

North Africa and the Making of Europe

Governance, Institutions and Culture

Edited by Muriam Haleh Davis & Thomas Serres



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Introduction

Europe and North Africa beyond the 'Boomerang Effect'

Muriam Haleh Davis and Thomas Serres

In January 2017, the leaders of the major European parties on the far-right gathered to present their vision for the future of the continent in a 'counter-summit'. In the lead-up to a series of highly sensitive elections that were to decide the future of the continent, Geert Wilders, Marine Le Pen, Frauke Petry and Matteo Salvini – among others – unveiled their political platforms. Two themes marked their speeches: First, the speakers denounced the 'bureaucratic' nature of the European Union (EU), which Salvini, the leader of the Italian *Lega Nord*, portrayed as nothing less than a 'new Soviet Union'. Second, they vociferously opposed any immigration from Muslim majority countries, which they described as a risk for Europe's domestic security, economic prosperity and cultural identity.

These views have become a rallying cry for the far-right in Europe, whose varied political platforms nevertheless share a commitment to Euroscepticism and Islamophobia (Druxes and Simpson 2016; Ford et al. 2011). Though the political programs of Wilders and Le Pen were not validated by national elections, the fears on which their popularity was built show no sign of abating. In this sense, the existing European political order appears threatened by a movement that proposes the rejection of immigration and a return to the nation state. Yet it is perhaps misleading to see these goals as novel phenomena. After all, the nation state has not receded in recent years, and has played a key role in the governance of the EU. Moreover, even if the weakening of the welfare state contributed to the rise of overtly racist attitudes (Wren 2001), racial categories have long been foundational to the development of European states (Goldberg 2002). In looking at xenophobic attitudes in Europe over the past few decades, one could also point to the widespread opposition to the integration of Turkey into the EU

(Saz 2011), the persisting prejudice of European officials against immigration from the south of the Mediterranean (Rhein 2006), and the so-called cultural insecurity of Europeans (Bouvet 2015).

Yet in trying to assess what is novel about this political moment, we seem to be witnessing a fundamental shift in the conceptualization of what it means to be European; the fragile post-war consensus – that was based on postcolonial preferences, on the one hand, and the technocratic construction of a European Economic Community, on the other – appears less and less tenable. Rather than viewing immigration as a necessary component of post-war reconstruction, or an extension of postcolonial preferences, it is increasingly common to hear it framed in terms of a full-scale ‘invasion’ (Krzyzanowski 2013). It is certainly not our intention to propose a nostalgic view of the decades following the Second World War; indeed, extensive and important work has been done on the ways in which policing strategies, housing structures and economic rights were unfairly stacked against North African immigrants. If post-war immigration led minority populations to demand cultural recognition and the ‘right to difference’ in the 1970s and 1980s, our current moment is built on the wholesale rejection of that multicultural model, which had once been a key component of anti-racist struggles across Europe (Modood and Werbner 1991).

These are some of the questions that underpin this edited volume, which studies the ways in which North Africa has contributed to the shaping of Europe in the post-war period. We are cognizant of the fact that while this volume is framed in terms of European identity, many of the chapters in fact study the European Union or its precursors. This orientation is due to our conviction that the understanding of Europe and what it means to be ‘European’ is necessarily embedded in historical circumstances. Since the end of the Second World War, the process of European integration has self-consciously attempted to construct a European identity. Therefore, in looking at the evolution of European identity and governance through the prism of North Africa, we believe that the European (and national) institutions built in the wake of decolonization offer a fruitful starting point.

At the same time, analysing Europe’s current attempts to defend something called ‘European values’ requires us to transcend the simplistic claim that the region is merely continuing centuries-old practices of colonization. Indeed, to understand the trajectory of Europe since the second half of the twentieth century, one cannot lose sight of the other historical, social and political dynamics – alongside decolonization – that have informed the last 60 years. One major goal of this volume is thus to provincialize Europe (Chakrabarty 2000) through

a study of the institutions and practices that have accompanied its most concrete form: the European Union. A focus on Europe's southern periphery thus sheds light on how a certain conception of what it meant to be European – in the domains of economic organization, diplomatic practices, population transfers, knowledge production and religious beliefs – was constituted through the region's interactions with North Africa, one of its historical 'others'. By bringing together scholars from a variety of disciplines, we also hope to show that North African spaces and actors have actively contributed to the shaping of post-war Europe. While this volume focuses on the construction of Europe, rather than North African politics and histories, a few contributions highlight the roles played by North African actors in this process (see chapters 6, 7 and 9).

Europe and North Africa in a historical perspective

While this volume begins in the aftermath of the Second World War, there is a longer *durée* history of North Africa's relationship with Europe. Even in the late colonial period, older repertoires of rule that included a 'Latin North Africa' (Lorcin 2002) or that posited North Africa as the 'Granary of Rome' (Davis 2007) played a crucial role in colonial domination. Centuries of interaction cast North Africans as a particularly intimate, and yet particularly dangerous, foreigner. After all, the etymology of the word Berber is claimed to be from the Greek word *baraboroi* (*barbari* in Latin), connoting those who spoke neither Greek nor Latin. The series of wars between the eighth and fifteenth centuries, and the eventual expulsion of Muslims and Jews from Spain in 1492, provide other historical experiences that are relevant in thinking about the so-called return of Muslims to Europe (Cheesworth 2016).

If this early period saw North Africans as religious or linguistic outsiders, the naval wars with the 'Barbary Coast' (taken from the word Berber) viewed North Africans as economic savages from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. As Ann Thomson has shown, 'European writers considered the North African states as nests of pirates [which] held European shipping to ransom and enslaved Europeans' (Thomson 1989: 109). Enlightenment notions of European civility were constructed against the spectre of Ottoman despotism (Grosrichard 1998), which served as an early foil for Europe's self-conception as a liberal, democratic region. In so far as Turkey continues to occupy a problematic borderland for Europe (Keyman and Icduygu 2005), early contests for political and material power in North Africa were formative.

Perhaps no moment of European hegemony in North Africa has received more scholarly attention than Napoleon's expedition to Egypt (Cole 2007). Ostensibly to triumph over the Mamluks, and seeking to cut Britain's ties with India, the Directory government sent the Corsican as far from Paris as possible. Arriving with a team of 167 scholars, scientists, engineers and artists, Napoleon's expedition resulted in the *Description de l'Égypte*. This show of symbolic and physical power was a foundational experience for the tradition of Orientalism (Said 1978), and has been designated as the moment when North Africa entered the historical stage of modernity (Zeevi 2004). Napoleon's Egyptian years have been studied as a formative period for the Concordat (Coller 2010) as well as an example of how liberal ideas were applied differently in non-European territories than they were on the continent itself (Abi-Mershed 2010: 5).

The French occupation of Algiers in 1830 marked a new phase of European power in the region. Though more an impulsive decision to help bolster Charles X's waning legitimacy than a well-conceived plan for hegemony, it was an early precursor to the 'scramble for Africa' and 'new imperialism' that began in the late nineteenth century (Sessions 2011). Financial weakness and economic concessions opened the door to French control over Morocco and Tunisia, and the British established a 'veiled protectorate' in Egypt after 1882. Colonial rule was in no way a coherent or unified system, and European powers – including Spain and Italy, who entered the colonial game in North Africa in 1912 and 1911 respectively – actively compared notes and studied imperial lessons that had been learned elsewhere. Scholars have emphasized not only the mobility of these thoughts and practices, but also the fact that they were never a one-way street. In other words, the influence travelled in both directions across the Mediterranean. Nor were North Africans wearing blinders that uniformly turned their vision to Europe: Islamic networks connected them to the Middle East (Christelow 2012 ; McDougall 2006); Sufi traditions linked them to their North African neighbours (Clancy-Smith 1994); trade routes created corridors of mobility with Sub-Saharan Africa (Lydon 2009); and various international networks such as communism, anarchism and Judaism also cast their gaze farther afield (Connelly 2002; Gottreich 2007).

Germany also tried to get a foothold in Morocco, albeit unsuccessfully, in the lead up to the First World War. Indeed, the successive Moroccan crises of the early twentieth century led W. E. B. Du Bois to claim that the roots of the First World War lay in Africa (1915). The Great War would have undoubtedly looked very different had it not been for the resources and

manpower that the North African territories provided, especially in France (Fogarty 2008). These years also set in motion the process of North African immigration to Europe, and the consolidation of a white working class occurred as French workers experienced solidarity with historic 'others' from Europe – such as Italians and Spaniards – that was premised on defining themselves collectively against their North African colleagues (Stovall 1998).

The aftermath of the Great War, which redrew the boundaries of the Middle East, was also a watershed in North Africa, although for different reasons. As European countries tried to lay the basis for future peace, they invoked the notion of Eurafrica that would allow Germany to participate in empire even though it had been stripped of its possessions by the Treaty of Versailles (Montarsolo 2010). The historian Fernand Braudel, whose work has irrevocably altered our understanding of the Mediterranean, spent the period 1923–1932 in Algeria. He was thus embedded in interwar discussions on a Mediterranean humanism that revived North Africa's Latin heritage, even if the place of Islamic civilization in this configuration was far from clear (Carlier 2003; Foxlee 2006; Liauzu 1999). The repeated frustrations of colonial reform during this period also fostered the nationalist sentiments that would lead to decolonization after the Second World War.

The destruction of the Second World War, the horrors of the Holocaust, and increasing demands for independence from colonized subjects, all shaped the relationship between North Africa and Europe from 1945 to 1962. As Europe tried to rebuild its economy through massive public investment, these states heavily recruited North African labour along the lines of the guest worker model. When these single men did not return to their home countries or brought their families with them to Europe, receiving states were forced to conceive of more permanent housing and social welfare provisions (Lyons 2013). Moreover, European integration, which sought to pool economic interests in order to secure an enduring peace, would have to account for colonial territories (Hansen and Jonsson 2014). Even in the realm of intellectual history and philosophy, a pervasive disillusionment with the promises of linear progress and the tenants of humanism would spark philosophical debates in which North Africa featured prominently (Le Sueur 2001; Young 1990). The violence of the Algerian War was often at the centre of these discussions, and ended the experiment of a European 'melting pot' wherein Spanish, Maltese and Italians were made French through colonization.¹ Indeed, with the end of French Algeria, their repatriation to the metropole played a significant role in the rise of right-wing politics, namely in the rise of the National Front (Choi 2016), and posed pressing questions about what it meant to be French (Shepard 2008).

On the other side of the Mediterranean, nationalist historians such as Abdallah Laroui and Mahfoud Kaddache sought to decolonize their own historiography since ‘the slave had been freed, but the master still held the slave’s pen’ (Carlier 1997: 144). Nationalists attempted to craft a nation state based on notions of authenticity, reviving a nation untainted by colonization. Yet this would prove to be an act of construction as much as recovery. North African leaders also struggled to establish new political alliances and create a south-to-south dialogue that was at the nexus of pan-Arabism and pan-Africanism; the Third Worldist spirit of these years was given more definitive form at the Bandung conference in 1955, and was intensified by the Suez Crisis in 1956 (Byrne 2016).

For the newly independent countries in North Africa, their continued dependency on European markets resulted in persistent economic vulnerability. Despite their best attempts to diversify trading partners, the colonial pact continued to structure Europe’s relationship to North Africa in the 1960s. Rivalries among leaders – Houari Boumediene and Gamal Abdel Nasser’s mutual desire to be the leaders of Third Worldism, or Algerian and Moroccan disputes over the Western Sahara – reinforced the initial imbalance of power between the two shores of the Mediterranean. At the same time, the political weakness and political divisions among North African countries meant that they were often treated as subcontractors, whose economic activity was oriented according to the needs of the European Economic Community (EEC). For example, Moroccan officials denounced the consequences of the successive enlargements and the growth of European markets, which they feared would intensify their situation of dependence and lead to a predictable economic disaster (Oualalou 1982).

Economic development initiatives and cooperation policies brought together ruling elites from the North and the South ‘in an era of political nationalism and economic connectedness’ (Cooper 1993: 90). Yet in the 1970s, the growing influence of a neoliberal ethos changed the contours of cooperation. With the first EU enlargement and the inclusion of the United Kingdom, the former Directorate-General for Development progressively abandoned the interpersonal practices inherited from colonization. Instead, a focus on programming and public policy evaluations resulted in the EEC’s increased control over the programmes implemented in the South. This restructuring continued over the following decades, leading to a reform of European aid in the 2000s that followed the dictates of New Public Management (Dimier 2003). This bureaucratization of European foreign policy also impacted the future permanent delegations of the EU, notably with the introduction of a rotating diplomatic

staff who were therefore less rooted in the country to which they were assigned (Dimier 2004).

After 1995, the cooperation between the two shores of the Mediterranean evolved in the framework of the Barcelona process. This new partnership formalized the interactions between the EU and its Mediterranean neighbours, and was later included in the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), a tool that was initially conceived of prior to the 2004 enlargement. The Barcelona process fixed a set of timely objectives. First, it aimed at fighting socioeconomic under-development in the region by reinforcing cooperation. Second, this new arena was supposed to foster regional integration in the South, notably in North Africa, as a way to ensure equal the participation of all parties involved in the partnership. Third, the Barcelona process aimed to promote security and stability. In fact, this new phrase in the relationship between Europe and its southern partners illustrated the growing concern of European decision-makers and observers in regard to a region that was increasingly viewed as a locus of multiple potential dangers (Bland and Abis 2007). In response, the European Commission proposed a well-known strategy based on a mix of political, economic and institutional integration in order to encourage southern partners to play a more active role in the partnership (European Commission 2008).

There was certainly a window of opportunity for this kind of undertaking in North Africa at the end of the 1990s. At this point, new leaders in Morocco and Algeria sent signs that a reconciliation between the two countries might be possible. Both the new king Mohamed VI and the newly elected Abdelaziz Bouteflika signalled their commitment to economic and political reforms. A few years later, even the erratic Muammar Qaddafi showed signs of goodwill. At the same time, European aid became increasingly based on a conditional approach, which was perceived as the best way to incentivize North African partners.

After the Barcelona Declaration, the EU and its member states enjoyed newfound influence on the south shore of the Mediterranean. Yet, this did not translate into a desire to include the populations in the Maghreb or beyond the Euro-Mediterranean partnership. Given the increase in xenophobic discourses and policies, neighbouring countries were pressured to change their laws regarding the rights of residence and asylum in order to adjust to Community standards. With the creation of Frontex in 2004 and the externalization of migration policies, North African governments were increasingly subjected to the Europeanization of their border control. This process accelerated after the Euro-African conference on immigration held in Rabat in 2006 (Wa Kabwe-Segatti 2009). Nevertheless, some North African countries also took advantage of the European obsession

with border control in order to gain leverage. This was especially the case in Libya, as Qadaffi managed to appropriate the issue of undocumented migrations in order to develop a privileged partnership with Italy (Morone 2017).

Given its disorganized implementation (Darbot-Trupiano 2007), the Mediterranean partnership proved to be an ambitious undertaking contradictory goals and contentious relationships. For example, the Agadir Agreement of 2004 set the basis for a Mediterranean free trade zone. Yet, technical and economic limitations, as well as political opposition in North Africa, extinguished any hope for the initiative. Algeria has been vocal about the many problems that could result from such a project, especially given the historical context and the regional imbalance in development. Thus, countries in North Africa have often reminded their European partners that the EU's utopian liberal federalism will be forced to reckon with the postcolonial and economic realities that underpin their relationship.

The so-called Arab Spring of 2011 highlighted the ideological confusion and erratic strategies of European actors. The uprisings underlined the failure of an approach to the ENP based on conditionality that did not address the concrete demands of peoples subjected to the ruthless hybridization between authoritarian rule and neoliberal restructuring. In fact, European officials had acknowledged the need to re-conceptualize their neighbourhood policy in the south of the Mediterranean as early as 2010. The Revolution in Tunisia began at the same time that the Commission started an active re-evaluation of the situation in North Africa, compiling reports by various member and partner states, Arab academics, NGOs and activists. At this point, events in the South made it clear that European diplomacy needed a complete makeover (Tocci 2011).

Yet despite a commitment to increasing financial aid in order to fight economic inequalities, and a pledge to pay more attention to 'civil society', the revamped ENP sounded much like its predecessors. The conditional logic of 'more for more' remained at the heart of cooperation, illustrating the persistent belief that aid should lead to democratization and economic liberalization.² Meanwhile, the new free trade agreements were still based on unrealistic demands for standardization that were necessary for goods to comply with the common market. Ultimately, European actions in the South remained guided by the usual matrix of security concerns, fear of immigration and wishful thinking. As Jean-Pierre Cassarino rightly observes, the EU did not seek to seriously re-evaluate its policy tools in the region in the aftermath of the Arab uprisings; still, one can hope that events in the Arab world may force the EU to question some of its foundational assumptions (2012: 12–13).

Outline of the volume

The injunction to study colony and metropole in a single frame of reference has been taken seriously by scholars of Europe, which has resulted in a rich and diverse literature (Cooper and Stoler 1997). Yet the success of this colonial frame means that work has often focused on a bilateral relationship between colonizer and colonized, thereby losing sight of how North African and European identities were formed across these regions more broadly (Lorcin and Shepard 2016). Moreover, rather than studying Africa in a continental framework (Adebajo and Whiteman 2012; Mbemebe 2001), this volume maintains that there are historical and structural commonalities that make North Africa a useful unit of analysis, despite the differences between the Maghreb (the French colonies of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia) and Libya. Similarly, while there is a strong focus on France in the volume, contributions here also reflect on the strategies of Spain, Italy and Belgium and shed light on how national goals and European institutions often found themselves in disaccord.

While much of the work that has come out of the colonial turn has looked at discourse and representation, the field of diplomatic history and the history of European integration has been reticent to engage with the legacy of colonialism as anything other than a pawn in a larger game of global geopolitics. Part I of this volume, 'Colonialism and Institutions', thus reflects on how colonialism shaped practices that formed a repertoire for action at the European level. Chapter 1 by Luc-André Brunet studies the French Committee of National Liberation (CFLN), one of the main bodies of the French Resistance, which spent the period November 1942–June 1944 in Algeria. Brunet's essay demonstrates how this North African context contributed to the CFLN's vision of economic planning and post-war industrialization, which ultimately served as a blueprint for European integration. Indeed, while much has been written on European reconstruction after the war, surprisingly few of the works on economic history take the role of North Africa seriously in their analysis. This lacuna is also taken up in Muriam Haleh Davis's essay (chapter 2) on how imperial considerations influenced the development of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Davis argues that empire was an important precedent for the organization of European agricultural markets, and shows how concerns regarding France's historical relationship to North Africa influenced the trajectory of the CAP.

The next two chapters in Part I examine how colonial dynamics intersected with other institutional logics. Anton Perdoncin (chapter 3) analyses

the recruitment of Moroccan workers in French and Belgian coal mines, documenting how North African states and private companies sought to impose their own logics on the lives of these workers. Darcie Fontaine (chapter 4) studies how events in North Africa, especially the Algerian War of Independence, transformed Catholic institutions, politics and theology. What emerges most forcefully in these two essays is that colonialism was less a set of interests to be defended, and more a set of circumstances with which various actors engaged for their own maximum gain. By studying how diverse institutions crafted responses to events in North Africa, it becomes clear that the waning of empire brought certain continuities – but also important ruptures – in the post-war consolidation of European identity.

Part II, titled ‘Europe Defined: Imaginaries and Practices’, further explores this thorny question of European identity. While the concept of identity has been roundly criticized (Brubaker and Cooper 2000), all of the actors studied in this section were forced to make concrete decisions regarding policy in North Africa that were ultimately rooted in their understanding of what it meant to be European. Similarly, the notion of ‘European values’ has been a common referent for historical actors who made political decisions in a post-imperial context. Thus, by invoking the notion of a European identity, our goal is not to reproduce essentialist visions of the continent, but rather to critically analyse the historical development of its self-conception as a source of liberal and democratic ideas. While the EU often frames its interventions in the Maghreb in terms of electoral politics, economic development or civil society, there are nevertheless echoes with late colonial attempts to understand North Africa as a foil for European civilization.

Timothy Johnson (chapter 5) studies the work and life of the historian and anthropologist Jacques Berque. Despite Berque’s support for decolonization in North Africa, his appropriation of third worldist themes reinforced France’s role as the motor of global history and re-inscribed the civilizing mission’s confidence that technology would ultimately lead to historical progress. While European actors often considered technical prowess as a sign of civilizational advancement in the post-war period, the other chapters in Part II focus on similar themes in the realm of politics and development. Aitana Guia’s essay (chapter 6) studies the Spanish colonial cities of Melilla and Ceuta and investigates ‘nativist’ attitudes alongside the actions of Muslim women who struggled to influence the democratic process. She argues that far from being marginal, the outposts of Melilla and Ceuta have much to teach Europe about gendered Islamophobia and the expansion of electoral politics. Questions of how European and Muslim

residents define their identity in relationship to one another echoes chapter 7 by Farida Souiah, Monika Salzbrunn and Simon Mastrangelo. This essay analyses the cultural production of North Africans who attempt to cross the Mediterranean (known as *harragas* in Arabic) and outlines their (often contradictory) visions of Europe. It also demonstrates that their dreams of migration are not only rooted in projections of what awaits them on the other shore of the Mediterranean, but also reflect their experiences in North Africa. Yet as Simone Tholens shows (chapter 8), it is not only activists and artists who harbour anxieties about cultural norms; the actions of technocrats and politicians are also motivated by specific historical imaginaries. Tholens analyses how 'imperial identity practices' shape the EU's approach to North Africa in the two main policy areas of energy and trade.

The EU has demonstrated a persistent tendency to impose norms rooted in a European economic ethos that is inherently capitalist, consumerist and ordoliberal (Serres 2016; White 2000). Post-development approaches have underscored that attempts at economic development re-inscribe the power dynamic between the global North and South (Escobar 1995). Yet the essays in Part II show that it is impossible to explain the interventions of the EU in North Africa solely in terms of self-interest or coherent economic strategies. Indeed, the relationship between North and South – while always marked by imbalance of power – is a good deal more complicated than any invocation of Machiavellian neo-imperialism would suggest.

The negotiation, appropriation and reconceptualization of discourses and practices show that North African actors participate actively in the creation of Europe. Part III of this volume, entitled 'States of Crisis and Exception', extends these insights to the political and security concerns that have emerged after the uprisings of 2011–2012. The expansion of the state of exception, characterized by measures that are legitimated by allegations of an extreme threat to security, historically emerged from a dialogue between the colonial periphery and the metropole (Khalili 2013). The postcolonial context of these policies informs strategies on both sides and feeds a pervasive mistrust; for example, interactions between North Africa and Europe have opened the door for allegations of neo-colonialism and allowed for the recycling of colonial clichés. These tensions help explain the erratic strategies of member and partner states who respond to emergencies in a contradictory and fragmented fashion (Baghzouz 2013). Part III also explores how European external governance based on sectoral and normative interventions (Lavenex and Schimmelfennig 2009) contributes to a globalized form of population management. This transnational management of

security concerns draws on a complex network of actors whose relationships are marked by both competition and cooperation.

As Thomas Serres argues, moments of political crisis in the south of the Mediterranean have resulted in a confrontation between competing understandings of so-called European core values. Drawing on the Algerian Civil War as a case study, Serres (chapter 9) shows how EU negotiations led to the redefinition of key notions such as democracy and human rights in the context of the nascent 'war on terror'. The fact that moments of crisis are often the catalyst for new techniques of governance and strategies of control is a recurring theme in the history of North Africa and Europe; for example, scholars have looked at how decolonization and the presence of North African immigrants led to the introduction of new forms of policing in Europe (Blanchard 2011; House and MacMaster 2006; Rosenberg 2006). Historical research has also shown how the policing and protests associated with 1968 were indebted to the wars of decolonization (Ross 1996). In the aftermath of the Arab Spring, security concerns and the international geopolitical environment are certainly specific, but we can still identify certain continuities with the Cold War: local regimes present these popular movements as forms of infantile anarchism (or as manipulations by foreign enemies, including radical jihadism), while the EU is increasingly limited by its techno-managerial rationality. In short, a series of hopeful revolutionary movements has been subsumed to a set of pressing issues involving security and governance that calls for management and containment.

The most emblematic example of the risks to Europe posed by North Africa is the issue of migration – whether documented or illegal – that followed the collapse of authoritarian orders in North Africa. Seen from the EU, this issue was framed in terms of terrorism, the weakening of the welfare system and threats to cultural homogeneity. Speaking to these issues, Irene Costantini (chapter 10) focuses on Libya after the fall of Qaddafi. She argues that the country's geographical proximity led European actors to interpret the ongoing civil war as a security crisis. As the transformative narrative characteristic of the 'war on terror' based on regime change and democratization was abandoned, the EU focused on the management of various sources of insecurity such as energy and immigration rather than seeking a comprehensive political settlement.

The existence of these political and security crises does not mean, however, that Europeans are deaf to the demands emanating from the southern shore of the Mediterranean. In fact, countries with a colonial history in the region, such as France or Italy, have been more likely to develop channels of discussion

with local governments. This type of influence also exists at the Community level. Thus, despite the increased bureaucratization and the rise of a technomanagerial rationality at the level of the European Development Fund, African officials have wielded influence on its agenda (Dimier 2003: 439). Yet an analysis of transnational governance should also acknowledge the influence of non-state actors. Thus, chapter 11 by Elise Ketelaars looks at transitional justice in Tunisia and investigates how the EU accounted for the social and economic demands that were at the heart of the Revolution. By looking at the attempts to craft European policies, Ketelaars underscores the tensions that emerged between a predominantly liberal ideological framework, on the one hand, and the priorities pushed forward by Tunisian actors, such as Islamist female activists, on the other.

Lilith Mahmud's provocative conclusion reminds us that what has often been understood as the rise of 'Euroskepticism' is actually a profound 'reconfiguration of political paradigms that rest on particular imaginaries of Europeanness and Occidentalism'. For Mahmud, this signals nothing less than a 'critical reconfiguration' of liberal values. Her call to employ a decolonial critique in the study of European integration builds on the main goal of this volume: to frame the relationship between the two sides of the Mediterranean in terms of a colonial history, while simultaneously resisting the temptation to reduce every instance of power to a blanket neo-colonialism.

For example, when analysing Europe's current challenges, namely immigration and terrorism, observers have spoken of a 'boomerang effect'. This terminology is of course rooted in a longer tradition that dates back to Hannah Arendt, Aimé Césaire and their invocation by Jean-Paul Sartre (1963). Yet if a boomerang goes between two places, bringing 'home' an action carried out 'over there', this volume tries to show how the very coherence of Europe as a place, actor or identity has emerged through interactions with its southern periphery. Rather than a boomerang, we might think of Europe's interactions with North Africa using a musical analogy, as producing a repertoire composed of certain chords (Glasser 2016). This image invokes a specific combination of notes that forms decipherable patterns, and also indicates how a field of audition creates a geographical unit or borderland. The process is necessarily iterative since North African responses often change the rules of composition, even though the power dynamics are resolutely unequal.

If we seem to be witnessing a resurgence of nationalism that makes such regional units of analysis seem antiquated, it might be helpful to remind ourselves that there is no zero-sum game between the region and the nation state.

As comforting as the idea of a ‘return’ to the nation state may seem, this is more of a nostalgic appeal, or even a ‘postcolonial melancholia’, than an actual policy proposal (Gilroy 2005). In the British case, for example, decolonization saw the consolidation of a European identity that separated a ‘notion of imperialness from European-ness’, thereby giving rise to a Euroscepticism that was ‘impossible to separate from nostalgic neo-imperialism’ (Grob-Fitzgibbon 2016: 7). Regardless of the future trajectory of the EU, the history of empire and understandings of ‘European-ness’ are necessarily imbricated. The history of empire has taught us that extreme nationalism – particularly when it takes the form of imperial expansion – exposes the constitutive violence that resides in liberalism’s dark underbelly (Pitts 2006). Many of the chapters in this volume draw our attention to the limits of liberalism as well as Europe’s tendency to selectively invoke its central tenants. They serve as a corrective to the normative approach – found in both academic writing and governmental decision-making – to write North Africa out of the history of post-war Europe. In the face of aggressive nationalisms across the continent (and around the world), we hope that a focus on the southern shore of the Mediterranean may offer an alternative imaginary of what it means to be European in the world today.

Notes

- 1 The law of 26 June 1889 offered French citizenship to the European settler population in Algeria.
- 2 In other words, increased financial aid would be offered in exchange for more reforms that worked towards democratization.

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Part One

Colonialism and Institutions

The Role of Algeria in Debates over Post-War Europe within the French Resistance

Luc-André Brunet

North Africa quickly emerged as one of the critical battlegrounds of the Second World War. With Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia under French control, Libya a colony of Germany's ally Italy, and Egypt under de facto British control, the region endured a series of extended battles beginning with clashes on the Libyan–Egyptian border in June 1940. Following the Fall of France that month, French North Africa was administered by the regime set up in Vichy in July 1940, which pursued an official policy of neutrality while gradually pursuing closer cooperation with the Reich. Given its strategic importance, North Africa became a target for British and American military planners, and in November 1942 the Allies successfully landed in Morocco and Algeria. By the end of spring 1943, the entirety of North Africa was under Allied control and provided a springboard for the invasion of Italy and ultimately southern France.

Within the region, Algeria played a particularly important role: from November 1942, it hosted the main organizations of the French external resistance, culminating in the creation of the French Committee of National Liberation (*Comité français de Libération nationale*, CFLN) in June 1943. Between November 1942 and the Allied landings in Normandy in June 1944, the question of what policies France should pursue in the post-war period were debated at length in Algiers. While the CFLN and Free France have been an enduringly popular topic among historians, studies of the CFLN's policy debates rarely take into account the geographical context in which they took place (Crémieux-Brilhac 1996 ; Michel 1963). This chapter seeks to return Algeria to the narrative of these debates by demonstrating how the implementation of certain policies in Algeria provided valuable lessons for the CFLN as they developed comparable