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From developmental to open regionalism : the case of the Arab Maghreb Union

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withstand the shock of exposure to global markets as they liberalise their import regime.

Europe also wanted to protect its southern Mediterranean markets from competition from Asian and US producers in view of their increasing competitiveness *vis-à-vis* European producers, thus preserving a 'captive' market for EU exports of goods and services. It therefore needed to ensure that these markets are able to absorb European surplus products and services in a 'regional zone of co-prosperity'.[739] Economic take-off in Maghreb countries, and especially the inflow of non-debt creating capital, would enable the European Community to rationalise its financial development assistance to the Maghreb countries, since their aid dependence was seen to be unsustainable for long term sustainable development.[740] The Maghreb was also an important source of energy for Europe (see above), while its labour and agricultural exports have remained important for certain sectors of the European economy and consumer market.

European governments were in particular concerned about the 'crisis' of the state in Maghreb countries, brought about by poor economic performance and the deligitimisation of existing rulers, which could endanger their security. Vocal and diverse Islamist opposition groups have emerged since the mid-1980s, leading European leaders to fear the rise of radical Islam, especially among the unemployed urban poor. The political and economic instability that could ensue as a result would lead to an increase in political refugees but also economic migrants into Europe.

Coupled with demographic patterns in the Maghreb, failure to develop these economies would lead to a spillover into the southern European countries. For this reason, European leaders were eager to emphasise the security dimension of their new mediterrannean policy, particularly to avoid a spill-over of political and economic

[739] For more detail on Europe's economic interest in the Maghreb and other Mediterranean countries see Jacques Ould Aoudia, 'Les enjeux économiques de la nouvelle politique méditerranéenne de l'Europe', *Monde Arabe Maghreb Machrek*, No 153, 1996, p 25

[740] See Margaret Blunden, *op.cit*, p 18

instability on their southern shores into Europe's political and soc al landscape.[741] Behind this preoccupation with security (which some critics believe has been to the detriment of a genuine commitment to development in the Maghreb) however, was the realisation that without economic and democratic development in the entire Mediterranean, these 'threats' to European security will not be resolved.[742] Hence the European Community's shift towards a broader-based cooperation that would include social, security, economic, human and political concerns.[743]

5.2 Maghreb motivations

The Maghreb countries, especially Tunisia and Morocco have since the late 1980s started making strategic choices about their foreign trade policy, amongst others by linking their future trade to the single European market. Since 1987, concomitant to its economic reform programme, Tunisian foreign policy has been oriented towards the Mediterranean as part of both its economic development and political strategy. According to President Ben Ali, co-development and partnership between Europe and the Mediterranean are two essential conditions for a 'civilisational contract' that would promote development and progress between Europe and the Maghreb. Co-development would be accomplished, according to him, by opening up Maghreb markets in a free trade area (FTA) with Europe, but through the relocation of large European enterprises to the Maghreb, as well as through strategies that would facilitate the emergence of a new division of labour between Europe and the Maghreb.[744]

Similarly, the Moroccan government has been lobbying the EU since 1987, when it first asked to join the European Economic Community, for a trade and financial

[741] See Dirk Vandewalle, 'At the periphery: North Africa, the European Community and the end of the Cold War', *The Maghreb Review*, Volume 17, No 1-2, 1992, p 28

[742] European countries also feared increased instability in the Middle East region in the aftermath of the Gulf War and as a result of the problematic peace process between Israel and the Palestine Authority.

[743] See *Le Matin*, 29 November 1994

[744] Mohieddine Hadri, 'La Mediterrance: nouveau pole de developpement, zones de libre-exchange et partenariat nord-sud', paper delivered at *Premiere forum EuroMediterranean pour le co-developpement*, 5-6 October 1995, CETIMA, Sidi Bou Said, p 4

partnership agreement that would link Morocco to the European market (see below). These two regimes and since 1996, the Algerian regime, saw a free trade area agreement as a structural opportunity to expand trade, increase foreign direct investment and restructure their internal economies. Morocco in particular, which sees itself as a newly industrialised 'dragon' economy, has hoped that an integrated Mediterranean market, coupled with the structured EuroMed dialogue and mechanisms, would provide it with the critical mass necessary to develop its industrial sector along the lines of the East Asian 'flying geese' model.[745]

In East Asia, after Japanese industrial investment has relocated to a first 'wave' of low-cost developing countries, helping these countries to adapt to new technological developments (especially through a concentration of investment in technology-intensive industries) and diversify production, industrial enterprises from these countries, in turn, relocated to a second 'wave' of countries, continuing the same process of industrial restructuring. Maghreb regimes therefore hope that European companies, as did Japanese companies in East Asia, will invest in the Maghreb to a) supply the local market, b) export to the European market and c) export to other 'third country' markets.[746] They also hope that this investment will generate both upstream (research, financial services, training, intermediate inputs) and downstream (beneficiation, transport, insurance) industries in their economies, as the waves of Japanese investment did in East Asian newly industrialised countries. The new global economy, argues Gregory White, has forced middle-income states such as Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya, to take on this 'entrepreneurial' role of attracting investment, spurred on by the imperatives of employment creation and economic growth.[747] As semi-peripheral states, and therefore key intermediaries between the core (Europe) and the periphery (Maghreb states and further south) in the global

[745] See Fadel Majid Tounsi, *L'Opinion*, 9 December 1994, p 5
[746] See Sadok Belaid, 'Commentaires sur la communication de M Abdelfattah Amor', *Etudes Internationales*, Volume 4, 1991, p 26
[747] See Gregory White, 'The Mexico of Europe? Morocco's partnership with the European Union', Dirk Vandewalle (ed), *North Africa: development and reform in a changin global economy*, MacMillan Press, London, 1996, p 127

processes of capital accumulation, production and exchange, Tunisian and Moroccan leaders and enterprises in particular, have identified more with European leaders and businesses (especially Morocco), than with those of the periphery.[748]

Another incentive for Maghreb regimes to enter into a partership with Europe has been the increasing regionalisation of the international economy around three main industrial poles - the United States, Japan and Europe, coupled with the deepening of integration in Europe. As a result of their own economic and social imbalances, caused by lowering world commodity prices and their internal economic structural adjustement programmes, Maghreb governments feared that they would be marginalised or excluded from the international economy. But they were also concerned by the European Community, and particularly its northern members' increasing development spending on eastern and central Europe, to the detriment of countries on the southern shore of the Mediterranean. These countries would also be offered eventual membership of the EU.[749] Maghreb countries were increasingly competing with eastern and central European countries to attract European investment, particularly since the latter had more competitive advantages than any of the Maghreb countries: a more productive and better educated cheap labour force, proximity to the EU market, cheap land and energy, and more developed technologies.[750] Also, since Greece, Spain and Portugal have joined the European Economic Community in the 1980s, Maghreb countries have seen a marked decrease in their exports of leather goods, textiles and agricultural products to European markets.[751]

As interlocutors between the domestic economy and the international political economy, Maghreb regimes also hoped to legitimise their increasingly contested hold

[748] For more detail on the characteristics of semi-peripheral states, see T Shannon, *An introduction to the world-systems perspective*, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1989 and Immanuel Wallerstein, 'The rise and future demise of the world capitalist system: concepts for comparative analysis', *Comparative Studies in History and Society*, Volume 16, 1974, pp 387-415

[749] See Mehdi Remili, *op.cit.*, p 4

[750] See Charlotte Blum, *Middle East Economic Digest*, 5 April 1996.

[751] See William Mark Habeeb, 'The Magreb states and the EEC', in *Polity and Society in Contemporary North Africa*, 1993, pp 204-220 and Rhomari, 'l'Union du Maghreb Arabe', *RISA*, No 4, 1991, pp 692-5

over power by internal opposition forces, but also to deflect external critique of their often dismal human rights records by entering into free trade agreements with the EU. These agreements were therefore seen as a means to both internal and international respectability. Since the late 1980s, social inequality, political instability, regional conflict, and a growing Islamic opposition have plagued political elites in the Maghreb, who started fearing the marginalisation and balkanisation of the Maghreb region as a result. After the failure of various Arab unification projects, including the Arab Maghreb Union (see chapter six), Maghreb elites were led to believe, in a new spate of political and economic pragmatism, that a partnership with Europe is the only way for them to gain legitimacy as well as integrate the Maghreb region into the global economy.[752]

Finally, Maghreb regimes hoped to enhance the credibility of their internal economic policy reforms through free trade area agreements with the European Union, which could act as a regional policy anchor.[753] This, they believed, would secure their reform paths, particularly since the EU has committed financial resources to assist them in this regard, and therefore impact positively on how international capital markets would view their reforms, especially those which are undertaken in the context of the free trade area agreements with the EU.[754] The Maghreb region has attracted comparatively little foreign investment outside of the tourism and hydrocarbon and energy sectors, even after the economic reforms of the late 1980s. Morocco and Tunisia were the only countries to attract significant foreign direct investment, mainly in the export-oriented textiles sector, as well as in previously state-owned enterprises, notably banks and construction companies, with at least three quarters of all foreign direct investment of

[752] See Beatrice Hibou and Luis Martinez, 'Le partenariat euro-maghrebin: un mariage blanc?', *Les Etudes du CERI*, No 47, November 1998.

[753] While it is too early to measure the role of the EU as a policy reform anchor, there is a vast literature on policy reforms in Mexico in the context of the North American Free Trade Area Agreement and the role of the US as a policy anchor. See Joseph F Francois, 'External Bindings and the credibility of reform', in Ahmed Ghalal and Bernard Hoekman (eds) *Regional partners in global markets: limits and possibilities of the EuroMed Agreements*, CEPR and ECES, London and Cairo, 1997, pp 37-47

EU origin. Algeria has only started attracting American and European foreign direct investment in its hydrocarbon sector since 1995 when it lifted restrictive laws on foreign ownership in the hydrocarbon sector.[755]

Therefore, in view of the European Union's perception of the security threat emanating from the Maghreb countries, and the economic and political insecurity experienced by Maghreb regimes, commentators have noted that these two regions are 'condemned' to a partnership, albeit one of 'unequal interdependence'.[756]

6. Free trade area agreements

6.1 The Moroccan-EU free trade area agreement

The Moroccan economy, like other Maghreb countries, has always been highly dependent on fluctuations in the EU economy, not only because of the impact on its exports, but also on the income from emigrant remittances. Morocco has projected itself to the European Union as a 'Mediterranean dragon' and the 'Mexico of Europe' for many years. In 1987 King Hassan II formally applied for membership of the European Economic Community, and again in 1993, this time of the European Union. The Moroccan government has argued that based on its convergence towards the European market economy model, an emerging process of democratisation, and its long-standing ties with Europe, it could serve as a strategic partner for Europe in Africa and the Middle East.

Although its application for membership was rejected both times by the EU, it clearly indicated the perception of the Moroccan regime that the economic future of Morocco

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[754] See Joseph S Francois, 'External bindings and the credibility of reform', Ahmed Galal and Bernard Hoekman (eds), *Regional partners in global markets: limits and possibilities of the EuroMed Agreements*, CEPR and ECES, London and Cairo, 1997, p 37

[755] See Oualoulou, *op.cit.*, pp182-184

[756] See Youssef Tahiri, 'AMU-CEE: analyse du'une realite et schemas futurs', *Etudes Internationales*, No 48, 1993, p 144

would be reliant on its position within the European single market. This increasing prioritising of relations with Europe was one of the factors that had negatively influenced its political commitment to remain an active member of the Arab Maghreb Union. The Moroccan regime even became increasingly competitive vis-à-vis its Maghreb neighbours in its efforts to attract investment. In 1992, the Moroccan government tried to win enhanced EU financial support by pointing to the instability in Algeria and in 1993, the Moroccan minister of foreign trade, investment and tourism pointed out to EU political leaders that the Moroccan economy was more lucrative for foreign investors those of Tunisia, Algeria, and Libya.[757]

In January 1992, the European parliament froze the disbursement of Morocco's $600 million fourth financial protocol for 1992-1996, because of the Moroccan government's violation of human rights and its obstruction of the UN-managed referendum in the Western Sahara. The Moroccan government, in turn, rejected this outcome and started to campaign vigorously among the European Commission, exploiting differences its different institutions and the southern and northern members of the European Community. This was not only to reverse the parliament's decision but also to secure a partnership with Europe, which has always been one of its foreign policy objectives. One of its leverages was the threat not to renew the four-year fishing agreement, signed in February 1988, which offered lucrative catches to southern European fishing trailers in return for financial compensation to the Moroccan government. The fact that European development assistance under the fourth financial protocol, even though it was 35 per cent more than the third protocol, would comprise at most between 1 and 2 per cent of the total overseas development assistance granted to the Moroccan government, also strengthened its leverage to contest the European parliamentary decision, led by Scandinavian and UK parliamentarians.

In response to the lobbying of the Moroccan government, in March 1992 the European Commission formally offered to negotiate a free trade area agreement with the

[757] See Gregory White, *op.cit.*, 113

government. Not only would such an agreement not need European parliamentary approval, but it also fitted in with the objectives of Europe's new Mediterranean policy. Only then did the Moroccan government agree to renew its fishing agreement with the European Community. The first round of negotiations for a free trade area (FTA) began in May 1992, but the final agreement was only signed in 1996. From a European perspective, this partnership agreement was meant to institutionalise political dialogue between the EU and Morocco; create reciprocal free trade in industrial products; gradually liberalise trade in agricultural products and services on both sides; and extend the scope of economic and scientific cooperation.

The Moroccan government has insisted on full access to European markets for both its industrial and agricultural exports, as well as compensation for its local industry as it opens up to European competition, from the beginning of the negotiations. Impact studies have estimated that an FTA with the EU could cause about two thirds of industries to close down in Morocco: 40 per cent of the country's industries would immediately collapse while 20 per cent would be able to survive if they adapt.[758] The Moroccan government therefore asked for import liberalisation of only 60 per cent of industrial products in the first five years of the agreement, back load the rest towards the end of the 12-year transition period, and exempt sensitive products from the free trade regime. It further insisted that European financial resources be committed to the development of basic infrastructure and rural development; support for structural adjustment and economic restructuring; and the development of an economic partnership that would ensure European FDI flows to Morocco.[759]

The EU, however, did not accept these terms. Although it offered to lift the voluntary export restriction measures on Moroccan textile exports to the European market, and allowed for more flexible rules of origin on some of Morocco's industrial exports, the Union did not agree to provide balance of payment support or establish a fund for

[758] See Charlotte Blum, *Middle East Economic Digest*, 5 April 1996, p 34
[759] Mohamed Al Alaoui, *op.cit.*, p 85

industrial restructuring.[760] The agricultural dossier proved even more problematic. Agriculture plays a very important role in the Moroccan economy, responsible for 40 per cent of employment (or three million livelihoods, 20 per cent of the GDP and 30-35 per cent of total exports, of which 70 per cent are destined for the EU market.[761] Based on its privileged relations with France, the Moroccan government had hoped to become the 'vegetable garden' of Europe in the 1970s, which has been thwarted by the European Community's aim of food self-suffiency under the Common Agricultural Policy. In fact, this has led some to believe that the preferential access offered to Maghreb producers in the various cooperation agreements were only political concessions.[762]

The EU's offer for an agricultural agreement with Morocco in December 1994 included lower quotas, more restricted seasonal time calendars (the off-season for Spanish and French products competing with Maghreb exports) and a rise in the entry prices on Moroccan tomatoes and nectarines, both competitive agricultural exports to the EU market (see above). The Moroccan regime again successfully rejected this offer and signed the agricultural protocol in January 1995 only on condition that the regime for these products be renegotiated in October 1995, and should resemble those of previous cooperation agreements. However, the European Union's agricultural trading regime remained as restrictive as before, with negotiations around the agricultural dossier only to be re-opened in January 2000.[763] Meanwhile the agricultural sector in Morocco is counting on the review of the WTO Agricultural Agreement, as well as the reform of Europe's Common Agricultural Policy to obtain fair access to the European market.

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[760] See A Aznab, *L'Opinion*, 22 November 1994, pp 1-3

[761] Grimaud, *op.cit.*, p 125

[762] See Hassan Ban Abderrazik, *Al Bayane*, 13 January 1995, p3

[763] See A Aznab, *L'Opinion*, 22 November 194, pp 1-3. For a detailed account of the different preferences accorded to Moroccan agricultural exports on the EU market, as stipulated in the agricultural protocol, se Oualoulou, *op.cit.*, pp 200-206

Despite these continuing restrictions, the adoption of the MEDA development assistance programme by the EU at a Mediterrannean conference in Cannes in June 1995, have shown marked results in the development of both the agricultural and industrial sector in Morocco. Not only have agricultural industries from the southern European countries, especially France, relocated to Morocco or entered into joint ventures with Moroccan agricultural producers, but the European Commission has stepped up efforts to encourage European investment and other joint venture operations in Morocco in the context of the EuroMed assistance programmes.[764] In this regard it has established business information centres and programmes promoting joint ventures between Moroccan and European partners.[765]

The Moroccan government, commentators, and scholars have all criticized the Association Agreement between Morocco and the EU, signed in 1996. Despite a European discourse to the opposite, this agreement seems to belie its so-called commitment to a zone of co-development and co-prosperity in the Maghreb. Not only has the agricultural cooperation regime remained unchanged, but the financial resources the EU has committed to assist in the restructuring of the Moroccan economy and in addressing the social costs of the free trade agreement are highly insufficient. In addition, the financial compensation given to the Moroccan government in exchange for the fishing rights of European trailers in its waters do not reflect in the least the profits made by these fishing companies.[766] This has led to a general sentiment of 'deception' in the European Union by the Moroccan polity and industry.[767]

6.2 The Tunisian-EU free trade area agreement

By the mid-1990s, it has become clear that Tunisia's actual and potential export markets in the Maghreb were becoming increasingly restricted: no common market has

[764] Ibid, p 126
[765] See Gregory White, *op.cit.*, p 125
[766] See Mohamed Al Alaoui, *op.cit*, p 86

been established in the AMU, the Algerian civil war and the slow pace of its economic reform continued to bar its market to Tunisian manufactures and agricultural exports, and the UN embargo against Libya posed similar restrictions for potential Tunisian exports to and imports (especially petroleum products) from that country. As a small economy with a high trade propensity, the Tunisian regime saw no alternative to its immanent marginalisation than pursuing integration into the new European single market.

Since 1987, the Tunisian government has adopted a Mediterranean focus in both its foreign economic and security policy. As a result of the economic and structural adjustment programme it embarked upon in 1986-7, Tunisia was able to join the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in 1990, and achieved currency convertibility in 1993.[768] These, and other structural economic reforms (see chapter six), have allowed for some economic policy convergence with the European Union, although the privatisation of state-owned enterprises and import liberalisation remained difficult and the Tunisian economy did not attract much foreign investment outside the tourism industry. It was partly to render its economic reform programme more credible and its economy more attractive to foreign investment, in view of the implied socio-political stability of such an agreement, that the Tunisian government, in the context of the European Union's new Mediterranean policy, started negotiating a free trade area agreement with the EU in 1992. The government hoped, through this agreement, that the competitive capacity of various sectors in its economy would increase. The free trade area agreement was signed in July 1995, the first to be concluded between the EU and a southern Mediterranean country, and came into force in March 1998.

The main elements of the agreement were more or less similar to those of the EU-Moroccan agreement. They included

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[767] See Driss Ben Ali, *op.cit*, A Azab, *op.cit.*, Hassan Ben Abderazik, *Al Bayane*, 13 January 1995, p 3, Oualoulou, *op.cit.*, p 201, Mohamel Alaoui, *op.cit*

[768] *La Presse de Tunisie*, 25 November 1994, p 6

(i) continued free access for Tunisian industrial exports to European markets and lifting of the remaining restrictions in Europe,

(ii) (ii) duty free access for European industrial products exported to Tunisia through gradual dismantling first of capital and intermediate goods, and then of consumer goods in a 12 year transition period (tariffs for those imports competing with Tunisian products will only be liberalised after four years and sensitive products – about 0.5 per cent of total trade – will be excluded from the agreement),

(iii) immediate elimination by Tunisia of quantitative restrictions to European industrial imports (except for those allowed under GATT rules),

(iv) maintaining the status quo for agricultural products, with new negotiations scheduled for 2000,

(v) liberalisation of cross-border trade in services,

(vi) policy harmonisation in the areas of intellectual property, competition policy, and certification.[769]

..ike their Moroccan counterparts, Tunisian government representatives have experienced many difficulties during the negotiations. Not only did the EU want to cancel Tunisia's existing annual quotas for duty free entry of olive oil into the European market, but its initial offer made no provision for support of structural reforms in Tunisia, or social programmes to assist those who will be left unemployed as a result of the FTA agreement. Although the tariff elimination schedule, like that of the EU-Moroccan agreement, would only cover those European manufactured and raw material imports that are not manufactured locally in the first few years of the agreement, the closure of industries and subsequent job losses were inevitable.[770] This

[769] See Mustapha K Nabli, 'The European Union-Tunisian Free Trade Area Agreement: some lessons for South Africa', paper presented at the Trade and Industrial Policy Secretariat Annual Forum, Muldersdrift, South Africa, 1997, p 13

[770] The tariff liberalisation schedule is the following: I (Year 1-4): 20 per cent of EU imports enter duty free; II (year 5-6): 28 per cent of EU imports enter duty free; III (year 7): 30 per cent of EU imports will enter duty free and IV (year 8-12): 100 per cent of EU imports will enter duty free. A joint Tunisian-EU Association Committee will be in charge of implementing the tariff schedule. See Said Ben Mustapha, *op.cit.*

was particularly the case for Tunisia, where some industries have enjoyed a tariff protection of as high as 100 per cent. According to some studies, about a third of the Tunisian manufacturing sector would be at risk of collapsing once the market is opened to European imports, which would increase unemployment by 8.8 per cent. [771] Other estimates are that about 15 per cent of businesses will definitely close down once the new trade regime with Europe is implemented. [772] A general equilibrium model study has shown that 'Tunisia could experience significant adjustment problems in connection with the inter-sectoral movements of labour and capital[773], which could translate into the immediate loss of as much as 12 000 jobs.[774]

The Tunisian negotiators did finally succeed in securing their existing quota of olive oil for another five years, with an EU commitment to renegotiate the agricultural dossier in 2000, as well as the allocation of US$2.5bn for a *Mise à Nouveau*, or industrial renewal programme. This programme, which will cover about 4000 industries, which will also have to contribute funding to the programme, will assist in the restructuring of Tunisian enterprises to become more competitive and productive.[775] The EU-Tunisian FTA will be implemented over a period of 12 years, with Tunisia only starting to liberalise its tariffs after the fifth year of the agreement.[776] However, despite the concessions, the final agreement still has no provisions on the social dimension of European-Mediterranean integration, in particular the treatment of

[771] See Mustafa Nabli, *op.cit.*, p 9. For more detail of the impact of the free trade agreement with the European Union on the Tunisian economy, see Messaoud Boudhiaf, 'Impact sur l'economie Tunisienne de la zone de libre-exchange Tunisie-L'Union Europeenne', Tunis, April 1995, mimeo

[772] Said Ben Mustapha, *op.cit.*

[773] See *Economist Intelligence Unit*, The Economist, third quarter, 1995

[774] *Economist Intelligence Unit*, North Africa, 1995

[775] Said Ben Moustafa, *op.cit.*

[776] Tunisia will liberalise its economy in different stages, based on five lists of products. The first list contains products that are completely excluded from the agreement. The second contains a list of products to be liberalised upon entry into force of the agreement. This corresponds to 12% of Tunisian imports from the EU. The third list of products are those that are only to be liberalised after five years, corresponding to another 28% of Tunisian imports from the EU. A fourth list of products, including another 30% of Tunisian imports, will be liberalised over a period of 12 years. A fifth list of products will only be liberalised after the fourth year of the agreement, over a period of eight years, and included a further 30 % of Tunisian imports from the EU. See Messaoud Boudhiaf, *The Tunisian-EU Association Agreement*, presentation given at a conference on regionalism and the future of the Lomé Convention, organised by the Institute for Global Dialogue, Johannesburg, 14-15 October 1999

Maghreb immigrant workers in Europe, which has been a key issue for Tunisian negotiators.[777]

7. European-Mediterranean cooperation: structural opportunity or continuing dependency?

7.1 Costs of association agreements

Despite the fact that trade liberalisation in industrial products will take place progressively over a period of twelve years, with back loading for trade in Maghreb industries which still need protection, Maghreb economies will bear most of the adjustment costs in the FTA agreements with the EU. This is partly because their industrial exports to the European market have benefited, since the 1960s, from a free entry regime, except for the textile industry. Although some studies have suggested a long-term growth of 3 per cent in the GDP of Tunisia, brought about amongst others by increasing competitiveness, lower prices of intermediate goods, and the lowering of the exchange rate flowing from the FTA[778], general equilibrium model studies have shown that aggregate welfare is expected to be reduced in the short-term before it raises in the longer term.[779]

At a dynamic level, Maghreb countries will experience significant government revenue losses due to the elimination of customs duties as a result of the free trade area agreement. In Tunisia, customs duties comprise about 18 per cent of government revenue, of which customs duties levied on EU imports represent about 70 per cent.[780] Revenue loss under full implementation of the free trade area agreement would amount

[777] See Said Ben Moustafa, Tunisian foreign minister, 'The free trade area agreement between Tunisia and South Africa', speech at the South African Institute of International Affairs, Johannesburg, 2 February 1999

[778] See The Economist, *Economist Intelligence Unit*, Third Quarter, 1995

[779] Different studies show welfare losses of between 0% and 3% in the short term. Drusilla K Brown et. al., *op.cit.*, p 91 and Boudhiaf, *op.cit*

[780] See *Economiste Maghrebin*, No 130, May 1995.

up to 2.6 per cent of GDP.[781] In Morocco, customs duties on EU imports represent two thirds of total customs duties, or 3.3 per cent of GDP.[782] This loss of revenue, coupled with their heavy debt burdens (see chapter three) will place severe fiscal constraints on Maghreb governments, with negative implications for social and infrastructural spending.[783] Furthermore, as explained in the previous section, both in Morocco and Tunisia, non-competitive industries will close down as a result from competing imports from Europe in the short-term, resulting in immediate job losses with the attendant implications for the social fabric of these countries.

In the agricultural sector, the EU has retained all restrictions on Maghreb agricultural exports to the European market implemented under the previous agreements, except for certain concessions such as increased quotas or inclusion of some products that have not been covered by previous agreements. These restrictions are partly a result of the Common Agricultural Policy (entry prices and compensatory taxes), or of the previous cooperation agreements (excluded products, seasonal restrictions and quota restrictions). Analysis of Moroccan and Tunisian trade patterns suggest that they have a comparative advantage in agriculture and fishery products. The restrictions imposed on these exports, fuelled by the enlargement of the European Community to Spain, Portugal and Greece, call into doubt the European Union's commitment to promote their development.

Also, in view of the heavy subsidies still allocated to European farmers, although these have been somewhat curtailed in the 1999 EU budget reform, there is a real danger of 'dumping' on Maghreb agricultural markets while its agricultural sector is still fragile and under reform. For this reason Maghreb governments have insisted that their agricultural markets open slowly to European products and that sensitive products still be protected. For example, although Morocco has gradually been liberalising its trade

[781] Nabli, *op.cit.*, p 12
[782] Larbi Jaidi, 'Le project de zone de libre-échange entre l'Union Europeenne et le Maroc: une approche de son impact sur l'économie nationale', *Annales Marocaines d'Economie*No 11, Spring 1995, pp 143-173

in 'strategic' agricultural products such as wheat (in which it suffers a structural deficit), it would only have to open up its markets to European wheat imports after 12 years.[784]

This European shortsightedness has proven an obstacle in achieving a collective Mediterranean approach to food security by collectively regulating the structural food surplus in Europe and the structural food deficit in the southern part of the Mediterranean (especially in the Maghreb).[785] Such a strategy would have necessitated that a) Europe open its markets to agricultural exports from Maghreb countries and invest in the Maghreb agricultural sector to restructure food production and raise productivity and returns, b) the EU supports the relocation of European agricultural production to the Maghreb, which has abundant supplies of energy and labour, and c) joint ventures be created to effect, amongst others, technology transfer in the agricultural sector.[786]

Another serious implication of the FTAs for economic development in Tunisian and Moroccan economies, will be the loss of government revenue as a result of the lifting of customs duties on EU imports. This will have serious implications both for social delivery and government investment in the economy. Table three gives an overview of the expected losses over a period of 12 years.

[783] See Kemili, *op.cit.*, p 9

[784] 'Liberalisation de la filiere des cereales: portee det incidences de la liberalisation', *La Lettre du Centre Marocain de Conjoncture*, No 10, February 1995, pp 3-14. In 1990, prices of Moroccan agricultural products were 13 to 329 per cent higher than international prices of the same products.

[785] See Mustafa Qurouach, 'L'agriculture Maghrébine face à l'Europe 1993', *Revue Marocaine de Droit et D'Economie du Développement*, No 27, 1992, pp 39-41

[786] Many European agricultural companies that have relocated to the Maghreb outside of the EuroMed framework have been employing environmentally unsound practices and technologies, especially in the horticultural and biological industries.

Table 3: Loss of customs duties: impact on Tunisian and Moroccan economies

Loss of import duties		Tunisia	Morocco
Duties on EU imports	% of budget revenue	22.18	17.55
	% of GDP	4.45	4.30
EU imports as % of total imports (1996)		58.78	71.49
Duties on EU imports	% of budget revenue	15.86	10.32
	% of GDP	3.18	2.53
% loss of GDP as a	Year 1	0.3	0.4
result of tariff	Year 4	1.1	0.9
liberalisation under	Year 8	1.9	1.8
FTA with the EU	Year 12	2.5	2.4

Source: Messaoud Boudhiaf, *L'elargissement de la zone de libre-echange Euro-Mediterrannéen et ses consequences sur les pays sud-Méditerrannéennes*, paper presented at a conference on 'Regionalism and the future of the Lomé Convention trade regime', Institute for Global Dialogue, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 14-15 October 1999, mimeo

7.2 Attracting foreign direct investment

Impact studies have shown that unless the inflow of foreign direct investment (FDI) into Tunisia grows considerably compared to what it was before the conclusion of the agreement, and unless this investment is targeted towards sectors where yields exceed costs, its FTA with the EU will not lead to economic growth.[787] Although there has been no solid theoretical framework to determine the impact of an FTA between industrial and developing countries, existing studies indicate that the potential gains from such FTAs are dependent on external capital flows from the developed to the less developed countries of the free trade zone.[788] European FDI to Mediterranean countries accounted for only US$3000 billion in the 1990s, whereas US investment to Mexico in the same period amounted for US$20 000 billion.

[787] See Drusill K Brown et al., *op.cit.*, p 93

Maghreb governments are hoping that a FTA with the EU would lead to increased FDI inflows from Europe to Maghreb economies as a result of the deepening and locking in of economic policy reforms. They base this on the belief that their association with the European Union would enhance their credibility in the eyes of outside investors. Such an inflow of FDI would theoretically stimulate the productive sector, increase the competitiveness of Maghreb industries, and lead to the modification of trade and investment legislation in Maghreb countries.

However, investment seem unlikely because of the hub-and-spoke nature of the free trade area between the Maghreb and Europe. In hub-and-spoke FTAs, the countries of the spoke all trade with the hub, but there is little trade, or trade potential due to structural economic factors, amongst themselves. This is an established pattern in the Maghreb, where intra-regional has never exceeded 5 per cent of total trade, while each of the Maghreb countries conducts about 70 per cent of their trade with the European Union.

Such FTAs have a tendency to marginalise the spoke economies, since their production facilities have artificially lower market access to the hub than producers that are situated in the hub. It has been shown that companies go wherever trade and production costs are lowest, but that trade costs outweigh unit production cost as a deterrent to investment. Thus, hub-and-spoke free trade areas do not promote investment flows to the peripheral economies because they provide no motivation for investors to locate in the spoke economies. They also do not facilitate production-sharing arrangements.[789] The only way in which Maghreb countries could overcome investment diversion to the EU, would be to eliminate customs duties on imports from third countries simultaneous to eliminating customs duties on European imports. In

[788] Larbi Jaidi, *op.cit*, p 173

[789] See Richard E Baldwin, 'Review of theoretical developments in regional integration', Oyejide, A et al. (eds), *Regional integration and trade liberalisation in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Volume One, McMillan and St Martins Press, London and New York, 1997

fact, it has been estimated that the gains of 'universal' liberalisation of trade would be approximately 50 per cent higher than the gains from their respective bilateral FTAs with the EU.[790] This could be achieved by establishing a free trade area in the AMU, to ensure that potential investors would set up in Maghreb countries, lured by a large market and an integrated production structure.[791] However, the European Union's priorities, strategies and approach in the EuroMed 'partnership' have in fact undermined such intra-regional integration (see below).

In this regard it is important to note that Maghreb trade preferences on EU markets have have steadily been eroded since the beginning of the 1990s. This is as a result of (i) the EU's extension of preferential trade agreements to other developing countries such as Turkey and Egypt, (ii) the EU's unilateral tariff liberalisation schedule for industrial products as part of its GATT commitments (by 2005s, for example, industrial countries would have eliminated quantitative restrictions and significantly lowered tariffs on textile imports, thus reducing the preferences for Maghreb textile exports on European markets), and (iii) the EU's extension of the General System of Preferences (GSP), a unilateral schedule of preferences for industrial exports from developing countries to the European market.[792] It is for this reason, Larbi Jaidi argues, that trade preferences in the new association agreements are less important than the development of partnership relations between Maghreb and European enterprises, and policies of the EU to support industrial development and increasing competitiveness in the Maghreb, in conjunction with Maghreb enterprises.[793]

One of the main preconditions for investment flows from the EU to the Maghreb, outside the shoe and confectionary sectors where most European investment is

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[790] See J Page and J Underwood, 'Growth, the Maghreb and free trade', in A Galal and B Hoekman, *op.cit.*, p 121

[791] See Mustafa Nabli, *op.cit.*, p 16

[792] See Henri Regnault, 'Integrations regionales et sous-espaces economiques dans la zone EuroMediterraneenne: bilan et perspectives', paper delivered at *Forum Mediterranmen pour la cooperation et le developpement*, Sidi Bou Said, 5-7 October 1995, p 11

[793] Larbi Jaidi, *op.cit*

currently concentrated, will be the willingness of the European Union to promote the relocation of its firms to Maghreb countries. This will need to be accompanied by assistance for the structural adjustment of these economies. But such relocation will need to be precipitated by a large influx of non-debt creating external development finance to support the restructuring of Maghreb enterprises, as well as the industrial bases of these economies. This would give Maghreb countries the opportunity to move away from their industrial concentration on phospate beneficiation and clothing manufacturing, to become competitive in the household electronic, electronic information, and electronic parts industries. These are industry branches which developing countries, especially from Southeast Asia, have been penetrating on the European market.[794] To this end, public investment, both from European and Maghreb governments, will need to support infrastructure construction, professional training and industrial research in the Maghreb countries. Finally, European governments need to provide incentives to the small and medium enterprise sector in Europe, which has shown enormous potential for partnership with the Maghreb, to invest in Maghreb countries, either through relocation or joint ventures with Maghreb enterprises.[795]

7.3 European financial assistance

The European Union has made available financial resources to accompany the association agreements negotiated with the Maghreb countries, not only to compensate for the revenue loss, unemployment and loss of industrial output as a short-term result of the FTA, but also assist them in restructuring their economies. Although the development finance made available in the 1995-1999 MEDA budget represents a three-fold increase from previous financial protocols, it still forms a very small part of the total development assistance received by Maghreb countries, and their gross

[794] Willy Dimeglio, 'Le Bassin Mediterraneen dans les choix de delocalisations', paper presented at a conference at the *Institut du Monde Arabe*, 28-29 September 1995, Casablanca, p 6

[795] In France, for example, out of 1.5 million small and medium enterprises, 1.4 million export or have entered joint ventures, of which 300 000 have been signifincant and sustainable. See Willy Dimeglio, *op.cit*, p 7

domestic product (GDP). In Algeria it amounts to 0.06 per cent of GDP, in Morocco to 0.34 per cent and in Tunisia, 0.7 per cent.[796]

European funds have been committed under the MEDA programme to support 'horizontal and decentralised' integration in the Mediterranean region. The programme funding concentrates mainly on the development of a strong autonomous private sector in Maghreb countries. Although the European-funded programmes intended to assist Maghreb private enterprises are diverse, they share the following elements: co-financing between EU and Maghreb economic operators; transfer of skills in information science, technology, small and medium enterprise (SME) management, and human resource management. They can be grouped in three categories: instruments to assist financially and technically the creation or extention of Maghreb enterprises; the development of partnerships between European and Maghreb enterprises; and the provision of information and assistance to Maghreb enterprises.[797] Funds have also been committed to assist in the restructuring of Maghreb economies and for social and human development in these countries (see section three).

However, there are four serious obstacles in the formulation and implementation of these programmes, which could deny Maghreb countries the opportunity to strengthen their industrial fabric and increase the competitiveness of their industries. Firstly, the potential beneficiaries of these programmes (SMEs) are for the most part uninformed about how to access the finance and technical assistance programmes of the European Commission. There have been a few suggestion of how to channel this European financial support for economic restructuring in the Maghreb, but for several reasons no single mechanism has yet been accepted and disbursement remains at bilateral European Commission-governmental level.[798] The Commission will also need to

[796] See Hibou and Martinez, *op.cit.*, p 10

[797] For more detail on the type of activities see Medhi Remili, *op.cit*, pp 14-15

[798] There has been a suggestion to lauch a European restructuring fund, or a Euro-Maghreb Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The latter structure cannot be created until there is a unified Maghreb market, according to the Europeans, and would also be too costly and complex. Sandro Cerato, 'Le dialogue a diminué, mais il n'est pas en panne', *IEA*, No 232, April 1993, p 21. Maghreb governments

conduct occasional sectoral evaluations of its private sector development programmes and instruments, to ensure that they do not foster an industrial monoculture in Maghreb countries, as has happened before.[799] Maghreb governments will also need to take co-responsibility for and define more clearly the *Mise à Nouveau* programmes, which are intended to assist enterprises to restructure by providing financial and technical resources for this purpose.

Secondly, the European financial assistance package continues to be tied to externally imposed conditions for macro-economic restructuring and good governance in the Maghreb, which amounts to the blanket imposition of a European democratic capitalist development model.[800] Externally formulated World Bank and IMF structural adjustment programmes have led to severe social disruptions in Maghreb countries in the past. A real partnership instead would have allowed all parties to negotiate the objectives of the agreement and jointly formulate economic policies, including those for economic restructuring, to avoid the social dislocation and division, as a result of unemployment and imposed austerity programmes, that was at the root of social and political instability in the Maghreb during the 1980s.[801] Despite the adoption by the European parliament of an Italian document in 1993, calling amongst others for the opening of negotiations around the debt burden of the Maghreb countries, European creditors have never collectively attempted to address this issue in the context of the EuroMed agreement.[802] High debt service ratios and debt stocks, especially in Morocco and Algeria, have been key to their fiscal imbalances, which the European Union is instead trying to address through support for economic structural adjustment.

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feel that their own commercial banks could channel financial resources for small and medium enterprises, while the European Investment Bank can continue to fund infrastructure development. Another possibility was an investment guarantee agency.

[799] The evaluation of the ECIP programme in Morocco has shown that it prioritised the textile sector.

[800] For more detail see See Margaret Blunden, 'EuroMediterranean relations: the conditions for partnership in the Maghreb', *Bulletin of Francophone Africa*, Volume 5(10), 1996/7, p 24

[801] See Fatiha Talahite, Le partenariat EuroMediterranneen vu du Sud', in *Monde Arabe Maghreb Machrek*, No 153, 1996, p 47

[802] See Mohamed El Hassan Alaoui, *op.cit.*, p 179

The EU support programmes for economic structural adjustment in the Maghreb also do not insist on transparence, modified economic governance and reforms that would lead to the equal distribution of wealth. No mechanisms have been developed to monitor the reform programmes in the Maghreb countries in terms of their aims, that is, whether they are indeed used to modify economic and financial structures through institutional and legal reforms (or as means to stabilise public finances), whether they are indeed used to enhance competition, erode rentier economies and stimulate productive capacity (or encourage property speculation), and whether non-tariff barriers are being imposed where tariff barriers have been lowered.[803]

Thirdly, financial assistance to Maghreb countries remain tied to European business interests, although the European Commission has expressed a general intention to move away from tied aid.[804] The money is partly allocated to European businesses investing in the Maghreb, and to purchase European consultants, technical experts, and equipment in business development, infrastructure, and other development-related projects. Therefore, very little of the MEDA funding has been spent on social development (basic health and education), and generating income for those left unemployed by the FTA agreements.[805]

Finally, the nature of the private sector in the Maghreb poses an obstacle to reaping the benefits of European enterprise development programmes, which might have otherwise presented a structural opportunity to develop the industrial fabric of Maghreb economies. Despite the wave of privatisation, and various policy-initiatives to develop the private sector in Maghreb countries since the beginning of the 1990s, after decades of varying degrees of state monopoly over the economy, private sector enterprises have remained fragmented, fragile, under-capitalised, family-based, and small. For example, small and medium enterprises comprise 87 per cent of enterprises in Morocco

[803] See Hibou and Martinez, *op.cit.*, pp 29-30

[804] Fatihad Talahite, *op.cit.*, p 55 and Dorothée Schmid, 'Les programmes Med: une expérience europeenne de cooperation décentralisée en Méditerrannée', *Monde Arabe Machrek*, No 153, 1996, pp 61-2

and 95 per cent of enterprises in Tunisia. The private sector has also remained very dependent on the state for preferential subcontracting through informal agreements without contracts, and monopoly procurement.[806] This is merely a reflection on the fact that it has developed in the sh. of Maghreb states and therefore continues to enjoy, through informal familial, regional or factional networks, solidarity with political power. Liberalisation has therefore not led to the creation of a strong, structured and autonomous private sector, and the only independent economic activity is in the hands of small entrepreneurs that do not challenge political power.[807]

This state of affairs has enabled large industrial groups in Maghreb countries (especially in the import-substituting manufacturing secto.) to use their recourse to political power to defend their interests in protecting their profit margins behind high tariff walls, instead of opting for modernisation, better quality products, diversifying their markets, but also 'reconquering' Maghreb markets by attracting local consumers to Maghreb products, instead of the imported products they seem to prefer.[808] This also explains why joint ventures between European and Magreb enterprises might be difficult. For example, one of the characteristics of Moroccan enterprises, is that they are primarily financed by family capital, which ma economic operators adverse to accepting external capital and savings, requiring them to divulge 'private' information about their business finances and its management.[809]

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[805] See Fatiha Talahite, *op.cit.*, p 52

[806] See Beatrice Hibou and Luis Martinez, *op.cit.*, p 28

[807] Ibid, p 29. In Morocco, all large private groups are linked to the ruling regime, in Libya all private enterprises since 1988 has either originated from the public or the informal sector, and in Tunisia, it has been impossible to form large private business groups outside of the state structure. In Tunisia, SOE directors chose only entrepreneurs loyal to the existing regime to take over public enterprises, none of which were privatised before 1996. In this regard, the Bretton Woods institutions have been satisfied with facade reforms and superficial adjustments and have not insisted on transparency, modified ways of economic governance, and reforms that would lead to the equal distribution of wealth.

[808] See Remy Leveau, preface in Said Tangeaoui, (ed), *Les entrepreneurs marocains: pouvoir, societe et modernite*, Paris, Khartala, 1993, p 7

7.5 Maghreb regional integration remains an imperative

Part of Europe's new Mediterranean policy discourse has focused on the importance of regional integration among southern Mediterranean countries, through, amongst others, concluding free trade areas with one another. The French government, in particular, has been eager to see a revitalisation of the Arab Maghreb Union, which is one of the preconditions for the inflow of European investment to the Maghreb, as well as for the establishment of a European-Maghreb Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

However, despite this European discourse on the indispensability of regional integration among southern Mediterranean countries, Europe has excluded Libya from the EuroMed Agreement, under strong protest from the latter, primarily because of the 1992 UN-imposed embargo against Libya. Historically and functionally Libya has been integrated into regional Mediterranean economy as an energy provider (the third largest supplier of petrol to Europe), financier (the Libyan government has large direct and portfolio investments in Europe) and labour-absorbing economy.

While its exclusion from the Agreement allows Libya to pursue economic reforms at its own pace, it drastically undermines Libya's potential to stabilise regional emigration patterns from Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt to Europe (by aborbing their surplus labour), to co-finance their economic restructuring and social programmes, and to further integrate Maghreb trade and production, especially in the informal sector where commerce is booming between Libya and its neighbours (see chapter 6). The Libyan government has shown an avid interest in creating the infrastructure for intra-Maghreb trade by constructing a road network between Tripoli and several Tunisian towns to faciliate transport of goods and people. It has also shown a keen interest to become a partner in the EuroMed Agreement when it was still part of the group of ten western Mediterranean dialogue partners. Its exclusion from the EuroMed Agreement

[809] Mohammed Reja Amrani, 'Le developpement de l'entreprise industrielle: contraintes et perspectives dans les pays de la rive du sud, le cas du Maroc', in *L'Avenir de l'espace mediterranean*, Publisud,

will not only encourage the Libyan government to become less transparent in its economic dealings, but will also increase security risks in the Maghreb, as well as the perception of potential investors of a dangerous and unstable region.

Mauritania has also been excluded from the EuroMed Agreement for geo-political reasons, but also because its trade, financial and development relationship with Europe is regulated by the Lomé Convention.[810] The exclusion of both Mauritania and Libya from the EuroMed Agreement could pose further obstacles to cooperation and integration in the Arab Maghreb Union. Firstly, both need to be included in the Mediterranean food security programme as both are structural food deficit countries, which could achieve food self-sufficiency through the joint regulation of food trade between the Maghreb and Europe, but also within the Maghreb. As importantly, cheaper European imports will displace especially Libyan exports to Tunisia, and to a lesser extent, to Algeria and Morocco. Apart from this intra-regional trade diversion, trade diversion towards Europe would also prevent or at least slow down the development of complementarities and the integration of regional production structures among the Maghreb countries.

Finally, the series of initiatives taken by Europe since the independence of the Maghreb countries have only served to further 'carve up' the region by integrating the 'favoured' Maghreb states into special agreements with the Community, rather than collectively. Despite its rhetoric to the opposite, the EU has in fact pursued a policy of vertical integration of the Maghreb states into a European-dominated regional association, instead of promoting horizontal integration. This was borne out by the fact that the EU has committed no funding in its MEDA regional indicative programme to the AMU Secretariat, whose functioning and effectiveness have been severely curtailed, amongst others, by budgetary constraints. Once Morocco and Algeria have

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Paris, 1991, pp 299-313

[810] The EC has supported efforts at continued structural adjustment on a bilateral basis with Mauritania, and initiated specific agreements under Lomé Convention IV, also with an emphasis on private sector development. See Seddon, *op.cit.*, pp 144-145

resolved their political standoff over the referendum in the Western Sahara, a well-funded Secretariat will have more strategy capacity to coordinate the different trade agreements of Maghreb countries with Europe, as well as aspects of the regional cooperation and integration process in the Maghreb. Giving funding to the Secretariat, as Europe has done for other regional groupings such as the Southern African Development Community, would have offered Maghreb countries the opportunity to revitalise the AMU, which Europe has claimed is of key importance for the success of the EuroMed Agreement.

Conclusion

Does the EuroMed Agreement therefore provide Maghreb regimes with the historic structural opportunity to reverse their marginalisation in the world economy and develop competitive industries, or will it only serve reproduce their core-periphery dependency relationship? Although it is too early in the regionalisation process to conclude this debate, or even measure the policy anchoring or investment effects of the free trade area agreement, the evidence in this chapter has pointed to an unambiguous pattern whereby, at least in the short term, the relationship between core and periphery in the Mediterranean will remain one of 'unequal interdependence'.

Firstly, while the EU has pleged at several occasions its commitment to the development of the southern Mediterranean, especially by providing financial assistance to help it overcome the transition period towards an open economy, it has closed its own markets to the labour and agricultural exports from the Maghreb in a politically expedient fashion. Not only are these their key competitive exports, but agriculture also forms the backbone for the livelihoods of as much as a third of the Maghreb population.

The EU has constantly refused to open the emigration dossier as part of its association agreements with Maghreb countries to regulate the flow of surplus labour from the

Maghreb to Europe, and to ensure that their working and social conditions are attended to. It also rejected the request of Maghreb governments in 1991 to formulate jointly a Migration Charter that would address these issues.[811] In fact, new controls on the immigration of labour were introduced as a result of the Schengen and Trevi Agreements and of the national immigration policies of France, the UK, Spain, and Italy. These will hamper employment opportunities and income from remittances, both of which have been vital to stability and growth in Maghreb countries in the past, and will continue to be so in the future.[812] This is particularly serious in view of the fact that the Maghreb labour force is expected to grow by 90 000 a year in Algeria, 70 000 in Morocco and 40 000 in Tunisia. In the absence of a major expansion of employment opportunities in the region (in fact, some employment contraction is expected as a result of the FTAs), the lack of an alternative labour market in Europe will lead to profound political and economic instability and hardship.

Secondly, the financial resources allocated to the Maghreb countries for the period 1995 to 1999, intended to assist in the structural reform of Maghreb economies, particularly focusing on developing the private sector in Maghreb countries by, amongst others, promoting cooperation between Maghreb and European enterprises, while offering a possible structural opportunity to the Maghreb, are highly inadequate.[813] This facet of the EU's financial assistance (MEDA) programme could potentially enable Maghreb enterprises and governments to exploit trade creation opportunities and attract investment, thereby enabling the Maghreb states to act assertively to shape their national developmental goals, which are to develop a diversified industrial base, modernise the agricultural sector, and improve public management of the economy, and private management and production practices.

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[811] See MG Larramendi, 'Chronique Internationale', *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord*, 1991, p 497

[812] See G Joffé, 'The development of the AMU and integration in the western Arab world', in G Nonneman (ed), *The Middle East and Europe: the search for stability and integration*, Federal Trust for Education and Research, London, 1993, p 205

[813] See Hibou and Martinez, *op.cit.*, Fatallah Oualoulou, *op.cit*, and Mohammed El Hassan Alaoui, *op.cit.*, p 180

However, the one-sided nature of these assistance measures, from economic reform support and policy harmonisation, to private sector development, as well as the blanket economic adjustment conditionalities attached to the EU's free trade agreement offers, have not given Maghreb governments the opportunity to articulate or formulate jointly with the EU, their developmental needs and interests.[814] This, coupled with the insufficient funding that has been made available for industrial restructuring, has given the impression that the EU is not a committed development partner, which is a prerequisite for Maghreb countries to benefit from the free trade area agreements.[815]

Thirdly, the free trade agreements between Europe and Morocco, Tunisia, and other with Algeria to be negotiated in the near future, as well as the exclusion of Libya and Mauritania from the EuroMed Agreement, have undermined processes of production, trade and political integration in the Maghreb. In addition, they would lead, in the short-term, to deindustrialisation and unemployment in Maghreb countries. In this regard, European development assistance has overemphasised economic restructuring, to the neglect of human and social development in the Maghreb. It has also neglected to formulate a funding strategy to support measures that would assist Maghreb governments, who will lose an important source of revenue as a result of the elimination of customs duties on EU imports, in finding alternative sources of income, or restructure revenue collection.

Furthermore, it is uncertain to what extent the 'policy anchoring' function of an FTA with the EU would lead to increasing FDI flows into Maghreb economies. What is certain, is that without signification relocation of European industries to the Maghreb, the hub-and-spoke free trade agreement would only lead to further polarisation. The nature of the private sector in the Maghreb, and the relationship between institutions of power and capital, leads to the conclusion that the social structures in these countries

[814] In this regard, the Asian capitalist development model has proven that free trade, market institutions and economic individualism are not generic to modern economic growth.
[815] For the period 1995-1999, 6 central and eastern European countries have received ECU7bn, while 27 Mediterranean countries were awarded only ECU5bn

are not conducive to development planning. Such planning is another precondition for peripheral economies to benefit from FTAs with industrialised economies. This is primarily because the traditional capitalist classes in the Maghreb are not subordinate within newly configuring states (in fact, the private sector has grown in the shadow of the state), and are still using state power to defend their social and political privilege. The nature of enterprises in large parts of the Maghreb also precludes an 'entrepreneurial' culture, which places high value on the formation of new ventures and economic expansion.

Finally, although the EU has imposed democratic development and respect of human rights as conditionalities in the signing of free trade area agreements and financial protocols with Maghreb regimes, these agreements have only succeeded in encouraging the edification of the existing democratic facades in the Maghreb region. This is because Europe, and by implication the EuroMed Agreement, is primarily concerned with 'stability' and 'security' in the Mediterranean region, which Europe hopes to achieve through its support for existing Maghreb regimes, and not by supporting real democratic transformation. This in turn, has offered Maghreb regimes the opportunity to consolidate and strengthen their hold on power, which has been legitimised through recognition by the European Union.

Pseudo-democratic Maghreb regimes have in fact benefited from Europe's consideration for their internal and external strategic interests in containing the Islamist opposition.[816] Thus far, the EuroMed Agreement has thus far only served to reproduce the monopolisation of economic, political and diplomatic relations with the outside world by the Magreb elite, and notably the dominant military-security complex. This elite, as in other societies where there is an overlap between political and military power and capital accumulation, has been the first to adapt to new political economies and profit from these transformations. This explains why there has been very little

[816] See Hibou and Martinez, *op.cit.*, p 9

discourse on how to mitigate the social impact of the agreements with the European Union, either amongst themselves, or with the EU.

In fact, Europe's exclusion of agriculture and labour in its free trade agreements with Maghreb countries; its failure to develop a concerted debt reduction strategy; the imminent closure of industries and subsequent increase in unemployment in Maghreb countries in the short-term; trade diversion away from Maghreb to European producers; as well as the uncertainty of increased flows of foreign direct investment to the Maghreb, have made the construction of a unified Maghreb market with integrated production structures and regional political strategies even more imperative than before.

Only a prosperous and stable Arab Maghreb Union can act as an interlocutor vis-à-vis the European Union to ensure that the EuroMed Agreement leads to the establishment of a genuine Mediterranean zone of 'co-prosperity' and 'co-development'. To this end, Maghreb regimes themselves will have to take primary responsibility for economic reforms, resource mobilisation, efficient and competitive production and optimal allocation of resources domestically, and not rely on their trade and industrial relationship with the European Union as a panacea for their economic development.[817] However, without the necessary reform to a more participatory and representative political system, neither a strong Magreb regional grouping, nor a relationship with the European Union that benefits all layers of Maghreb society, will emerge.

Europe's new Mediterranean policy and the introduction of open regionalism between Europe and the Maghreb therefore do not seem to differ significantly from the 'neocolonial' pattern of their relations since independence. The terms of the free trade area agreements, the financial assistance agreements, as well as the horizontal and decentralised cooperation agreements with its periphery are essentially favourable to Europe, and their potential opportunities to Maghreb economies are still debatable.

This has led critics to conclude that 'the new arrangements will further inhibit any effective national or regional development, let alone the establishment of a significant regional 'bloc' capable of restoring a degree of balance in what is now a very unequal partnership'.[818] For Maghreb workers, communities, and economic actors to benefit from this partnership, changes both in European and Maghreb regimes will be necessary.

[817] See M Nabli, *La Presse de Tunisie*, 25 November 1994, p 6
[818] See David Seddon, *op.cit.*, p 151

CONCLUSION

This thesis has set out to explore the relationship between approaches to regionalism in the Maghreb and national, regional and global changes since independence until the late 1990s. It attempted to demonstrate that the evolution of regionalism in the Maghreb from a discourse of developmental regionalism, to one of 'open' regionalism (thus implying a failure of developmental regionalism) has been the result of factors both external and internal to Maghreb states. These developments have been explained through making recourse to a range of theories on regionalism in the discipline of international relations. From this endeavour, some key sets of conclusions can be drawn.

1. National factors and regionalism in the Maghreb

1.1 Elites and regimes

Both Karl Deutch and Amitai Ezzione emphasised the role of national elites as the 'carrier agents' in building a political community. Maghreb elites did not show most of the characteristics identified by Deutch as necessary for the formation of pluralistic security communities. One of these is the sharing of similar values. Maghreb regimes do share similar values on the use of police and military power to achieve security objectives, as evidenced in the dominant role of the military and police in all of their polities, and their similar ways of dealing with Islamic opposition. However, the behaviour of Maghreb decision-makers, especially those in Libya (who withdrew from the CPCM in 1970 and threatened withdrawal from the AMU again in 1992), and Morocco (who unilaterally declared a cessation of all AMU activities in 1995), remained highly unpredictable. Governments were also unable to respond quickly and without violence to the actions and communications of other governments - the most notable example has been the decades-long war in the Western Sahara between the Algerian-supported Polisario, and the Moroccan government.

Deutch also identified some conditions conducive to disintegration of a political community, many of which were present in the Maghreb region. Not only has there been an increase in political participation from the Islamists, who were previously passive, in all Maghreb countries, but political elites – especially in Algeria, Libya and Mauritania – have remained relatively closed to democratic influences, which they coupled with excessive delays in social, economic and political reforms.

Amitai Ezione has accorded a prominent position to politically aware elites as the carrier agents of regional integration. The experience of integration in the Maghreb, both in the 1960s, and again in the 1990s, has shown that elites lacked the organisational and political skills required to deal with problems of regional unification, especially conflicts around the UN Security Council embargo against Libya and the Western Saharan referendum. Those elites who represented AMU as a collectivity, such as the AMU Secretary General, had hardly any decision-making power, which was instead concentrated in the hands of the 'member elites' of AMU, namely the heads of state. Ezione has found that such unions are less effective than those ruled by member elites as well as those representing the union as a collectivity. Neither the CPCM, nor the AMU was egalitarian in nature – only political elites were involved in thinking about and setting up Maghreb regional institutions and regimes, and in implementing its few projects and programmes.

Finally, in very few instances did elites from Maghreb countries (with the exception of those in Tunisian) promote the functional and economic utility of the CPCM or the AMU for the achievement of national economic development goals. This has been reflected in the lack of sufficient consultation with regional counterparts on national economic and development policies. While policy elites did meet regionally as part of the AMU framework to discuss media, youth, sport, and higher education, and transport cooperation, they did not coordinate or harmonise trade or development policies.

The neo-functionalist view that pragmatic interest politics will drive regional integration through the unintentional incremental spill-over from one are of functional bureaucratic cooperation among state elites to other areas of cooperation, shifting gradually from technical to political cooperation, has been very difficult to measure in the case of Maghreb regional integration. Instead, in the Maghreb even acts of technical, economic and industrial cooperation have necessitated agreement and involvement from the highest political authorities – quite the opposite from neo-functionalist assumptions of technical-bureaucratic processes. In this sense, functionalist theory and its variants have not been particularly helpful in explaining the processes of regionalism among developing countries generally, and in the Maghreb specifically.

However, functionalist assumptions certainly played a part in informing the decisions of Maghreb elites not to centralise political decision-making in the CPCM, but to retain all political authority and decision-making power in national government institutions. This has in fact reduced the political and institutional commitment of governments to the regional integration process, as evidenced by the gradual disintegration of the CPCM in the early 1970s and its dismantlement after the war over the Western Saharan territory broke out between Algeria and Morocco in 1975. This illustrates that regional integration processes, especially among developing states, which are often weak, fragmented or dependent, cannot develop from a mechanistic instrumentalist 'spill-over' process, but that strong coordinated regional political leadership needs to drive and direct regionalist efforts.

The inadequacy of functionalist theory to explain the political process dimensions of regionalism was even acknowledged by one of its prime proponents, Ernst Haas, in the 1970s, and was subsequently modified by Joseph Nye. Nye's formulations of 'integrative' potential are indeed more useful in understanding, from an institutionalist perspective, why regional integration did not succeed in the Maghreb. Firstly,

Maghreb states were increasingly characterised by domestic instability, especially during the 1980s, which reduced the capacity of key decision-makers both to respond to their own polities, but also to participate in an integrative unit. Secondly, especially Morocco and Tunisia feared the aspirations of Algeria to assert politically its economic dominance in the region. This economic asymmetry in the Maghreb has in fact intensified since the 1960s and in 1997, real GDP in Algeria was US$68.485bn, in contrast to US$25.385bn in Morocco and US$15.367 in Tunisia.

While its perception of Algeria's agenda to dominate the region has led Morocco to thwart the regional integration project both in the 1960s and the 1990s, it has led to an opposite policy strategy in Tunisia, which has since the 1960s remained the most committed of all Maghreb states to regional integration. Because of its small economic size and high trade propensity, the Tunisian regime has always viewed a regional economic space as a potential outlet and supplier for Tunisian goods and services, but also as a buffer against dominant trading partners such as the European Union and a volatile international commodity market.

Thirdly, since independence elite groups in the Maghreb have differed on political and economic strategy. Not only were Tunisia/Morocco and Algeria/Libya divided during the Cold War in their engagement with the bipolar international system, but they were also divided on development strategy. Algeria and Libya opted for self-centred development, while Tunisian and Moroccan regimes started promoting a more outward-looking development strategy since the 1970s. This has deterred regional policy coordination and integration. Lastly, banking, educational, or commercial groups were relatively absent in the Maghreb until the late 1980s. Thus, in terms of process theory, functional spillover from cooperation in these areas was not possible. A precondition for functionalist spillover, namely a pluralistic society, only started to develop in the 1990s in Maghreb countries. Possibilities for spillover from the recent cooperation among central banks and commercial banking unions in the Maghreb therefore remain to be seen.

During the immediate post-independence era, the national consolidation of regimes and the efforts of political elites to build their respective economies and solidify their newfound statehood took priority over the building of a Maghreb region. In addition, especially during the 1960s and 1970s, but also at the establishment of the Arab Maghreb Union in 1989, government elites had very different conceptions of the rationale, objectives and priorities of a regionalist project in the Maghreb. This clearly retarded the progress of joint development projects, industrial ventures and institutions.

1.2 Economic structures

There is little doubt, based on the evidence of this thesis, that the economic structures of Maghreb states did not lend the region to the type of integration pursued by the European Economic Community and later the European Union, namely the establishment of a free trade area, customs union, common market and then an economic community. The dominance of their vertical trade with France and the European Economic Community, the low level of intra-Maghreb trade, and their non-complementary production structures were all structural economic factors that did not bode well for a traditional integration strategy.

To overcome these deficiencies, between 1964 and 1967, Maghreb states were pursuing a loose form of sectoral cooperation, fully realising that their economic structures did not encourage intra-regional trade. From 1967, Tunisia and Morocco tried to encourage the pursuit of a trade liberalisation strategy simultaneous to a regional industrialisation strategy, still inspired by the collective self-reliance ethos that was informing most regional groupings in the developing world during that period. However, differences in the development strategies of Morocco/Tunisia and Algeria, and a change in the Libyan regime, caused a breakdown in the regional development initiative by 1970.

In 1991, despite the lack of the structural economic prerequisites for a linear regional trade integration strategy, Maghreb governments again proposed a regional development plan centred on the conclusion of a free trade area, customs union, and finally the establishment of a common market. This has been the result of the 'fallacy of transposition' of the European Economic Community (European Union since 1993) model, which has informed most economic theory on regional integration, also among developing countries. Developing (and least developed countries) have been attracted most by the theoretical dynamic effects of a customs union - economies of scale, economies external to the firm and industry, which might have a downward influence on cost structures, the potential influence on the location and volume of foreign direct investment, and the effect on economic efficiency and trade transactions. Dynamic effects, however, are difficult to measure or predict, and are often dependent on supporting government industrialisation policies, as well as the investment decisions of private enterprises.

Unfortunately, Maghreb elites and their advisors have failed both in the 1960s and in the 1990s to develop or c cretise a regionalist strategy that was appropriate for their particular economic structural conditions. In this regard, Christopher Clapham has rightly argued in the context of the failure of regional integration groupings in Africa that 'any set of prescriptions for regional integration which does not start from an appraisal of the political and economic structure of African states...is built on sand'.[819]

Although there was some realisation among governing elites in the Maghreb, both in the 1960s, and again in the 1990s, that intra-regional trade will not increase unless the production structures of the various Maghreb economies become complementary, hardly any progress has been made in this regard beyond the phase of commissioning studies on how to achieve such complementarity. Multiple factors have been behind this repeated slow progress. These ranged from a lack of political commitment to regional industrialisation; continuing and increasing dependency on Europe, the

historically dominant trading partner of Maghreb countries; and the differential impact of economic globalisation on Maghreb economies. In this regard, Maghreb policy elites have not harmonised their policy strategies in the face of an increasingly liberalising global economy.

1.3 Democracy and pluralism

Since independence Maghreb political elites have seen the state, viewed as the highest prize for the nationalist movement, as the 'necessary motor of economic growth and accumulation and the central locus of initiative and control'.[320] Not only did personality cults develop around independence leaders, but they also were claiming the legitimate monopoly of all power, which they continually justified through their national liberation credentials. Economically, this manifested in the concentration of all investment resources and control of production and distribution in the hands of independence regimes, especially in Algeria and Libya. The Tunisian and Moroccan regimes allowed some space for private economic pluralism.

Maghreb regimes have not only used their political and economic capital to increase production and diversification but also to buy the political consent of their citizens to their continued monopolisation of power through welfare and other entitlements. Failure to continue the latter strategy due to fiscal crises have led to increasing pluralism and thus contestation of their hold on power, especially from 1978, which marked the first labour riots in Tunisia, to 1988, when large-scale urban riots broke out in Algiers. Islamists throughout the Maghreb have been mobilising around the social and economic void left by structural adjustment programmes, which have forced states to abandon subsidies for basic foodstuffs and education and health services in the context of a general decline in employment opportunities.

[819] See Christopher Clapham, 'Africa's international relations', *African Affairs*, Volume 86(345), 1987

In Algeria, the state has actually become less effective in negotiating with the plurality of forces in society, which has led to a collapse of its political structure, its authority, and law and order. In Morocco, Tunisia, and Mauritania to some extent the state has managed the liberalisation of the political and economic system and has allowed increased political and economic participation while avoiding political explosions or being submerged by the opposition. This has been possible through a combination of bargaining with social and economic groups, partly by allowing some degree of political party activity, and forceful oppression of especially Islamist opposition through the use of police power and media control in Tunisia, and the military in Morocco and Mauritania. The Libyan regime has failed to break its rentier economy, rooted in the distributive mechanisms (tribal clientilism and concentration of economic opportunity in the public sector) employed by the Libyan monarchy after independence. The experimentation of the new Libyan leader with tribal decision-making though an extension of the state's purview to include virtually all economic and social interaction among its citizens after 1959 until the present day, despite attempts at economic liberalisation after 1987, has extended the absolute control of the Libyan state over the economy, polity and society.

The political profile of the Maghreb today therefore ranges from pseudo-democracy to outright authoritarianism. In both attempts at regionalism in the Maghreb, in the 1960s and the 1990s, undemocratic or pseudo-democratic states have remained the privileged actors of Maghreb cooperation. Neither the private sector, nor other interest groups in civil society such as labour unions and development and human rights non-governmental organistions were at any stage involved in constructing the agenda of the CPCM or the AMU. Academics served a consultative function, and then mainly through preparing economic impact studies to assist in identifying the sectors and industries that would lend themselves to or benefit from regional integration. The media has been barred from the sessions of the Consultative Assembly, and could only

[820] See William Zartman, 'The state on a tightrope', in Dirk VanderWalle (ed) *North Africa: development and reform in a changing global economy*, McMillan Press, London, 1996, p 231

report on the (limited) information flowing from official channels after Summits or other high-level regional meetings.

The impression might have been created both in 1964 and in 1989 that the regionalist project had the support of the broad population, particularly by opportunistic leaders who emphasised rhetorically that the Arab Maghreb Union was a union of 'peoples'. In fact, however, most people (and most significantly entrepreneurs) were both uninvolved but sometimes unaware of much of the deliberations around regional projects and activities. Experience from other groupings such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Asean), which has involved business associations, and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which has involved various types of civil society organistions, albeit on an *ad hoc* and often arbitrary basis, has confirmed that without the involvement of civil society (broadly speaking), regional groupings cannot fulfill an optimal developmental function, or succeed at a political level.

More importantly, the nature of Maghreb regimes has played a primary role in shaping regional institutions and decision-making regimes. Maghreb leaders transposed to a regional level their need to centralise control of all political and economic processes. Thus, no decision could be made by any regional insitution apart from the Presidential Council, which met irregularly and therefore delayed decisions that could have been managed at a technical level. Decisions could only be made by unanimity, a decision-making style that was supposed to safeguard the absolute sovereignty of each state, but in fact resulted in minimal progress only on the least contested decisions and outcomes. These in turn were so compromised that they did not allow for any clear action or implementation. In 1967, the disagreement among leaders over the appropriate strategy through which to pursue regionalism and their disagreement in 1994 over whether to follow a positive or a negative list approach to tariff liberalisation, has caused unnecessary delays due to politically unsustainable compromises.

From the above it seems undisputable that democratic regimes (not necessarily only in the Western sense of democracy but certainly regimes with some form of genuine representation and participation) are a necessary condition for the consolidation of developmental regionalism. Regimes that cannot successfully bargain with various groups and allow representative politics at a national and subnational level, will certainly not do so at an intergovernmental or supranational level. As a counterargument, one could point to the success, albeit limited, of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Asean), which has also been driven by authoritarian or pseudo-democratic regimes. Asean has been higly succesful in representing the common interests of its members in international organisations and especially in the OECD as far as market access was concerned. This was possible through a strong coordinated strategy for the external economic relations of Asean member states, namely the Asean Dialogue Partner System.

This system has increased tremendously the bargaining power of individual countries. Asean members have also been able to establish strong internal networks for business consultation and cooperation on information technology, which was possible without policy harmonisation across all sectors. Instead, member states were able to harmonise successfully policies in a limited and well-defined set of areas such as infrastructure, power and communications, while taking full economic advantage of the collective policy credibility and investment spillover brought about by regional cooperation.[821]

Despite these successes, however, Asean has also suffered from lack of a supranational bureaucracy with independent decision-making due to the authoritarian nature of Asean regimes, and a weak administrative machinery, which has curtailed the effectiveness of regional industrial projects and efforts to liberalise trade among members. As with the Maghreb, progress in Asean has been limited by the pace of the slowest member (Indonesia), and its consensus decision-making structure, devised to ensure positive,

rather than zero-sum decision outcomes, has in fact only served to hide disagreements among members.[822] Finally, the central distinguishing factor between Asean and the Maghreb regional project is the fact that Asean leaders have always been united in their anti-communist stance and in their objective of achieving regional security and political stability. This has enabled them to overcome political differences in pursuit of what gradually became a developmental regionalist agenda after the Bali Summit in 1976.

2. Regional factors and regionalism in the Maghreb

2.1 Managing political conflict

The existence of a powerful parallel security organisation has been considered vital to the early and continuing success of the European Economic Community. Similarly, Asean might also not have survived was it not for the security dimension of the organisation, which created a basis for political and economic cooperation among member states plagued by a perceived common external threat namely communism in the form of the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in December 1978.[823] At no stage in the Maghreb regionalist project (neither in the 1960s nor the 1990s) was regional security cooperation ever formalised or institutionalised. Although the 1989 Marrakesh Treaty did provide for collective defense should the sovereignty of an AMU member state be attacked, AMU has not been able, for example, to assist Libya in contesting the 1992 UN embargo beyond general condemnations in regional summits.

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[821] See Ibrahim Elbadawi, 'Regional trade and monetary schemes', in Ademola Oyejide et.al. (eds), *Regional Integration and trade liberalisation in sub-Saharan Africa*: Volume One, Macmillan and St Martins, London and New York, 1997, 231

[822] See P Thambipillai and J Saravanamuttu, 'Asean negotiations: two insights', *Asean Political Studies*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 1985, p 13,23

[823] For more information on the origins and evolution of Asean see M Rolls, 'Asean: where from and where to?' in *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Volume 13(4), 1991, pp 315-32. For a critique of the grouping see Hans C Blomqvist, 'Asean as a model for Third World regional integration', *Asean Economic Bulletin*, Volume 10(1), July 1993

This embargo was one of the major factors that undermined regional integration in the Maghreb.

More importantly, AMU member states have never institutionalised any mechanism to deal with conflict among themselves. They could also not agree, as did Asean leaders, to continue with regional activities despite political differences. Both in 1975 and in 1995, the support of the Algerian regime for the Polisario independence movement, albeit in different contexts, has been the major reason for a political standoff between the Algerian and Moroccan regimes, and a subsequent stalling of the regionalist project. Even though both have agreed by the late 1980s to 'set aside' the issue of the Western Sahara in an effort to revitalise regionalism, it became clear that this effort towards regional cooperation could not succeed without the proper management of this conflict through institutionalised or other mechanisms.

2.2 Balance of power

Since independence, Morocco and Algeria have been the 'axes' or driving forces behind the regionalist project in the Maghreb both by virtue of their pre-colonial dominance in the region and the prominent role of their liberation movements in anti-colonial struggles in North Africa. The Algerian anti-colonial movement dated back to the 19th century. Both states, however, distrusted the regional agenda of the other. Algeria perceived Morocco's annexation of the Western Sahara in 1975 as an expansionist drive, whereas Morocco viewed Algeria's support of the Polisario as a way to ensure eventual Algerian control over the Western Saharan territory.

During the 1970s and 1980s, this has led to a 'game of alliances' among the five Maghreb states, centred around Algeria and Morocco, to prevent either from exercising a politically and military dominant position in the region. Tunisia has tended to side with Algeria, while Libya would alter between the Algerian-Tunisian axis and Morocco, often unpredictably, based on its fluctuating foreign policy objectives.

According to William Zartman this model of state interaction is the most likely to lead to regional cooperation since it allows states to develop norms and political perspectives (regimes) that begin to govern how they relate to one another.[824] The development of such regimes, however, presupposes that they have realised the necessity of regional cooperation; that they have moved beyond their original antagonisms; and that they have sufficient political will and resolution to pursue regionalism. This has not been the case in the Maghreb, where the historical antagonism between Algeria and Morocco has surpassed both their political will to cooperate as well as their initial realisation of the necessity of regional integration. This has led to a political impasse in the AMU since the end of 1995, which is still stalling the regionalist project despite Tunisian and Libyan efforts to resolve the conflict.

2.3 Regional institutions and processes

The experience of attempts at regional integration in the Maghreb has shown that strong regional institutions, as well as the process mechanisms of regional cooperation are necessary conditions for regional integration among developing countries. In the Maghreb, the political initiative for regional cooperation has not been matched by a sufficiently funded and independent secretariat, neither during the 1960s (the CPCM was merely an intergovernmental consultative body), nor during the 1990s (the AMU Secretariat could not even commission the necessary preliminary studies to joint regional infrastructural and industrial projects due to a lack of funding). As elsewhere in the developing world, regional institutions in both periods of regionalism remained purely an an extention of the mandates of national bureaucrats, and there was hardly any evidence of 'spillover' from technical and economic cooperation to political cooperation.

The 1989 Treaty of Marrakesh and the institutional procedures of the AMU showed an attempt by heads of state and ministers to regulate and direct every regional programme and project through centralised de' 'on-making in the Presidential Council of AMU. Because of this, a truly regional tec'nocratic class (similar to the European Commission bureaucracy) was never able to develop and become the 'carrier agents' of the regional integration process. The fact that an independent private sector (including business, but also other interest groups) only started developing in the Maghreb during the 1990s, also makes it difficult to measure the impact of the regionalisation of production, trade, and investment on regionalism among Maghreb states. However, policy elites have opted to expand their regionalist strategy to the Mediterranean in pursuit of investment, trade, and other capital flows to their respective countries.

3. Global factors and regionalism in the Maghreb

3.1 From dependency to economic globalisation

Economic globalisation, the most recent mutation of c'.pitalist expansion, is characterised by global (as opposed to multi-national) production processes and the increasing mobility of financial capital across national borders, facilitated by the revolution in information and communications technology, as well as the drastic fall in the cost of transport, especially since the early 1980s. Economic globalisation has led to a radical change in the form and content of regionalism among countries of the South or the developing world since the 1950s and 1960s. This is because political and economic elites (and even some sectors of civil society) are responding differently to their increasing economic (and thus political) marginalisation in a post-Keyenesian, post-Fordist, and post-cold war world order, than they did to their structural

[824] See William Zartman, 'L'analyse politique du regionalisme', Sadok Belaid and William Zartman (eds) *Les experiences d'integration regionale dans les pays du tiers-monde*, CERP-CEMAT, Tunis, 1993, p 31

dependence on the first world since independence until the 1970s. Regionalism has also taken different forms among the regional groupings of the South.

In East Asia both economic globalisation and regionalisation (of Japanese production) have stimulated economic growth (albeit often at the expense of social development and democratic development) in the developing and least developed economies of this region. This in turn has driven the emergence of an interdependent regional economic structure, as measured by the increase in intra-regional FDI, the development of regional production structures, especially in the automotive industry, and the subsequent increase in intra-regional trade. This took place under the aegis of Japanese investment and then that of newly industrialised countries in the region.

In Latin America, a voluntarist-type state-led regionalism has led to institutionally-driven regionalisation of production, investment, and trade, as a response to the challenges posed by economic globalisation, especially that of competitivity. In similar vein, policy elites viewed regionalism as a complement to economic reform measures (under IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programmes) and thus an integral part of their economic development policies.[825]

In the Maghreb, the political region-building project during the 1960s was a response to the region's economic dependence on Europe, and was influenced by the collective self-reliance discourse, which advocated regionalism as a necessary strategy for economic development (developmental regionalism), then prevalent in leading third world policy, political and intellectual circles. When political elites in the Maghreb attempted again at the end of the 1980s to embark upon such a project, their motivations for and thus their orientation towards regional integration have changed. After a half-decade of structural adjustment programmes, faced with an ever deepening and expanding Europe, which risked to exclude them even further from their principal

market, Maghreb elites showed little interest, beyond rhetoric and commissioning studies, in committing themselves to the creation of a regional industrial base and a regional market. Instead, Moroccan, Tunisian and Mauritanian leaders have started prioritising their economic (and political) linkages with Europe, which promised them both short-term and long-term benefits that a politically-ailing Maghreb Union was not able to deliver. In so doing, they even failed to negotiate collectively with the EU (which has separate agreements in various stages of negotiation with all the Maghreb states except Libya). This was partly because no institutional provision has been made to facilitate a collective external approach to 'third' actors such as the Asean Dialogue Partner system mentioned above, but also because of the different historical relations between Maghreb states and the EU, as well as the changing and different forms of states in the Maghreb.

3.2 Changing forms of state and state strategy

While economic globalisation has formed the structural context for the evolution of regionalism in the Maghreb, Maghreb states, the primary agents of institutional cooperation, have also changed. Contrary to many and popular pronouncements that globalisation has led to the demise of the state, the state still plays an important role in political and economic management at multiple levels: locally, nationally, regionally, and globally. What has happened instead, as a result of but also in tandem with economic globalisation, has been a change in the form of the state. This change has manifested differently across polities world wide, but in the Maghreb it has led to the emergence of an 'entrepreneurial' or 'competition' state. Such states have decided to adopt neo-liberal, market-friendly macro-economic and external policies, partly in a bid to compete for foreign direct and portfolio investment. As a result of economic globalisation, there has been a renegotiation of the interests they represent (with those of transnational companies triumphing in many cases). Economic globalisation has

[825] For elaboration of 'new regionalim' in East Asia and Latin America, in the context of economic globalisation, see Francoise Nicolas, 'Mondialisation et regionalisation dans les pays en developpement

also added more actors to the policy process, increasing in some cases the power of non-state actors such as transnational corporations, over state policy.[826] This, in turn, has reduced the developmental role the state is able to play.

In the context of economic globalisation and their economic reform agendas of the 1980s, all of the Maghreb states (including the rentier states of Libya and Algeria) have been caught in a precarious balancing act between their developmental and entrepreneurial roles during the 1990s. Maghreb elites have certainly managed to retain some of their developmental commitments, for example securing EU financial and technical assistance to help their economies and businesses to adjust to EU competition when tariff barriers are eliminated. But their incessant pursuit of investment and economic integration has also caused them to depart from a commitment to developmental regionalism, although flawed, to building an 'open' region in the Mediterranean. This despite the fact that theoretically the economic benefits to the less developed partners of 'mixed' regional free trade areas have yet to be proven outside the case of Mexico in the North Atlantic Free Trade Area (NAFTA).

4. New directions?

Regionalism in the Maghreb has been a complex and mulitfaceted phenomenon. It has served various and changing purposes as a strategy available to Maghreb states faced with national, regional and global political, social, and economic challenges. However, for the many reasons examined in this thesis, regionalism has failed both as an economic development strategy and as a strategy for Maghreb states to collectively bargain their way out of their persistent relationship of dependency with Europe. This dependency might in fact become more pronounced despite increasing talk of 'interdependence' and 'partnership' between these two highly unequal regions.

- les deux faces de Janus', in *Politique Etrangere*, No 2, 1997, pp 293-306

[826] See Jean Grugel and Wil Hout, 'Regions, regionalism and the South', in Jean Grugel and Wil Hout (eds), *Regionalism across the North-South divide: state strategies and globalisation*, Routledge, London 1999, pp 6-7

This thesis has attempted to add to a gradually self-reorientating debate on the changing nature and purpose of regionalism in the developing world. Originally, it aimed to examine the reasons for the failure of developmental regionalism in the Maghreb region, partly because this case study has not been of much interest to the Anglophone international political economy community, with the exception of a few prominent international relations and development scholars.[827] At first, the bulk of the theoretical literature consulted was that written by African 'developmentalist' regional integration scholars, many who have worked for the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. An entire branch of literature on new forms of regionalism and its relationship with state strategies and economic globalisation, most of it researched and written by European scholars in the 1990s, has paved the way for the last chapter of this thesis, without the hypothesis could not have been tested.

Much of this literature has not yet been integrated into the scholarship on regionalism in the African context, except to some extent in the discipline of economics. Hopefully, therefore, this thesis will introduce scholars (and agents) of region building in Africa to changing paradigms in the study of regionalism in the developing world. In so doing, and in opening the 'black box' of state agency and strategy, studies of the evolution of regional groupings in the face of changing global structures will hopefully complement the current focus on the reasons for the failure of regionalism in Africa. In this sense, a study of the evolution of regionalism in the Maghreb, despite the obvious 'failure' of various attempts at regionalism, could be useful material for a deeper ontological understanding of regionalism in the developing world.

[827] These include William Zartman (SAIS, Johns Hopkins University), David Seddon (School of Development Studies, University of East Anglia), Dirk Vandewalle (Dartmouth College).

APPENDIX A
Treaty of the Arab Maghreb Union

In the name of God the Merciful,
His majesty King Hassan II of Morocco,
His Excellency Mr Zine EI Abidine Ben Ali, President of the Republic of Tunisia.
His Excellency Mr.Chadli Ben Djedid, President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria.
The Guide of the Revolution of 1st September, Colonel Mouammar Kaddafi, of the People's Great Arab Socialist Jamahirya of Libya.
His Excellency Colonel Mouaya Ould Sidi Ahmed Taia, Head of the Military Committee for the Salvation of the Nation, Head of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

Having confidence in the solid ties which unite the people of the Arab Maghreb and which are based on a common history, religion and language;
Acknowledging the deep and strong hopes of these peoples and their leaders of the creation of a union which will further strengthen the ties already existing among them to gather the appropriate means for progressively attaining a more complete integration amongst their countries;
Conscious of the result arising from this integration which allow the Arab Maghreb Union to acquire a special importance and enable it to contribute effectively to world balance, to strengthening peaceful relations within the international community and ensuring security and stability throughout the world;
Considering that the Arab Maghreb Union requires tangible achievements and the setting up of common rules in order to realise real solidarity amongst its member countries and to guarantee their economics and social development;
Expressing their sincere intention of striving to make the Arab Maghreb Union a means of achieving complete Arab unity, and a starting point towards a wider union including other Arab and African Countries.

HAVE AGREED THE FOLLOWING:

Article 1
By virtue of this Treaty, a Union called the Arab Maghreb Union is established.

Article 2
The Union aims at:
- Strengthening the fraternal bonds which unite the Member Countries and their people;
- Achieving progress and prosperity in the societies forming these and the defending their rights.
- Contributing towards preserving peace based on justice and right
- Pursuing a common policy in various fields, and

- Working progressively towards achieving the free movement of persons, services, goods and capital amongst the Member Countries.

Article 3:
The common policy mentioned in Article 2 has as its aim the following objectives:
- At the international level: the achieving of agreement among the Member Countries and the setting-up of close diplomatic cooperation amongst them, based on discussion
- At the defence level: the safeguarding of the independence of each of the Member Countries.
- At the economic level: the achieving of the industrial, agricultural, commercial and social development of the Member Countries, and the joining together of the means necessary for this, especially by setting-up joint projects and by drawing up general and specific programmes in these fields.
- At the cultural level: the setting-up of cooperation in order to develop education at the various levels, to preserve the spiritual and moral values inspired by the teachings of Islam and to safeguard the Arab national identity by acquiring the necessary means for achieving these objectives, especial through the exchange of teachers and students, and the creating of universities and cultural institutions, and institutions specialising in research, all of which to be common to the Member Countries.

Article 4
The Union is providing with a Presidential Council composed of the Heads of the Member Countries and which is the highest body in the Union; the presidency of the Council is held for a period of six months by each of the Heads of the Member Countries in turn.

Article 5
The Presidential Council of the Union will hold its regular meetings every six months. However, the Council may hold extraordinary meetings wherever this may prove necessary.

Article 6
The Presidential Council is the only body empowered to make decisions. These decisions are to be made unanimously by its members.

Article 7
The Prime Minister or acting Prime Ministers of the Member Countries may meet wherever this may prove necessary.

Article 8
The Union is provided with a Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs which is to prepare the session of the Presidential Council and examine the questions laid before Follow-up Committee and the specialised Ministerial Committees.

Article 9
Each Member Country will appoint from amongst the member of its government or its Generation popular Committee, one member in charge of Union affairs. These members will form a Committee in charge of following Union affairs and will submit the results of its workings to the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

Article 10
The Union is provided with Specialised Ministerial Committees set up by the Presidential Council, which is to define the responsibilities of these committees.

Article 11
The Union is provided with a General Secretariat, consisting of a representative from each Member Country, which will carry out it functions within the territory of the country holding the presidency of the sessions of the Presidential Council, under the supervision of the President of the session

Article 12
The Union is provided with:
- A Consultative council consisting of twenty members from each Country, who are to be chosen by the legislative bodies of the Member Countries or according to the regulations of each particular country.
- The Consultative Council will hold one regular meeting each year, and will hold extraordinary meetings at the request of the Presidential Council.
- The Consultative Council will give an opinion on any project for decision which the Presidential Council may lay before it and may, if necessary, submit to the Council recommendations which it judges capable of strengthening the Union's actions and contributing towards achieving its objectives.
- The Consultative Council will draw up its internal regulations and submit these to Presidential Council for approval.

Article 13
The Union is provided with a judicial body composed of two judges from each country to be appointed for a period of six years, half of whom to be renewed every three years. This body will elect its President from amongst its members for a period of one year
- This body is empowered to judge any disputes concerning the interpretation and the application of the clauses of the Treaty and Agreements concluded within the framework of the Union, which may be submitted to it by the Presidential Council or a country party to the dispute, or according to the clauses of the Founding Statutes of the body. Decisions are final and binding.
- The judicial body will give its advice on legal questions, which the Presidential Council may lay before it.
- The above-mentioned body is to prepare its statues and submit them to the Presidential Council for approval. These statutes will be an integral part of the Treaty.

- The Presidential Council will decide on the location of the judicial body and draw up its budget.

Article 14
Any act of aggression against one of the Member Countries will considered as an act of aggression against the other Member Countries.

Article 15
The Member Countries undertake to allow on their respective territories, no activity or organisation, which might prove harmful to the security, territorial integrity or political system of any Member Country.

They also undertake to take part in no military or political pact or alliance, which may be directed against the political independence or territorial unity of the other Member Countries.

Article 16
The Member Countries remain free to conclude any bilateral agreements amongst themselves or with other countries or groups of countries, as long as these agreements are not contrary to the terms of the present Treaty.

Article 17
Other countries belonging to the Arab national or to African Community may become part of this Treaty if the Member Counties give their agreement.

Article 18
The terms of this Treaty may be amended at the proposal of a Member Country. The amendment will come into force after its ratification by all of the Member Countries.

Article 19
This Treaty will come into force after its ratification by the Member Countries, according too the procedures prevailing in each Member Country.

The Member Countries undertake to take all necessary measures to this effect within a maximum period of six months starting from the date of signature of the present Treaty.

Marrakesh, Friday, 10th Rajab 1409
Corresponding to February 17th 1989.

For the Kingdom of Morocco **(King Hassan II)**
For the Republic of Tunisia **(Zine EL Abidine Ben Ali)**
For the Democratic Republic of Algeria **(Chadli Ben Djedid)**
For the People's Great Socialist Jamahiria of Libya **(Mouammar Kaddafi)**
For the Islamic Republic of Mauritania **(Mouaouya Ould Sidi Ahmed Taia)**

APPENDIX B
Arab Maghreb Union Trade and Tariff Convention
Signed at Ras Lanouf (Libya)
11 March 1991

The Great Arab Popular and Socialist Libyan Jamahiria
The Tunisian Republic
The Popular and Democratic Algerian Republic
The Kingdom of Morocco
The Islamic Republic of Mauritania

Referring to the Treaty creating the Arab Maghreb Union and notably the article which foresees the realisation of free circulation of people, services, goods, and capital between member countries.
Pursuing the concretisation of the objectives of the Union and the implementation of its work programme.
Implementing the resolution of the presidential council on the adoption of principles and rules of the creation of a customs union between the countries of the Arab Maghreb Union.
Conscious of the essential role, which increased intra-Maghreb preferential trade plays in reinforcing complementarity and economic integration and to realise self-sufficiency and common development.
Agree on what follows.

Chapter 1
Definitions

Article 1

For use in the present convention, we understand by:
- the 'Union': the Arab Maghreb Union
- 'presidential council resolution': the resolution on the principles to inform the creation of a customs union
- 'the specialised ministerial commission': the specialised ministerial commission tasked with finance and the economy
- 'the contracting parties': the member states of the Arab Maghreb Union
- 'customs duties and imports and taxes with similar effect': customs and taxes that the party state imposes on imported goods, understood that customs and taxes do not comprise any production of the contracting party, and whatever denomination taxes and customs take, their nature or the authority charged to recover them
- 'non-tariff barriers': all restrictive or discriminatory measures which the member state take for reasons other than administrative or statistical purposes. Quantitative,

qualitative, monetary or administrative restrictions imposed on imports are part of these restrictions.

- 'total value of the product': the net total price of imports and taxes, ex factory for industrial prices, or from the extraction for raw material

Chapter II
Rules for the movement of goods

Article 2

a) Each of the contracting parties exempt goods originating locally, which are traded directly between themselves, from customs and import duties and taxes with similar effect, with the exception of taxes and duties which are levied on local production in each of the member countries of the Union, as well as the unified compensation tax foreseen in article 6

The basket of value added tax, or any other similar tax is determined, for products that benefit from customs duties exemptions, without taking account of customs duties, of the imports and taxes of similar effect and the unified compensation tax aimed for in article 6

b) The list of goods of Maghreb origin, included in the protocol attached to this convention, foreseen in article 24 below, is exempt from all non tariff barriers, with due account taken of the relevant laws for phyto-sanitary protection, as well as sanitary and security regulations, in place in the importing country. This list will gradually be enlarged to effect fully the customs exemption foreseen in paragraph a) of the present article and to reinforce trade relations between the countries of the Union.

c) Losses resulting from the application of the dispositions foreseen in paragraph a) of the present article will be compensated according to paragraph 11 of the resolution of the Presidential Council on the adoption of principles and rules for a customs union between countries of the Maghreb and foreseeing the establishment of a mechanism to this effect.

Article 3

Are considered of local origin:

- Products entirely obtained in each of the contracting party state, including agricultural products, products from animals and sea, living animals and natural resources that have not undergone any industrial transformation
- Industrial products whose value added in the exporting country reaches a minimum of 40% of the total value of the product [illegible] whose value of primary local or Maghreb products reaches a minimum of 60% of the total value of the primary material used

- Other industrial products on the lists fixing the levels of transformation necessary for each product, on the condition that this transformation is sufficient and economically justified. The above lists are established by common agreement between the countries of the Union

Article 4

Products of local origin exported from one of the contracting parties to another are accompanied by a certificate of origin, based on a unified model, agreed among the contracting parties

This certificate is established by the competent authorities of the exporting country, and it is overseen and controlled by the customs authorities of the same country.

Article 5

It is allowed, by virtue of the disposition of the present convention, to re-export products of local origin to another non-Union member country, on the condition that the exporting country gives written permission for this.

Article 6

The products of Maghreb origin destined for the market of one of the contracting parties and in whose fabrication primary material or semi-industrial products imported from outside the countries of the Union, in the framework of economic and customs regimes, are submitted to a unified compensation tax of 17.5%, levied in the final importing country, calculated on the basis of the value of the goods, to which are added transport and insurance costs.

This compensation duty is only levied in cases where similar production exists in the importing country.

The means of application of the present article will be determined in a protocol which will be concluded among the contracting parties.

Chapter III

Trade coordination and participation in fairs and expositions

Article 7

The contracting parties participate in international expositions and fairs which are held in each of the states of the Union: each one allows the other party to organize expositions in its country and supply it with the necessary facilities and the framework of the legislation in the hosting country. The contracting parties equally encourage direct relations between concerned institutions, as well as the exchange of delegations and economic and commercial information.

Article 8

The contracting parties are working towards the coordination of external purchases and the sale of Maghreb products on international markets; they are committing as well to research forms of cooperation, particularly by creating groups of common production enterprises, as well as the marketing of Maghreb products in international markets.

Chapter IV
Rules for transactions

Article 9

The rules of the financial obligations related to trade exchanges between countries of the Arab Maghreb Union conform to the rules on trade currently in place in each of the countries, as well as to the dispositions of bilateral or multilateral conventions concluded to this effect in these countries.

Article 10

Where they need to, the countries of the Union can have recourse to the clearing system to enlarge the volume of commercial exchanges between them

Chapter V
Safeguard measures

Article 11

Each member country of the Union can take safeguard measures when it is confronted by serious disturbances in a sector of economic activity or difficulties that are changing its economic situation, or to ensure the protection of a national infant industry, on the condition that it immediately advises the Specialised Ministerial Commission and that it presents for its examination a report of the justifications for these measures, with the understanding that these measures will not extend to the agreements while being executed.

The safeguard measures remain in place for the duration of six months from the date of implementation. This duration can only be prolonged by the Specialised Ministerial Commission.

Article 12

Each of the contracting parties commits to forbid any activity that can be said to constitute dumping on the markets of other parties and withhold from granting

subsidies to goods exported towards the countries of other parties, or to take any other measure that would compromise the recognised rules of loyal competition.

Article 13

In the case where a case of continued dumping or export subsidies by one of the contracting parties is observed, the affected party has the right to submit its complaint to the Follow-up Committee, as envisioned in article 22 of the present convention
If the aforesaid committee does not manage to rule on the complaint within a maximum period of two months staring from the date of the dispute, the affected party can institute, provisionally, exceptional anti-dumping or compensation duties on the subsidized exports, on the condition, however, that this party advises the Specialised Ministerial Commission of this action.

Chapter VI
Transitory measures

Article 14

While waiting for the compensation mechanism to function, within a period of six months from the date of adopting this mechanism, each member state which is affected by the exoneration foreseen in article 2 of the present convention, can re-establish the total or partial application of customs duties and taxes with equivalent effect, following the conditions foreseen by the stipulations of the present chapter.

Article 15

The affected state can take recourse to permitted safeguard measures, suspected to be taken in the case where it experiences financial difficulties due to the implementation of the dispositions of the present convention, only within the limits that would allow it to redress the financial losses it is supposed to address.

Article 16

Each state evaluates individually the financial losses suspected to have resulted from the shrinking of resources coming from customs duties and taxes with equivalent effect. The state in question presents a report to this effect to the Commission, as aimed in article 22 of the present convention, before taking the necessary transitory safeguard measures foreseen in the present chapter.

Article 17

The substantial shrinking of financial resources coming from customs duties and taxes of equivalent effect must result only from the exemptions foreseen in article 2 of the present convention.

The evaluation of this substantial shrinking is made as a function of the financial resources mentioned above and for a reference period extending over the three previous years to the year in which the losses are experienced. This evaluation is undertaken by the Follow-up Committee as foreseen in article 22 of the present convention, in light of a report which the affected country presents not more than three months after the exercise and this, for each of the countries concerned.

Article 18

The Follow-up Committee transmits its report related to the above-mentioned issue (article 17) to the Specialised Ministerial Commission with the view of taking an appropriate decision in a maximum period of two months counting from the date that the report is handed over to the Committee.

Article 19

When there is no decision, the affected state can, provisionally, apply whatever seems an appropriate measure to redress the loss experienced while waiting for the decision aimed for in article 18, with the reservation that it advises immediately the Follow-up Committee of this decision.

Article 20

Each party which takes recourse to measures of this nature commits to give regular reports to the Follow-up Committee on the income from customs duties and taxes of equivalent effect, so that the Committee can ensure the proper implementation of the measures acknowledged by the present chapter, so that they are not in contradiction with other measures foreseen by the present Convention

Article 21

When needed, the Follow-up Committee can proceed to study the economic situation of the affected country, of the justifications of the request presented, as well as on the application of the measures taken or to be taken. The affected party commits to transmit all documents or information that can facilitate its task, to the Committee

Chapter VII
Final dispositions

Article 22

A Follow-up Committee is created, comprising two permanent representatives from each member state. The Committee can be assisted, when needed, by experts
The Committee is charged with overseeing the proper execution of the dispositions of the present convention, and notably:

- the preparation of the lists aimed for in article 2 and 3 of the present convention
- to present the suggestions and recommendations concerning all the areas of commercial exchange between states of the Union
- the examination of disputes that may arise from the application of the present convention

The Follow-up Committee transmits its reports to the Specialised Ministerial Commission for examination and ruling.

rticle 23

In the case where the Specialised Ministerial Commission does not arrive at a ruling, which satisfies the contracting parties with regard to the disputes arising from the interpretation and/or application of the present convention, these disputes will be referred to the judiciary body foreseen by article 13 of the Treaty of the Arab Maghreb Union.

Article 24

In view of facilitating the application of the present convention, the contracting parties conclude amongst themselves explanatory protocols of agreement, which deal with the dispositions of article 2 paragraph (b) and the articles of chapter 5 of the present convention

Article 25

The bilateral and multilateral conventions that have been concluded between the countries of the Union in this domain remain in place.
In the case where they conflict with the dispositions of the present convention, the latter will prevail.

Article 26

The present convention can be amended on demand of one of the states of the Union, with the agreement of the other states. This amendment becomes effective after its approval by all the states of the Union, conforming to the measures foreseen in article 27

Article 27

The present convention is approved by all the member states conforming to the procedures in use in each of these states. It will enter into vigor once these states have deposited their approbation instruments at the Secretary General of the Arab Maghreb Union, which will be in charge of informing other member states of this.

APPENDIX C
Conventions and agreements concluded in the Arab Maghreb Union

	Convention/Agreement	Decision of Presidential Council
1	Convention on the trade of agricultural products among Maghreb countries	Second session of the Presidential Council, Algiers, July 1990
2	Convention on the phytosanitary control of Maghreb agricultural products	Idem
3	Convention on the promotion and guarantee of investments in the Maghreb	Idem
4	Convention on the double-imposition and instauration of rules of cooperation on revenue taxes	Idem
5	Convention on road transport, and people and goods in transit	Idem
6	Convention on veterinary medicine and cooperation on animal health	Third session of the Presidential Council, Ras Lanouf, March 1991
7	Convention on the creation of a Maghreb Investment and External Trade Bank between the AMU member states	Idem
8	Convention on tariffs and trade	Idem
9	Convention on maritime cooperation	Idem
10	Postal agreement between the AMU states	Idem
11	Agreement on postal packages	Idem
12	Convention on postal packages	Idem
13	Convention on cooperation among AMU states	Idem
14	Convention on social security between AMU states	Idem
15	Convention on postal mandates	Fourth session of the Presidential Council, Casablanca, September 1991
16	Annex to Article 2 of the Convention on trade in agricultural products between AMU member states	Idem
17	Maghreb charter for the protection of the environment and sustainable development	Idem
18	Convention on unified judiciary organization between member states of the AMU	Idem
19	Convention on cultural cooperation among AMU member states	Idem
20	Arab Maghreb price for cultural creations	Idem
21	Unified programme for the accession of judiciary institutions of AMU	Idem
22	Convention on the mutual recognition of driving permits in UMA	Fifth session of the Presidential Council, Nouakchott, November 1992

23	Convention on the organization of public markets for equipment and employment in AMU	Idem
24	Protocol of agreement on certificates of origin	Idem
25	Directive number 6 defining the conditions of bulk import and distribution of veterinary products inside AMU states	Idem
26	Directive number 7 defining the sanitary veterinary conditions for the import of live beef and beef meat from non-AMU countries	Idem
27	Administrative cooperation convention for the prevention of customs fraud	Idem
28	Protocol on certificates of origin	Idem
29	Protocol on the implementation of the unified compensation duty of 17.5%	Idem
30	Agreement on the creation of a Maghreb insurance and re-insurance commission	Idem
31	Agreement on the exchange of trainees between post and telecommunications administrations	Idem
32	Agreement on the exchange of experts and specialist between post and telecommunications administrations	Sixth session of the Presidential Council, Tunis April 1994
33	Agreement on cinematographic co-production	Idem
34	Agreement on the creation of a Maghreb Council of national publishing houses	Idem
35	Declaration on the establishment of a Maghreb free trade area	Idem
36	Directive number 8 defining conditions of veterinary hygiene	Idem
37	Ruling on the attribution of two AMU prices for architecture and urban planning	Idem

Source: Fatallah Oualoulou, *Après Barcelone...le Maghreb est nécessaire*, Les Editions Toubkal, L'Harmattan, Casablanca, Paris, 1996, pp 320-323

APPENDIX 7
Select economic indicators of Arab Maghreb Union countries

		Algeria	Mauritania	Morocco	Libya	Tunisia
Human Development Index	1960	0.264	NA	0.198	NA	0.258
	1997	0.665	0.447	0.582	0.756	0.695
Population 1997 (million)		29.3	2.4	27.5	5.3	9.3
Real GDP / capita rank		-31	-20	-27	-6	-34
Percentage of population below income poverty line ($2 a day)		1.6b	31.4b	1.1	..	3.9
Human poverty index rank (%)		52	77	67	16.4	38
GDP per capita	1975	2.315	512	641	10.459	980
	1980	2.683	523	782	13.219	1.177
	1985	2.966	477	822	6.926	1.272
	1990	2.624	466	916	..	1.310
	1997	2.352	513	927	..	1.670
Average FDI inflows 1995 (US$m)		5	25	417	90	250
Average growth 1990-1996		0.4%	3.7%	2.2%.	..	5.0%
GNP (US$bn) 1997		43.9	1.1	34.4	..	19.4
GNP per capita annual growth rate 1975 – 1997		-0.1	-0.2	1.4	..	1.9
GDP 1997 (US$bn)		47.1	1.1	33.5	..	18.9
Agriculture %		11	25	15	..	13
Industry %		49	29	33	..	29
Services %		39	46	51	..	58
Net ODA 1997 % total GDP		9.7	120.0	18.8	..	23.3
Total external debt % of GNP 1985 and 1997		32.4 69.0	230.5 234.7	130.4 59.5	17.4 ..	60.6 62.8
Debt Service Ratio 1985 and 1997		35.6 27.2	25.3 2 4.2	34.6 26.6	. ..	25.0 16.0

Source: United National Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1999*, United Nations, New York, 1999, pp 134-193, World Resources Institute, 1988

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