or facilitated by border fragility or internal division. Consequently, Algerian diplomacy became greatly involved in these plans, and Algeria acted as a mediator in different cases, including the Malian and Libyan conflicts.

Changes in the Algerian FP may also be linked with the development of the country, and the progress of its economic and industrial capabilities. Undoubtedly, after independence Algeria was left with very fragile infrastructure, economy, and political system. After the discovery of oil in the country, and its nationalisation, the country's economic objectives changed. Remarkably, Algeria moved from having a very narrow FP to having a broad, international approach. Importantly, Algeria's economic relations with the international world progressed, leading to the strengthening of political relationships with the global arena. Here where we can observe Ernst Haas' spillover effect, in which Algerian economic relations with European countries improved, to become political relations that then led to greater cooperation

in a range of fields, with the clear help of political elites. Therefore, the theory of Ernst Haas, which proposed that smooth progress of economic relations between countries can lead to other types of integration between the different nations, is very applicable in the case of Algerian-European relations.

Another reason that can be linked to the redirection of the Algerian FP is to be found in the change of the governments and thus the different presidents and foreign ministers themselves. In the early stages, Algerian presidents were freedom fighters and nationalists; as such they had different strategies for conducting FP, when compared with more recent Algerian decision-makers. These later decision-makers had new perspectives, and new aims, when conducting the FP of the country. They stressed Algerian-European, and Algerian-International diplomatic relations, a change that made Algerian FP seem to be changeable, as opposed to being static. Indeed, the evolution of Algerian FP over time reflects the idea of the personalisation of Algerian foreign policy. What I mean here is that the Algerian FP is directed by the presidents of the country, and not by the ministry of foreign affairs.

Evidently, the foreign policy of the country was redirected and changed with the change of presidents, political parties, pressure groups, the military, and big businesses. And, clearly, the decision-making process in foreign policy is a very complicated issue, since it is conducted in a context of substantive contradictions between the internal and international spheres. Moreover, FP is not the result of one actor's preferences or interests but an outcome of different coalitions and alliances between different active actors and groups located inside or outside the state's boundaries (Carlsnaes 2008, p. 86). Consequently, it is a very complex task to study the decision-makers in FP, its real actors and hidden agents: the heads of states, heads of governments, foreign ministers, inner executives, security councils, cabinets, political parties, and others. Undeniably, it is this mixture of actors that leads to the complexity of studying foreign policy (*ibid.*).

The study of the decision-making process in Algerian FP has its own complex issue; one cannot know who the real actors are - they can be the head of the government, the political parties, the ministry of foreign affairs or the military. Logically, the primary responsible for the decision-making process in Algerian FP is, of course, the ministry of foreign affairs and its civil servants. Before Bouteflika's administration, Algerian foreign ministers were less active, if compared with their performance after 1999. This can be linked to the passivity of the foreign affairs of that era; the focus was merely on domestic affairs, and on the building of regional connections. The coming of President Bouteflika brought pragmatism to Algerian foreign policy (Boukhars 2013). With Bouteflika Algerian foreign policy moved from isolation to

become an international power. As a result, the ministry of foreign affairs' role in international world affairs became very clear, when compared with its past, humble, performance. This supports the idea that foreign ministries are always 'invaded' by other ministries, a process driven by the head of the government (Hill 2016, p. 59). Accordingly, the heads of states are the other actors that affect the decision-making process in FP.

In the Algerian context, there is a clear intervention of Algerian presidents in international relations, and as such Algerian FP changed with each successive president. As discussed, some Algerian presidents preferred initially focusing on improvements to Algerian domestic life, others worked towards strengthening Algerian regional relations, while another set focused on improving the Algerian position in the international world by encouraging mutual economic deals. This explains the reasons behind the changes in Algerian foreign policy and supports our argument on the personalisation of the system: the political elite can also influence foreign policy.

Concerning political parties, Algeria has a multiple party system; thus, it has different political parties. However, the FLN is the oldest political party, that dates back to the Algerian War of Independence, and still dominates the Algerian political scene, with 138 seats out of 389 in the National People's Assembly. The Algerian political system is still loyal to this party, since they consider the FLN to have been the party that brought independence to the country. Moreover, it represents the party of government since it selected Bouteflika to be the honorary chairman of the party.

It is clear that the FLN influences the making of FP in the country. This seems most evident in the administrative era of Algeria's first president, Ahmed Ben Bella, where he followed the same principles that were designed by the FLN party during the Algeria's colonial era in deciding upon Algeria's international acts. It is the party that supported nationalism, Arab solidarity, anticolonialism, and Islamism. These principles were strongly embodied in the administration of Ahmed Ben Bella, drawing on the principles that he followed when he was a nationalist in the Algerian war of independence. This explains the president's choices in supporting the liberation movements all around the world, and his visits to both the United States of America and Cuba to show the neutrality principle of the country.

However, these principles did, from time to time, confront the military's strategies for the conduct of Algeria's FP. Without doubt, the military in Algeria has power in its ability to influence the executive branch of the country (Strachan 2018, p. 3). The Algerian National Armed Forces are the guarantors of the internal and external peace of the country, which explains their attempts to direct the nation's FP. Throughout Algeria's history, the Algerian

military forces have interfered in the Algerian governmental decisions in different ways, including encouraging the military coups d'état on sitting presidents, as was the case of Houari Boumediene with the president Ahmed Ben Bella, and of course the cancellation of the first round of the parliamentary elections of December 1991, which led to Civil War in Algeria. Indeed, at the time of writing this thesis, the Algerian military is responsible for governing the country after the resignation of Abdel Aziz Bouteflika, and it is attempting to punish those responsible for the spread of corruption in the country.

Because the military sector in Algeria focuses on attempts to protect the peace and stability of the country, it encourages making regional, political alliances when it comes to FP. For example, after the Algerian Moroccan Sand War, the military encouraged President Chadli Benjdid to build regional cooperation with Morocco and other neighbouring countries. This led to the creation of the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU). Noticeably, the emphasis here was on what Hill called the 'responsible decision-makers' (2016, p.25). Here we are referring to the more extended form of decision-makers: the different civil servants and experts who are involved in the process of the decision making in FP (the narrow form includes only the head of the state and the minister of foreign affairs) (Carlsnaes 2008, p. 86).

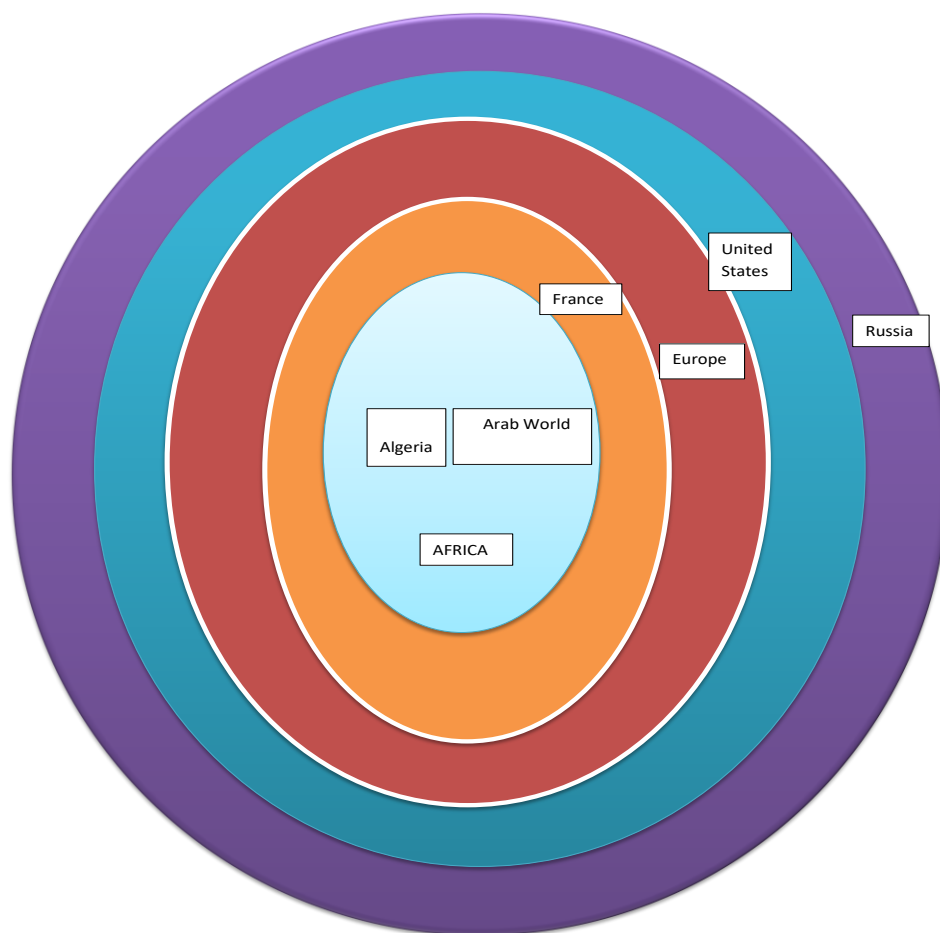


Figure 5 External Environment of Algerian Foreign Policy 1962-2019

3.11 Conclusion

Algeria is an African country that was colonised by France for more than 132 years. After independence, this country attempted to rebuild its economic, political, and military situation. However, as discussed, every president attempted to achieve this outcome in a different way depending on their personality, internal pressures inside the country, and their different FP goals and objectives. Accordingly, some preferred to rebuild the infrastructure of the country, others tried to create regional connections and treaties for security purposes, while others attempted to reconnect the country with the international arena, in an attempt to end the years of Algerian diplomatic isolation, and develop the economy of the country. What has been shown is that Algerian foreign policy manifested itself in different directions, a fact that made it seem unstable. However, it may be divided into five main stages:

1-International Recognition purposes (1963- 1965): a very optimistic foreign policy was conducted by Ahmed Ben Bella attempting to make Algerian diplomatic connections with all the international world.

2-Semi- isolation years (1965- 1978): Focus on domestic affairs solving especially security issues.

3-Regional Integration purposes (1978- 1992): focus on Regional integration plans creating Le Grand Maghreb project for security purposes.

4-Years of Isolation (1992- 1999): Black Decade and Algerian isolation.

5-Regional, Continental, and International Diplomatic Connections (1999-2019): Algerian Golden age of the foreign policy. Many diplomatic connections were built, others revived, and others strengthened for mainly economic and sometimes security reasons. Consequently, the Chapter looked at the different stages in the making of the Algerian foreign policy along with the different reasons that led to these choices. After that, the coming Chapter will focus on the continuity or the change of attitudes of the Algerian foreign policy towards the OAU and the African Union and the reasons behind any kind of continuous or changed performance along with the role of the Algerian elite in that process.

Economic and Security purposes

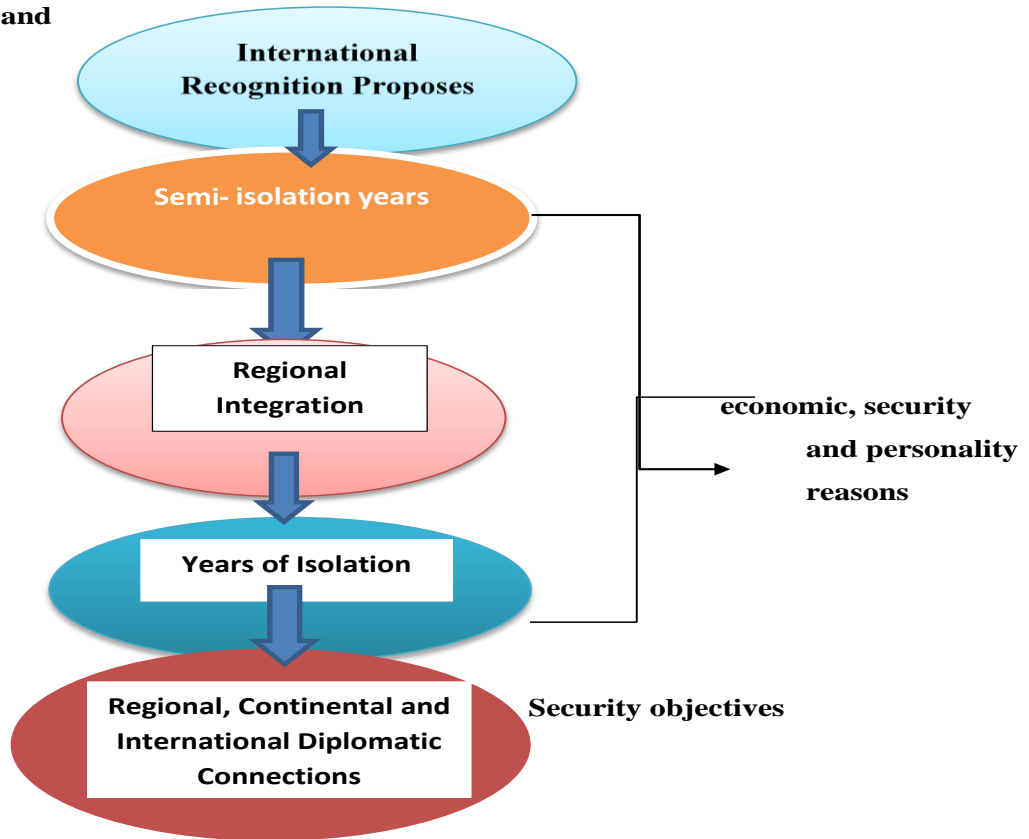


Figure 6 Algerian Change of Attitudes in Foreign Policy 1963-2019

4 Chapter Five Algeria and the Organisation of African Unity

4.1 Introduction

Algeria is a North African country that has a very important and strategic geographical location; it is considered to be Africa's gateway to the Mediterranean and the whole world. Therefore, Algerian-African relations have been considered as an interesting subject of discussion. These relations were not been built, or worked on, recently, but were present even during the Algeria's pre-colonial era government and developed even more during the French occupation of Algeria. However, the objectives, the priorities, and the contexts of these connections have continually changed, for different reasons.

Remarkably, Algerian diplomats were among the first African leaders to promote the creation of an organisation that would politically unite all African countries (Soderbaum, 1996, p. 14). This came to fruition in 1963, with the creation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU); the Union worked to support all African colonised countries, free Africa from foreign occupation, and thus politically unite all African efforts to achieve a new future for the African continent. Algeria's early commitment to this institution can be gauged from the fact that the majority of Algerian diplomats and nationalists attended the different summits of this organisation, and attempted to voice its dimensions and objectives through their different speeches to the United Nations, and considered the project as a priority in Algerian foreign affairs.

As discussed in the previous Chapter, after independence Algerian FP greatly changed, and was characterised by a reordering of the country's priorities. This chapter will look at the development of Algerian-African relations from the early Ottoman occupation of Algeria, to the creation of the OAU, and ultimately to the emergence of ideas for the reformation of the OAU to become what is known today as the African Union. Moreover, the chapter will scrutinise the perspectives of different Algerian presidents towards economic and political integration of their country with other African countries. I will also highlight Algerian FP preferences and priorities and will assess the stability or the change of Algerian diplomatic views towards African countries in general, and towards the OAU in specific.

4.2 Algerian-African Precolonial Relations

Before the era of French colonialism, Algeria was an Ottoman province, that engaged in a range of economic transactions with different parts of the world; the main exports were agricultural, and included wheat, barley, beans, and dates. These goods were exported to European, Islamic, and African countries. Indeed, in the Ottoman Algerian markets of the time there was a variety of different currencies as testament to this. Initially, Ottoman Algeria conducted substantial economic transactions and political deals with Spain, whose currency was greatly used in different parts of Algeria including Oran and Bejaia (Krain, Ben Harkat 2015, p. 45). After the Spanish currency, the use of the Tunisian currency became more prevalent, that was present in the Algerian Ottoman markets because of the different Algerian-Tunisian economic transactions at that period (*ibid*).

4.2.1 *Ottoman Algerian Maghreb, Arab Connection*

The Ottoman rulers in Algeria built a range of economic transactions with different Maghreb countries, including Tunisia, Morocco, and Egypt. As far as Algeria's relations with Tunisia are concerned, it is clear that these were very friendly. The Algerian eastern states, (Constantine in particular), started diverse economic relations with Tunisia, mainly driven by the simple fact that they were geographically so close to each other. Therefore, caravans of about 300 horses, loaded with different goods including wool, dates, and leather were sent to Tunisia, and in return, the Tunisians send back to these Algerian markets goods including spices, coffee, and silk fabrics (*ibid.*, p. 49). In addition to this close trade, Tunisian Traders also exported their goods to the southern parts of Algeria, including Ouargla, Biskra, Laghouat, and Oued Souf.

Algerian-Tunisia Relations were very good, and friendly, during the Ottoman occupation of the area. Their relations were solely based on commercial transactions, leading to the growing economic wealth of the area. However, Algerian-Tunisian relations had encountered some problems, when knights from Constantine attacked regions in Tunisia, creating major political disorder. However, the local Ottoman rulers of the two countries were able to resolve the issue, leading to the signing of the Algerian-Tunisian Peace Agreement on the 14th March 1821. This restored friendly Algerian-Tunisian commercial relations (*ibid.*, p. 50).

Turning now to Algerian Moroccan Relations during the Ottoman rule, these were very weak if compared with those with Tunisia. There were some traders from the Algerian west (Oran, and Tlemcen), who sold some of their products in Morocco and vice versa. In addition, there were some sea-based trade between Algerian and Moroccan shores. This facilitated some

economic deals between these two countries; however, the tariffs on entering the Algerian shores were very high, leading to the decrease in economic deals between these two countries (*ibid.*, p. 51). The main reasons behind the weakness of Algerian-Moroccan relations during this period were related to border problems, and the attacks that countries launched against each other, even though Algeria's Ottoman rulers made great efforts to unite these two in a common cause against potential European invasions (Sharbiti 2015, p.53)

The Ottoman rulers contributed to the building of an Algerian-Arab identity through bringing Islam and the Arabic language to Algeria. Thus, Ottoman Algeria built up good, friendly relations with Egypt; indeed, Algeria had representation in Cairo, tasked with dealing with the issues of Algerian pilgrims. In addition, these representatives worked as intermediators between the Algerian traders who were selling the Egyptians different kinds of horses, and types of oil; in return Egyptian traders supplied weapons and equipment to the Algerian Ottoman rulers (Krain, Ben Harkat 2015, p. 51).

4.2.2 *Ottoman Algerian-African Relations*

During the Ottoman Rule, Algeria built commercial relationships with African kingdoms including Chad, Niger, Mali, Senegal, and Central Africa. These countries exported their goods to Algeria, this trading took place more specifically with Southern Algerian districts including Ouargala, Ain Saleh, and Oued Souf. It was estimated that in 1808, there were exports of about 16000 kantars⁴³ of wool from Algeria to African companies (*ibid.*, p. 52).

In fact, Algerian commercial relations during the Ottoman occupation were very strong with European countries especially Spain, and relations with Tunisia were largely friendly, albeit with some disagreements from time to time. And Ottoman Algeria had good relations with a number of African kingdoms. However, Algerian-Moroccan relations were always prone to antagonism and hostility, largely because of border conflicts between these two countries.

4.2.3 *Algerian-African Relations During the French Occupation*

After the Ottoman Occupation, Algeria was colonised by the French in 1830, and gained its independence in 1962. During the French colonial era, the Algerian nationalists first saw that was important to work on creating the internal unity of the country against the colonisers. After that, they started thinking about the building of diplomatic relations with the outside world,

⁴³ Kantar is a unit of measuring weight in the Mediterranean countries that is equivalent to 45 kilograms, but it varies from one place to another.

including African countries. Algerian nationalists' diplomacy during the war was based on the certainty that uniting its diplomatic ties with African countries would assist it in defeating the colonisers.

At first, the Algerian independent movement's diplomacy was represented in different conferences and seminars organised in the African countries. For instance, Algerian independence leaders were invited by Ghana's leader Kwame Nkrumah to be present in the second Accra conference, which was held in December 1958. Nationalist diplomat Ahmed Boumanjel was the Algerian representative in the conference along with representatives from eight independent African countries: Ghana, Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, and Libya. This conference ended up by advising the Algerian representatives to call for their territorial independence through establishing urgent talks with the French colonisers to end colonialism in the country.

The second African political gathering that saw the presence of the Algerian Provisional Government was the Conference of Independent African states, held in Monrovia (Liberia) on May 1961, what is called the Monrovia Conference. It was held as a result of pressure from the Algerian Provisional Government. This conference greatly helped Algerian nationalist diplomacy by preparing their case to be discussed in the upcoming summit of the United Nations General Assembly. More, the Monrovia conference ended up by providing different material and monetary support for the Algerian nationalists in their war with the French colonisers. In addition, the conference called on African countries to recognise the Algerian Provisional Government as the only representative of the Algerian people (Sherbiti 2015, p.64).

In addition to the encounters above, the Algerian nationalist representatives were also present at the Addis Ababa Conference (Ethiopia) and that was held from 14-24 June 1960. This saw the presence of a substantially greater number of African representatives, since more states had by then gained their independence. This conference insisted on the necessity of starting urgent negotiations between the Algerian Provisional Government and the French colonisers. Importantly, the heads of this conference called all other African countries to recognise the Algerian Provisional Government as the legitimate representative of Algeria.

The Algerian provisional government's participation in these different African seminars and conferences led it to decide on its affiliation with the Casablanca Group, that was considered as a radical group, and which supported an immediate move to African integration under the leadership of Ghana's leader Kwame Nkrumah. The idea that emerged from the conference was the creation of a tightly organised African Union, through the establishment of an organised central government that would intervene in cases of conflict (Mohammed 2015,

p. 97). As we have discussed, the Casablanca group harshly criticised the more moderate Monrovia Group that was of the opinion that it was too early to be considering the creation of a United States of Africa (ibid).

The Algerian Provisional Government had a clear policy in its attempts to build up good relations with African countries, especially with strong, independent states like Ghana and Ethiopia, to assist it in its diplomacy in the liberation process. Notably, assistance came in the forms of monetary and material aid, but most importantly in the form of political aid coming through gaining political recognition from many African countries; for this led to the discussion of the Algerian cause in different summits of the United Nations General Assembly. Furthermore, the Algerian Provisional Government's diplomats received advice about its coming negotiations with the French colonialists. Indeed, this evidences the real driver behind Algeria's seeking good diplomatic relations with Africa. Moreover, the Algerian Provisional government continued with its support for the immediate creation of a united Africa, following Nkrumah's radical thoughts. The questions that this now raises is threefold: Does the post-independent Algeria continued to have strong connections with African countries? Does the new independent Algerian government continue to support the idea of creating a well-organised African central government? Or will it change its priorities, adopting new diplomatic relations that would boost its economic and social prosperity? This will be discussed in the next parts of the Chapter.

4.3 Post-Independence Algerian-African Relations

After independence, Algeria maintained good diplomatic relations with Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and other African countries, and supported the different African liberation movements and countries that were still colonised. However, Algeria did encounter border issues with Morocco, which resulted in what is known as the Sand War, in October 1963. Algeria gained its independence on the 5th of July 1962, with Ahmed Ben Bella, an Algerian nationalist during the war of liberation, becoming the first president of the country. Ben Bella was also a member of the FLN party and a diplomat, so he had numerous diplomatic relations with various political, activists around the world. As far as his African relations were concerned, Ben Bella had good relations with the different African leaders including Jamal (Gamal) Abed Nassir, Kwame Nkrumah, Modibo Keita, Sekou Toure, and others.

Ben Bella's relationship with Gamal Abd Nassir was as a close friend with him, and with Egypt. Algeria had good relations with the Egyptian government, and with its president.

Consequently, Abd Nassir became the first visitor to the newly independent Algeria. Nasser received a great welcome from the Algerian people, who went out to celebrate his visit. This shows the support of the newly independent Algerian people to the building of good Arab-African relationships.

It has been claimed that Nasser assisted Algeria in its Sand War against Morocco by providing the Algerian government with soldiers and material aids including guns, and weapons (Tores-Garcia 2013, p. 329). Furthermore, Tores-Garcia asserted that the Egyptian government under the rule of Nasser reinforced the Algerian military, with direct air-support from Cairo. In addition, Egyptian President Nasser took the Algerian case to the Arab League⁴⁴ these talks resulted in deciding that a cease-fire decision letter be transmitted to the Moroccan King Hassan II, urging him to stop his fighting with Algeria. In his letter to the King, Nasser condemned the Moroccan attacks on the Algerian frontiers, and informed him about the decisions made by the Arab League. These decisions stipulated the urgent withdraw of Moroccan troops from Algerian borders and call for urgent talks between the different North African leaders to find a peaceful solution to their frontier problems (*ibid.*, pp. 331-332). However, King Hassan II considered the Arab League's decisions to have been pro-Algerian, because of existing friendly Egyptian-Algerian diplomatic relations.

Nasser reiterated his earlier support for the OAU, as he considered African integration to be as important as the management of domestic affairs. In his book *The Philosophy of the Revolution*, Nasser asserted that the African continent needed all of its nations, especially those situated in the north, to spread civilisation and awareness among all the African states (Al Haj, 2015, p.15).Consequently, Nasser was one of the early supporters of African integration by promoting the Organisation of African Unity. As such, he influenced the Algerian President Ahmed Ben Bella, and Algerian post-independent diplomacy, in their support of the African continent and the OAU, due to their strategic geographical position.

In addition to his good relations with the Egyptian leader Jamal Abdel Nasser, Ben Bella had good relations also with Ghana's president and leader Kwame Nkrumah. Noticeably, Ben Bella was a supporter of Nkrumah's ideas that were discussed in different conferences held before Algerian independence. Ben Bella, thus, reflected Nkrumah's approaches through his encouragement of different liberation movements around the world, and his calls for African

⁴⁴ Arab League is a regional, Arab organisation that was formed in Cairo in 1945 by six members including Egypt, Yemen, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Syria. The league's main goal is to unite all the member states and to protect their safety and independence. However, it was criticised that it could not achieve these designed objectives (Ulger and Joe Hammoura 2018, p. 35) Currently it has 22 members

integration through the support of the rules set out the Organisation of African Unity's Charter. And, as discussed, these two leaders adopted a non-alignment policy (Brown 1966, p. 517).

Nkrumah also advised Ben Bella on the different ways to achieve the total decolonisation of the country from the long-term impact of colonial rule, in an attempt to give the new Algerian diplomatic service ideas as to how to successfully conduct its activities in the post-independent era. Nkrumah saw this process of decolonisation as a necessity, since it contributed to the process of the building of states' consciousness, bringing life to all the previously colonised African countries (Ahlman 2010, p. 73). These two African leaders, along with others, attempted to bring unity to all African countries, which would come about through their united support for the Organisation of African Unity, a union that would help Africa achieve all its objectives.

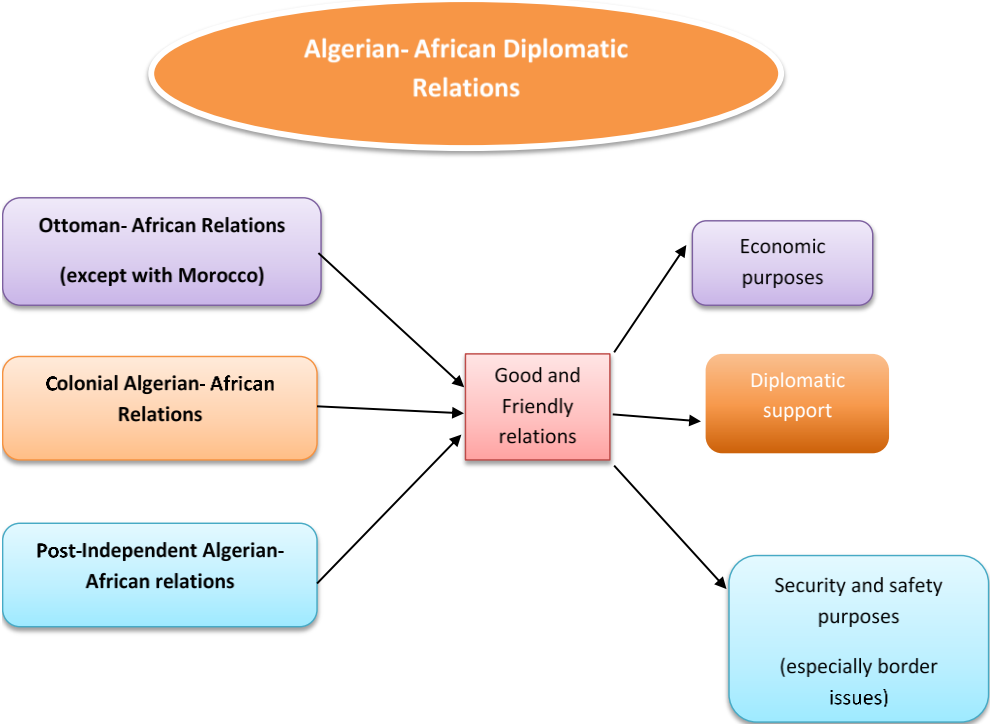


Figure 7 The development of the Algerian African Relations before the OAU

4.4 The Organization of African Unity-Algerian Diplomatic Relations

4.4.1 *The Organization of African Unity-Algerian Diplomatic Relations*

4.4.1.1 *Ahmed Ben Bella and the Organization of African Unity*

Even before the creation of the Organization of African Unity, President Ben Bella held some clear ideas about the need to create unity between the different colonised countries, and nations that were fighting against imperialism. These were the ideas that he imported later into the FLN's principles. Moreover, Ben Bella participated as an observer in the different conferences that were held in Africa between the different African leaders to create the OAU, including the Conference of the Independent African States that took place in Accra. From the time of this meeting, Ben Bella started to develop good relationships with Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah (Adi and Sherwood 2003, p. 9)

In his first speech at the United Nations (UN), after the acceptance of newly independent Algeria's government into the organisation, Ben Bella delivered a speech in which he thanked all the African, Arab and European countries for having supported the Algerian Provisional Government. He went further however, in trying to set out Algeria's future diplomatic path. He emphasised the fact that the Algerian government would provide all African colonised countries with unconditional help and support, including Angola, South Africa, Rhodesia, and South West Africa. According to Ben Bella, this support would lead to the building of a new, united, and developed Africa; he said '... it is with this in view that Africa will embark on the road of progress and towards a unity in which particularism will be respected (United Nations' General Assembly 1962, p. 408).

Indeed, Ben Bella played a very important role in the creation of new committees that would help him to achieve his previously designed goals for Africa. Hence, Ben Bella urged the OAU to create the African Liberation Committee (ALC) (Adi and Sherwood 2003, p. 9). This Committee is an organ within the OAU that seeks to provide help and support to different African countries that are still under colonial rule (Yousuf 1985, p. 56), which was the principle goal Ben Bella had declared in his UN speech discussed above. As such, this committee would attempt to help the African leaders in doing this job. This was to include the collection of money from countries' voluntary contributions to attain that aim (*ibid.*, pp. 56-57). For instance, as a member of this committee Algerian President Ben Bella donated 100 million francs to contribute to financing different colonised African countries (Adi and Sherwood 2003, p. 10).

In addition, The ALC sought to encourage African presidents to speak out and present the cases of the African countries which were still colonised, whenever they attended different

diplomatic seminars and gatherings. Furthermore, the committee urged free African countries to break off their diplomatic relations with colonising countries to force them to grant independence to colonised African states (Yousuf 1985, p. 59). It is exactly what Ben Bella did when delivering his speech to the UN General Assembly, by mentioning the different colonised African countries, and attempting to get recognition and thus support for them arguing that:

Our experience has made up aware of the natural ties of solidarity which bind us to these peoples. The liquidation of colonialism, whether in its classical form or disguised form, will be the guiding principle of our political and diplomatic activity. Whether it be Rhodesia, Angola, or South African and southwest Africa, Algeria will give them its unconditional support to hasten their final and complete liberation (United Nations' General Assembly 1962, p. 408).

Furthermore, Ben Bella asserted that the Algerian government would take the necessary, concrete actions against any country that did not respect this initiative. This stance was also confirmed in United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1514 XV, that affirmed the right of people to self-determination and the freedom of freely determining their political status, and that any violation of this should be punished (General Assembly 1960, p. 67).

Ben Bella was considered to be one of the first African presidents that supported the OAU and ratified its Charter. Ben Bella also was one of the first African leaders who incorporated the OAU's Charter into their state's Constitution (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p. 10). Further evidence of Ben Bella's commitment was that he was among the first African leaders who agreed to cut off diplomatic relations with Portugal and South Africa and implement a boycott for their goods on the Algerian market. Ben Bella's government also closed the Portuguese Consulate in Algiers to support the African colonised cases against the Portuguese government (*ibid.*).

What is clear is that Ben Bella's friendly relations with African leaders and African countries did not change after independence; in fact, they got stronger. This reflects the Neofunctionalist principle of the shift of loyalties (see Chapter Two). This means that after attending different conferences and seminars, both before and after Algerian independence, Ben Bella started to think of wider African interests as a priority alongside the domestic priority of independence. Consequently, he was a very active member of the OAU, funding its projects, and even going as far as to cut off Algerian diplomatic relations with some European countries to support the different colonised African countries. This policy shows that he did not put Algerian interests first, even if at that stage Algeria needed to build good relations with these countries, which would have helped Algeria politically and even economically speaking. As such, we can argue that the socialisation process inside the African conferences, starting from

the Casablanca conference of 1960, was very successful in making the post-independent African leaders shift their loyalties from thinking national to thinking African, and the case of Algerian President Ben Bella is great example of this.

4.4.1.2 *Houari Boumediene and the Organisation of African Unity*

After carrying out a military coup d'état on Ben Bella in 1965, Houari Boumediene, the minister of defence during Ben Bella's administration, became president. Boumediene, like Ben Bella, supported some Algerian-African relationships. This was made clear after Boumediene was able to convince African leaders to hold a Conference of African Labour Ministers, that was held in Algiers in March 1969. This meeting resulted in the harmonisation of African-Algerian labour ministers' policy, and even united their different trade unions (Boumediene 1969, p. 2).

In addition, Boumediene hosted the Pan-African Cultural Festival to Algiers in 1969. It is the conference through which Boumediene, in his speech to the OAU says:

Our continent (Africa) proved the wealth and diversity of its cultural and artistic patrimony, while affirming the intrinsic diversity of its cultural and artistic character, and which simultaneously preserves it from rending and dissolution. Through this demonstration, Africa is conscious of having also contributed to enriching universal civilisations (ibid., p. 3).

This demonstrates that Boumediene encouraged and welcomed this conference to Algeria to showcase African cultural wealth and diversity.

Here we can see the development of relationships between Algeria and the African countries during Boumediene's administration (see Chapter Four for further details). At this stage, Algeria moved on from its call for political unity with African countries, the campaign that was directed by Ben Bella, to launch another stage of cooperation; the work towards developing economic relationships between this country and Africa. In this development, the spillover effect becomes clearer, affirming that cooperation between countries in a given sector leads to the cooperation in other sectors, and it is the case here for Algerian-African relations. It means that political unity between Algeria and African countries, that started with the Casablanca Group and then the OAU, moved further to include cultural and economic cooperation between Algeria and the different African countries, that was designed in the cooperation between the trade unions and in the cultural levels.

Another initiative led by Boumediene was building links between the OAU and the Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), an organisation that was created initially to coordinate the efforts and policies between the petroleum exporters. Thus, he sought

to protect the African countries' natural wealth from external exploitation, leading to what became known as neo-colonialism. These ideas were also strengthened when they were discussed at the Fourth Summit between the members of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), held in Algiers between 6-8 September 1973. At this summit, Boumediene emphasised the importance of economic unity between African countries and stressed the dangers of any future economic neo-colonialism. In addition, NAM members attempted to shed light on their case, rather than on Cold War issues. Therefore, their slogan for this summit was 'the real nuclear bomb is the billions of human beings in the Third World' (Garavini 2015, p. 86).

However, in October 1973 the OPEC countries decided to impose an oil embargo against all the countries that supported Israel during the Yom Kippur war, also known as the Arab Israeli War. These countries included at first the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Japan, and the Netherlands. This embargo expanded later due to the OAU's pressures, and one of Boumediene's successes was extending this from being an Arab oil embargo, to being an Afro-Arab oil embargo, by including Portugal, and racist regimes such as South Africa and Rhodesia on the list of embargoed nations. Boumediene also attempted to convince African countries of the need to support the Arab struggle against the Israeli occupiers in Palestine. He asserted: 'Africa cannot adopt one attitude towards colonialism in South Africa and a different one towards the Zionist colonisation in North Africa' (Hassan 2011: 75). Through this, Boumediene garnered the support of many African countries, leading to twenty-two of them breaking off their diplomatic ties with Israel.

Haas' spillover effect also becomes clear in this situation, as different Arab leaders decided to go beyond Arab political unity and work towards their economic cooperation. Indeed, this what happened, and Arab countries strengthened their economic relations, and agreed to cooperate to counter any kind of enemy that would threaten their peace, as exemplified by the Arab oil embargo.

The earlier successes in creating Arab unity, and the Organisation of African Unity's support of this process, led the Algerian President Boumediene and other Arab-African leaders to think about the need for the creation of an Arab-African Union. Boumediene argued that the:

Time has come to consolidate the Arab-African solidarity in other spheres of cooperation between the political, economic, and technical institutions of the OAU and the Arab League. Such cooperation representing human and material resources of the Arab and African countries will constitute a formidable force in international relations capable of playing a decisive role in the service of justice and freedom in the whole world. (quoted in Akinsanya 1976, p. 525)

However, African-Arab economic relations at this period failed to improve, and this for a number of reasons. These were: the persistence of high oil prices, and the poverty of African countries, leading to limited economic exchanges between Arab and African countries in this domain; and the unwillingness of OPEC countries to offer poorer countries concessions on oil prices, preferring to protect their national interests (*ibid.*, p. 526).

Boumediene attempted to exploit this incident to draw attention to Algerian-Arab-African belongingness, and the situation pushed him try to bring them all together for their mutual benefit. Boumediene's discourse confirms this: 'Algeria belongs to predetermined political communities. She belongs to the Arab Maghreb, the African community, and the Third world' (quoted in St John 1968, p. 339). This confirms Boumediene's ideology, that led him try to create diplomatic connections between the Arab, Maghreb and African countries, a step that would make them stronger in the future, and thus prevent any type of colonialism or neo-colonialism.

At the African level, Boumediene had clear plans for future Algerian-African economic relationships; he predicted that by 2000, Algeria would have built substantial African economic relations, making it a great African force that would export all of its manufactured goods to Africa, and match revenues from this sector to those deriving from hydrocarbon exports (Garavini 2015 p. 86). Mortimer (1984, p. 10) argued that under Boumediene's rule Algeria had about 19 formal commercial agreements with African countries, and trade relations with others. In addition to that, Algeria invested in different small African enterprises, making it own 49% of them.

Algerian President Houari Boumediene was considered to be the initiator of different economic plans in the Organisation of African Unity. In a number of instances Boumediene drew attention to the importance of creating new economic relationships between the developed and the developing countries. He tried to convince African states of the need to reverse existing economic relations in the world, so that the developed industrialised countries would become dependent on developing countries' raw materials. Then, he transmitted the same idea to OPEC where it was used to great effect, leading to the hike of oil prices from 1.25\$ per barrel (1973) to 11.50\$ (1976) (Cervenka 1977, p. 183).

After that, there were many meetings in the OAU to discuss ideas of a New International Economic Order. However, African countries could not agree on an economic plan, after the blockage of Algeria's suggestions to OPEC to decrease oil prices for African countries (Cervenka 1977, p. 185). It is this situation that caused Tanzania's president to make the argument that African countries were the victims of OPEC and western countries' problems (OPEC oil prices increase and the western countries' reactions through the high prices of goods) (Cervenka 1977, p. 186). After all these attempts, the OAU decided to focus on the creation of regional economic communities that would help in advancing the economic condition of Africa.

In a speech to the United Nations, at the Sixth Special session that he had personally called for, Boumediene shared his thoughts and visions about the best strategies to follow to achieve progress. He stressed the need for collaboration in the international community to put an end to colonialism and the Apartheid system (United Nations 1974 p.2). He also voiced his concern about different international cases such as the Middle East and Zionism, and South America. This, indeed, demonstrated the difference between Ben Bella's strategies to solve African problems through African cooperation, and Boumediene's thoughts of solving African problems with the help of all the international community.

Boumediene's speech highlighted not only the necessity for cooperation between the African countries, in the same way that Ben Bella had called for, but also for the same cooperation between all the countries around the world to achieve economic prosperity. He stated that the developed countries should assist the developing countries in their road towards industrialisation, and thus achieve economic progress. He said:

The developed countries should also feel concerned with the imperative necessity which the access of every third world country to development, or in other words, to the modern world represents for at least two fundamental reasons. The first reason for this is equity and world peace; the second is that the development of the countries of the third world will trigger a continuing increase in demand, which will result in considerable expansion of the markets available to the developed countries. (*ibid.*, p. 8)

Here, Boumediene affirmed his view of encouraging international economic cooperation to achieve progress. He added that assistance will need to be reciprocal, highlighting the necessity of developing countries to take part in contributing to international solidarity, a goal that Algeria would attempt to reach (*ibid.*, p.10).

Here we have seen that unlike his predecessor Ben Bella, who focused his diplomatic work on Africa, Boumediene went beyond this in strengthening Algerian-African relations to call for the strengthening of the world's international relations, focusing mainly on the future economic

relations between the developing and the developed countries. More, he played a great role in the NAM within the framework of the Cold War. This way, he did not prioritise the African countries but spoke about all the developing countries as one.

Overall, President Houari Boumediene attempted to move beyond strengthening Algerian political relations with Africa (that had been the strategy of Ben Bella to develop the country) and wanted to strengthen Algerian-Arab economic relations, and then Arab international economic connections under the umbrella of developing-developed economic cooperation. This reflects the movement of the Algerian priorities after the nationalisation of the oil resources of the country; it was this move which forced Boumediene to think about building new connections that would assist the economy of the nation and move it forward. However, Boumediene still tried from time to time to incorporate African countries in Arab economic plans; these efforts notwithstanding, the Arab countries rejected his attempts, even though African leaders supported the decision.

4.4.1.3 *Chadli Benjdid OAU Relationships*

After the death of Houari Boumediene, in 1979, incoming President Chadli Benjdid had new ideas for the conduct of Algerian FP towards Africa and African countries. He visited many Africa countries, with the object of strengthening Algerian-African diplomatic relations. For example, in April 1981, he visited eleven African states including Zambia, Angola, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique, and Tanzania. At every stop, Benjdid attempted to urge the African countries to work for economic exchanges, as he encouraged what is known as South-South⁴⁵ relationships (Mortimer 1984, p. 11). This new strategy adopted by Benjdid differs from Boumediene's ideologies of increased cooperation between the developed and developing world's economies, or what is known as the North-South cooperation. Benjdid, at this stage, encouraged the increase of Algerian-African transactions. In consequence, Algeria increased its timber purchases from Congo and Mozambique, and coffee from Tanzania and Madagascar (*ibid.*).

Benjdid's state visits in Africa not only had economic objectives but extended into the political realms as well. He tried to get increased African support for the Western Sahara case sought to convince African leaders of the importance of the admission of Western Sahara as an independent country in the OAU. Indeed, Benjdid succeeded in his mission, leading to the admission of the Sahrawi state in the OAU in 1980 with (significant) African support (26

⁴⁵ The South-South relationships is a strategy that was launched by many leaders encouraging the different economic transactions between the developing countries

African country voted for the Saharan admission in the OAU (Hasnaoui, 2017, p.7). However, this did have a side-impact, with Morocco considering this as a violation from the principles of the OAU Charter since the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) was not an independent sovereign state (*ibid.*). This led later to the Moroccan withdrawal from the OAU in 1984

After these talks, while Benjdid worked to strengthen Algerian-Libyan economic relationships, on the other hand, Morocco attempted to build good relationships with Tunisia. This encouraged Chadli Benjdid and Morocco's King Hassan V to meet in 1983, and consider their future economic relationships, which had not been discussed since 1975. This meeting resulting in some positive outcomes, like the opening of the borders, and pushing their mutual commercial transactions. However, the Western Saharan problem still a point of disagreement between them; Benjdid argued that Maghreb Unity would not be achieved at the expense of the Sahrawi's independence, where, conversely, the Moroccans argued that Maghreb unity should be achieved, but not at the expense of "their" Sahara (Aghrout, and Sutton 1990, p. 120). This made the process of Maghreb Unity move forward very slowly. But, after all these confrontations, the Arab Maghreb Union was established, opening the doors for the creation of different regional economic communities all around Africa, to contribute to the economic integration of African countries.

Overall, at this period Benjdid attempted to reorient Algerian FP towards Africa and the world, by focusing mainly on the regional Algerian-Maghreb connections, and working to improve them. Benjdid was able to demonstrate Algerian influence in the OAU, and ability to affect the decision-making process in the organisation. This can be symbolised in Algeria's support of Western Sahara's admission in the OAU, and its success in the case, although this did lead to the immediate withdrawal of Morocco from the OAU. After that, Benjdid succeeded in the creation of a range of economic collaborations with different Maghreb countries, including Libya and Tunisia, and then Mauritania.

Benjdid, unlike Ben Bella and Houari Boumediene, attempted to strengthen Algerian-African and Maghreb economic relationships, but ultimately his 'South-South' strategy was highly criticised. He reserved part of Algerian oil production to be distributed directly to some African states, without the use of the multinational companies, and also encouraged African and Maghreb economic transactions. It was with the latter in mind that he pushed for Maghreb countries to create an economic union. Even though Benjdid policies initially resulted in significant economic improvements, by the end of his administration, Algerian GDP collapsed, leading to an economic crisis in 1986 that later led to double-digit inflation, throwing the

country in great debt. This crisis seriously deteriorated; the high unemployment rates in the country led to serious levels of poverty.

4.4.1.4 *The Black Decade: Algerian-OAU Relations*

During its Civil War Algeria sought to conduct an isolationist strategy, not only distancing itself from the international sphere, but also from all African countries. During this period, Algerian diplomacy was mainly focused on regional affairs, to the construction of Arab, Maghreb, Mediterranean, and only then African relations. This was stated clearly in the new, 1996, Algerian constitution; it stated ‘Algeria, being a land of Islam, an integral part of the Great Maghreb, an Arab land, a Mediterranean and African country . . .’ (People’s Democratic Republic of Algeria 1996, p. 2). This amended wording differed from the independence constitution of 1963 that stated ‘it (Algeria) forms an integral part of the Arab Maghreb, of the Arab world and Africa’ (People’s Democratic Republic of Algeria 1963, n.p). This change demonstrates Algeria’s new objectives, that pivoted around strengthening its relationships with Mediterranean countries, notably European Union countries that comes before strengthening its African relationships.

In addition, Algeria’s longstanding support for Western Sahara’s case for independence diminished during this period. This in turn led to a decline of African support for the case, leading to a call from some African countries, including Burkina Faso, Central Africa, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Guinea, and Senegal to end Western Saharan presence in the OAU. This showed the Algerian importance in defending the Western Sharan case in the OAU, and in shaping many political decisions within this organisation.

What the research shows is that Algerian representatives continued to attend OAU summits, but their focus was mainly on discussing their domestic problems, and ways of fighting terrorism. Interestingly, different African members supported Algeria in its cause, and were ready to assist the Algerian government in fighting its internal war of terror, even though at that period Algeria attempts were more towards strengthening its relations with European countries and the United States, as international powers that might help the government to end terrorism in its territories (Zoubir 2013, p. 45).

4.4.1.5 *Abdel Aziz Bouteflika- OAU Relationships*

The conflicts of the Black Decade in Algeria started to reach resolution after the election of Abdel Aziz Bouteflika as Algerian president. Bouteflika prioritised Algeria’s foreign affairs and was very active in this area. After exactly three months after his election, Bouteflika was

able to convince the African leaders of the OAU to hold their next 35th summit in Algeria; it was the meeting that was greatly welcomed and impressively attended, with 45 out of 53 members participating (*ibid.*). This was not only done to regain Algeria's position in international affairs, and its leading role in the African continent, but also to respond to emerging Arab aspirations over leadership. This was a challenge that had become clear when Morocco was able to convince different Arab and African countries to stop supporting the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. Moreover, Libya created the Community of Sahel-Saharan States, a community that attempted to create a free trading area in North Africa but excluded Algeria from it; as such Libya attempted to strengthen its own leadership position in Africa.

In addition, through hosting this summit Bouteflika tried to convince African states about the importance of updating the organisation's bodies and committees to protect all African countries from serious problems like that of terrorism. This recommendation was welcomed by the African leaders, leading them to launch the OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combatting of Terrorism, that urged African countries to implement laws punishing criminal, terrorist offenses (The Organisation of African Unity 1999, Art. 2, p. 4). The convention encouraged African countries to develop sound strategies for combatting terrorism, as a future, multi-faceted problem that would threaten the continent (*ibid.*, p. 6). This clearly shows that although Algeria had experienced an era of isolation from the OAU, its effective role in directing and influencing political decisions inside the organisation had not diminished.

Bouteflika used the OAU's support for his suggestion for combatting terrorism to strengthen Algeria's position in the UN. Effectively, African support for Bouteflika's plans for anti-terrorism recommendations led him to gain a great success in the UN; it led to Algeria regaining its effective role in Africa, but via a new position, that of the African Anti-terrorist leader. In his first speech to the UN as president of Algeria Bouteflika tried to highlight this point, speaking not only about Algeria, but on behalf of the African continent. He argued that the African continent was ready for North-South cooperation but focused mainly on the urgent need for the African continent, and even the world, to establish measures that would protect their internal peace and security.

Bouteflika, in his speech to the UN members, did not focus just on peace issues in Africa, but attempted to highlight all the problems from which the African continent suffered. Bouteflika spoke on behalf of the African continent, calling for North-South cooperation to achieve global prosperity. He said:

The thirty-fifth Organization of African Unity (OAU) Summit showed that Africans were ready to face up to this miserable situation by working for peace, stability, and cooperation and

by entrenched political and economic reform more firmly. But it also revealed how insubstantial North-South cooperation is, showing that it is often limited by policies based on vested interests or selective intervention. (United Nations 1999, p. 11)

Here, he stressed the fact that imbalanced North-South cooperation led to the creation of an imbalanced international world that cannot develop into the achievement of a multipolar world. Moreover, through this Bouteflika highlighted the gap that exists between developed and developing state; he was expanding his policy of economic and political dialogue, and cooperation, between third and first world countries to achieve his utopian vision of a world with no division between North and South (*ibid.*, p. 12).

Therefore, in this summit Bouteflika suggested solutions that would help Africans and the world achieve their future prospects. He argued that effective solutions lay in the hands of the big industrialised countries, that are economically, socially and politically developed. Thus, Bouteflika saw that “. . . they have sufficient economic, financial and legislative leverage to initiate reform and to restore an environment conducive to growth for the developing countries’ (*ibid.*, p. 13).

Another recommendation that Bouteflika made in his speech was addressed towards the third world countries themselves; he understood that these countries must become organised, and plan for their entry into the world economy and globalised system, as they had no other choice. He added that this might challenge their existing beliefs, but that this would help them to achieve economic and financial prosperity. In his address, he specifically referred to all African countries (*ibid.*, p. 13).

Moreover, in his speech to the UN, Bouteflika affirmed the importance of the Organisation of African Unity in preserving peace and security in the region. He asserted that the OAU was not only concerned with Africa’s security issues, but also about all peace problems in the Arab and even the Gulf countries. He added that African countries would work to end all forms of conflicts, disputes, and wars, a process that would allow the African continent to contribute to achieving the world’s new objectives of a global society (*ibid.*, p. 14). In his speech Bouteflika endorsed the Abuja Treaty (1991), and the creation of the different regional economic communities saying that:

The OAU Summit held in Algeria 1999 also studied economic and development issues within the framework of the Abuja Treaty, consolidating macroeconomic reforms through the revival of sustained growth and through regional integration within the framework of African unity, the principle of which has just been enshrined by the Sirte special Summit (*ibid.*, p. 13).

Overall, Bouteflika, through his first UN speech as Algerian president, showed his new foreign policy orientation, predicated on an acceptance, and then a development, of a South-North dialogue. Moreover, he revealed that his future diplomatic direction, and the FP of his government, would be based on boosting foreign investments in the country. Bouteflika saw this to be Algeria's first step towards entering the global economy, and its contribution to building a depolarised world.

Finally, as far as Algerian-African relations were concerned, Bouteflika saw that Algeria had to strengthen its security connections with Africa and assist the African continent in spreading peace and security through working towards resolving conflicts both inside and outside the continent. He saw Africa's role in contributing to the world's main objective, that is a global society.

What is evident here is that the Organisation of African Unity at this stage confirms Ernst Haas' theory of the Spillover system. Indeed, the Organisation of African Unity started as a political union created in an attempt to free all colonised African countries. Then, the leaders of the organisation saw the need for economic unity, and then integration as a tool to make them stronger. This came in 1991 with the Abuja Treaty, that urged African states to create regional economic communities that would contribute to their economic integration. Furthermore, in 1999 Bouteflika convinced African leaders about the necessity of being united at the security level, the thing that would help the continent to achieve economic integration on the continent, and then establish favourable North-South economic investments.

To achieve African economic integration as quickly as possible, the African leaders decided to reform the OAU as a first step to achieve their designed objectives. First of all, President Bouteflika was among the first five founders of the New Partnership for African Development (2001), whose goals focused on eradicating poverty in Africa, develop the African continent's economy, and integrating it in the global neoliberal⁴⁶ economy.

After that, in a series of meetings attempts were made to reform the Organisation of African Unity, including those in Sirte, Lomé, and Lusaka. Algeria's President Bouteflika was present in all these meetings, and African leaders gave him and President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa the responsibility of helping all African countries eliminate their debts, an issue that was solved later after the official launching of the African Union.

⁴⁶ Neoliberal system is an economic system that encourages the free market, individualisation and the transfer of economy from public hands to private ones

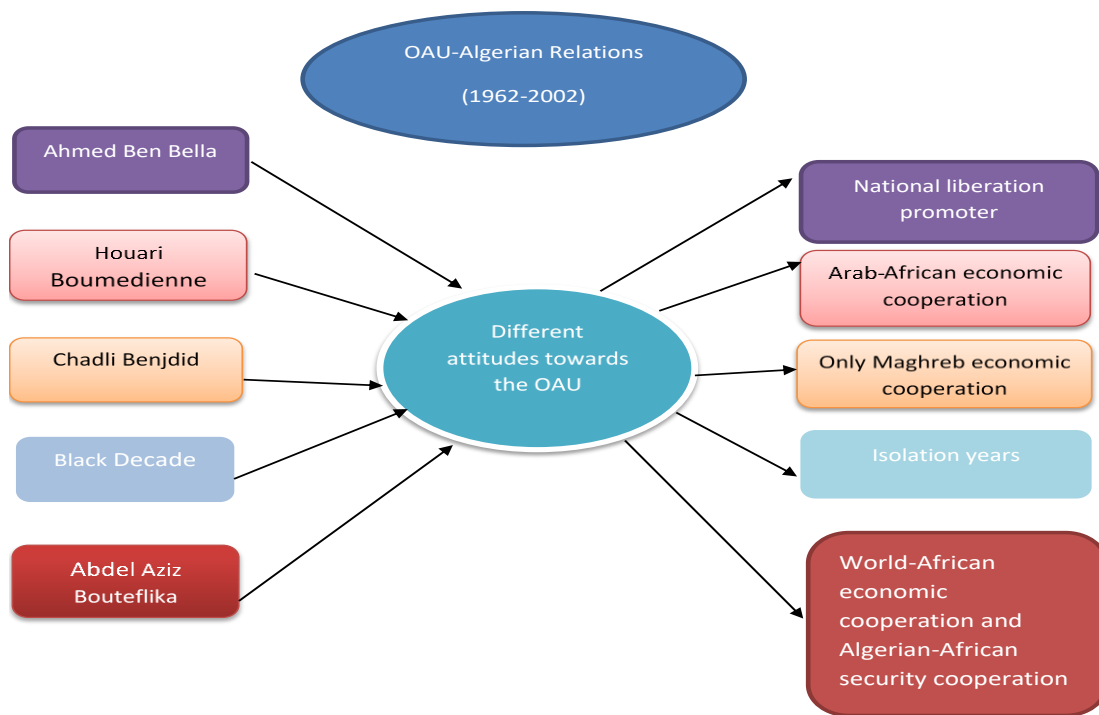


Figure 8 OAU's-Algerian Relations (1962-2002)

4.5 Conclusion

Before the creation of the Organisation of African Unity, Algerian-African relations had enjoyed a good and friendly status. In the early colonial era, these relations were based on economic investments and transactions where the Ottoman Empire traded with different African and Maghreb countries. However, Ottoman-Moroccan relations were inconsistent, since there were conflicts over the Algerian-Moroccan borders.

With the French occupation of Algeria, the Algerian Provisional Government sought help from different African countries for military and political support. Noticeably, the African states helped the Algerian diplomatic service to gain international recognition for its case. They were able to give voice to the Algerian cause in the United Nations and gain international support for the Algerian nationalists' diplomatic efforts. Ultimately, this forced the French government to enter into negotiations with the Algerian FLN party, leading to independence. In addition to that, African countries welcomed different Algerian political activists, and helped them to travel

widely to present their case to the world. Moreover, African leaders provided the Algerian nationalists with military equipment and weapons.

However, after Algerian independence, and the creation of the Organisation of African Unity, Algerian-African relations fluctuated because of changes in the internal situation in the country, and with the changes of presidents. Noticeably, with each president came a different view for Africa, and hence a change in priorities. Africa was no longer an automatic priority in Algerian foreign affairs. Some presidents promoted Algerian-African political and economic unity, others supported Algerian-Arab economic unity and then Algerian-Arab-African economic cooperation and finally Algerian-Arab-African International economic cooperation, some favoured Algerian-Maghreb unity then Algerian-African unity without a need for the international economic cooperation. Finally, Bouteflika called for Algerian-African-World cooperation to achieve the depolarised world.

From the early days of the Organisation of African Unity, Algeria had an effective role in the organisation, and was able to initiate and influence different political decisions that were made inside the organisation. There are many examples to prove this including its early pressure to admit the western Saharan government in the OAU the fact that led to the instability of the Algerian – Moroccan relations after gaining different African support for that case. More, Algeria was able to influence the OAU to support the Arabs in their oil embargo and go for one, pass different security conventions against terrorism after the Algerian ten years' experience with terrorism and insecurity. Furthermore, the OAU elected the different Algerian officials for high-level positions in the organisation and this what will be even clear in the following chapter.

The discussion above shows Algeria's important political role in the OAU, however, this was not always the same for Algerian-OAU economic relations. as we have seen in the discussions, Algerian presidents had a scale of priorities when it comes to their economic transactions. This can be set out as follows

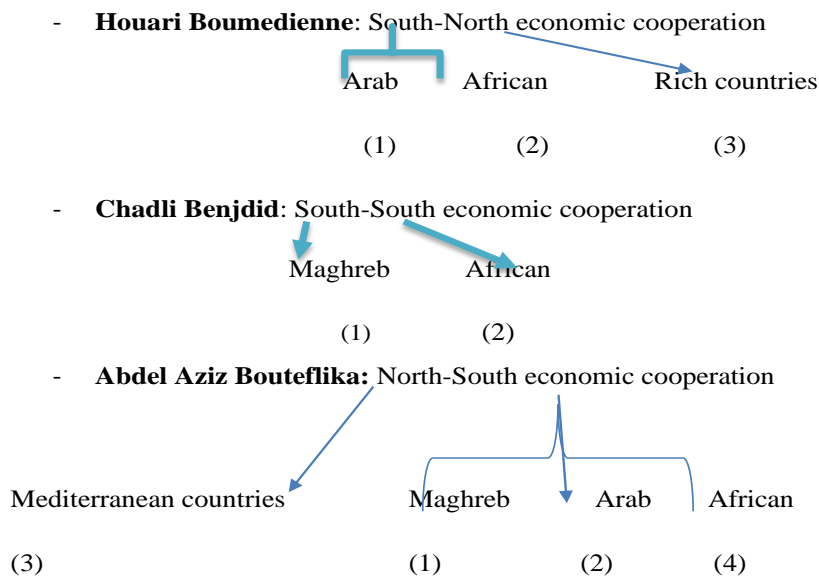


Figure 9 Change of Priorities in the Algerian Foreign Policy

The analysis of this reveals that in the majority of instances Algerian presidents mainly preferred building economic transactions with Arab and Maghreb states, rather than with African countries. This preference was not only seen in Algerian FP, but with the majority of African countries, who favoured dealing with their neighbouring states rather than with the whole of Africa including South Africa and Nigeria and other African countries. This is a very logical outcome because the main reason behind the creation of the OAU was political and had political aims that are politically uniting the African continent and ending colonialism in the continent. This also justifies the slow progress of the economic plans in the OAU since this organisation was created for mainly political objectives. Indeed, this is what make the OAU experience different from the EU since they had different motives and motivations.

Indeed, this preference for regional, as opposed to continental, integration was used by the OAU to strengthen African economic cooperation through the rules of the Abuja Treaty of 1991. However, this plan reinforced African countries' preference for the support of regional economic transactions rather than African continent economic deals. It was the acceptance of this orientation that led African leaders to move forward and reform the OAU to become the African Union, whose central objective would be economic integration of African countries, after achieving the central political aims of the OAU

This leads us to ask whether the African Union project will succeed in accelerating Algerian-African economic relations? If yes how is that, if no why not? And what are the main reasons that led to that? What is the opinion of the Algerian political elite towards the question?

Do they support Algerian-African economic integration, or do they favour Algerian-European economic transactions? Moreover, the Chapter will highlight any groups in Algeria that push for African interests in the country, if there are any, and will question their role in influencing the Algerian government in strengthening its economic projects in the African continent.

5 Chapter Six: Algerian African Union Relations (2002-2019)

5.1 Introduction

After the partial accomplishment of the majority of the OAU's objectives, including ending colonialism in the African continent and politically uniting all African countries, the AU was created to move Africa forward in attaining new goals, such as achieving greater economic integration on the continent. However, it is evident that the AU is moving slowly to achieve this objective, even though the majority of AU members have signed the different treaties and contracts that aimed at economically integrating African countries. Thus, this Chapter attempts to highlight the issues that have obstructed the African Union from achieving its designed goals, focusing mainly on the role of its member states in the process of integration.

Algeria is an AU member state, and indeed was one of the African countries that drove the process of the reformation of the OAU, and the structure of the AU with new goals and objectives. As such, the Algerian government was among the early countries ratifying the AU Constitutive Act. However, the ratification of the AU Constitutive Act was not enough for the success of the AU; it needed financial and political support to achieve its main aims, especially those related with economic integration of the continent, entailing the elimination of geographical borders, facilitating the movement of people, services and goods in addition to the harmonisation of trade standards and other issues.

This Chapter attempts to gain insights into Algerian political and business groups' opinions about the African integration project, and also measure the extent to which the Algerian government encouraging it in practice – beyond its positive and supportive rhetoric on the AU. The Chapter also explores the role of Algeria in the AU by focusing on the different experiences of Algerian diplomats in the organisation; and to gain a mirror perspective I also explore the opinions of African diplomats Algeria's role in the African Union, its performance and attitudes inside the different AU organs.

5.2 Algerian Diplomats and Ministers of Foreign Affairs and their AU Relations

In the process of the reformation of the Organisation of African Unity to become the African Union, former Algerian President Abdel Aziz Bouteflika was one of the early supporters of the step, that would modernise the different objectives of this continental Union. As discussed in Chapter Five, Bouteflika, having experienced the phenomenon of terrorism inside his own country, decided to adopt a new foreign policy that would end the country's earlier radical

international policies, and move to neo-liberal economic reforms that would integrate the country into the global economy. These changes, indeed, overlapped with the creation of the African Union, and new African perspectives on economic integration between them (Zoubir 2015, p. 47).

The Algerian presence in the African Union during Bouteflika's administration was very important; as Zoubir (*ibid.*, p. 51) argues, Algerian diplomats in the African Union enjoyed high-ranking positions in the different bodies and organs of this continental organisation. It is this position that gave the Algerian diplomats influence in the decision-making process inside the African Union. Many examples reflect that idea; one of them is the Algerian pressure on the AU Commission for the passage of different regulations against terrorism and its negative effects on states. The African Union Council considered terrorism as an activity that breaches human rights, and that cannot be justified under any conditions (*ibid.*, p. 52). Therefore, the Algerian government, through its diplomatic staff in the African Union, became a leader in fighting terrorism in Africa, and even globally. This influence was institutionalised later in the establishment of the Peace and Security Council (PSC) in the African Union. Indeed, the African Union countries themselves supported the peace and security plans since they considered this process a strengthening of their sovereignty (Engel 2020, p. 221).

The Algerian call for the establishment of different anti-terrorist measurements in Africa and the world was confirmed after the Black Decade (1991-2002), and later the two bombings of Algiers on the 11th of April 2007. These terrorist attacks confirmed Algerian diplomats' concerns over such issues, and their detrimental effects - not only on the one country but on all the continent. The Algerian government reacted, it accelerated its anti-terrorist measurements and called for the establishment of the PSC in the AU, a decision that was adopted in July 2002. In Algiers, Bouteflika also established the African Centre for Studies and Research on Terrorism. This centre was directed by Said Djinnit, an Algerian diplomat who was the first Commissioner of the AU's Peace and Security Department. This Centre is very important in the production of data and evidence, that the PSC used to produce its reports needed in its future international conventions related to peace and security establishment in the region.

It is this step that Zoubir (*ibid.*, p. 51) considered as a great leap in the success of Algerian diplomacy in the African Union; it was the phenomenon of linking peace and security issues in Algeria and the continent with the main objectives of the Union. This was highly strengthened by supporting ideas of prohibiting weapons of mass destruction, passing laws barring money laundering on the continent and drug trafficking across the African borders (*ibid.*, 2015, p. 51). Remarkably, the different Algerian diplomats in the Organisation of African Unity, along with

their partners in the African Union, agreed upon the necessity of peacekeeping in the region, and tried to convince their African counterparts about the idea; indeed, they were very successful in doing this. This in a way proves how Algeria was attempting to Africanise its security concerns and use the African Union in achieving these objectives.

In addition, Algerian diplomats possessed great credibility in the African Union's decision-making processes; it is the fact that gave the Algerian government an important position in the AU decision making process. It meant that Algerian diplomats, along with their government, assumed a leadership role, due to their long history with the French colonisers, their leading role in the African continent and in the early stages of the foundation of the OAU. Moreover, Algeria is a big and influential country in Africa, and compared to many other sub-Saharan countries it is reasonably wealthy; indeed, Algerian financial contributions to the OAU/AU in 2019 amounted to between 45 to 48 % of the African Union's financial budget, alongside other major contributors Egypt, Morocco, Nigeria and South Africa (Apiko and Miyandazi 2019, p. 4). However, it must be stressed that financial contributions alone did not account for Algeria's influence – this was as much a product of the effective role of its diplomats inside the AU.

We now move on to study the activity of these Algerian diplomats and their performance in the African Union.

5.2.1 *Said Djinnit*

Said Djinnit is an Algerian diplomat who served as the Algerian Special Representative to the African Union, the first Commissioner of Peace and Security in the African Union from 2002 to 2008 and was the head of the United Nations Office for West Africa. Djinnit was also present during the OAU reform negotiations and supported the different African economic and security integration plans between the African countries. Most recently, he served as Special Envoy of the United Nations Secretary-General for the Great Lakes region in Africa.

In many instances Djinnit demonstrated Algeria's strong supporting position to the peace and security plans in the continent through the African Union. Djinnit argued in many instances that 'the issues of peace, security and democracy should be dealt with more decisively now because Africans cannot afford to lose any more time' (BBC News 2002); he stressed the emergence of African acting to spread of peace and stability in the African continent.

After all with increasing conflicts in Africa and also the member states pressures on the AU like, the AU established the Peace and Security Council in 2003, and appointed Djinnit as its Commissioner. This enabled him to continue the work that he has already started in the OAU

relating to the idea of resolving different African conflicts and issues. The most important issue that Djinnit attempted to resolve was the Darfur Conflict⁴⁷ an issue that made him consider making alliances with international organisations, including the European Union and the United Nations, which would assist the AU and the PSC in resolving the problem.

Djinnit attempted to link his efforts in keeping peace and security in Africa with the United Nations. Therefore, he tried to build good relations between NATO and the African Peace and Security Council. This came into reality after his appointment in July 2014 as the Special Envoy of the United Nations Secretary-General for the Great Lakes region in Africa. This allowed him to link the international efforts with regional activities to spread peace and stability in the Great Lakes regions. Djinnit's important position in the UN helped to get the support of NATO in the AU Mission in Sudan to resolve the Darfur Conflict.

In one of his interviews, Djinnit argued that cooperation between the AU and NATO would bring some positive results to the African continent and help in spreading peace in conflicting regions in Africa. Moreover, in this interview, he was very hopeful about African Union-United Nations-European Union relations and asserted that these relations would improve in the future, for the wellbeing of Africa and all the world (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation 2007, N.P.).

By 2019, Djinnit's mandate as the Special Envoy of the United Nations Secretary-General for the Great Lakes region in Africa ended, making him one of the Algerian high-ranking diplomats in the AU that contributed to spreading peace and safety in the region. Other than that, Djinnit contributed to the achievement of Algeria's diplomacy main objective in the AU, that is preserving peace and security in Africa to enable working on other economic projects designed by the AU. All Djinnit's diplomatic activities reflect his multinationalism, and how he tried to create global cooperation to solve international, and regional conflicts.

5.2.2 *Ramtane Lamamra*

Before becoming the Algerian minister of foreign affairs, Ramtane Lamamra occupied different diplomatic positions in the United Nations, the OAU and the AU. In his diplomatic career Lamamra served in different positions after graduating from the Algerian National School of Administration (École Nationale D' Administration) in Algiers. Lamamra was appointed as the

⁴⁷ The Darfur Conflict was a major armed conflict that took place between the Sudan Liberation Movement and the Justice and Equality movement in Sudan fighting together against the Sudanese government that they accused of conducting some oppressive and violent manners in dealing with the non-Arab population in that area (Danielova 2014 :44). This led the government to conduct some attacks against the non-Arab community in Sudan leading to great number of deaths of about 98.000 to 181.000 between March 2003 and January 2005 (United States Government Accountability Office 2006, p. 1).

Algerian ambassador to Ethiopia and Djibouti, and in the OAU and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa in 1993. Therefore, he worked closely with African countries and had acquired great knowledge about the African continent and the OAU in particular. In addition, he was appointed as the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After that, and with the establishment of the Peace and Security Council in the African Union, Lamamra was elected to be its commissioner (2008-2013), and worked to attain the objectives of the Council including resolving peace and security in the African conflicted regions by agreeing on peacebuilding missions (like in Somalia, Mali, and others) and then encourage the implementation of these agreements.

Lamamra played a very important role in the Peace and Security Council. In this, Lamamra argued that his position was not built from scratch, but was the result of Algeria's important role in African history, the undeniable position that the former Algerian President Abdel Aziz Bouteflika had in African, and indeed in world affairs, the excellent reputation of former Algerian representative Said Djinnit, and finally Lamamra's own long career and experience in working with the African countries (Ouazani 2008). In particular, he was able to mediate several conflicts in the African region, and he led a very important period that increased Algerian engagements in African security issues and mediation problems. In addition, Lamamra also assisted the African Union in deepening its partnerships with the United Nations.

According to many sources, Lamamra's mission as an intermediary did not start with his election as the secretary-general of the Peace and Security Council but started even before (Ouazani 2008: n.p). He was very active in the OAU and assisted it in its intermediary missions. Ouazani (2008) pointed out that Lamamra himself argued that his skills in resolving African border issues did not come with his ministerial position, but even before. This refers to his first mission as mediator, with the conflict between Mali and Burkina Faso in 1985. This opened the door for him to participate in later different mediation talks, including during the conflict between Libya and Chad, and also with the Liberian issue where the AU sent him as a special negotiator between 2003 and 2007. In addition, between June 2007 and January 2008, on behalf of the African Union Lamamra led negotiations between the Moroccan government and the Western Saharan Polisario Delegates.

Lamamra's mediation missions accelerated with the reorganisation of the AU, the creation of the Peace and Security Council, and also with his election as the AU Commissioner of Peace and Security. Since being appointed as the Algerian Permanent representative in the United Nations in 1993, he saw the necessity of encouraging African Union-PSC collaboration with the United Nations' Peace and Security Council, seeking to restore peace and security in

conflicting regions in Africa, issues that are of primary importance on both agendas (de Coning et al. 2016, p.10)

One of the cases that the AU Peace and Security Council, the United Nations, and Lamamra tried to resolve was the Somalian conflict⁴⁸ at that period. Their negotiations ended with an agreement to provide military aid to Somali troops to support their peace keeping in the conflicted region. In one of his speeches on Somalia in 2012 Lamamra argued that the collaboration between the AU Peace and Security Council with the Peace and Security Council of the United Nations had some good and fruitful results. As he said:

For the first time in 20 years, almost the whole of Mogadishu is now under the control of the TFG (Transitional Federal Government). Besides, military operations in other parts of the country by the TFG forces, with the support of Kenya and Ethiopia, have further weakened Al Shabaab extremists and other anti-peace extremists (Lamamra 2012, pp. 1-2).

After the appointment of Lamamra as the Algerian minister of foreign affairs, he was obliged to leave his office as the Commissioner of Peace and Security in the African Union, since he had new responsibilities towards the Algerian government. However, this new occupation did not stop his objectives of developing the African continent, and most importantly maintaining peace and security in Africa. Indeed, Lamamra did continue his mission, and endeavoured to mediate in different conflicts in the region. He encouraged Algerian diplomats to take part in the different issues of the continent and act as a mediator in different instances. The typical proof for that is that in the same year of his appointment as the head of the Algerian ministry of foreign affairs, he conducted a series of diplomatic visits to different African countries including Mauritania, Niger, and Mali. This was included in his diplomatic responsibilities as the Algerian minister of foreign affairs but also reflected his faithfulness to African development: it demonstrated the spirit that he acquired after serving in many years in the African Union.

Haas' concept of the socialisation of elites and the shift of loyalties process as a result of elites believing in different principles of their previous positions (1958, p.16) can be investigated here showing how the African Union in a way or another had socialised Algerian

⁴⁸ started after about ten years from the independence of Somalia. In the first ten years after independence, the system was corrupted, but it had some signs of democracy. However, in 1969 and after the military coup d'état, Siad Barre was not supported because of his dictatorship. After that, the country experienced different wars against this authoritative government between 1977 and 1991. This, indeed, did not stop here but it continued even after the end of these wars because Barre left his legacies that were authoritatively using power against the Somalian people and even against their liberation movements in the country considering them as terrorists (World Bank 2005, pp. 9-10).

diplomats, and made them think about assisting the African continent in achieving its own designated goals. Lamamra was Africanised in precisely this way, so that straight after his appointment as the Algerian minister of foreign affairs, he immediately started conducting diplomatic visits to different African countries to strengthen Algerian-African diplomatic relations. This shows how greatly this Algerian diplomat was Africanised, and how after serving in the AU he started to become convinced about the necessity of contributing to the fulfilment of the goals designated in the AU. This is what Neofunctionalism identifies as socialisation, and the shift of loyalties process (as we discussed in Chapter 1). This became evident when Lamamra, as a former Commissioner in the AU Peace and Security Council, took the African Peace goals he acquired in this role to his new post as Algerian minister of foreign affairs. Consequently, he encouraged the Algerian government to play an effective role in mediating different continental problems, giving Algeria a new capacity as a mediator of the serious African peace and security issues. It is this that confirms the idea of the Africanisation of Algerian diplomats in the AU, and specifically in the case of Lamamra.

The Malian case was the first in which the Algerian ministry of foreign affairs, led by Lamamra, tried to mediate, and they were successful. The Malian conflict started in January 2012, a few months after the appointment of Lamamra as the new Algerian minister of foreign affairs. This conflict was between the Northern and Southern parts of Mali and had its roots in the rebellion of several groups from the Northern parts of Mali, calling for more autonomy and independence. With the removal, in a coup d'état, of the former Malian President Amadou Toure, the area suffered a political vacuum, and become a region of conflict between different Malian religious and political groups.

It was the political instability of Mali that led African countries and the AU to consider the need for intervention to maintain peace and security in this region. This decision was discussed in the African Union's Panel of the Wise, that was chaired by the former Algerian President Ahmed Ben Bella, and which ultimately recognised the territorial unity of Mali and its sovereignty; as such, it rejected all armed rebellions in northern Mali and considered them illegal. As a consequence, the AU Panel of the Wise⁴⁹ decided to act to resolve this conflict by stressing the need for collaboration with the international community (Zoubir 2015: 67).

⁴⁹ African Union Panel of the Wise (POW) is a committee that was created within the AU PSC referring to a group of five respected African personalities appointed at the level of their outstanding contributions to the spread of peace and security in the African continent (African Union Peace and Security 2018). This committee will attempt to support the PSC chairperson in the prevention of different African conflicts (ibid).

However, ultimately no action was taken against the terrorist groups in Mali to restore peace and stability in the area.

It is that failure of action that instigated Algeria's diplomatic action. According to Zoubir (*ibid.*), Algerian diplomacy took the next steps to solve the Malian issue. First, the Algerian foreign service attempted to separate the different northern Malian civilians from the terrorist groups, and second it supported the Malian central government in establishing a dialogue with some of the groups who were initially against the spread of terrorism in the area. After all these attempts, the Algerian foreign office, led by Lamamra, encouraged a French intervention in Mali, as they considered this to be a necessary step in their mission of a War on Terror to which Algerian foreign policy is committed (*ibid.*, p. 69). By this point, the AU Peace and Security structures agreed with Algeria's support of such missions, that prioritised the continent's peace over ideas of sovereignty and independence. After Mali elected President Ibrahim Boubaker Keita in September 2013, he visited Algeria seeking more support and sustenance from the Algerian government. In this visit, the Malian president attempted to strengthen his country's diplomatic relations with the Algerian foreign service that had played a great role in spreading peace in his country.

Another case that the African Union, Lamamra and the Algerian diplomatic service attempted to resolve was the Libyan conflict. The problem in Libya goes back to 2011, with civil unrest over dissatisfaction with the rule of Muammar Gaddafi. The subsequent revolution against his authoritarian governmental rule called for political reforms, a fair system of government, the rule of law, democracy, and greater civil rights. However, the Libyan government responded brutally to these protests. These conflicting circumstances led to calls for the AU and the United Nations to intervene to protect civilian rights and protect peace and security in the region (Soderbaum, and Tavares, 2009, p.70).

According to its Constitutive Act, and Peace and Security Charter, the AU can intervene in the internal affairs of an AU member states in case of a civil war or domestic issues to restore peace and security. However, the AU proved incapable of meaningful intervention, and as a consequence the Arab League called for the intervention of NATO to solve the crisis in Libya. However, the Algerian government, in concert with the African Union leaders, opposed this Arab view, and thus were against NATO interference in Libya which they saw as illegitimate western interference in Libyan domestic affairs, rather than a protection of the civilian rights in the region. Lamamra asserted that 'Foreign military intervention can become part of the problem and not a part of the solution' (Ryan 2015). Moreover, he added that NATO intervention in Libyan domestic affairs would increase the likelihood of more terrorist actions

in the area rather than solving the problem (*ibid.*). As such, the Algerian government and the AU supported the idea of the rights of people of self-determination and refused NATO intervention in such domestic issues (Zoubir 2015, p. 69).

Algeria's foreign ministry did indeed attempt to impose stability and security in Libya, but not through military forces, preferring instead to encourage peaceful negotiations between the different conflicting Libyan factions (Harchaoui, 2018, p. 18). Harchaoui argued that at the time the Algerian foreign ministry under Lamamra was convinced that the Libyan conflict could be solved without bloodshed in the different Libyan territories (*ibid.*, p. 18). As Algerian minister of foreign affairs, Lamamra attempted on a number of occasions to mediate the conflict in Libya and invited the different conflicting factions to visit Algeria to start peaceful negotiations. Lamamra saw that the spread of peace and security in this region was not just about safeguarding Algerian security but was about the protection of the stability and security of all the border countries, and all of Africa (Ryan 2015).

After serving for about four years as the Algerian minister of foreign affairs Lamamra was dismissed in April 2017. Many link this to President Abdel Aziz Bouteflika's change of ministerial structure, since in 2015 Bouteflika made some changes in the position of the minister of foreign affairs. He appointed Abdel Kader Msahel as the Delegate minister to the minister of foreign affairs, who took charge of Maghreb, African and Arab League affairs, and changed Lamamra's role as minister of foreign affairs, limiting this to international issues. Limiting Lamamra's prerogatives and missions in the Algerian ministry of foreign affairs is thought to be the reason which made him leave the Algerian government to continue his work as a peace mediator and commissioner in the African Union PSC.

Certainly, this is the typical proof of the Africanisation of some of the Algerian diplomats who worked in the African Union, and how they started to think more about African interests, and of how to serve the interests not only of their country of origin but also think about the interests of the wider community. This theory is very applicable in the case of Lamamra, who made great efforts as the Algerian minister of foreign affairs to mediate different conflicts in different African countries, under the AU's objective of restoring peace and security in Africa. When Lamamra's prerogatives as Algerian minister of foreign affairs were limited by the Bouteflika, he left his new, limited, role as it became solely focused on the international arena, while the Maghreb, Arab and African issues were given to a new minister Abdel Kader Msahel.

This does raise the question of why this change happened, and why at this precise time? Ramtane Lamamra was performing well at the Maghreb, Arab and African levels. Undoubtedly, he was an Algerian diplomat who was greatly praised, not only at the African level, but also in

the United Nations where he was considered as an effective peace mediator. Indeed, the UN frequently invited him to seek his opinion on African issues, and even international issues, because of his sound experience and reputation in mediating different African conflicts.

This raises a further question: did the former Algerian President Bouteflika feel that Lamamra had become ‘Africanised’, and thought first of the interests of Africa, Arab and the Maghreb world, leaving Algerian interests to come in second position? One theory that answers the previous questions is that the reason behind the limitation of Lamamra’s prerogatives in the ministry of foreign affairs relates to his ‘Africanisation’, that made him prioritise African interests, thus relegating his serving Algerian interests. This may indeed be why Bouteflika decided to limit Ramtane Lamamra’s responsibilities to just international affairs, and give the responsibility of directing the African, Arab and Maghreb issues to Abdel Kader Msahel (a diplomat who had always served in the Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and had no other continental or international position), and who later became Algerian minister of foreign affairs. Another argument that proves this idea is that the division of prerogatives inside the Algerian ministry of foreign affairs created by Bouteflika did not continue: this division of prerogatives in the ministry of foreign affairs finished after the departure of Lamamra, with the appointment of Msahel as the sole minister of foreign affairs.

After leaving the Algerian ministry of foreign affairs in April 2017, Lamamra was immediately appointed as the AU’s High Representative for Silencing the Guns⁵⁰ in Africa in October 2017. The Chairperson of the African Union Commission, Moussa Faki Mahamat, argued that the appointment of Lamamra in this position was due to his knowledge and experience in peace and security, especially in mediation and the prevention of conflicts in Africa. As Mahamat said:

I wish to express my deep appreciation for Mr. Lamamra for having accepted this critical assignment. At a time when Africa is endeavouring to enhance its efforts towards the promotion of sustainable peace and security, his skills will be of tremendous help to the Commission and an invaluable asset to the AU (African Union 2017).

After his appointment, Lamamra attempted to continue his path towards spreading peace and security in the African continent. In addition, he was given a new mission in the African Union, Silencing the Guns in conflicting African areas and spreading peace all over the

⁵⁰ Silencing the Guns project is an African plan that attempts to design a road map to solve the different conflicts in the African continent under the intention of exploring some concrete options that would silence all the guns in the African continent and free all African countries from all types of conflicts and fights (African Union, 2014).

continent. It is a first step that would help Africa achieve more economic, social and cultural prosperity.

It is argued that this project has started to make progress, since it has been able to silence guns in different parts of Africa, including Angola, Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. However, the project is still facing problems while it comes to complicated cases like those of Somalia, Sudan, Libya, the Sahel issues, and Eastern Africa. However, in the UN Security Council opening debate about the project of Silencing the Guns in Africa, Lamamra, in his capacity of the AU's High Representative of the project, argued that Africa was making progress towards achieving the different aims of the project. He argued that the project had brokered peace agreements in the South of Sudan, the Central African Republic and was able to supervise successful democratic elections in Madagascar and the Democratic Republic of Congo. He added that the project's successes were '. . . all generating optimism about a continent emerging from the shadows and moving steadily to restore peace and stability and make a decisive move towards integration' (African Union 2019, p. 2). Furthermore, Lamamra asserted that the African Union had now improved its approaches to dealing with African conflicts and was hoping for other new ways to help the progress of the project (*ibid*, p. 2). However, Lamamra did also warn that the African project of Silencing the Guns would be hard to be achieved by 2020, since Africa still needed to develop the advanced strategies that would support the continent in attaining peace and security, that it needs for a better future. He argued that the present gap between political rhetoric and security efforts in solving the different African security issues must be understood, and then plugged. Moreover, he stressed the importance of social and economic prosperity in Africa, since peace is linked with economic prosperity and human rights protection, and vice versa (*ibid.*, p. 3).

Clearly, after leaving the Algerian government Ramtane Lamamra dedicated his time and efforts to African Union Peace and Security projects and is until now chairing different plans for peace and security in the AU. Mr. Lamamra's twitter account gives us some good evidence for this, since he has recorded all his activities of preserving concord and safety in Africa, starting from 2018 (i.e. after about two months before he was appointed as High Representative of Silencing the Guns in Africa October 2017). His twitter account shows his diplomatic activities, that reflect his methods of maintaining peace and security in Africa. Going through Lamamra's tweets reveals his primary method of realising the project of Silencing the Guns in Africa (see figure 10). It shows how he made personal attempts to mediate these problems, by meeting African heads of states, and the different representatives of the Regional Economic Communities, seeking more cooperation, and also financial assistance.



Figure 10 Ramatane Lamamra's African activities to accomplish his mission in silencing guns in Africa.

In addition to his African diplomacy, Lamamra also adopted a multinational approach to conflict resolution, making visits to European countries to attend different conferences, and initiate peace alliances with non-African countries. This new initiative continued right through 2019, when his speeches and attendance in international events accelerated, presenting the project of Silencing all the Guns in Africa in different international conferences, and especially in the UN Security Council, where he tried to forge cooperative agreements with different presidents and diplomats all around the world (see figure 11). This reflects the change of


Lamamra’s strategy to achieve the designed goals for the African project of Silencing all the Guns in Africa by December 2020. Moreover, this is a clear reflection of Lamamra’s pragmatic way of achieving Africa’s set goals, by not only making alliances with African heads of states and diplomats, but also with other non-African diplomats, for African future benefit.

 **Ramtane Lamamra** @La... · 27/02/2019 ✓
I had the pleasure to brief the @UN Security Council #UNSC on the @_AfricanUnion roadmap for Silencing the Guns in #africa.

J'ai eu le plaisir de briefed le Conseil de Sécurité des @ONU_fr sur la Feuille de Route de l' @_AfricanUnion pour Faire Taire les Armes en #Afrique



9 26 139

 **Ramtane Lamamra** @La... · 26/02/2019 ✓
Together with H.E Rosemary DiCarlo, USG for Political Affairs @UNDPPA, we underscored the importance of @_AfricanUnion and @UN partnership in acheiving the goal of silencing the guns in Africa by 2020.@AUC_MoussaFaki @AU_PSD



3 14 79

Figure 11 Lamamara’s international and UN activities to accomplish his mission of silencing the guns in Africa

In brief, the Algerian diplomat Ramtane Lamamra is considered as one of the most influential Algerian diplomats in the African Union. We can argue that he was rapidly Africanised, as he shifted his loyalties from being typically Algerian to start being typically

African; this was seen when he served as the Algerian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Here, Lamamra's actions as a diplomat also showed the relevance of Ernst Haas's central ideas in his foundational theory about the process of socialisation of diplomats inside different continental or international organisations. As Haas argued, the socialisation process in different organisations is not always intentionally conducted by respondents in these organisations but comes into existence as 'end values' (Haas 1958:14). This means that the socialisation process was not intentionally imposed by the AU to make Lamamra, or indeed any other diplomat in the organisation, think in favour of African interests as a priority. However, the effect of the designated goals of this organisation was that diplomats would start automatically thinking of the necessity of achieving this objective, as they had become convinced about its importance.

The same case applies with Lamamra and how the effects of the objectives of his previous position, as the Peace and Security Commissioner, made him think of the necessity to achieve peace and stability in the African countries, and prioritise this end over other Algerian ends when he was a minister in the Algerian ministry of foreign affairs. As we discussed, this is probably the reason that led the former Algerian President Bouteflika to decide on limiting Lamamra's prerogatives to just international issues, and to transfer the responsibility of directing the African, Arab and Maghreb issues to another Algerian diplomat; this division was made for the first time inside the Algerian ministry of foreign affairs in specific, and the Algerian government in general.

Last but not least, Lamamra is one of the Algerian diplomats in the African Union that made Algeria's position in the African Union so remarkable, due to his hard work on serving the continent's aims to achieve good political, economic, and security ends. In addition, as a diplomat he was faithful to the AU's objectives, and has until now continued to strive, and make great efforts, towards improving the stability and security situation in Africa. Ultimately these depend on good strategies, and methods, that fluctuate between building African and international diplomatic alliances, the fact that would assist him and Africa to achieve their goals.

5.2.3 *Abdel Kader Msahel and the African Union*

In his career in Algerian diplomacy, Abdel Kader Msahel occupied different positions in the Algerian government. He was appointed in several governmental positions, but most of them dealt with Algerian-African relations, which earned him the name of Monsieur l'Afrique (in English Mr. Africa). Among Msahel's diplomatic positions were his appointment as the general

African Director to the Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Algerian Ambassador to Burkina Faso and Algerian Ambassador to the Netherlands. After that, he was given the title of the Delegated Minister to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, responsible for African Affairs (2000-2002). Later, he was appointed in the same position but with the addition of Maghreb relations, independently from African affairs becoming the Delegated Minister to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, responsible for Maghreb and African Affairs. After that, Msahel was appointed as Minister of foreign affairs responsible for the Maghreb, African and Arab League issues, leaving Lamamra to become the Minister of foreign affairs responsible just for international issues. It is the first time that the position of the minister of foreign affairs in Algeria became divided between two diplomats. After the dismissal of Lamamra, Msahel became the minister of foreign affairs (2017-2019).

Unlike Lamamra, Abdel Kader Msahel did not serve in any other continental (the OAU or the AU) or international position (the United Nations for example). His work was ultimately connected with the Algerian government, where he served for many years in the ministry of foreign affairs as an expert in Algerian-African affairs. Therefore, Msahel visited different African countries in search of the development of Algerian-African relations, and his visits to African countries accelerated during his appointment as the Algerian minister of foreign affairs. In 2018 for example, Msahel conducted a working visit to South Africa where he met the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Lindiwe Sisulu. This visit was intended to set out lines of cooperation between the two countries, and to try to stress the need for cooperation across all domains, especially economic and political unity between the two countries. Moreover, the two ministers discussed issues related to the African Union, such as Morocco's re-admission into the African Union, where they emphasised the need for Morocco to respect of all the orders and regulations that formed the AU Constitutive Act (South African Government 2018).

Furthermore, the Algerian Minister of Foreign Affairs discussed with his South African counterpart different strategies that African states might follow to achieve continental economic integration after their signing to the African Continental Free Trade Area (ACFTA). Correspondingly, they agreed on the absolute need to convince all African countries to sign this agreement and to contribute to the facilitation of African Union member states' commercial activities (*ibid.*). As far as their security discussions were concerned, Msahel and Sisulu focussed on their continuing support for the Palestinian case.

The different continental issues discussed by the Algerian minister of foreign affairs Msahel and the South African Minister, or in other instances, do greatly reflect the strategies that Msahel followed to succeed in his diplomatic missions. Unlike Lamamra, Msahel attempted to

stress the range of different issues (i.e. security, political, social, economic and cultural) that African countries must worry about; thus, he tried on all occasions to discuss them with other African diplomats. In addition, through a general observation of his twitter account, we can see that Msahel had a range of meetings with different international diplomats, including those from the United States of America, Europe, China, Russia, and others (see figure 12). This reflects the Algerian government’s preferred choice of dealing with foreign policy, through building an Algerian networking zone with countries all around the world, and not only African states, as Ramtane Lamamra was doing.



Figure 12 Abdel Kader Msahel’s international foreign policy activities

In addition to the diplomatic approaches discussed above, Msahel made attempts to revive and strengthen Algerian-Maghreb and Algerian-Arab relations because of the importance in uniting their economies, and the benefits that would result from economic cooperation. As a result, Msahel argued in different instances that the reason behind the slow progress of the Maghreb's economic integration plans was Morocco, and its conflicts with the Algerian Foreign Office over its stance on the Western Saharan Independence question; thus, Msahel asserted that Algeria's diplomatic position over the Western Saharan issue should not be used as an issue that would obstruct the Arab Maghreb Union from achieving its regional integration plans (Middle East Monitor 2018). This reflects how Msahel supported the development of Algeria's diplomatic relations with the Maghreb and called in many instances for a need to strengthen Arab-Maghreb relations. In addition, these illustrations show clearly how Msahel blamed the Moroccan government, and their diplomacy, for the failure of all regional integration plans over of the Western Saharan issue that should be excluded from their mutual regional project.

From the data above, we can say that in the case of Msahel, even though was called Mister Africa, his diplomatic projects were not 100% focused on solving the African Union's political, security or economic issues. He was a diplomat that attempted to build good Algerian diplomatic relations with all countries in the world and did not just focus on building good relations with African countries exclusively. Therefore, we can argue that Msahel was not socialised to think exclusively of African interests above national Algerian ones. As such, he attempted to build good Algerian relations with the entire world with a focus on such issues as finding strategies that would help Algerian foreign policy in reviving the Arab Maghreb Union Project, and calling for more regional unity in the area. If compared with his predecessor Ramtane Lamamra, who was greatly Africanised (the proof that his diplomatic work concentrated mainly on achieving goals and objectives that were designed in the OAU and later on in the AU), Msahel conducted a broader foreign policy that tried to minimise the prioritisation of one region over the other. Indeed, even though Msahel was known as Mister Africa, I think this title was based much more on his government posts, and not his methods on conducting foreign policy.

Finally, we can make a strong case that the socialisation process in the OAU and the AU in many ways shaped diplomats, and convinced them while they were in office to prioritise African issues over national ones, and to use their position to solve issues that were set as objectives in the OAU and later the AU. This was greatly symbolised in Ramtane Lamamra whose Africanisation led him to shift his loyalties to a new centre of concern, (that is the OAU and then the AU) whose goals and objectives became an end value of this diplomat. The effects

of this were clear in Algerian foreign policy when Lamamra was its minister, which was to become close to the African Union, and for Algeria to play a significant part in solving the different security issues from which Africa suffered at this period. All in all, it was the appointment of this Africanised diplomat in the Algerian government that pushed the Algerian government during this period to become an active member in the AU security sector, a development that transformed the previously inactive Algerian foreign policy.

5.2.4 *Sabri Boukadoum: Future Algerian-AU Relations*

Sabri Boukadoum is an Algerian politician and diplomat who was appointed in 2019 to the new, reformed, Algerian government by the newly elected President Abdel Majid Tebboun. Before taking up this position in the Algerian government, he had served in the diplomatic service. As Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, Boukadoum was elected Chair of the UN's First Committee (Disarmament and International Security), on 13 June 2016, and prior to this had served as Ambassador to Portugal (2005-2009), and Ambassador to the Cote d'Ivoire (1996-2001). Between 1993-1995, Boukadoum was responsible for Algerian political affairs.

In his position as Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Boukadoum demonstrated the different security principles and objectives that Algerian foreign policy wanted to achieve. In one of his speeches to the United Nations General Assembly (2016) Boukadoum argued that Terrorism was the first objective that the Algerian diplomacy sought to address (p. 2). In addition, Boukadoum argued that through its diplomacy in the United Nations the Algerian government would seek to establish global peace and security, and called on the UN to establish disarmament strategies to ensure the security of all the countries in the world (United Nations General Assembly 2016, p. 2).

In 2019, Sabri Boukadoum was appointed as Algerian minister of foreign affairs. After this appointment, Boukadoum started his diplomatic mission, when he participated in December 2019 in a meeting in Rome that sought to address the Libyan conflict, and find solutions that would spread peace in that region. Boukadoum then received the Malian Minister of Foreign affairs and International Cooperation Tiébilé Dramé, when they discussed and agreed on strategies that would help in enhancing the implementation of the peace process in Mali. Boukadoum asserted that the agreement constituted the appropriate instrument for resolving the crisis in Northern Mali within the framework of an inclusive approach that combines the

achievement of peace and stability in the country (The Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p. 2019).

Boukadoum's activities after his appointment as the minister of foreign affairs clearly show his intention of mediating different conflicts in the world, starting with those neighbouring Algeria. From this we can argue that this diplomat was socialised in the United Nations when he served as the Permanent Algerian representative to the United Nations, where the UN objective of keeping peace and security all over the world became an end value of Boukadoum, convincing him of the importance of achieving this goal. Therefore, we can expect that Haas' concept of the shift of loyalties may occur to a certain degree in the future of the Algerian ministry of foreign affairs. We cannot predict an era of a total change of the Algerian diplomatic relations, like that witnessed during Lamamra's era as minister, but at least it would not be as general and regionally focused as Msahel's era.

5.3 Algerian diplomats and Experts in the African Union

The African Union has many different organs, and as such it recruits different African politicians and diplomats in different fields to assist the organisation in managing its affairs. Indeed, many Algerian diplomats have served, and others are still serving, in different important positions of this body. The individuals that are to be discussed in the next part of the chapter are those who are close to African Union decision-makers like Lamamra, discussed above, Smail Chergui and Ahmed Ben Bella. The reason for choosing such names is related to their high-ranking positions in the AU, and the influential role that these personalities have played, and are still playing, in the decision-making processes of the in the African Union, giving the Algerian government additional, important, status in the AU, as a product of the achievements of its diplomats inside the Union.

5.4 Algerians in AU Diplomatic Positions:

5.4.1 *Algerians in the African Union Commission*

Smail Chergui is an Algerian diplomat who served in different diplomatic positions before serving in the AU, as Algerian Ambassador to Moscow and Ambassador to Ethiopia. After the appointment of Ramtane Lamamra in 2013 to the post of Algerian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chergui was elected to take Lamamra's position as the AU Commissioner of Peace and Security. Chergui was re-elected for a second term in office and till now he is the AU Commissioner of Peace and Security.

In his different speeches to the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC), Chergui attempted to highlight the different issues that beset the African continent, including problems confronting the Horn of Africa, including Somalia and Sudan, as one of the most unstable regions in Africa. He considered these regions to represent the biggest challenges in Africa, threatened by different serious issues like terrorism, exploitation of natural resources, piracy, transnational criminology and trafficking of human beings (Chergui 2017: 2). Chergui stressed the necessity of uniting all national, African and international efforts to prevent these challenges from developing into becoming serious issues. Therefore, he started a first initiative calling on different experts, diplomats, policymakers, and academics from the horn of Africa to convene and discuss the situation of this area, with a particular focus on Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Southern part of Sudan, Sudan and Uganda (*ibid.*, p. 3). He concluded that the horn of Africa was not the only insecure area, but it would be the first area where the AU commission of peace and security would start, and then generalise these methods on all of Africa's unstable regions including the Sahel regions, and the Great Lakes (*ibid.*, p. 4).

In order to achieve security and peace in the African continent, at a Summit in Oran (Algeria) in 2015, African leaders agreed on new cooperation at the peace and security level. At this meeting, they started to consider the creation of an African Police Cooperation Organisation (APCO), a decision that was officially ratified by the African Union in 2017 at the 28th Summit of the African Union in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), with the creation of the African Union Mechanism for Police Corporation, or what is known as the African Police Centre or the AFRIPOL. The AU PSC subsequently decided to build AFRIPOL's headquarters in Algiers. In this choice, one can see the influence that the Algerian diplomat Chergui had in the African Union in general, and in the AU PSC in specific. It was this important position that influenced the decision by the AUC on the establishment of the AFRIPOL headquarters in Algiers, and not in another AU member state. This also draws from the support of the Algerian ministry of foreign affairs, the government and diplomacy to the African Union plan of African corporations in peace and security sectors.

5.4.2 *Algerian Diplomats in the Panel of the Wise*⁵¹

As mentioned before, many Algerian diplomats served in high positions in African Union bodies, with most of them serving in the Peace and Security sectors. After the agreement of the

⁵¹ Panel of the Wise is one of the pillars of the African Peace and Security plan. It was created by the end of 2007 as another tool that would assist in the prevention of the African conflicts (Porto, Joao Gomes and Kapinga Ngandu 2015, p. 17,18).

PSC protocol, a number of Algerian diplomats were appointed as representatives of the North African region in the Panel of the Wise.

Porto, Joao Gomes and Kapinga Ngandu (2015) *The African Union's Panel of the Wise: A Concise History*. ACCORD: South Africa.

The first Algerian diplomat to be appointed on the committee was Ahmed Ben Bella, Algeria's first president after independence. After Ben Bella was deposed in Boumediene's coup d'état, he continued his diplomatic work inside and outside Algeria. As discussed earlier, when Ben Bella was the Algerian president, he had shown his constant support for the OAU, and plans for ending colonialism and for African integration, as shown by his participation in all the meetings before the creation of the OAU. He can be considered as one of the founding fathers of the OAU, and constantly supported African plans even at the expense of Algerian national ones. It is this that made us claim that he was greatly socialised in the OAU.

In 2007, Ben Bella was appointed as the North African Chairperson of the African Union Panel of the Wise (POW), that was created to assist the AU PSC in spreading peace and security around the African continent. This important appointment was the product of Ben Bella's efforts in the development of the OAU, and his hard work when he was Algerian president in support of the OAU's plans. Once again, this recognition of his work gives additional support for our argument that he was Africanised and socialised to the extent that he considered African interests over his country's interests when he was president. Moreover, in his diplomacy he had witnessed all the stages of the creation of the OAU and met with the different African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah and others. Therefore, the African leaders rewarded Ben Bella with his appointment as the Chairperson of the POW.

Lakhder Brahimi is the second Algerian diplomat who served for many years on the African Union Panel of the Wise. Brahimi was tasked to solve different issues in several African conflicting areas. In 2015, the Chairperson of the AU Commission, Mr. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, started negotiations with influential parties in Madagascar in an effort to resolve their crisis and bring their political groups into one group. Brahimi continued in this mission where he met several political groups and organisations; in this, he delivered a speech in which he highlighted the long history of Madagascar, and urged these groups to start a fruitful dialogue that would build up an atmosphere of stability in Madagascar (African Union Peace and Security 2016).

In addition, Brahimi participated in different security missions in Africa, chosen for his experience in this domain, especially after his work in the UN as a peace representative in

different conflicting sites, notably Syria. This reflects the position of Algerian diplomats in the AU, and especially in the AU PSC, and how Algerian diplomats contributed to influence the decision-making process in the AU. However, there are other Algerian diplomats, politicians, and experts that served and still serving in the different bodies of the AU; but they are still considered as a minority if compared with the high positions that the Algerian diplomats occupied in the security area of the AU. This, in addition to other factors like the economic assistance of Algeria to the AU, contributed to the Algerian government's leading role in the African Union, especially in peace and security areas, and even in the economy, although as noted there are relatively few high ranked Algerians in the AU economic sector.

5.5 African Economic Integration and Algeria

Economic integration is defined as the process through which two or more countries decide to remove trade barriers between them. Researchers argue that in recent decades there has been an expansion of economic regional integration organisations with an expansion of the existing regional agreements to include more countries and the deepening of the regional economic investments (Karakaya, and Cooke 2002, p.2). Therefore, economic integration is linked with the will of the political elite and their interests.

The African experience with the process of economic integration started with the Abuja Treaty, but it also faced many problems (see Chapter Two and Chapter Three). The African political will is always questioned when it comes to the economic integration process. Studying the Algerian performance in the AU reveals that Algeria as a member state in the OAU and then the AU rhetorically encourages the African economic integration but practically the government's performance has hesitated towards that objective. Indeed, the Algerian economic priorities in Africa changed with the change of the Algerian FP, presidents and the internal circumstances of the country.

Algerian economic relations varied from building economic partnerships with different countries around the world. Some presidents encouraged Algerian-European trade relations, others tried to facilitate the Algerian-Maghreb, Algerian-Arab economic relations, while others urged the government for building Algerian-Chinese trade relations rather than strengthening their economic relations with African countries. This may be related to the poverty of the majority of the African countries. Moreover, many of my interviewees linked that issue with the instability of most of the African countries and the insecurities around the African borders.

Indeed, Africa is still suffering from border problems and insecurities discouraging even African countries from investing with each other. In addition to that, building economic relations with the African countries may have some long-term benefits unlike with the European countries for example.

According to Haas, political elites contribute to the formation of public decisions:

in our scheme of integration, "elites" are the leaders of all relevant political groups who habitually participate in the making of public decisions, whether as policymakers in the government, as lobbyists or as spokesman of political parties. They include all officials of trade associations, the spokesman of organised labour, higher civil servants and active politicians (1958, p. 17).

Haas then went on to justify his idea of linking integration to reasons like the bureaucratized nature of the European institutions and the difference of attitudes between the elites and the public opinion where he exemplified by the French government (*ibid.*).

In his theory (see Chapter Two above) Haas attempted to link economic integration to political integration and show how political integration can encourage integration at the level of the economy. He theorised that 'the decision to proceed with integration or to oppose it rests on the perception of interests and the articulation of specific values on the part of existing political actors' (Haas 1958, p. 13). These ideas can be projected on the Algerian government as well and its attitudes in the African Union. This link between the economic and political can be associated with the bureaucratized nature of the Algerian government where the most important government decisions are taken by the government and not the citizens' elected representatives.

As such, we now turn to the role of Algerian elites from outside the political sphere in African economic integration. In this area, as part of my research I interviewed Algerian business managers, and especially marketing and export directors, in some of the most important Algerian business companies. The interviews placed particular stress on their attitudes towards the African economic integration process, and the Continental African Free Trade Area Project. As discussed in the First Chapter of the thesis (the Introduction), these questions pivoted around Algerian-African economic relations in the past and in the present, the relations of their businesses with African companies, and the Algerian government's attitudes towards this kind of cooperation (as the Algerian economy is state owned, the commercial regulations of the country are decided by the government). Moreover, the interview questions inquired about the future benefits of Algerian economic investments with African

countries under the AU facilities, and the role of these business groups in influencing Algerian governmental economic regulations.

5.5.1 *Algerian Trade Companies and African Economic Integration: Sonatrach, Air Algérie, GICA Algérie*

African economic integration is an aim that the African continent tried to achieve through the African Union and the creation of the AEC and the RECs. Generally speaking, by economic integration we mean the integration of different economic areas leading to the reduction of the costs of production, and thus goods and services (Uzodike p.29). Moreover, there may be a use of what is labelled as the customs union. It means the removal of trade barriers and the equalisation of tariffs between the non-member states (*ibid.*). Indeed, the African efforts to achieve economic integration between its member states through different ways including the creation of the RECs that would help the AEC in achieving its integration aims. However, these committees were not able to achieve the designed objectives set in the Abuja Treaty because of many reasons including the absence of political will amongst many leaders in Africa, as well as the absence of short-term benefits from deeper economic integration amongst African countries.

In order to achieve the African Union economic integration plans, member states are required to actively participate in this process. Researchers argue that member states must engage actively in their RECs and support their programs of removing trade barriers between the African member states, and the development of the interstate trade policies (*ibid.*). Here, the Algerian government economic contribution in the AU economic integration is studied and highlighted.

The Algerian economic system is state-owned and is dominated by oil and natural gas revenues which make up about 97% of the country's exports, and about two-thirds of government incomes (African Development Bank, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2003, p. 57). The state-owned industrial sector has proved inefficient for the country, unemployment levels are very high, standing around 30%, leading to the fall of the standards of living and to a reduction in GDP (*ibid.*). Since the Bouteflika era, the Algerian economy has developed into a mixed type of economy, where private enterprise is now encouraged – although the regulation of the country's economy by the government, through the different ministries, remains. However, this section of the chapter will not dwell on the different problems in Algeria's economic system but seeks to understand and highlight the attitudes of

Algerian business elites towards the African economic integration process. As discussed above, interviews were conducted with officials in Sonatrach Algérie, Air Algérie, and GICA Algérie; a selection based on the list of the most important business companies in Algeria.

The first, Sonatrach Algérie, is a state-owned company specialised in the discovery, production, transportation, and refining of hydrocarbons in Algeria. Sonatrach is considered the largest company in Africa, with the Business School University of Navarra (2017) considering it as one of the giants in Africa (as Africa's largest oil company) and is the 11th largest oil company in the world. My research attempted to assess the different economic relations between Sonatrach and other African countries.

Before the reformed African Union launched economic integration plans in 2002, the Algerian oil company only had limited economic connections with African countries. According to one of Sonatrach's managers (interviewee 1) this was mainly related to the poverty of many African countries, and to the government's preferred policy of encouraging investments in Europe, rather than the regional or African investment. However, this investment policy started to change after 2002, and Sonatrach's investments in Africa started to increase (*ibid.*).

In 2006, Aljazeera Economy reported that the Algerian minister of Energy, Mr. Shakib Khalil, claimed that three-quarters of Sonatrach's investments were directed to the African continent which represents c. 8.6 billion dollars, and that was just for 2006 (Aljazeera Economy 2006). This showed a significant development, in response to policies towards encouraging Algerian-African investments, that in 2005 only amounted to 3.3 billion dollars (*ibid.*). Moreover, Khalil announced that the Algerian ministry of energy was working on a new investment of about 7 billion dollars in an Algerian-African project, the Trans-Saharan Gas Pipeline Project between Algeria and Nigeria, with a transportation capacity of 28 billion cubic metres of natural gas (*ibid.*). Furthermore, Khalil spoke about Sonatrach's contracts for exploration and exploitation in several fields, and different areas, in Libya, Mauritania, Sudan, Mali, and Niger. Correspondingly, in 2006 Sonatrach started new oil drilling missions in Libya and Niger (*ibid.*).

Further on in the interview with the Algerian manager in Sonatrach (interviewee 1), he asserted that there were some future projects that they had initially designed, but because of the instability of the majority of the regions, Sonatrach's projects were hampered. These security concerns extended cross different African countries including Mali, Libya, and Sudan, and blocked the progress of Sonatrach-African economic investments. He added that this had now led Sonatrach to try to start new worldwide investments, like launching substantial investment

projects with Turkey in 2019. This shows clearly the motivations and interests that lie behind the Algeria's active security position in Africa, and how these relate to the Algerian economic interests in Africa.

When we moved to discussing the African economic integration project, and the creation of the Continental African Free trade Area, my interviewee (interviewee 1) argued that Africa is still a long way from achieving this goal because of the many political, security and economic issues still unresolved in Africa. He said that even though the potential for Sonatrach to develop African-Algerian economic relations is there, circumstances obstructed every attempt. He added that Sonatrach could not risk investments in insecure territories; as such, Sonatrach preferred non-African investments, since this would prove to be more profitable, without exposure to the kind of risk inherent in investing in Africa's conflicted regions.

The second important Algerian company that I contacted is Algerian Airlines (Air Algérie) which is one of the top ten African airlines. In an interview that I conducted with one of the commercial directors in Algerian Airlines (interviewee 2), he asserted that the Algerian economy, from independence until the present day, had seen an increase in Algerian investment in African countries, and an improvement in Algerian-African economic relations. Here he gave the example of Sonatrach, which had started good economic projects with different African countries. Also, he said that 'you can find one Algerian company that makes most of its investments with European countries, it is CEVITAL' (interviewee 2).

When we discussed the investments of Algerian Airlines and African countries, my interviewee argued that over the last ten years Air Algérie had supported some opening up towards other African states, since there was some interest in the opening of new schedules and airline links between Algeria and African countries like Dakar and Mali for example. In addition, the Air Algérie Commercial Director argued that there was also a strong will for the opening of new routes with Cotonou (Benin) and with Duala (Cameroon). However, until now, he added, these plans had not been concretised.

In response to my question about the reasons for the slow progress of the opening of new air routes with African countries, my interviewee linked this with big issues like international relations, and political relations between countries. However, he said that the border problems and insecurities in some African regions were not the direct reasons that hindered the process of Algerian-African economic cooperation. He linked them primarily with the international, political relations between countries, rather than the safety and security of these countries. He then added that the secondary reason for the slow development of Algerian-African relations can be linked with the fragility of African infrastructure, which explains why Algeria is now,

for example, building the Algerian highway from the north to the south of African, a project that will open the North African economy to the Southern, and vice versa.

Following my question about the African Continental Free Trade Area, the Air Algérie commercial director argued that the realisation of this project would be an incentive to Algerian-African economic transactions, since this would promote economic activity between Algerian and African economies. He added that this would also lead to an improvement in the quality of Algerian products since trading standards would be changed and standardised across all African goods. Moreover, my interviewee asserted that ACTFA would improve the Algerian economy, and a change in the types of goods that are exported and imported.

GICA Algérie (Groupe Industriel des Ciments) is an important cement manufacturing company in Africa, and the leading producer in Algeria. Many years after of its establishment, GICA Algérie started its first exports to Europe in 2018, and also to a few African countries: Mauritania and Kenya. However, my interviewee (3) from this company argued that Africa, including Algeria, does not possess a good enough infrastructure to develop regional and continental economic transactions. This is among the big problems that interviewee (3) referred to when it comes to the major obstacles that hinder African economic integration.

Another point that interviewee (3) sought to highlight is related to political will, and how this influences the progress of sectors of activity. He went on to explain this; when the government is in support of economic integration with a particular country, for example, facilities for economic integration will then come. This leads us back to Ernst Haas's ideas about economic integration, and how it gets stronger when political and economic interests match between the countries. Haas asserted that 'the decision to proceed with integration or to oppose it rests on the perception of interests and the articulation of specific values on the part of existing political actors' (1958, p. 13). This means that political will is always the driver that promotes economic integration between countries. It was this idea that the GICA Algérie director tried to highlight when he said:

the Algerian economic relations with all other countries start from a political will; it means that it starts from very high levels then touches economy i.e. from the government to the Algerian economic companies that apply the rules. So, if we have no real political will, we cannot start any economic activity (interviewee 3).

This can be related specifically to Algerian companies, since most of them are state-owned, this effectively means that the different ministries of economy, energy, industry and others are responsible for the decision-making process in the economic sector.

But the question here is that since most of the Algerian companies are state-owned, the process of integrating them with the African ones is, normally, a very smooth and easy procedure since the government is the final decision-maker. This indeed reveals the idea that the Algerian government itself does not completely support African economic integration plans. However, the Algerian government, according to my interviewee (3), has recently tried to attract some African investors, as seen by the Algerian ministry of commerce which has of late organised different exhibitions of its goods in African countries like Mali and Mauritania to attract African investors.

Once again, my last question related to the African Continental Free Trade Area Project, and here participant (3) argued that this would be hard to achieve, since we are speaking about Africa, a very poor continent that is suffering from different security issues. As such, if the government were to speak of integration, Algerian businesses would support regional economic integration, and push towards economic integration with our neighbours Morocco, Tunisia, and Mauritania. Encouraging free trade in this region would greatly benefit the Algerian economic sector because of the similarities in culture, religion, and culture. He added that any economic investment that brings hard currency to the Algerian treasury is important, regardless of the nature of this country – African or European – this does not matter; what matters is bringing in hard currency.

5.5.2 *Discussion of business elite views*

Looking back over the different views revealed by the participants in the study reveals telling differences between their views. Their readings of the reasons that led to the slow progress of the African economic integration plans differed; some linked them to border issues that African countries now are experiencing, and insecurity in most parts of the African continent. For these commentators, this is the most important reason that has led to African Union economic integration plans very slow pace of progress at the concrete level of countries.

However, others linked slow integration with the political interests of the Algerian governments and their benefits. This reason seems more convincing, since most of the Algerian business companies are state-owned, and thus the state has sole responsibility for supporting stronger or weaker economic integration with African countries. This leads us to refer back to Haas's theory of the relationship between political and economic integration, and how each of them leads to the presence of the other. So, the question to be asked here is whether economic integration between African countries is limited because of the absence of political will? Can

we argue that African leaders are still hesitant about the benefits of their economic integration? In more specific terms, can we say that the Algerian government is still hesitant about the benefits of the African economic integration? Or is it because of the fragility of political relations between the different African countries that we are not seeing deeper economic integration, even though Algerian big businesses know exactly the benefits of economic transactions between the African big companies, and the improvements that they would achieve when the project of the African Continental Free Trade Area is applied in practice with all its designed measurements? We now move to examine the question of political will, in search of responses to these questions.

5.5.3 African Union Economic Integration: Algerian Political Will vs African Economic Integration Plans

A review of Algerian trading statistics in the last years reveals that the top importers from Algerian are Italy, France, Spain, United States, Brazil while the top exporters to Algeria are China, France, Italy, Germany and Spain (World Integrated Trade Solutions 2020, n.p). This reflects previous ideas that most of Algerian exports, and indeed imports, are with non-African countries, even though all my interviewees agreed on the fact that the Algerian ministries of commerce, energy, and industry are all trying to encourage more economic openness on African markets. This will lead us again to inquire about the reasons that led to such fragility of African economic relations, even though the African Union has been working on the issue since 2002. The next section looks at the way that experts responded to my interview questions about this puzzle.

According to a senior monitoring and evaluation expert at the Pan African Parliament (interviewee 4), the African Union itself is encountering different problems in achieving its different set objectives for economic integration between African countries. He added that every time African Union experts tried to create new roadmaps that would assist African countries in facilitating their economic integration, they faced different obstacles. My interviewee argued that one of the main recent projects of economic integration is the initiation of the African Continental Free Trade Area Act (AfCFTA) in 2018.

In another interview that I conducted with the former Head of Trade in the Trade and Industry Department in the African Union Commission, one of the initiators of the AfCFTA, he argued that this project was initiated in 2012 but it took a long time to be agreed on by the different heads of states (interviewee 5). He added that this program aims at encouraging more

traffic at the commercial level between African countries. This indeed reflects the previous idea of how African heads of states were hesitant about economic integration plans, even if they ratified the different treaties and agreements that relate to the establishment of the plan (Matheis and Staeger 2019, n.p.). Focusing on to the role of the Regional Economic Communities (RECs), the AU Trade expert (interviewee 5) argued that these regional level communities were created as a way to help the African Economic Community in achieving its continental economic integration objectives, because of the sheer scale of the continent. However, some African countries went even further, and became members in more than one REC, and even though the Abuja Treaty and then the AU recognised just eight RECs, nowadays there are about fourteen RECs with six non-recognised RECs. Moreover, the majority of the RECs have not been able to achieve their set goals, because of political issues between participating countries. The example that might be given here in the Arab-Maghreb Union (AMU) that failed because of the political tensions between Morocco and Algeria over the Western Saharan issue. Indeed, in a way this is the problem that hindered the development of integration plans, and necessitated the creation of a new integration plan, the AfCFTA.

The AfCFTA is considered as the largest free trade area since the creation of the World Trade Organisation (African Trade Policy Centre 2018, p. 1). It is a new, massive, African economic project that aims to accelerate intra-African trade and boosting Africa's economic position in the global market. This project will even attempt to revive the RECs, and involve them in the implementation of the rules and structures designed by the AfCFTA (*ibid.*, p. 8). While the treaty creating the AfCFTA project has entered into force. after its ratification by the majority of African countries, it is still facing some practical problems. Algeria was one of the early countries that ratified this project, and according to the former Algerian Minister of Trade Said Djellab, the AfCFTA project is an interesting African initiative that will boost African commercial and economic cooperation, and then build trade, leading to sustained growth in the African economy (Embassy of Algeria in Bulgaria 2019). This showed that the Algerian government supported this project and supported African economic integration.

The AU trade expert (interviewee 5) argued that when the negotiations of the AfCFTA project started, many issues were not agreed upon by the negotiators. These differences mainly concerned the different products that would be exchanged between the countries, the nature of their economic deals, and the standards that African goods must meet. Initially, the negotiators, according to AU Trade expert, agreed on 90% of the goods that must be exchanged between the African countries by 2050. However, the difficult issue was about the remaining 10%, and

how this was going to be divided, and which goods would not be exchanged between African countries, even by 2050.

Another problem raised in the interview was the politicisation of the standards of goods, which might obstruct the development of AfCFTA. The Algerian AU Trade expert argued that because African countries are, in the majority of instances, producing the same goods, this has led countries to raise market standards so that goods from their neighbouring country will not be able to enter the country and compete with the national goods. This happens, according to my participant (5), because of the politicisation of national market standards, and this is, according to him, a weakness that hinders the process of economic integration between African countries. Therefore, he said

we created the Pan African Quality Infrastructure; it is about standards and norms and modestly I am the father of this idea. They have now to avoid all the political standards, they should only keep the scientific standard . . . (interviewee 5).

This indeed highlighted issues that the African Union's new project is suffering from, leading to the slow progress of its economic integration.

Practically speaking, the AfCFTA is a project that can only be successful if the national African governments agree on its implementation. In the discussion with GICA's business director, (interviewee 3), he informed me that The Algerian ministry of commerce, for example, is responsible for deciding on external trade with countries according to its treaties and conventions. This means that the company retains the right to decide on its internal affairs (number of workers, appointment and selection of positions, distribution of activities...etc) but the Algerian government, through its different ministries chaired by ministers like the ministry of commerce, in this case, will decide upon its trade, imports, and exports. Therefore, it is up to this ministry to decide upon which goods are produced, and to whom they will be sold. Effectively, while the company directors are for encouraging regional and African import and export relations, the government imposes regimes that match with their foreign policies and their diplomatic relations.

Going back to Ernst Haas' theory of the substantive relationship that links political and economic integration, and how political integration leads automatically to boosting economic integration between countries, can explain the idea of the need for greater political will in Africa to achieve its economic integration. In his own words, Haas claimed:

But economic integration, however, defined, may be based on political motives and frequently begets political consequence . . . Free trade, therefore, cannot be automatically equated with political integration: nor can the interpretation of national markets be so considered (1958, p. 12).

Through this, we can deduce one reason that led to the slow progress of economic integration in Africa; here we see the real uncertainty of African heads of states in general, and the Algerian government in particular, about the benefits that would be gained from boosting the regional and continental African economy.

Last but not least, Algeria is theoretically one of the earliest supporters of the creation of the AU and thus its trade plans including the Abuja Treaty and other programs like the AFCFTA. However, till now there are little steps that were done by the Algerian government to achieve this objective. Noticeably, till today, there are few African countries that are allowed to enter Algeria without a visa including Tunisia, Libya, Morocco, Sahrawi Arabic Democratic Republic, Mauritania, and Mali. More, the Algerian – African trade is very limited when compared to the Algerian European trade deals. In 2020, the European Commission considered Algeria as one of their biggest trade partners by representing 0.7 of the EU's total trade in goods (European Commission, n.p.). As a response to this, One of my interviewees argued that the Algerian government had the potential of building good relations with African countries but trading with Europe is the smoothest (Interviewee 2). This shows clearly how the Algerian government is theoretically encouraging the AU economic integration plans but practically trading with European countries leading to in a way or in another in the obstruction of the economic integration plans of the AU.

5.5.4 African Union Economic Integration Issues

In addition to the previously discussed problems in the African Union, other general issues inside the AU led to the lack of economic integration between AU members. First, the political will as discussed before is very important to achieve African economic integration; this is not only the view of Algerian business managers, but also the view of one of my interviewees (4) who is an expert in senior monitoring and evaluation at the level of the Pan-African Parliament. He claimed that 'it [integration] needs more time more energy and political will and mostly more political will to commit itself towards this'.

In addition, the AU, according to my interviewees (4, 5), is suffering from limited financial support, as its budget is very modest. This is, according to the Algerian AU expert (interviewee

5), the reason why the AU Pan-African Parliament has not played a great role in the decision-making process and has limited power. He added that the reason behind the fragility of the AU budget is the poverty of the majority of the African countries. Algeria, however, is a country that tries to financially assist the AU, which is why, according to my interviewees, Algeria has a very important position in the AU, even giving it the right of veto, making it one of the top three important AU members.

Another issue that my interviewees agreed on was the lack of funding, and its impact on the legislative branch of the AU, leading the PAP to play a secondary role in the AU. This has resulted in African dependence on foreign partners to finance the majority of African development projects, according to my research participant (4). Moreover, my interviewee (4) referred to the peace and security problems in Africa, and how they are obstructing African economic integration projects; from his point of view this has also led to an increase in refugees leaving the African continent, causing instabilities and insecurities on the continent itself (Tavares, and Soderbaum 2009, p.69).

The socialisation process of African representatives in the African Union is very controversial. Indeed, our previous studies of the different Algerian diplomats in the African Union showed how they were Africanised in a way that made them think of continental interests above their national Algerian interests. This is what the AU Commission Expert (4) affirmed when he argued that when laws and articles were discussed and then approved, they are treated as steps that would benefit the continent, and not the individual countries, so this is one kind of the socialisation of AU representatives. However, one might argue that even though the socialisation process of state representatives in the AU is successful, the PAP and the majority of the AU organs still retain some powers, although limited, and the ultimate decision-making process is still in the hands of the African heads of states. It is this unbalanced division of power inside the African Union that has led to the domination of the heads of states and government over the decision-making process in the union.

5.6 Government Lobbying in Africa: Algerian Case

Undoubtedly, Pressure groups and lobbyists have a great role in influencing the governmental decisions of countries. In the integration process, these groups have a great role in influencing governments to take decisions that would best serve their interests. Haas (1958: 15) argued that these groups will try to push government policy in directions that will, of course, serve their basic interests; some will support more economic integration, while others will oppose it. This

means that decisions on integration are not taken just by the government, but by all the political elites of the different countries including

all relevant political groups who habitually participate in the making of public decisions, whether as policymakers in government, as lobbyists or as spokesmen of political parties. They include the officials of trade associations, the spokesmen of organised labour, higher civil servants and active politicians (Haas, 1958: 17).

In the African Union case, my interviewees argued that there are no active pressure groups or lobbyists that attempt to influence the government's decisions about the benefits of continental economic integration. However, one participant referred to the role that politicians in the Algerian parliament, or indeed any other African national parliament, can play in influencing the governmental decisions of their government. He said that

concerning the politicians that are in the Algerian parliament they should become the power of suggesting and influencing the government to take such decisions (decisions of African economic integration) and convince the government about the economic opportunities in Africa (interviewee 6).

In addition to that, my interviewee (6) emphasised the necessity of building Algerian-African parliamentary relationships, so as to work together to reach some of their set goals. This will help parliamentarians to become a power, according to his point of view.

Moreover, one of my research participants is also a journalist (interviewee 6) and highlighted the potential role of journalists in Algeria, and even in other African countries. He said that journalists must raise the awareness of Algerian and all African businesses about the importance of starting commercial transactions with African countries, when tariffs and trade barriers have been facilitated through the work of the AU and the AfCFTA project. Moreover, African Press and journalists must try to sensitise the elite through writing articles and reviews that highlight the importance of the achievement of African economic integration, and how realising this can lead to national and continental economic prosperity (interviewee 6).

Another interviewee (4) stressed the fact that the political and border issues that African countries are experiencing should be set aside and discussed by the Peace and Security Councils. Therefore, these problems should not in any way hinder Africa's project of economic integration. Moreover, the PAP expert (interviewee 4) added that diplomatic tensions between African countries should be solved by launching different discussions and negotiations between the conflicting parties.

5.7 Conclusion

The re-formation of the OAU to become the AU coincided with Algeria's new foreign policy era when the Algerian government, under the former President Abdel Aziz Bouteflika, attempted to embrace a new way of building its diplomatic relations. The Algerian government thus attempted to profit from the experience and competency of its diplomats, who had gained an international and continental reputation earned through their hard work in peacebuilding and peacekeeping in many regions in Africa and the world. This was the Algerian government's attempt to restore its position in world and continental affairs after about ten years of isolation. Accordingly, Ramtane Lamamra was appointed as Algerian minister of foreign affairs; in his diplomatic career he had served in many important positions, especially in the AU where he was appointed as the Head of the Peace and Security Council. The question that might be asked here is why the Algerian government appointed a diplomat that had such a good reputation in peace and security-building in Africa?

The right answer to this question might be that after the Black Decade Algerian foreign policy prioritised internal peace and security over any other aspects. This also reflects the influence of the second actor in Algerian foreign policy, the Algerian National Army. This shows how the decision-making process in foreign policy is not clear, but a very complex issue in which many agents have influence.

Noticeably, the influence of the Algerian National Army is very clear in the making of Algerian foreign policy. This effect started in the first years after independence, developed after Houari Boumediene's coup d'état, and got stronger during Algeria's Black Decade and after. Therefore, one can claim that the majority of Algerian foreign policies were conducted according to the views of the Algerian national army, especially those that relate to the AU integration process, including ideas of opening up borders, and the facilitation of the movement of people and services between African countries. Indeed, Algerian diplomacy was very hesitant about such a step, because of the instability of the region, and the insecurity of the majority of African countries. In this hesitation to allow movement of people and goods we can see the influence of the Algerian National Army in the making of policies regarding foreign affairs and diplomatic relations, whose primary job is the protection of the security of Algerian citizens in the country, and across borders.

Haas (1958, p. 17) claimed that political elites also have a direct influence on the making of decisions concerning political integration which lead automatically to economic integration between countries. When we consider the Algerian political elites' opinion about the benefits

of economic integration with African countries through the application of the AfCFTA project, these agreed on the benefits that Algeria in general, and the Algerian economy in specific, would gain from that project. These would include the harmonisation of different economic standards of goods, the elimination of the commercial tariffs, an increase in the quality of products and even an expansion in the sources of foreign exchange that would boost the Algerian treasury, without the reliance on oil revenues alone.

However, these elites also agreed on the fact that these decisions should come from the government and must be consolidated by a strong political will. They always gave the responsibility of regulating business and the economy to the government, and did not see any necessity in intervening, or pressuring the government to change any of its business regulations. They argued that even though they knew, and were convinced of, the benefits of encouraging continental economic cooperation between Algeria and Africa, or at least regional cooperation with the Maghreb World, the government apparently is not supportive of such developments, or at least is moving slowly to achieve such goals. As such, this means that businesses in Algeria have never acted, or thought about acting, as lobbyists. As a consequence, the Algerian political sphere never experienced socialisation and pressure from businesses. Hence, one of my interviewees argued that

Concerning the opinion of the big businesses, they think that the big chances are present in Africa since its markets are still virgin... the Algerian government must consider this and encourage the producers as well not just encouraging the hydrocarbon exporters (interviewee 6).

To conclude, Algeria is a country that supported the reformation of the OAU to become the AU that we know today. It is the country that helped, and is still financially supporting this organisation, making Algeria one of the great top five African Union members (interviewee 4). However, the Algerian contribution to the African economic integration process is very modest, and limited if compared with its support for the AU in military and security issues. Indeed, the interviews that were conducted showed that this humble contribution is not a result of the will of the Algerian business elites, but it is a consequence of Algerian government choices that are influenced by second actors like the Algerian National Army. This clearly shows the effects of the Algerian National Army on the making of Algeria's foreign policy, and its diplomatic choices that even serve some of the Algerian business interests.

5.8 List of interviewees

- Interviewee 1 (Sonatrach)

- Interviewee 2 (Air Algerie)
- Interviewee 3 (GICA Algerie)
- Interviewee 4 (senior monitoring and evaluation expert at the Pan African Parliament)
- Interviewee 5 (former Head of Trade in the Trade and Industry Department in the African Union Commission and one of the initiators of the AfCFTA)
- Interviewee 6 (Journalist in Politics and International relations)

6 Chapter Seven: Conclusion

As discussed in the successive chapters of this work, in this thesis I have investigated the process of integration in the African Union, the development of its objectives, and the different obstacles that hindered its development. Moreover, this research highlighted the role of the Algerian government in the process of African integration by examining different stages in Algerian foreign policy, focusing on its performance in the Union, and the changing foreign policy attitudes towards the African Union integration project. This Chapter provides an overview of the thesis, with the emphasis on the main contribution of the research. Additionally, this Chapter will set out the different findings of the thesis, through a focussed response to the different research questions that were asked in earlier Chapters. Besides, this Conclusion Chapter will acknowledge the different implications of the project and examine some of the different problems and difficulties that slowed its progress. The Chapter ends by suggesting some new research topics and areas that might be explored in the future.

6.1 General Overview and Contribution

In Africa, the process of creating a union started to emerge after the colonisation of the majority of African countries, and the subsequent African national calls for independence. With the independence of some African countries, African leaders decided to meet and create a union among them. After many negotiations, the OAU, and later the AU, were created.

Accordingly, The AU is one of the recent political, and then economic, unions that attempted to bring together different African countries and to unite them. The Union's primary goal was in its political objectives, and then in 2002 the Union leaders agreed to reform the AU to become more economic than political. The AU Constitutive Act listed the different objectives of the organisation, including achieving unity and solidarity between African countries, defending the sovereignty of all AU member states, and accelerating economic integration between African countries (2002, p. 5). However, from 2002 to the present day the process of African economic integration is moving slowly, even though most of its member states ratified its early Constitutive Act of 2002, and successive integration projects.

Therefore, this thesis highlighted in its different Chapters (especially the Third Chapter) the different problems that the African continent has faced, and the problems that obstructed the AU integration process. The first problem that confronted the AU in achieving its integration plans in general, and security plans in particular, was related to the lack of financial support for

the organisation, and the constraints its limited budget placed on resources and projects (Joshua and Olanrewaju 2017, p. 460). Moreover, a lack of experts and professionals in different fields has hindered the AU in its development of integration projects (*ibid.*). The other challenge that has obstructed the process of integration in the AU was that of achieving regional economic integration, and effectively engaging all the RECs within wider integration plans. Indeed, not all the RECs achieved their main goal, there are some which achieved good integration results, while others are still struggling, and having problems, with the AMU one of the best examples of this (African Union Commission 2013, p. 14). The AMU is until today suffering from different issues, mainly due to conflicts between Algeria and Morocco over the Western Saharan issue, leading to the closing of borders resulting in further tensions (Barth, 2019, p.10).

Undeniably, Africa is a land of contrasts at all levels; this in a way challenged the African dream of achieving integration between its member states. Indeed, African countries show differences not only at the geographical and historical levels but also at the cultural, economic, political, and religious spheres, which has contributed to dividing rather than uniting the AU's member states (Mangwende 1984, p. 26). This problem has made it a difficult job for the AU in its efforts to harmonise different economic integration policies, to pass integration laws, and to implement integration decisions (*ibid.*).

Generally, these are the problems that different academic resources referred to when it comes to the AU challenges to achieve integration. However, these reasons are very general; by which I mean that these reasons were deduced from a general analysis of the case, without focusing on a particular case study, and did not examine the role of member states in assisting the AU in achieving its designed goals. As such, the thesis goes beyond this analysis, by inquiring about the role of member states in the process of integration, and their role in supporting the AU in achieving its designed integration goals.

I therefore selected one case study, Algeria, because of the influential role that the Algerian government has played, and continues to play, in the AU and because of the geographical and historical position of the country in Africa. In developing the thesis, European Union integration theories were used, as a framework in the process of studying the performance of Algeria in the AU. The use of these theories is partly out of necessity because there are no existing theories that study the process of the formation and integration of the AU. Besides this, the AU's evolution is always discussed and compared to the EU, as the EU integration process indicates a 'success story' of regional integration, even though it is not free from challenging difficulties (like the problem of the expansion of its membership) (Oyeranmi, 2014, p.6), and I have followed this tradition. These EU integration theories assisted in my examination of the process

of AU integration, answering the majority of the research questions of this thesis around discovering the reasons that obstructed the development of integration plans in Africa. To study this, I employed different EU integration theories: Intergovernmentalism, Neofunctionalism, Supranationalism, and Constructivism. These theories were used to test their applicability to the case study chosen for the research. Moreover, the research used Regionalism as a theory that helped in studying the development of integration plans in the AU, as well as its processes, outcomes and obstacles.

To achieve the main aims of the research, I predominantly used Neofunctionalism as the theoretical framework. The reason behind this selection goes back to the main research questions of the thesis, that attempt to explore the role of a member state (Algeria) within the AU, and the role of its political elites in encouraging or discouraging the integration process. Moreover, this theory helps in discovering the reasons for the limited spill over from political integration to economic integration in the African Union and explains some of the practical limitations of the process that are deduced from the case study. In addition to that, Regionalism helped in explaining certain processes in the AU integration and in answering some research questions included in the thesis. It assisted in explaining the reasons for the slow integration process in the AU, focusing on specifically on the RECs and how they were unable to assist the AEC to achieve its objectives. Moreover, Regionalism assisted in defining the AU integration process as distinct from the EU experience with integration since the primary motivations of these organisations were different from their early initiation.

The research framework in this thesis is situated in two different, wider, research agendas – on the one side, it looks at regional integration by focusing on the African Union and its historical evaluation. On the other side, this thesis uses the lens of foreign policy analysis, and assesses the impact of Algerian foreign policy on the development of the AU. As such, in the research I sought to bring in new data that resulted from interviews and the translation of different Arabic resources into English. Through these methods, I sought to enrich this field of research and increase the English written resources about Algeria; most of the academic sources written about this country are generally in Arabic or French. The thesis benefited from these Arabic and French sources especially in Chapter Four and Chapter Five, when I discussed the different mandates of the successive Algerian presidents, and their strategies in conducting the foreign policy of the country.

Moreover, in this thesis, in Chapters Four, Five, and Six, I gave an overview and then an examination of the post-independence Algerian period, with a focus on Algerian foreign policy, where most of the English-language resources about Algeria tend to report the history of Algeria

in the Colonial Era. The research in this thesis, and especially in Chapter Five, provides an idea about the Algerian governmental system after independence, and more specifically the post-independent Algerian foreign policy agenda with Africa and the African Union. Here, the analysis of post-independence Algerian-African diplomatic relations and choices, along with its role in the economic integration process of Africa, is particularly informative.

Bringing an EU integration theory into the study of the African Union case is another contribution of the thesis. In particular, the use of Neofunctionalism is also a contribution to the academic arena, as this theory has been critiqued, and seen as an old theory, after the appearance of other theories such as Intergovernmentalism. However, this thesis has affirmed that some concepts within Neofunctionalism are still valid, and can be used to study cases other than the EU, such as the African Union economic integration process and the role of the political elites of a member country (Algeria) in supporting this process.

6.2 Main Findings: Research Questions Revisited

The thesis is about the development of the AU's integration plans, and the reasons behind their slow progress. The research scrutinises the role of the Algerian government as one of the most influential members of the African Union, and its attitudes in the AU. Algerian elites' views were explored to understand the different actions of these groups towards the AU economic integration process. In this way the research revealed the different reasons that led to the slow progress of economic integration in the AU, including its limited budget, a consequence of the fragility of the majority of the economies of the AU member states, the absence of lobbying groups in the member states that could influence African national governments and parliaments to act in favour of African economic integration plans, and the absence of the political will needed to achieve such objectives.

Moreover, the research revealed important realities about Algerian foreign policy, through the study of Algerian foreign policy towards African countries in general, and towards the OAU and then the AU in particular. The thesis placed an emphasis on the changes in Algerian FP from one president to another that in themselves depended on changes in circumstances in the country, the national interest and the difference between the approached of elected presidents and FP ministers towards the conduct of Algerian FP. In particular, the research examined the Algerian role in the OAU and then the AU, focusing on changes of Algerian attitudes towards them as a result of reasons like the change of Algerian domestic circumstances, the difference

between diplomats and their FP, the change of the regional and international conditions, and the influence of other actors in the Algerian FP, notably the military.

Applying the theory of Neofunctionalism on the AU case has affirmed the applicability of European integration theory in the thesis, and how these theories can be used in different instances, and not only in the EU. Indeed, this research has in a way challenged different critiques that have been made of this theory. It has shown the universality and the timelessness of this thinking. Undeniably, the theory was modified from time to time to suit the case study, but its main concepts and principles were always present.

Reaching these conclusions necessitated revisiting the research questions that were established in Chapter One: Introduction. The first sub-question asked about the reasons behind the creation of the AU, the integration plans, their development, and the recent debates around them. After conducting different interviews with AU experts, I understood that they agreed on the fact that the AU decided to create the AU as a new way to achieve the different goals designed in the Abuja Treaty of 1991, where African leaders set out the different stages of integration for the continent. Therefore, the African Continental Free Trade Area Project was announced introducing a new free trade area between African countries leading to the abolition of economic barriers, and to trading in different goods and services. The AU Trade expert argued that this project had now entered into force, and different meetings were being organised between African leaders to find different strategies to help them facilitate the process of economic integration between their economies. The research also highlighted the role of the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in the process of economic integration, and how the African Union is now trying to positively engage them to achieve its main aims. Even though at the beginning of my research, I was critical of the role of the RECs in the AU, where they had become seen as competitors of the African Economic Community, rather than communities that would help this continental community in achieving its main aims, my interviewees referred to new projects that would actively engage these RECs to achieve economic integration between AU member states. One of the main projects that would achieve this is the AfCFTA.

Moving now to the different debates that surround the African integration process, through conducting historical research on this, this thesis reveals that these debates are not new, but go back to the early stages of the creation of the OAU in 1963. This debate was between the radicals, who were supporters of Ghana's leader Kwame Nkrumah who advocated the creation of an immediate United States of Africa (Nkrumah 1967, p.18), and the realists, who were led by Nyerere who advocated the gradual creation of an African unity (Nyerere, 1962, p. 1) (see Chapter Three). The debate extended after the reformation of the OAU from a political

organisation, to one with economic and security objectives as well. According to AU experts who I interviewed, some African heads of states, in spite of their ratification of the different acts passed by the AU Commission, remain hesitant about the effectiveness of the process of economic integration between African countries. This can explain in some ways the reasons behind the slow development of economic integration plans in the AU.

The second sub-question asked in the research is about the main issues and problems that are obstructing the AU integration process. Indeed, the African Union's project of economic integration was obstructed by many challenges that the African Union Commission mentioned in its 2019 annual report; these included overlapping memberships in the RECs, limited markets, poor infrastructure, and weak institutional mechanisms for the implementation of the laws of this project (African Union Commission, 2019, p. xiii). In addition to these obstacles that are challenging the AU to achieve deeper integration, the thesis highlighted some other reasons for this issue. The most important cause has been the hesitant attitudes of major African countries including Algeria, Nigeria and South Africa about the effectiveness of the project, and how African economic integration might benefit them.

Even though the Algerian government was one of the early supporters of the AU integration plans, the Algerian FP changed attitudes and relations with the change of the national interests of the country. The Algerian presidents reordered their priorities according to the situation and the interests of the country showing hesitant attitudes towards the African economic integration plans. This may be considered as one of the reasons that led to the slow progress of the AU economic integration plans.

The third sub-question that is answered in this research is about the reasons that led to the slow progress of the AU's economic integration plans as compared to the political ones. Indeed, political integration was an objective of the OAU and later the AU. Consequently, the success of the African continent in achieving security integration over economic integration is logical since security integration continues in line with the OAU's initial objectives on African independence, solidarity, cooperation and mutual support in the anti-colonial struggle. Therefore, we cannot compare the integration processes in the AU and the EU since their primary objectives of creating these unions were different. The European Union was primarily created as an economic union that would result in political integration, while the OAU was created to politically unite the African member states and to free African countries from colonisation.

Studying Algeria's changes in foreign policy, its performance in the AU, and the views of its political elites, reveals the hesitant Algerian political attitudes towards the AU, with the

government preferring security integration over economic integration, as economic integration requires substantial effort and has long-term benefits. This reveals certain realities about the Algerian foreign policy decision-making process, which is not just the result of known agents, but is the product of pressures from different influential groups, like the National Army. Algeria's current economic policy is not prioritising Africa, and this partially explains why Algeria has not been a driver for economic integration in the AU. This contrasts with its security policy, where the 'Black Decade' in Algeria highlighted the need for an interconnected understanding of security in Africa to deal with new threats such as terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Hence it comes as no surprise that Algeria has been a major force behind the push for further security cooperation and integration through the AU.

Visiting the third sub research question that enquires about the role of Algeria in the AU in general, and in the process of integration in specific, resulted in my arguing that the Algerian government had changing attitudes towards the African Union. At first, it was highly supportive when we refer to the presidential administration of Ahmed Ben Bella, and then partially supportive in the other presidential administrations after a change of the diplomatic priorities of the country, as different presidents reordered the country's foreign policy objectives.

Going back to the main question of the research, the role of Algeria in the African Union, the thesis focused on the influential position that Algeria has in the AU. It is the country that is considered as one of the top five in the AU because of its substantial contributions in the AU budget, the important positions that Algerian diplomats occupy in the African Union, and also because of the Algerian role in mediating different African conflicts, thus contributing to spreading peace and security in the continent. Algeria continues to play an important role in the peace and security sector in Africa through the African Union. Therefore, the research highlights how the Algerian government encourages African integration much more in the security sector than in the economic sector. This role was strengthened even more after the Algerian Black Decade Era, where Algeria experienced more than ten years during which it was threatened by terrorist attacks. This made the Algerian government look for security support, not only from the global community, but especially in Africa where it put pressure on the AU to create the Peace and Security Council. This initiative helped Algeria, as evidenced by the creation of different African Anti-terrorist Centres in the continent, including the creation of the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT) and the African Police Cooperation Organisation (AFRIPOL). The work of the Algerian government to restore peace and security in the region is seen to be an additional step that the Algerian government is taking

towards the achievement of economic integration projects, since economic integration and the opening of the borders between African countries cannot be done unless these regions are safe commercial zones.

However, the research also concluded that Algeria is doing little to boost economic and commercial integration in the African Union, if compared to its efforts in developing African security integration. This can be linked to the Algerian government's hesitant attitudes towards the effectiveness of economic integration in Africa, and the long-term results of this process, which explains why the government still supports the strengthening of its European commercial links, and does little to boost its investments in Africa. This approach was even strengthened by the passive role of Algerian business groups and lobbyists in influencing the government about the long-term gains from the Algerian economic investments in Africa.

The final research questions inquired about the reasons behind the change of Algerian foreign policy. Studying post-independence Algerian foreign policy revealed a process of a change of priorities in the Algerian foreign policy agenda. My research showed how the primacies that were given for example to Africa and the OAU during Ahmed Ben Bella's administration were reordered during the Boumediene and Chadli Benjdid administrations, where regional priorities were given more importance. After that, Algeria adopted a new foreign policy after the Black Decade and the election of Bouteflika as president of the country. He tried to adopt a more international foreign policy, where the Algerian constitution was even modified to meet these goals (see Chapter Four).

As discussed in Chapter Four of the thesis, many factors may cause nations to reorient, or indeed discontinue, elements of their FP (Hermann 1990, p. 5-6). In the Algerian case, FP went through two types of change including a redirection and a discontinuity of its FP. The redirection of the Algerian FP happened automatically with the succession of presidents and thus the change of the government agendas.

Algerian FP also showed discontinuity, for a number of reasons, but especially due to the instability of the internal affairs of the country in certain periods (see Chapter Four for further details). This is shown where the country changed priorities during the Boumediene and Benjdid administrations, because of the need at the time to build good relations with Arab and Maghreb countries, as Algeria had territorial clashes, with Morocco for example. This led the Algerian government to work on improving its regional relations to protect the peace and security of the country. This also explains Boumediene's good relations with Arab leaders like Jamal Abd Nasser that assisted the Algerian government in its Sand War with Morocco. Noticeably, all these changes were made for security reasons. Another change of Algerian

foreign policy was seen after the Black Decade, where the country started its anti-terrorist mission, not only around the world, but also in Africa. Here the Algerian government convinced the AU to incorporate different peace and security measures, including the creation of the Peace and Security Council, along with other security institutions that serve some of Algeria's business goals as well.

The research contributed new suggestions that should be implemented to boost levels of economic integration between AU member states. My research stressed the idea that the African countries should put aside their political problems and think positively about the national and continental benefits that would result from their economic integration. The thesis identified the different tensions between AU member states that have continued to contribute to the slow achievement of AU economic integration plans. Particularly, the thesis highlighted the changing role of the Algerian government in the AU process of integration and how the Algerian government is doing little to boost the AU's economic integration plans when compared to its role in AU security plans. The study highlighted how the Algerian government is trying to benefit from this continental organisation by Africanising its security problems, especially after its Black Decade when the Algerian government identified terrorism as an African threat that should be fought through the AU. Moreover, Algeria sees this organisation as the most convenient platform through which it can express its security ideologies, and gain support for its position in different regional matters such as the Western Saharan issue (Shiferaw, 2019, p. iii) Whilst integration is possible through the AU in the area of security cooperation, the research highlighted the importance of political will and identified its absence due to the perceived lack of direct benefits from closer economic integration. This perception explains why the AU has been successful in security integration, but economic integration remains substantially underdeveloped on the African continent.

Implication and Limitations of the Research

As was discussed previously, this thesis tried to theoretically and practically contribute to general knowledge. It means that this research tried to use Neofunctionalism, a 1960s theory that was developed to study European Union integration and apply it in this research to study another case, the African Union integration process. However, this theory was from time to time modified to suit the context that is studied, which constitutes a form of theory building. This will help in encouraging further similar research using other theoretical frameworks in other contexts, this creating further original research.

The second contribution of the research is linked to the topic itself; it sheds light on new reasons behind the slow progress of integration plans in the AU. Through primary research, with interviews of AU experts, I could analyse new information about the progress of AU projects towards achieving African economic integration and identify practical reasons behind the humble progress of the AU towards achieving its economic integration goals. These experts, because of their close relationships with the AU staff and bodies, could emphasise the different problems that the AU continues to face in achieving its goal.

Another implication of this project is linked to enriching the field of academic study by providing information in English on Algerian history before the French Colonial era, and after independence, since most sources written about the country during these periods were in Arabic or sometimes in French. Through my research, I translated some of these Arabic and French sources to enrich the English resources about the country. Beyond this, this research unveiled some evidence about Algerian foreign policy, and even its economic system, which would, of course, contribute to enriching the understanding of the politics of the country and also assist future researchers.

In addition to these implications, this research had some limitations and problems that obstructed its progress. The first problem that I confronted in my research (see Chapter One: Introduction) was the refusal of the ministers and civil servants in the Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to participate in my research because of the sensitive period in which I conducted my interviews (it was at the beginning of the Hirak Movement in Algeria). However, I think that is not the only reason for their refusal of cooperation, this may well be related to the secretive nature of Algerian foreign policy. This also can be observed through the poverty of the Algerian website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the website contains no documents that researchers or practitioners can use to even have a basic idea about the main functions, prerogatives, and diplomatic work of this ministry. In addition, the Algerian National Archive was unable to help by providing me with documents that would have aided me in conducting the research. In addition to these problems, I struggled to get interviews done with Algerian political elites and heads of Algerian business groups. This was very challenging; in the end I sent about 70 messages and about 50 emails, to get 6 positive replies. This was a problem that obstructed the progress of my research.

Other than that, I struggled in my ethical approval process, as the period of my data collection coincided with Algerian uprisings and strikes leading to a delay in the signing of my ethical approval because the Board of the Ethical Committee in my university considered travelling to Algeria as dangerous because Algeria at that time was considered as an unsafe

country. After all, Algeria was considered at that period an unstable and thus unsafe country especially because my interviews were planned to take place in Algiers in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Writing about my home country is another challenge that I faced, but I tried all through my research, and especially in the analysis part to strive towards objectivity. The other challenge that I faced was in translating from Arabic and French to English, which was done with the interview data and with resources and books that I used in my research. Undeniably, these resources helped me in enriching my research but at the same time, I was concerned about inauthentic translations even though I tried to keep it as close to the original source as I could.

6.3 Suggestions for Future Research

In this thesis, I worked on the study of change and stability in Algerian foreign policy towards the African Union, and I tried to highlight the different reasons behind these dynamics using Neofunctionalist EU integration theory. This can open the doors for future research in the same path but with a focus on a different case study, perhaps another African country that has an important role in the African Union, such as South Africa, Nigeria or Egypt. This will assist in discovering other reasons that have obstructed the progress of economic integration in the AU from a different angle, through the analysis of the foreign policy of another African country, and an evaluation of its role in the AU integration process.

Future research could study the role of South Africa, for example, in the AU integration process, and whether this is the country that is ready to lead the African continent towards integration using another theory of economic integration like intergovernmentalism. This is of particular salience, as South Africa has different international and African relations; it is the country that has diverse good relations with China, Russia and the United Nations. However, the role of South Africa in the AU is still controversial, since studies argue that ‘It isn’t difficult to envisage South Africa’s tenure at the AU pleasing no one-doing too much for some tastes, too little for others’ (Hamil 2020). It means that the South African role in the AU is still debatable, where some argue that it has a very important role in leading the continent to integration, while others argue that it is doing little to help the AU to attain its objectives.

Furthermore, future research may make use of different European Integration theoretical approaches and test their applicability on the South African role in the AU including liberal Intergovernmentalism, for example. It is the theory that studies the states as the main political actors who try to achieve their goals in governmental organisations through a process of

negotiation and bargaining. The questions that can be asked are: what is the role of the South African government in the AU process of integration? What are the AU decisions that were the result of a governmental bargain between the different African heads of states and serve the South African national interests? What is the position of South Africa towards the AU integration process? What are the national interests that the South African government attempt to attain through the AU?

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