

Euro-Maghreb Relations: From Colonialism to Neo-Colonialism.

العلاقات الأورو-مغربية من الكولونيالية إلى النيوكولونيالية

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Abstract :

This study aims at highlighting the nature of Euro-Maghreb relations; it tries to use the Neo-Colonialism approach as a way to understand this relation. The Maghreb as socially constructed by the European mind has been defined in a useful manner for Europeans and it took away the Maghreb ability to define or represent itself.

The result of the representation of Europe "Ego" as civilized and the "Alter" as uncivilized was the direct colonialism. The results of neo-representation "developed" and "underdeveloped" are the new forms of colonialism that manifested in the asymetric economic relations (free trade agreement), the tourism as a post-colonial industry , illegal immigration , the militarization of borders and the externalization of norms.

The study emphasises the necessity of an epistemic building of Maghreb community as a pre-stage for Maghreb cooperation in order to emancipate from the core-periphery relation and an effective way to build a symmetric relation with the European Union.

Keywords: Colonialism; Neo-Colonialism; Alter; Ego ; Core-periphery relations

ملخص:

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى إبراز طبيعة العلاقات الأورو-مغربية. وذلك باستخدام المقاربة النيو-كولونيالية كطريقة لفهم هذه العلاقة. لقد تم تعريف المنطقة المغربية كمنطقة مبنية إجتماعيا من قبل العقل الأوربي، بطريقة سلبت قدرة المغاربة على تعريف وتمثيل أنفسهم من جهة كما ضمن هذا التعريف مصالح الأوروبيين من جهة أخرى وهو أمر يمكن أن نلمسه في المرحلة الكولونيالية و النيو كولونيالية.

أدى تصنيف "الأنا" المتحضر و "الأخر" غير المتحضر/ البربري عن الاستعمار المباشر. بينما كان من نتائج التصنيفات الجديدة 'المتقدم' في مقابل 'المتخلف' بروز أشكال جديدة من النيوكولونيالية والتي تجلت في: العلاقات الاقتصادية غير المتجانسة (اتفاقيات التجارة الحرة)، السياحة كصناعية نيو-كولونيالية ، الهجرة غير الشرعية ،عسكرة الحدود ونقل المعايير.

تؤكد الدراسة على ضرورة البناء المعرفي للصورة المغربية كطريقة لاسترجاع قدرة التعريف والتمثيل والخروج من دائرة التصنيفات التي يضعها الاتحاد الأوروبي والتي هي مرحلة تمهيدية لإعادة تفعيل التعاون المغربي من أجل التحرر من علاقة مركز-محيط ووسيلة فعالة لبناء علاقة متناسقة مع الاتحاد الأوروبي.

كلمات مفتاحية: الكولونيالية ، النيو-كولونيالية ، الأنا ، الآخر ، العلاقات مركز محيط.

I- Introduction:

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The relationship between Maghreb and Europe are historical, and they go back to centuries ago. The Islamic conquests (*al-Futūḥāt al-Islāmiyya*) of the Maghreb marked the first ideational difference between the two shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Within a short time after the Islam arrival Christianity virtually disappeared from the region. Arab culture and language gradually penetrated into almost every nook and Maghreb became integrated into the larger unity of the Islamic empire by culture, values, and beliefs. At a time when the bulk of Europe was still a backward, the Maghreb enjoyed economic prosperity.

During the nineteenth century, following the industrial revolution, the wealth of European countries increased enormously. It became a busy world of shops and factories, overseas markets for machine-made European products became a key concern of those who pushed for colonial expansion.

The proximity and accessibility between Maghreb countries and Europe through the Mediterranean Sea making Europeans feel naturally obliged to colonize Maghreb countries. Moreover, due to the economic ties between the two shores of the Mediterranean Sea on one hand, and to the ethnocentrism that became a constitutive part of enlightenment European mind on the other, they sought to alter the relation with the “Other” from symmetric relation to dependent relation.

Despite the end of the colonial period, the Maghreb economies still depend heavily on the EU, their main economic partner. The relation between the two shores of Mediterranean Sea is an asymmetric relation, in which the EU countries benefits from free trade agreements with Maghreb countries that is considered as extractive zone for oil and other natural resources.

This article reviews the extent of these relations from a neo-colonial approach, and what they imply for the “ego” subject construction and reconstruction in colonial and post-colonial period.

II /Civilized Vs. Uncivilized: The Colonialism Period:

In fact, at the end of the 19th century, most African countries were either officially colonized or placed under the "protective" authority of several European powers. In the case of the Maghreb countries, Algeria was colonized in 1830, after this year, the countries of the region suffered from the constant interference of Europeans in their affairs .Although each power had a different objective, the general trend was mainly to ensure their economic interest.

At the beginning of the 20th century, France, Spain and Italy colonized the whole region, the colonizers heavily dominated the economies of the region, and the pre-colonial economy, which based on agriculture and local traditional industry was destroyed.

Through setting laws concerning land concession, the European settlers implemented in the most fertile lands of North Africa. Due to new economic model introduced by the settlers , every able-bodied person from the indigenous was required to do forced labour , whether on the countryside or on the big cities (boom town cities) that witnessed a growing European style with wide boulevards and squares built in European nineteenth-century style (Schellinger et al., 1994,p.58) . The physical evolution of the city reshape the urban fabric of the Maghreb countries. It represented marginalization and core/periphery divides, in the sense that large parts of European settlers lived in big cities while the indigenous lived in the outskirts of large cities in slums (a spatial exclusion). Consequently, indigenous were victims of colonial mind that see them inferior and reflected the idea of the white supremacy.

In Algeria, French colonization destroyed the socio-economic structures in the Algerian countryside, through the expropriation of agricultural land, the decline of traditional local cultures and the introduction of modern cultures and mechanization, etc. (Altayeb, 2008 p.33). These measures encouraged the tribes, whose attachment to the land was sacred, to show resistance against the occupation, knowing that the tribe was the first resistance cell against colonization in its early years. This explains why the colonial authorities dispersed the Algerian tribal fabric by creating a new urban space called "the Douar" in 1863 (Zouzou, 2008 ,p141). The colonial policies pushed the Algerians to retreat to mountainous and rural areas, especially in areas where agricultural land is infertile. Some, however, preferred to move closer to the city to work by building slums around cities, hence the appearance of "slums" in Algeria dates back to 1926-1930. Mainly concentrated around the capital Algiers, there were eighteen of them inhabited by more than 5,000 Algerians (Kalthoum 2012 : 267)

Indeed, one can argue that the colonialism was mainly motivated by economic reasons , the inextricable relationship between economy and civilization is so clear in the works of Adam Smith whose view of the role of commodities in distinguishing the 'civilized' from the 'barbarous' (Ashcroft. 2009,p.90). The racial and biological understanding of civilization was the main reason of colonialism.

White supremacy as one of the main assumptions of the "political darwinism" influenced the European perception of the other side of the Mediterranean Sea. The European mind considered the indigenous people as barbaric or savage, the French conquest of Algeria was represented as conquest of a vacant land left for herbs due to the laziness of its inhabitants and the indigenous we-re described as ignorant Bedouins. (Bousboua 2021, p.70)

III / The Maghreb in the Post-Independence Era: the born of new native bourgeoisie.

By the beginning of the 1960's all the Maghreb countries gained their independence. The newly independent countries aimed at what Samir Amin refers to as delinking national economies from the world capitalist economy (Hamouchene et Rouabah, 2016 , p. 2) dominated by advanced and imperial capitalist, by nationalization of foreign - owned companies and embarking on ambitious plans for industrialization .Moreover, these countries set plans that can be taken as a departure point for the establishment of welfare society based on social equality.

Despite the different path of development followed by the countries in the region (capitalism, socialism), it generated the same outcome; the (re)integration into a new Western division of labor. The development programs failed also to institute and support inclusive growth as resulted in widening income disparities and growing poverty (table 1).

Disparities in economic and social conditions between the rich and the poor and across rural and urban areas have grown wider, increasing pressures on the most vulnerable groups. Indeed, all Maghreb countries experienced rapid urban growth due to rural migration and natural urban growth, the urban component is estimated at 41 % in Morocco (Kurian ,1982 , p.1442) in the 1980's and 30% in Algeria in the 1970's. The urbanization increased in Algeria from 3 million in 1959 to more than 4 million in 196 - a significant number compared to the Algerian population that was estimated at 10 million people at that time (Stora, 1995, p.33). This high numbers is a direct consequence of development models of export-oriented industrialization and to the representations of "Douars" in the collective imagination (family separation and persecution).

Moreover, the born of new bourgeoisie deepened the social inequality. In Tunisia and Morocco the industrial bourgeoisie born in 1960s had prospered, benefited from the government's policies of encouraging foreign investment and private lending from abroad, as well as from efforts to maintain social peace (White, 2001 , p.44). In Algeria bureaucratic bourgeoisie become in itself, new class or “social bloc” amassed enormous fortunes in few years. This new social bloc organized the labour process and the distribution of surplus value. It controls and determines the nature of investment and the process of capital acquisition (Tlemcani et Willian . 1989 ,p.55) .

Addressing problems of social injustice and regional disparity through adopting plans of austerity and economic policy reforms brought to the region by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, had increased class inequality combined with relative social deprivation, fuelled the social unrest in the region known as "bread riots”.

Increasingly, austerity protests has become more closely associated with demands for political reforms; and in Tunisia (after 1984) , on Algeria (after1988), significant political reforms have indeed taken place , partly in response to such demands (Seddon et Walton 1994,p.162) which opened the door to political openness. Although, Things relating to religion, politics, gender equality and other issues were debated, the development alternatives was not subjected to any debate and the economic policy-making remained highly opaque, therefore, the elite that born due to industrialization plans used all means to suppress any economic plan that may compete with and threaten their economic interests.

In sum, it is clear that the societal division that characterized the colonial period, have been reproduced in other form with the appearance of new native bourgeoisie (bureaucratic, industrial), that tried to preserve its privileged status through the integration in international economic system. Hence, the duality inherited from colonization period (Settlers vs. indigenous) had appeared in a new form (bourgeoisie vs. marginalized community) (Bousboua, 2021, p.68) .The born of new social class in the Maghreb countries, has had an impact in the acceleration of the process of reintegration of Maghreb economies in the new division of labour.

IV /Manifestation of Neo-Colonialism in EU –Maghreb Relations

Neo-colonialism was a term coined by Kwame Nkrumah, the first President of Ghana, and the leading exponent of pan-Africanism in his “Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism” (1965). Nkrumah argued that neo-colonialism was more insidious and more difficult to detect and resist than the direct control exercised by classic colonialism. (Helen et all. 2013,p.122)

According to Nkrumah Neo-Colonialism was achieved through new forms of corporate, and especially financial, forms of capital, by new *élites* brought to power by independence, and often educated and trained by the colonialist powers, and by the capitulation of African, Latin American, and Asian leadership to the hegemonic forces of the former colonial states.(Helen et all. 2013, p.360)

Franz Fanon in his seminal work “The Wretched of the Earth” argue that the weakness of new national elites that took power in the Third World would reproduce the asymmetrical relation between colonizers and colonized :“The national middle class which takes over power at the end of the colonial regime is an under-developed middle class. It has practically no economic power, and in any case, it is in no way commensurate with the bourgeoisie of the mother country, which it hopes to replace. In its wilful narcissism, the national middle class is

easily convinced that it can advantageously replace the middle class of the mother country. But that same independence which literally drives it into a corner will give rise within its ranks to catastrophic reactions, and will oblige it to send out frenzied appeals for help to the former mother country” (Fanon, 2003,p.149). In this sense then, as pointed out by Fanon, they identify with the decadence of the west by taking on the role of the manager for the Western enterprise (Fanon, 2003,p.154).

As a consequence of years of colonialism, Europeans came to define the Maghreb in a manner is useful for Europeans and it took Maghreb ability to define or represent itself , as Edward Said emphases “Ideas , cultures an histories cannot seriously be understood or studied without their force , or more precisely their configurations of power , also being studies (Edward,1995,p.5) .

Hence, if we borrow Spivak’s words in her seminal work « Can the Subaltern Speak?», we can conclude that the region has underwent a process of subject-constitution through which the European represented and defined the non-European on its behalf and consequently they constitute the neo-colonial subject as Other(Spivak , 1988,p.294) . The main objective of this process is to create a “Manichean world”. It is based on asymmetric antagonisms descending from two worlds. These oppositions are perfectly visible in the Eurocentric language describing one’s own and strangers. They are: colonizer / colonized, civilization / barbarism, centre / periphery, European / Savage (Cywiński 2014,22) , developed/ underdeveloped, tolerance/ radical Islam.

IV/ 1 /Free Trade: Maghreb as (Neo)Extractive Zone

As a result of structural change (the disappearance of the socialist camp) , the transformation of norms and values (the global extension of neo-liberal thought), the failure of public sector-led development plans and the demands of domestic economic elites , most countries of the region implemented trade liberalization process, both at multilateral, bilateral and regional level. Indeed, many countries signed free Trade agreement with the EU (table 2).

In the colonial period, the region specialized in the extraction and production of raw materials – primary commodities – while Europe took on the role of producing manufactured goods. The region had been a part of capitalist system construction it specialized in the production of raw materials primary commodities as extractive zone – while the other shore of the Mediterranean Sea took on the role of producing manufactured goods. The former export Nature, the latter import it. (Acosta2013, 62)

In post-colonial period, the same economic relation consisted in new forms, the capitalist system has created a contemporary version of extractivism (neo-extractivism) thought elites that have prioritised the extraction of this natural wealth for the world market and sidelined other forms of value creation based more on human effort than on the merciless exploitation of Nature. (Acosta, 2013, 71) These elite failed to establish a development model that would enable them to emancipate from core-periphery relation with the northern Mediterranean Sea countries.

The trade between Maghreb countries and Europe represents an international division of labour typical of countries with widely different income levels. Maghreb countries' exports to the EU concentrate in primary products such as petrol and Gas (Algeria, Libya) , Phosphate (Morocco) , water intensive food and export-oriented monoculture agribusiness paired with tourism in Morocco and Tunisia (Hamouchene,2017,p. 123), while most imports are

immediate , mixed and equipment goods (Chevaillier, et all 2001,p.55) with a high proportion of added value.

The Free Trade Agreement between the EU and Maghreb countries showed consistent negative trade balances, from 2000 until now, North Africa's imports from the EU grew more rapidly than its exports to the EU (Dadush and Myachenkova , 2018,p.8)

In contrast, Libya the only country in the region that has not yet signed a free trade agreement with the EU , enjoy a positive balance of trade with the E.U , the latter was Libya's major source of imports and its largest market of exports(table.3). The Libya's war 2011 resulted in a decline in trade, between 2012 and 2014, EU imports from Libya decreased between 2012 and 2016 EU imports from Libya decreased by 85% (€32,8 billion in 2012, € 11,6 billion in 2017) (table3).

However, despite the decrease , Libya continuous to be a fundamental energy exporter to the EU (European Commission 2020), The steady decline of oil prices and additional restrictions on import has affected the trade between EU and Algeria which decreased by 13.3% between 2015 and 2016 (European Commission 2020), consequently, negative trade balance had been reduced to 0.1 billion euro.

The negative trade balance between Tunisia and EU decreased from 1.3 billion euro in 2015 to 0.9 billion euro in 2019, but in the case of Morocco, it increased from 5.8 billion euro in 2015 to 7.1 billion euro.

IV /2/Tourism as a post-colonial industry:

Tunisia and Morocco are the most heavily dependent on Tourism revenues in the region. In Tunisia tourism directly accounted for 14.2% of Tunisia's GDP in 2017(oxford business group, 2018), the contribution of Morocco's tourism GDP to national GDP represented 7.1% in 2019 (Kasraoui, 2020). The two countries adopted a tourism-led growth hypothesis, in which the policy makers argue that tourism can lead to economic growth through boosting infrastructure that supports the movements of goods and people.

However, the investment in tourism could have a positive impact on the economy, the concentration of investments in coastal regions deepen disparities. In Tunisia 77% of investment is concentrated in coastal regions (44 percent in the northeast, 18 percent in the center east and 18 percent in the south) which increased incentives for private investment in the coast. Notably, more than 80 percent of Tunisia's urban areas are on the coast, and 90 percent of the workforce resides in coastal regions. Furthermore, these regions hold the largest share of private investment which grows existing industries (Dridi , 2020).

The investments in tourism sector regenerate social-spatial exclusion in Tunisia and Morocco. Tourism systems built during the colonial period still deeply affect formerly colonized territories today, from both material and discursive perspectives (Boukhris and Peyvel , 2019)

Indeed, tourism is part of a continuation of the cluster of attitudes that make up colonial subject construction of the "Other". In some way, tourism can intensify the contrast between the "ego" and the "alter". Europeans arrive in the region in organised trips, sporting the latest smartphone and wearing designer clothes. They stay in hotels and eat at restaurants aimed at tourist. Fanon point out that many hotels are in fact "settler towns" because it reflects the psychology of the oppressed in formerly colonized areas (Fanon, 2003, p.34). In these neo-

colonial spaces elites become “the organisers of parties” for their Western counterparties in a midst of overwhelming poverty. (Fanon, 2003,p.35)

IV/3/ Illegal immigration and externalization of borders as a Result of Coloniality of Power:

Aníbal Quijano defines coloniality of power as “different from, although linked to colonialism. The latter refers strictly to a structure of domination/exploitation where control of the political authority, the production resources and the work of a specific population, is held by another authority of different identity whose headquarters are located in another territorial jurisdiction. But not always, and not necessarily, implies racist power relations. Colonialism is obviously older, whereas coloniality has proved to be, in the last 500 years, deeper and lasting than colonialism. But undoubtedly it was generated inside of it, and moreover, without this it would not have been imposed in the inter-subjectivity of the world in such a rooted and lasting way” (Afailal et all.,2018,p.217). He identified interrelated domains of colonial power: control of economy (land appropriation, exploitation of labor, control of natural resources); control of authority (institution, army); control of gender and sexuality (family, education) and control of subjectivity and knowledge (epistemology, education and formation of subjectivity).(Quinajo , 2007 ,p.111)

The formation of subjectivity went from the sixteenth century characterization of “people without writing” to the eighteenth and nineteenth-century characterization of “people without history,” to the twentieth-century characterization of “people without development” and more recently, to the early twenty-first-century of “people without democracy”.(Grosfoguel, 2011,p.2)

The European Union is socially constructed and as epistemic region is considered as superior comparing to the other region. In the EU the white man is privileged and enjoy from free movement in the E.U in the other side (Maghreb), subject are considered inferior, facing oppression and do not enjoy any privilege. Due to political reason, the intra Maghreb mobility is restricted, the land border between Algeria and Morocco are closed since 1994 and the ongoing Libyan crisis has affected the mobility between the Maghreb countries.

The difference between the two zones (privileged zone vs. oppressed zone), is one of the push factors or major causes of illegal movement northward, the oppressed being is seeking for a better life in privileged zone. However, the EU is based on a strong commitment to promoting and protecting human rights; it imposed restriction on human mobility between the two shores of the Mediterranean Sea and introduce punitive measures against the undocumented immigrants. The spectacle of EU-managed asylum camps in inhospitable locations reveals the roots of coloniality, to understand this we refer to the writing of Fanon, where he explains the relation between the “being” and the “non-being” (Afailal et all.,2018,p.217). The center of detention is punitive measure against the inferior because he tried to emancipate from the oppressed zone to privileged zone.

The EU focused on preventing arrivals and outsourcing responsibility for asylum seekers and refugees to regions and countries outside the EU, through increasing financial resources to Maghreb countries, reinforcing the Maghreb Coast Guard and surveillance capacity including joint return operations and increasing financial assistance to develop a well-functioning asylum, migration, visa and integrated border management system.

Externalization of migration controls describes the desire of “being” in preventing the “not being” from entering its territory. The implementation of this desire is mandated to Maghreb countries to avoid moral responsibilities towards the illegal migrants.

V/Maghreb Cooperation: Towards epistemic reconstitution:

The Algerian war of independence forged strong ties between the five countries of the Maghreb. Although the common history and ideation factors would have enhanced any process of integration in the region, the officials waited until February 17, 1989, when the Five Heads of the Maghreb states signed in Marrakesh the Constitutive Treaty of the Arab Maghreb Union.

The Marrakech Summit was preceded by the meeting held by the Five Maghreb Heads of State in Zeralda (Algeria) on June 10, 1988 during which it was decided to set up a Grand Commission, responsible for defining the ways and means allowing the realization of a Union between the Five States of the Arab Maghreb. The work of this great Commission subsequently formed the WBU's Short and Medium Term Work Program (<http://bit.ly/3aESqGx>) .

However, Integration agreement between Maghreb countries understandably aroused high expectations, the process has been constantly derailed and the treaty's articles unable to significantly improve the social, economic and political aspects of the region as intended(Allouche, 2019,p.3). The intra Maghreb trade remains low—less than 5 per cent on average—, despite the creation of horizontal free trade area between the Maghreb countries and between each individual country (Kireyev et al. 2018,p.33). Although, the increase of trade exchange between Algeria and Maghreb countries, which recorded an increase of nearly 18.78% compared to 2017, from 1.86 billion US Dollars in 2017 to 2.21 billion US Dollars in 2018(<https://bit.ly/3dv9nVS>), the Maghreb Union is considered as one the world's 2worst performing trading blocs.(Ait Hamza,2017). Moreover, the human mobility between the Maghreb countries still restricted, only Tunisia allows citizens of the Arab Maghreb union to migrate into the country. (Inocent ,2020,p.18)

The Maghreb integration process failed to fulfil the expectation of Maghrebis. Mohammed VI , king of Morocco, said in front of African heads of state during the 28th African Union summit in Addis Ababa that the “The Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) is dead” (BOUKHARS , 2018) . The presumed death of AMU is due to the absence of social construction of UMA .Te renaissance of UMA requires an epistemic reconstruction of the region that aims in the first place to delink from that overall structure of knowledge and to emancipate from subject formation (desires, beliefs, expectations) that were implanted in the colonies by the former colonizers.(<http://bit.ly/3dzN9SC>)

Building an epistemic community, as outlined by Ernst Haas in the mid-1950s, includes several steps:

- 1/A shared set of normative and principle beliefs, which provide a value-based rational for social action of community members;
- 2/ shared causal beliefs, which are derived from their analysis of practices leading or contributing to a central set of problems in their domain and which then serve as the basis for elucidating the multiple linkages between possible policy actions and desired outcomes;
- 3/shared notion of validity -that is intersubjective, internally defined criteria for weighing and validating knowledge in the domain of their expertise;

4/A common policy enterprise- that is, a set of common practices associated with a set of problems to which their professional competence is directed, presumably out of the conviction that human welfare will be enhanced as a consequence. (Haas, 1992,p.3)

V-Conclusion:

The EU-Maghreb relation is a result of ideational and material factors that govern this relation. The European representation and imagination of Maghreb is derived from the categorization of the Other as inferior, with different labels that are more or less emotive according to the historical context (uncivilized/ Berber / illegal/ undocumented/ irregular....) .

The negative label justify the colonization in the past and neo colonization in the present which reflected by the unfair trade agreements, support of political-economic elite that hinder democratic transition. Moreover, such representations legitimize the violation of human rights and the exclusion of Other from belonging the privileged zone.

The emancipation of core-periphery relation requires a social building of UMA that aims primarily to delink with the structure of knowledge (socially constructed by E.U) that define the region.

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<http://bit.ly/2NvFIG2>

Appendix:

Table 1: Poverty indicators of selected Maghreb countries in the 1980’s.

Country	Year	Poverty headcount ratio at \$1.90 a day (2011 PPP) (% of population)	Income share held by lowest 20%	Income share held by lowest 10%	Income share held by highest 20%	Income share held by highest 10%	GINI index
Tunisia	1985	15.1	5.5	2.3	47.2	34.1	43.4
Algeria	1988	6.4	6.5	2.7	49.6	32.8	40.2
Morocco	1984	11.1	6.6	2.7	46.2	31.8	39.2

Source: The World Bank data available from:

<http://data.un.org/Data>

Table 2. Trade agreements between the EU and Maghreb countries

	Signed	In force
Morocco	Feb 1996	Mar 2000
Tunisia	July 1995	Dec 1998
Algeria	Apr 2002	Sep 2005
Libya	Observer status	

Source:

Said, Salam. (2017). “Foreign Trade Policy and Social Justice.” In: *Towards Socially Just Development in the MENA Region*, in; Said Salam(ed.) Tunis: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. p.7.

Table.3. EU merchandise trade with Maghreb countries (Billions of euro)

	Year	Exports	Imports	Balance
	r			

Algeria	2015	18.5	21.8	-3.4
	2016	15.7	19.9	-4.2
	2017	17.0	18.5	-1.5
	2018	18.4	18.5	-0.1
	2019	16.3	16.9	-0.6
Morocco	2015	11.7	17.5	-5.8
	2016	12.6	19.9	-7.3
	2017	14.4	21.5	-7.1
	2018	15.4	22.5	-7.1
	2019	16.3	23.4	-7.1
Tunisia	2015	9.3	10.6	-1.3
	2016	9.1	10.3	-1.2
	2017	9.3	11.0	-1.7
	2018	10.0	11.4	-1.5
	2019	10.0	10.9	-0.9
Libya	2015	0.6	0.2	0.3
	2016	0.4	0.2	0.2
	2017	0.5	0.3	0.2
	2018	0.5	0.4	0.1
	2019	-	-	-

Source :The European Commission Fact Sheet:
https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/isdb_results/factsheets/