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LITERATURE AND CIVILIZATION

Into Boosting and Strengthening Algerian
Bilateral Relationship with Post-Brexit UK

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Dedication

I dedicate this humble work to:

My parents, the dearest persons to my hearts

Source of my happiness and success in life

Who have raised me to be the person I am today

May Allah bless them

To my brothers: Ilyes and Foued

And to my sister Faiza and my sweet twin Sara

For their unconditional support and

Encouragements to pursue my interests

To my friend: Sara, Soumia, Hanan, Djawed, and Amine Dahou

For their love and encouragements

To my extended family who have been

So supportive

And supported me in the fulfilment of this work

To all those who believed in me and are proud of my

Success.

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Abstract

This dissertation speculates about the possible strengthening of the bilateral Anglo-Algerian relationship after the UK leaves the European Union. Brexit is one of the most important issues in the history of the United Kingdom. Whether the withdrawal process impacts negatively or positively on both sides Britain and the Union, Britain might develop its relation with the non-European countries to boost its economy. Among these countries Algeria stands a leading country for all the advantages it can provide Britain with. Indeed, since independence Algeria has always focused its interest towards France and neglected what Britain could offer. Similarly, the UK remained absent in the Algerian agenda until both counterparts parts decided to join hands in a period where both are taking new paths. Brexit, though defines the British exit from the European Union, may also be a sign of British openness towards other options which include the possibility of creating a bridge between Britain and Algeria will clear the relations between Britain and Europe as it solidifies the relation with Algeria in the near future.

Key Words:

- Algerian Independence - Agenda - European Union (EU)

- United Kingdom (UK) - Brexit - Relations

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AAPSO: Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation

CJEU: Court of Justice of the European Union

ECA: European Court of Auditors

ECB: European Central Bank

ECSC: European Coal and Steel Community

EEA: European Economic Area

EEC: European Economic Community

EFTA: European Free Trade Association

EP: European Parliament

EU: European Union

FAC: Foreign Affairs committee

FLN: National Liberation Front

LNG: Liquefied Natural Gas

OLAF: European Anti-Fraud Office

UN: United Nations

US: United States

USSR: Union Soviet Socialist Republics

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General Introduction

The relationship between Algeria and Britain was tenuous and weak at some extent. However, Algeria witnessed an atrocious warfare which led it to be destroyed socially, psychologically, and economically but its determination to rise again from this chaos and build an independent and strong country was a stimulus to find its place in the world, whereas it became one of the most important countries on diplomatic level due to its experience from the revolution.

Concurrently, by advancing steps towards a prosperous future, Britain was experiencing economic recession, which made it join the European Common Market in 1973, and it also became an influential member in the European Union because it had a strong politic and economic past. Despite the multiplicity of reasons for joining the European Union, its withdrawal from the EU was also due to economic reasons much more, to protect itself from economic and social crises, which were represented in the fear of increasing immigration and the growth of terrorist strikes. However, every decision it made, it had side effects, either negative or positive, or both.

Therefore, on 23 June 2016, a referendum was held on whether or not the United Kingdom would remain as a member of the European Union and the majority voted to leave, and the formal process of leaving the European Union commenced. In this situation, the British government had to activate Article 50, which defines the ways to withdraw from the Union "Lisbon Treaty". Moreover, there will be agreements and negotiations on European-British relationships in the future in terms of politics and economics.

Brexit has reflexions on the political and economic levels. On the one hand, the European Union will lose a very important member and its trepidation that the same thing will happen with another member. On the other hand the compensation that Britain must pay to the Union for its exit, in which it will negatively affect it in terms of many expectations that the possibility of an economic crisis or the division of Northern Ireland and Scotland.

In general, the dissertation focuses on the constitution of the bilateral British-Algerian relationship after Brexit. It tends to examine each country separately and all the changes and reforms that have occurred to them. It focuses on the near future that brings together Algeria and Britain, and how they will benefit from each other.

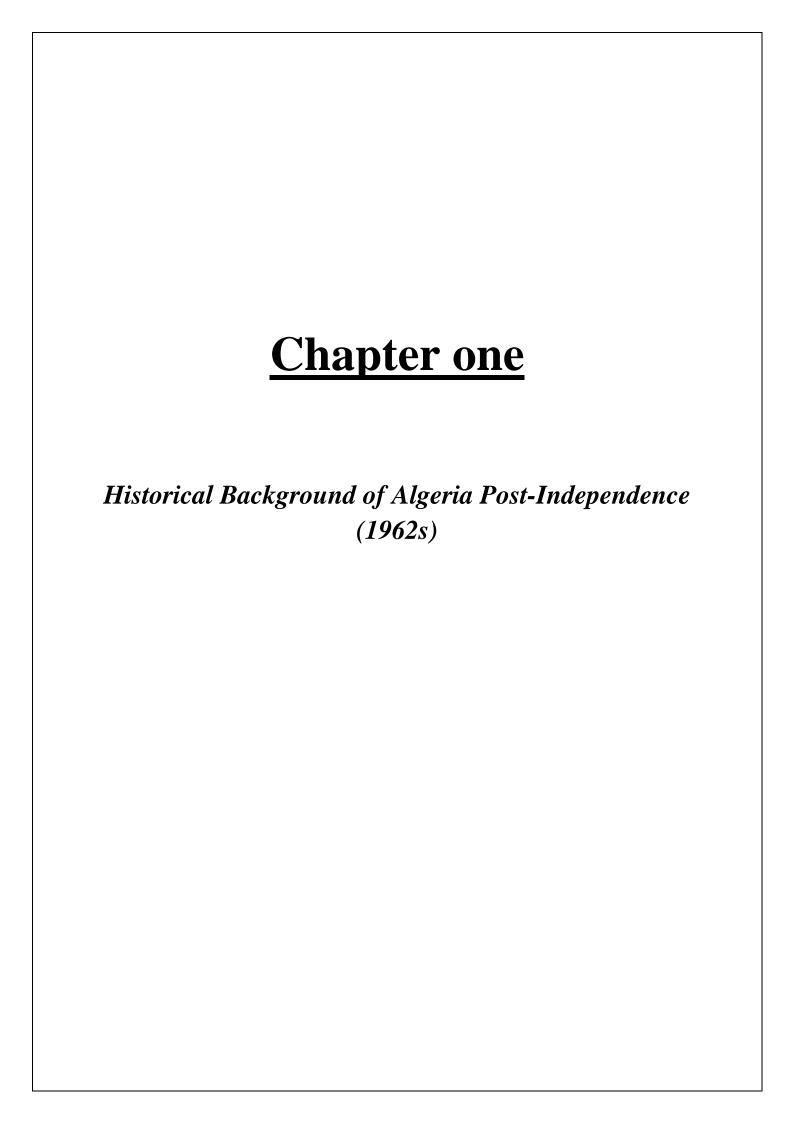
In light of these, the dissertation will tackle the following questions:

- ➤ What is the nature of Anglo-Algerian relationship?
- ➤ How does the Brexit impact the Anglo-Algerian relationship?
- ➤ How will Britain compensate its economic loss (crisis) after the Brexit with Algeria?

Recently, the events and reforms that took place in Algeria in which it did not know a steady stability from the liberation revolution, the economic crisis, the black decade until the coming of the so-called "El Hirak" that gave Algeria the soul to be reborn and become the New Algeria. Brexit is a considerable event and a turning point in the lives of the British people and questions are rising on how Britain will try to turn all this in its favour. Also how both countries will benefit from each other.

To tackle these points, the dissertation is divided into three chapters; the first chapter is about a historical background of Algeria to introduce Algeria after its independence, the challenges that faced a devastated country and its confrontation to build a new and strong country; sociologically and economically that included two sectors "hydrocarbons and agriculture". Furthermore, it highlights the revolution of Algerian diplomacy during the war as it discussed Britain's position on the Algerian independence.

The second chapter will be devoted to highlighting British exit from the European Union, what is meant by the European Union and how it emerged, and what are its institutions. The second section tackles Britain joining the EU and the reasons that led it to join the union. Moreover, it discusses the decision to withdraw from the EU "Brexit" and the reasons behind it "internal and external reasons". Furthermore, it examines the procedures after the referendum (negotiations, withdrawal agreements, agreements on future relationship withEU, and the future relation with EU). Finally, the third chapter discusses the impact of Brexit on Britain. The last chapter aims to give the possible results of the Anglo-Algerian relationship after the Brexit and how the two countries will benefit from each other economically, militarily, and in education.



Introduction

The first chapter of this dissertation attempts to provide a clear and brief picture of Algeria post-independence. This entails that much focus will be cast on the historical development of Algeria after independence, which was a period full of challenges that tested the country's willpower, capacities for resistance, and recovery. In addition, this chapter examines social, economic, and political challenges that faced a shattered and weakened country which was coming out of a period where it lost many martyrs and witnessed many of its infrastructures destroyed. Finally, the chapter will also shed light on the country's foreign policy and the British view with regard to the Algerian war of independence.

1. Algeria after Independence (1962)

Algeria witnessed the bloodiest warfare between 1954 and 1962 to achieve its independence. Under the banner of the National Liberation Front (FLN), the Algerian people fought bitter struggle to regain their independence and their freedom. The independence was not easy and the price was too expensive that included at least 1.5 million martyrs, thousands of orphans and widows, and thousands of detainees and prisoners. In addition, many villages were destroyed while houses were damaged.

For a freshly independent country, Algeria had to experience numerous significant sociological, economical, and political changes.

1.1. Sociological Situation

Algeria suffered from several disabilities; the war was fatal and very long which started with the French invasion in 1830, and became fierce from 1954 to 1962. After the independence, Algeria inherited a state that could be defined as chaoticdeeply reflected through a semi-catastrophic social reality. Also, the prevalence of poverty and the rate of unemployment were very high. To make matter worse, illiteracy was high. Villages were destroyed, lands were burned, and people were psychologically marked. Thousands of orphans, widows, and injured people had to be taken care of. Moreover, problems surfaced when health healthcare deteriorated such as the spread of diseases, lack of medicines, destruction of health structures, and malnutrition. However, despite such hardships, the situation began to improve and Algeria began witnessing growth in the population. This was for two reasons.

Chapter One: Historical Background of Algeria Post-Independence (1962s)

The first reason was the high fertility rates. During 1970's, Algeria birth rates reached a considerable record because of the early marriage and very high marital fertility. Despite unfavourable initial conditions, Algeria has undergone a demographic change - a high overall fertility rate.

Secondly, decrease of death rate. Concurrently with the high fertility and the end of the war, death rate for Algeria fell gradually.

Table1: Population of Algeria (1960-2020)

	Population	Yearly % Change	Migrants (net)	Median Age	Fertility Rate	Density (P/Km²)	Urban Pop %
2019	43.053.054	1.95 %	-10.000	27.7	2.98	18	72.6 %
2015	39.728.025	2.00 %	-28.654	27.5	2.96	17	71.1 %
2010	35.977.455	1.65 %	-71.468	26.0	2.72	15	67.8 %
2005	33.149.724	1.32 %	-41.046	24.1	2.38	14	64.1 %
2000	31.024.235	1.54 %	-32.883	21.7	2.89	13	60.2 %
1995	28.757.785	2.23 %	-25.736	19.4	4.12	12	56.3 %
1990	25.758.869	2.80 %	-18.660	18.0	5.30	11	52.4 %
1985	22.431.502	3.14 %	-16.204	17.1	6.32	9	48.3 %
1980	19.221.665	2.97 %	-44.967	16.7	7.18	8	43.8 %
1975	16.607.707	2.80 %	-50.687	16.5	7.57	7	40.6 %
1970	14.464.985	2.88 %	-24.267	16.6	7.65	6	39.7 %
1960	11.057.863	2.50 %	-38.371	17.8	7.38	5	30.7 %

Source: Worldometer¹ Accessed 21/02/2020

The table demonstrates the Algerian population every five years from independence until now.

1.2. Economical Situation

Post-independence economic policy to this day has specific characteristics and deserves detailed analysis in itself. The war of independence destroyed the physical infrastructure of Algeria. This was a major obstacle to the creation of a functional economy and a well-managed nation-state. Therefore, the construction of new infrastructure has been a priority in successive national development plans since the 1960s.

⁻

¹World Population Prospects: The 2019 Revision (Medium-fertility variant). Algeria Population Worldometer 2020. https://www.worldometers.info Accessed on 21/02/2020.

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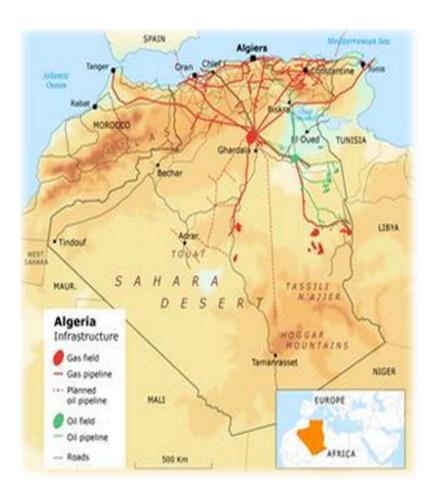
In this deteriorating situation, it has become imperative for the new Algerian government to establish economic and social policies in which it bears the burdens of development, relying at first on the economic and social structures and establishments inherited from colonialism. Algeria also sought prerogatives offered by the French government under the Evian Agreements².

In Northern Algeria, the industrialization of the 1970s increased the need for adequate infrastructure, especially roads, water supply and a secure national electricity grid. The economic crisis of the 1980s and the subsequent black decade delayed many plans which led to neglect and destruction of existing infrastructure

Algerian government has built ambitious projects for new roads, railways and transportation systems, as it has built the Trans-Western highway linking Algeria with Morocco and Tunisia. Furthermore, it constructed another highway between East and West, also it modernized railways between major cities.

²Evian agreement is a set of decisions that were negotiated prior to independence by the Algerian interim government and with the French political delegation such as giving the Algerian government complete freedom in choosing its institutions and its political and social system in accordance with the interests of Algerian people, extending its control over the entire national territory and imposing its sovereignty in all fields.

Map1: Algeria's Infrastructure.



Source: Economy of Algeria³ Accessed 22/02/2020

The map above demonstrates Algeria's infrastructure development during 1960s which encompasses reveal oil fields; promote gas fields, and inserting both gas pipeline and oil pipeline, in addition to paving the roads.

Algeria obtained its independence in 1962. During this period the economy of Algeria was largely based on two sectors; hydrocarbons and agriculture.

³ Source: Infrastructure of Algeria accessed on 22/02/2020 https://fanack.com/wpcontent/uploads/2014/10/infrastructure_algeria_infra-map_600px_644565592a.jpg

1.2.1. The Hydrocarbon Sector

Algeria has a strong hydrocarbon industry with a well-diversified product. Algerian hydrocarbon production started first in the area of Hassi-Messaoud and Hassi R'Mel in 1958 following the discovery of the two major petroleum and gas fields. During the 1960s and 1970s, crude oil output became essential to the growth of the economic field. Algeria became the world's first Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) producer in 1964, and refinery capacity expanded during the 1970s.

The hydrocarbons industry is extremely important to Algeria as it contributes about 25% of government revenues and 70% of exports (The Report Algeria 2017). Algeria has progressively assured control over its oil resources while significant French interests still remained. Simultaneously, about fifteen French companies were working on oil and gas in Algeria. The only exception was that of Sinclair Mediterranean Petroleum Corporation, a marginal independent American company with less than 15 percent stake in Rhourde El Baguel.

From the start of the revolution, the French Government became informed that the war would lead to Algeria's independence. The French government was conscious from the outbreak of the revolution would cause the independence of Algeria. That is why, when oil was discovered, it began to conceive the break-up of the country into two entities, the Sahara to the south, for the French and the North for the country which might gain independence. The compromise reached in Evian during negotiations between the FLN and the French government was to determine, in independent Algeria, is Algerian-French co-sovereignty over its oil wealth.

The principle of co-sovereignty for exploiting hydrocarbons in Algeria was an unwelcome principle. Thus, the spark of nationalization of hydrocarbons began. Consequently, with the support of the cleverness Messaoud Zeghar⁴, Rachid Talbi, the diplomatic Cherif Guellal, and many of intelligence detective agents such as Kasdi Merbah⁵ and M'hamed Yazid under the umbrella of the leadership Houari Boumedien who led them to achieve the goal to nationalize hydrocarbons. On February 24, 1971, the proclamation of the nationalization of its oil and gas

⁴ Messaoud Zeghar, Rachid Talbi, Cherif Guellal, M'hamed Yazid are intelligence detective agents.

⁵ Kasdi Merbah is Kasdi Merbah, director of Algerian intelligence during the era of President Houari Boumedien until about 1979, the latter who appointed Merbah as head of Algerian intelligence, who did describe him with all the characteristics of the patriotic and security man.

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industries was finally made official. This included up to 51% for oil fields and 100% for gas fields and for oil and gas pipelines. The decision to nationalize hydrocarbons allowed Algeria to develop its gas resources that were not exploited enough. Algeria could diversify its partners and attract oil companies other than French. Algeria became a membership in OPEC in July 1969, since it was already clear on that date that the "divorce" from French firms was about to be consumed.

Nationalization of hydrocarbons has made it possible for Algeria to recover sovereignty over its resources and to play a key role on the world petroleum stage. Algeria's position in the global market is largely determined by its status as a natural gas exporter and, to a lesser extent, petroleum products exporter. In point of fact, Algeria occupied the fifteenth largest exporter of natural gas, which is primarily used for generating electricity. Therefore, it has always been in a favourable position relative to the oil and gas-producing countries of the Middle East, as well as it have been close to several developed European economies with few energy resources. (See Figure 1)

1. Iraq 2. Libya 3. R. of Congo 4. Kuwait 36.61 5. Saudi Arabia 23.10 6. Oman 21.80 7. Eq. Guinea 19.23 8. Azerbaijan 17.87 15.75 9. Angola 15.34 10. Gabon 15.34 11. Iran 12. Chad 13. Qatar 14. UA Emirates 15. Algeria 10 19 16. Kazakhstan 8.84 17. Brunei 18. Russia 6.43 19. Nigeria 6.12 20. Suriname

Figure 1: Production of Natural Gas 2017- Country Rankings

Source: Natural gas revenue⁶ Accessed on 12/03/2020

The chart above demonstrates the ranking of top 20 countries producing natural gas in 2017, in which Algeria ranked 15th in natural gas production.

⁶ Source: Natural gas revenue- Country rankings, Consistent available online at http://www.theGlobalEconomy.com. Accessed on 12/03/2020

1.2.2. The Agricultural Sector

Despite massive investment in industrial structure, especially during the 1970s, Algeria has not succeeded in diversifying its economy significantly except in agriculture. Agriculture is an important element and is considered as one of the major components of the national economy. After Algerian independence was declared in 1962, most of the fertile farmlands were abandoned by colonial farmers, who were replaced by wage labourers. The farmlands were amalgamated and converted into a vast "self-managed sector" called "Autogestion" (Autogestion is a French word meaning "self-managed farm"). The total land area of the self-managed sector covers more than 2.5 million has of former colonial land and includes some 2,200 farms. These farms are characterized by a sharp disparity in the distribution of land, means of production, and yields and by unequal participation in the functioning of the economy. The self-managed sector followed the previous colonial agricultural model, which was based on mechanization and the use of chemical fertilizers. The agricultural sector development has gone through various phases. However, this sector ensured the exportation of agricultural products to international foreign markets (vineyards, citrus fruits, olives, vegetables, dates, etc.), and its system of production was extensive.

Although more resources became available over the years, thanks to growing economic prosperity, the agricultural sector lagged far behind the growing industries and was unable to supply the Algerian urban population with sufficient basic foodstuffs. Thus, in order to close the gap between supply and demand, the country remained largely dependent on imports, which only aggravated the trade deficit. Despite the modernization efforts, agriculture is still very dependent on rainfall, which may fluctuate strongly from year to year. Furthermore, Algeria is renowned for the quality of its oasis-grown dates, which are the main exports of the country in addition to oil and natural gas. The main market for the Deglet Nour⁷ variety is grown mainly in South Algeria.

⁷ Deglet Nour is a Saharan date grown on palms trees. It is soft fruit, very sweet and energetic, from the region of Tolga near Biskra in Algeria. Deglet Nour means in Arabic "Date of Light", with reference to the translucent nature of the date flesh. Deglet Nour is considered the queen of dates.

Mediterranean SPAIN Atlantic Ocean MOROCCO SAHARA LIBYA DESERT Algiers Vineyards, olives, citrus, vegetables Agriculture Cereal grains in Algeria Nomadic herding Not cultivated 500 Km

Map 2: Agriculture in Algeria

Source: Agriculture in Algeria⁸ Accessed 22/03/2020

2. Evolution of Algerian Diplomacy

The Algeria revolution is one of the greatest revolutions in the twentieth century. Whereas, at the beginning, the world public opinion considered the Algerian revolution a matter for France, as long as Algeria was an integral part of France. That is why the Algerian revolutionary leadership, since its outbreak, had internationalized the Algerian case foremost at world level helped by Algerian diplomats. Accordingly, diplomacy known as the skill to manage international relations and negotiations by nations' officials to serve common interests, yet diplomacy is also the art of lying sincerely. It is a diplomatic theory that one must know something of the reality in order to lie convincingly. Diplomacy is the application

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⁸ Source: Agriculture in Algeria, Credible, Consistent available online at http://www.fanack.com Accessed on 22/03/2020

of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between states, as it is essential in order to understand the world.

Based on that, the National Liberation Front (FLN) worked hand in hand with the diplomats (the Algerian revolution representatives abroad, they were from mujahedeen, they did not graduate from specialized schools and institutes, but they mastered the art of diplomacy and thanks to that they made the world public opinion turn against French colonialism) to exhibit the Algerian case from the French colonial scope to the international level, and the most successful way to achieve that was by participating in seminars and conferences held abroad.

The first beginning of diplomatic efforts towards the Algerian revolution was in the Bandung Conference in Indonesia in 1955, then the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) conferences such us Monrovia conference 1959, Cairo conference 1960, and Belgrade conference⁹ 1961. However, the Bandung Conference was tantamount to opening the doors of international organizations, particularly the United Nations, to the Algerian case. Indeed, the conference achieved a victory for the Algerian case, as it was not three months since it was held, and in implementation of its recommendation to present the Algerian case to the United Nations and despite French pressure, delegates of 14 Arab countries and Asia submitted on July 29, 1955 with a letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, requesting that the case of Algeria be included in the agenda of the tenth session of the General Assembly in December 1955. Consequently, Algerian diplomacy moved to a decisive stage in its history during the Bandung Conference in 1955. Moreover, the first Afro-Asian¹⁰ gathering that emphasized its prowess in transmitting Algeria's voice to the international forums such as the United Nations in its sessions. Hence, these procedures were totally a knockout for the French colonization.

The diplomatic agreements laid the foundations for the transition to Algeria's independence. In July 1962, as freedom came by widespread referendum, it was treated as necessary. Peace came only as an outcome of a long and painful process of negotiation. The Algerian war was eventually resolved by diplomatic convention. The FLN and Algeria's diplomacy had grown from a small clique of revolutionaries uncertain of their ability to win

⁹ Bandung, Monrovia, Cairo, and Belgrade conference; in these conferences, the Algerian issue occupied a prominent position, and Algerian diplomacy was able to make its issue the main subject of the conference discussions.

¹⁰ The Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) is an international non-governmental organization dedicated to the ideals of national liberation and Third World solidarity.

support among the masses to a nationalist movement that had succeeded not only in gaining support internally among Algerian Muslims, but also externally in the court of international opinion.

After Algerian independence on July 5, 1962, Pan-Arabism¹¹, Pan-Africanism¹², United Nations (UN) membership, and later the implementation of the economic model of the Union Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), enabled Algeria's newly independent nation to find its place in the world. Sixteen persons had been filled up the head of Algerian diplomacy since independence, the most prominent of those figures that took over the Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs was; Krim Belkacem¹³, the Godfather of Algerian diplomacy Abdul Qadir Mali known as Abdul-Aziz Bouteflika, the martyr of Algerian diplomacy Al-siddig Ben Yahya, the legend and the fierce competitor to Bouteflika Lakhder Brahimi¹⁴. The Algerian diplomacy has always been characterized by professionalism and continuity within the confines of the principles and values that underpin.

In view of that fact, the country found its way to emerge from its diplomatic isolation through a rapprochement with foreign countries from Africa, the Middle East, America, Asia, and Europe. Through the decades, Algerian diplomacy had developed by its involvement to end many international conflicts peacefully such as the crisis between Iran and Iraq in 1975, Algerian mediated talks of 1981 between the United States (US) and Iran to release the American hostages held in Tehran in 1980, etc. But the tragic events of the black decade in the 1990s isolated Algeria from the international scene until the mid-2000s.

Usually Algerian diplomacy with Western nations is related to France owing to the French colonial past in Algeria while relations with Spain, Italy, Great Britain, and other countries are barely recognized, apart from published documents by official institutions like the Foreign Affairs Committee (FAC), Trade and Invest department, or Embassies, etc. It is tough to find sources about Algeria and the other countries at this level. For long years, Algerian diplomacy

¹² Pan Africanism is the idea to unify the African people in order to promote economic, social, and political

¹¹Pan Arabism is the idea to unify all the Arab countries from North Africa to West Asia to constitute a single nation.

progress.

13 Krim Belkacem, after the independence, he held the position of the Armed Forces in the first formation then he became The Minister of Foreign Affairs in the second formation, and in the third he was the Minister of Internal Affairs. He was assassinated after independence on October 18, 1970, in a hotel in Frankfurt, Germany. ¹⁴ Lakhder Brahimi, Algerian politician and diplomat. Brahimi was Minister of Foreign Affairs (1991-1993), and he was also a UN envoy in Afghanistan and Iraq. More recently, Brahimi was appointed as a joint envoy of the Arab League and the United Nations to Syria in 2012, with the aim of finding a solution to the bloodshed and the civil war that has been for more than 18 months in Syria.

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with Western countries was mainly oriented toward France, not only because of the French colonial past in Algerian but also strategic and economic reasons; such as hydrocarbons and immigration advantages.

3. Britain's Position on the Algerian Independence

British interest in Algeria began to grow after the outbreak of the revolution in November 1954. The British position since the beginning of the war was to give an implicit moral and economic support to the French policy to reign in Algeria. Such support can be traced for two reasons that are: the British desire to keep colonial empires intact as France was a fellow colonial power and on the other hand, to provide bulwarks against the spread of communism¹⁵ and the Soviet Union's influence in the third world. From 1955 onwards Algeria became a common subject of debate among British legislators as this had a bearing on Britain's colonial status. Even within press a week hardly passed without an article or story on the war of Algeria.

During the Algerian revolution, groups of journalists came from different countries to cover and reveal the events "chasing the truth", but they were shocked how much the French were savage and barbaric. Neither the Algerian people nor the reporters such as the French journalist Henry Alleg and the mathematics teacher Maurice Audin¹⁶ were suffered from French torture with unbelievable brutality and sadism. In this period, Henry Alleg¹⁷ wrote a book "La Question, in which Alleg tells about a profoundly moving account of that month and of his triumph over his torturers. In his book, Alleg said: "It has now been over three months since I was arrested. During this time, I encountered so much pain, insult, and humiliation that I would not have dare to recollect the memories of these days and nights of torture. I would not do it if I did not think it would help to reveal the truth and to reach both ceasefire and peace". (Henry Alleg12)

¹

¹⁵Communism is a social, political, economic ideology and movement whose ultimate goal is the establishment of a communist society, namely a socioeconomic order structured upon the ideas of common ownership of the means of production and the absence of social classes, money and the state.

¹⁶ Maurice Audin was a French mathematics assistant at the University of Algiers, a member of the Algerian Communist Party and an activist in the anti-colonialist cause, who died under torture by the French state during the revolution.

¹⁷ Henry Alleg is a French-Algerian journalist, director of the "Alger républicain newspaper", and a member of the French Communist Party (FCP). After Editions de Minuit, a French publishing house, released his memoir La Question in 1958, Alleg gained international recognition for his stance against torture, specifically within the context of the Algerian revolution (1954–1962).

The Question has been published in the United States but it was banned by the French government for political reasons, while Audin died under torture and the British news photographer Stuart Heydinger was attacked in Oran and his camera was smashed. This was the first launch of the torch that reversed the world opinion when they revealed to the whole world France's crimes against humanity in Algeria. Whereas William Millinship proclaimed: "While terrorists continue to kill over 100 people a week in the streets of Algeria's main cities, French high officials sit in their heavily protected offices surrounded by a hostile European population, weighing their chances of maintaining even a semblance of public order". Also he announced that: "The Europeans have developed a violent, unreasoning hatred of the Muslims. In the past six months racial segregation has become a fact in Oran. The Arab districts are ringed with troops. Exits from many streets are permanently blocked with barbed wire." (William Millinship. "Observer picture archive: the Algerian war, 13 January 1962". The Guardian. 21 January, 1962.)

Britain was not strange to dirty colonial wars, such as its colonization of Egypt and Sudan, and its draining natural resources in India. However, the British government regarded "Algeria as an integral part of France" as a lie that France believed in, which would have relinquished one day. From this rostrum, the world public opinion supported the Algerian cause that grew considerably after violence broke out in the major cities and French terrorist attacks escalated. Consequently, most of the countries managed to facilitate Algerian independence in the United Nations without compromising its relations with France such as Ireland that supported the Algerian cause of national self-determination without losing both parties.

Few years later from the independence, relations between Britain and Algeria witnessed new proceed, it was not tremendous development. However, the interest of Britain in Algeria is surprising. Great Britain the other imperialistic power and the inventor of the Commonwealth of Nations¹⁸, expressed a keen interest in Algeria.

Conclusion

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Algeria came out from the revolution culturally and economically backward. The creation of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria was not easy and making Algeria among the

¹⁸ Commonwealth of Nations is one of the world's oldest political associations of states. Its roots go back to the British Empire when some countries were ruled directly or indirectly by Britain. Some of these countries became self-governing while retaining Britain's monarch as Head of State. They formed the British Commonwealth of Nations retrieved from.

mo	est advanced countries in Africa determined by the strength of will and perseveration that		
he	helped the state to find its place in the world. The next chapter tackles the motives and		
im	plications of the Brexit.		

Chapter Two

British Exit from the European Union

(2016s)

Introduction

The European Union, considered the greatest successful integrative experience due to its countries that have managed to overcome many obstacles, is facing many challenges, and protecting the success of this unity, despite the problems that they faced and are still facing. Among these problems, the British position that was from the beginning supportive of U.S and opponent to European policies on many issues, especially in the field of defense. In spite of these disparities, European countries have always found a common base to continue. Furthermore, the British policies became a critical juncture. The European Union received a heavy shock on June 23, 2016, when the result of the British referendum on Britain's exit from the European Union appeared. The Brexit represents the most significant moment of British political choice for a potential rupture. Simultaneously, it was a threat to European unity and the destabilization that the founding countries had worked for since the 1950s. The decision generated positive and negative results reflected on both the United Kingdom and the European Union.

1. The European Union

The European Union was set up with the aim of ending the frequent and bloody wars between Europe countries, which culminated in the Second World War. As of 1950, the European Coal and Steel Community¹⁹ (ECSC) began to unite European countries economically and politically in order to secure lasting peace. "Desire to tie Europe's nations so closely together that they could never again wreak such damage on each other" says the BBC.

The European Union is defined as an international organization of independent nations gathering 27 countries that share their sovereignty to be stronger and have a greater global influence. The establishment of the European Grouping dates back to April 18, 1951 when six European countries namely Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands came together and agreed to form the European Coal and Steel Group, which

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¹⁹ The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) is an organization of 6 countries set up after World War II to regulate their industrial production under a centralized authority. It was formally established in 1951 by the Treaty of Paris, signed by Belgium, France, Italy, West Germany, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands.

Chapter Two: British Exit from the European Union (2016s)

would form the nucleus of the European Economic Community²⁰ (EEC) and then European Union (EU). It was created officially by the Maastricht Treaty (1992)²¹.

The euro became a new currency for most of Europeans. Through decades most countries adopted the euro. In this prospect, EU countries began to figure far more closely together, the political divisions between east and west Europe were finally declared healed when no fewer than 10 new countries joined the EU in 2004, followed by Bulgaria and Romania in 2007. However, a financial crisis hit the global economy in September 2008. Moreover, the Treaty of Lisbon²² was ratified by all EU countries before entering into force in 2009. It provided the EU with modern institutions and more efficient working methods²³.

Indeed, the global economic crisis stroke hard in Europe. The EU helped several countries to confront their difficulties by establishing the 'Banking Union' to help the members that were faced economic crises. Recently, in 2012, the European Union has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Croatia became the 28th member of the EU in 2013 The EU is not only face the dilemma of how to take care of them, but also found itself the target of several financial problems.

The European Union has eight principal making-bodies "institutions" which can be roughly grouped by their executive, legislative, judicial, and financial functions (Figure 2).

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²⁰ The European Economic Community (EEC) is a regional organization which aimed to bring about economic integration among its member states. It was created by the Treaty of Rome in 1957.

²¹ Maastricht Treaty 1992, known as the Treaty on European Union, marked the beginning of a new stage in the process of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe. It laid the foundations for a single currency, the euro, and significantly expanded cooperation between European countries in several areas.

²² Treaty of Lisbon on 19 October 2007, EU leaders in Portuguese capital Lisbon approved a treaty aimed at reforming EU institutions and decision-making, replacing the European constitution.

²³ Speck, W.A.A Concise History of Britain 1707-1975 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.p, 118.

*Ensures political supervision of all European Parliament Citizen Legislative European institutions. *Ensures coordinations of the broad economic & social policy & set out Council of the EU guidelines for the Common Foreign & National Government Security Policy. *Making proposals for new Laws. *Make sure agreements & treaties are respected. *Ensure the uniform application & interpretation of European Laws. *Form together with the national European Central Bank Central Bank the European System Central Bank of Central Banks and therapy determines the monetary policy of the Eurozone . Court of Auditors Financial Auditors *Check the proper implementation of the budget. *Ensures policy stability in the eurozone by controlling the money E. Investment Bank Promote equality & improve lives for EU citizens & for people in developing countries. *Provide strategic guidelines on euro area economic EU Summit

Figure 2: EU Institutions

Source: Department of Foreign Affairs²⁴. Accessed 20/05/2020

1.1. The Parliament of the European Union

The parliament is one of the most important institutions of the European Union. The European Parliament (EP) is the legislative organ of the European Union and it is only directly elected every five years by universal suffrage. It shares some of their legislative powers with the Council of the European Union. Seats in the EP are allocated according to the population of each Member State and Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) are grouped by shared political views, not in accordance with their respective Member States. MEPs divide their time between their constituencies and the European Parliament Chambers in both Brussels and Strasbourg.

The concept of (EP) emerged to exist in the Treaty of Rome²⁵ in 1957. The first direct European Parliamentary elections were held in June 1979 (34 years after the end of the

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²⁴²⁴EU Institutions—Department of Foreign Affairs. https://www.dfa.ie/our-role-policies/ireland-in-the-eu/eu-institutions/ Accessed 20/05/2020

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World War II), these elections were the strongest declaration of European conciliation. Subsequent European treaties increased the European Parliament's influence, especially the Maastricht Treaty 1992 and the Treaty of Amsterdam²⁶ 1997, which transformed the (EP) into a legislative institution with the same role of the national parliaments. Its most prominent occupations are²⁷:

- 1. Parliament participates with the Council of the European Union in the exercise of the legislative power, that is, the ratification of European laws (directives, instructions, and decisions). Its interference in the legislative process gives democratic legitimacy to the laws.
- 2. Parliament participates with the Council of the European Union in the exercise of financial authority and the budget, and it can make changes to the public spending of the European Union. Its gives the final approval of the budget.
- 3. Parliament oversees the work of the European Union Council. It endorses the nomination of the commissioners and has the right to withdraw confidence from the Federation Council. Political supervision is also exercised over all institutions of the Union.

1.2. The Council of the European Union

The Council is the most important decision-making body in the Union. The Federation Council consists of the periodic meeting of representatives of its members at the ministerial level. The Federation Council will meet according to a schedule. Its most prominent tasks are²⁸:

- 1. Coordination of economic policies among member states.
- 2. Concluding agreements with a country or group of countries or international organizations on behalf of the European Union.

²⁵ Treaty of Rome 1975, known as European Economic Community Treaty that established a common market and a customs union across the member states to boost trade.

²⁶ Maastricht Treaty & Treaty of Amsterdam, The Maastricht Treaty altered the former European treaties and created a European Union based on three pillars: the European Communities, the common foreign and security policy (CFSP) and cooperation in the field of justice and home affairs (JHI). With a view to the enlargement of the Union, the Amsterdam Treaty made the adjustments needed to enable the Union to function more efficiently and democratically.

²⁷ How the European Union Works, Your Guide to the EU institutions. Luxembourg: Office for Publications of the Communities 2005- Booklet, 4-8.

²⁸ How the European Union Works, Your Guide to the EU institutions. Luxembourg: Office for Publications of the Communities 2005- Booklet, p14

- **3.** Participating with Parliament in the exercise of the financial authority and budget of the Union.
- **4.** Taking the applied decisions of the general foreign and security policy, based on the general instructions taken by the European Council.
- **5.** Co-ordinate the activities of member states, and take action in relation to the police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters.

1.3. The European Commission

The European Commission is the executive body that watches over the general interests of the Union. Member states nominate the Commission's president and members, after the European Parliament ratifies them. The European Commission²⁹ is the driving force in the institutional union system and its most prominent tasks:

- 1. The implementation of legislation issued by the European Parliament and Council (directives, instructions, and decisions) and supervises the budget and programs approved by Parliament.
- **2.** The Commission oversees agreements and treaties, in partnership with the Court of Justice, to ensure proper implementation.
- 3. The Commission represents the Federation on the international stage and negotiates on its behalf in international agreements, especially in the areas of trade and cooperation.

1.4. The European Court of Justice

The Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) in Luxembourg encompasses three distinct courts (Court of Justice, General Court, and Civil Service Tribunal) that exercise the judicial functions of the European Union (EU), which aims to achieve greater political and economic integration among EU Member States (International Justice Resource Center³⁰).

The CJEU has competence to hear individual complaints of alleged human rights violations, which are decided by the General Court and may be reviewed on appeal by the European Court of Justice. CJEU currently holds jurisdiction:

²⁹Opcit p20

³⁰ International Justice Resource Center, Court of Justice of the European Union https://ijrcenter.org/regional-communities. Accessed on 21/05/2020

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- 1. Interpretation of international agreements and treaties concluded by the European Union.
- 2. Settlement of disputes between member states over the interpretation of relevant laws, treaties and agreements.
- **3.** To adjudicate the matters referred to it by the national courts and to determine the applicable laws.
- **4.** The European Court of Justice is also competent to adjudicate all appeals submitted by the European Parliament, the Accountability Council and the European Central Bank.
- **5.** Ensure that Member States comply with their obligations under EU law.

1.5. The European Court of Auditors

As the EU's independent external auditor, the European Court of Auditors (ECA) looks after the interests of EU taxpayers. It does not have legal powers, but works to improve the European Commission's management of the EU budget and reports on EU finances³¹. Its most prominent functions are:

- **1.** Audits EU revenue & expenditure, to ascertain EU funds are correctly raised, spent, achieve value for money and accounted for.
- **2.** Checks an individual **or** organisation handling EU funds including spot checks in EU institutions (especially the Commission), EU countries and countries receiving EU aid.
- **3.** Writes up findings and recommendations in audit reports, for the European Commission and national governments.
- **4.** Reports suspected fraud, corruption or other illegal activity to the European Anti-Fraud Office (OLAF)

1.6. The European Central Bank

The European Central Bank (ECB) manages the euro, keeps prices stable, and implements EU economic and monetary policy. It is the central bank of the 19 EU countries that have adopted the euro and promotes cooperation between national central banks. The European Investment Bank is the lending arm of the European Union, owned by the Member

³¹ European Court of Auditors, European Union https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/institutions-bodies/european-court-auditors en Accessed on 25/05/2020

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States of the EU. Together with the ECB, the EIB contributes to supporting economic growth and job creation (ECB)³² its most important functions are:

- 1. Apply and define currency policies.
- **2.** Securing the system of buying and selling foreign currencies.
- **3.** Managing currency sources for member countries.
- **4.** Collecting statistics information.

1.7. The European Investment Bank

The European Investment Bank (EIB) is the European Finance Corporation. It is the biggest multilateral financial institution in the world and one of the largest providers of climate finance. It helps the economy, creates jobs, promotes equality and improves lives for EU citizens and for people in developing countries.

1.8. The European Union Summit

The Euro Summit brings together the heads of state or government of the euro area countries, the Euro Summit President and the President of the European Commission. Euro Summit meetings provide strategic guidelines on euro area economic policy.³³ The aims of the summit are:

- **1.** Provide policy guidance to ensure the smooth functioning of the Economic and Monetary Union.
- 2. Regular high-level discussions on the specific responsibilities related to euro area membership also allow euro area countries to take greater account of the euro area dimension in their national policy-making.
- **3.** As euro area issues have political and economic importance for all EU countries, they also are regularly discussed in European Council meetings.

³² European Central Bank, European Union, https://www.eib.org/en/about/eu-family/ecb.htm Accessed on 30/05/2020

³³ European Union Summit, European Union, https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/european-council Accessed on 30/05/2020

2. Britain Joining the European Union (1973)

The United Kingdom is a developed country that has the world's fifth-largest economy and ninth-largest economy by purchasing power parity. Accordingly, the UK is considered to have a high-income economy and is categorized as very high in the Human Development Index, ranking 15th in the world according to Human Development Reports (UNDP). It was the world's first industrialized country and therefore the world's foremost power during the 19th and early 20th centuries. It has a great power with considerable economic, cultural, military, scientific and political influence internationally.

The construction of the European union after World War II in 1945 was about a desire in unifying Europe so as there would be no wars in the continent. Thus, the European continent had a long history of conflicts. Accordingly, Winston Churchill³⁴, the prime Minister of UK at that time confirmed the idea of uniting the continent's countries, and he suggested that Europe would have a union which head to a peaceful safe, and freedom, as a sample from United State of Europe. Meanwhile, after the massive destructions that W.W.II brought to Europe. Britain did not take into consideration this idea about EU.

Nonetheless, Britain did not even conceptualise it, when Britain constructed the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and signed the treaty of Rome in 1957, it did not join it because it was afraid of the concept that EU threatened the authority of Britain and limit its power. As a result, they took a waiting and observing position to know whether the Union would keep standing or fall. On the other hand, since Britain had not joined the Union, the Union began to decrease in terms of power. At the beginning of 1960 the stability began to rise on the EU, and the British politicians had no authority of the Union, because they were in need to be on the leading table in order to have a hand on the EU. As a consequence, Britain proposed a request to join the EU. However the request had been refused twice from the French president General De Gaulle³⁵.

³⁴ Winston Leonard Spencer-Churchill (30 November 1874 –24 January 1965) was a British statesman who was the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1940 to 1945 and again from 1951 to 1955. Churchill was also an officer in the British Army, a non-academic historian, and a writer (as Winston S. Churchill). He won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1953.

³⁵ Charles André Joseph Marie de Gaulle 22 November 1890 –9 November 1970) was a French general and statesman. He was the leader of Free France (1940–44) and the head of the Provisional Government of the French Republic (1944–46)

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Indeed, the president was seeking to push Britain away from the union because he well understood that the British strategy which was prohibiting the unifying Europe, and condemned Britain "deep antagonism³⁶" for the European community, however, De Gaulle resigned from his position as the French president in 1969, then he passed away after one year, George Pompidou³⁷ met the British Prime Minister Edward Heath³⁸ in 1971. Through a long negotiation Pompidou gave Britain the membership in EU³⁹.

Britain started to consolidate its relations with European countries due to economic difficulties that had faced in the balance of payments and its necessity to raise its exports, as it was unable to maintain a long period of economic growth rate if it did not join the European Common Market. Precisely, Britain should join the EU mainly for economic reasons, with the development of the globalization and the history of the WWII, Britain needed to join the Union in order to avoid isolation. At the same time, if it would engage, it should participate in the European expansion with an effective way especially when France became alien with Germany.

Prof. Fabrizio Coricelli⁴⁰ claimed that: "Britain eschewed EU membership in the late 1950s but changed its mind in the early 1960s, only to be rebuffed by Charles de Gaulle. Membership came only in the early 1970s. This column argues that, among others, Britain joined the EU as a way to avoid its economic decline. The UK's per capita GDP relative to the EU founding members' declined steadily from 1945 to 1972. However, it was relatively stable between 1973 and 2010. This suggests substantial benefits from EU membership especially considering that, by sponsoring an overpowered integration model, Britain joined too late, at a bad moment in time, and at an avoidably larger cost⁴¹" (Fabrizio Coricelli & Nauro Campos 2005).

³⁶ Speck, W.A. A Concise History of Britain 1707-1975 .Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1993. 110-115

³⁷ Georges Jean Raymond Pompidou (French 5 July 1911 – 2 April 1974) was Prime Minister of France from 1962 to 1968—the longest tenure in the position's history—and later President of the French Republic from 1969 until his death in 1974.

 $^{^{38}}$ Edward Richard George Heath, (9 July 1916 – 17 July 2005), often known as Ted Heath, was a British politician who served as the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1970 to 1974, and as the Leader of the Conservative Party from 1965 to 1975. He was a strong supporter of the European Communities.

³⁹ Speck, W. A. A Concise History of Britain 1707-1975. Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1993. 117 ⁴⁰ Prof. Fabrizio Coricelli is Professor at the Department of Political Science (DISPI) of the University of Siena as well as Research Fellow at the Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR), London.

⁴¹Nauro Campos, FabrizioCoricelli.VOX^{eu}. Why did Britain join the EU? A new insight from economic history, 3 February, 2015.

After joining the European Common Market in 1961 and the European Economic Community in 1972, the summit was held; all European heads of state were opened the door of negotiations for an opportunity for the British, Norwegian, and the Danish to join the European Union. It was signed the approval of the countries in 1972. In 1973, Britain, Ireland, and Denmark joined (EU) but they decided to choose not to participate in the Euro currency (Maastricht Treaty) and the Schengen Agreement.

3. British Decision to Withdraw from the European Union "Brexit" (2016)

If one goes back in history, it could be easily deduced that the British withdrawal from the (EU) would have been taken place at a later time. The relationship between Britain and European countries was characterized by tautness due to the divergence of interests. Furthermore, Britain is considered a loyal ally of the United States, but it is belonging to the European continent to avoid marginalization on the one hand, and to achieve its interests on the other hand.

Life after the EU is a reality for the UK and a nightmare for the EU, considering that no member has ever left. Prime Minister David Cameron was determined to change the relationship between UK and the EU in case the Conservative Party won the elections in May 2015. He promised the British people that he would renegotiate the terms of membership and submit an "in or out" referendum before the end of 2017.

On June 23, 2016, the British voted "yes" in favour of Brexit from the European Union. This was a shock to European countries; especially the Union was suffering from problems. About 17.4 million people (51.9%) voted in favour of leaving the union, compared to 16.1 million (48.1%) in favour of remaining in it (BBC News).

Table 2: Brexit Referendum of final results

Regional totals	Remain	Leave
England	46.6%	53.4%
Scotland	62.0%	38.0%
Wales	47.5%	52.5%
Northern Ireland	55.8%	44.2%
North West	46.3%	53.7%
North East	42.0%	58.0%
London	59.9%	40.1%
West Midlands	59.3%	40.7%
East Midlands	58.8 %	41.2%

Source: BBC News EU Referendum Results. Accessed on 07/08/2020.

4. Reasons behind the Brexit

The idea of the Brexit is not new. Britain's accession to the European Common Market was met with a strong opposition. In 1975, the UK held a national referendum known variously as the referendum on the European Community (Common Market), and European Economic Community membership referendum (EEC), but the result was positive in favour of remaining in the Union. Forty years after this incident, a second referendum was organized, but this time the result was positive in favour of withdrawing from the Union. However, the United Kingdom took this decision of Brexit for internal and external reasons:

4.1. Internal Reasons

Since Britain's membership in the Economic Community during 1973, its relationship with Europe has been in a position of controversy, scepticism and hesitation. In 1975 the government claimed for a referendum in order to withdraw from the European Common Market, and the result was 67% in favour of agreeing to stay. In 1983, Labour party sought to withdraw, but the Conservative Party won, and in 1990 the Conservative government led by John Major split over the Maastricht Treaty, which led to the party's weakness.

In 2016, the conservative party led by David Cameron split again because of the country's relationship with Europe and the pressure of the Independence party (right-wing populist political party⁴²) which prompted it to pledge to negotiate with the EU and hold a referendum.

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⁴² Right-wing Political Party is a political position that views social inequality or social stratification as natural, normal, inevitable or even desirable. Therefore, people with right-wing politics view society having hierarchies

The result of the referendum was opposite of all expectations, as it was in favour of leaving the Union when the UK voted by 51.9% by 48.1%. The voters stated that the main reason for their support the Brexit is that the decisions relating to UK must be made in the UK. Moreover, there are many other internal reasons that led to the Brexit which are:

- ➤ For the economics, the government believes that the EU brings negative influences for the British economy because it is an unbalanced economic organization.
- ➤ For Sovereignty, the Brexit is a symbol that a nationalism⁴³ rising. Otherwise, leaving the EU will reinforce British national laws, and that there will be no control by European federal laws, which will contribute to reinstitute the control over laws, health services, and security.
- ➤ For political elitism, it is beneficial for the government to make policies and decisions by themselves.

The economy is the most important reason in leading decisions and the Brexit is a chance for some leaders to consolidate their dominance. The Lord Palmerston, Temple said: "Nations have no permanent friends or allies, they only have permanent interests" (Great Thought Treasury).

4.2. External Reasons

There are several external reasons that thrusted Britain to the Brexit:

- Free trade, The British citizen believes that the departure will enable his country to establish economic relations with the European Union without being submitted to the laws of the Union, as it can make trade agreements with different countries such as America, India and China in order to boost its trade with them.
- For Getting rid of the burden of migrants and refugees, the British citizen believes that leaving the European Union will enable his country to follow a new system that limits the admission of immigrants from outside the European Union to the country.

and the inequalities that result as being the natural outcome of traditional social differences or the result of competition in market economies.

⁴³ Nationalism, According to the <u>Merriam-Webster Dictionary</u>, nationalism is defined as "loyalty and devotion to a nation, especially a sense of national consciousness," and "exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations or supranational groups. Accessed on 10/08/2020

Trepidation of terrorism, the augmentation of terrorist attacks in some European countries recently prompted the British citizen to think that secession from the European Union would stop the open borders agreement between his countries, which might limit the movement of European citizens, and thus prevent the terrorists from coming to Britain. There have been several statements by the leaders of the "departure" camp, led by Dominic Raab, the British Minister of Justice, who considered that "the exit would deter potential terrorist attacks in the future."

5. Procedures after the Referendum

It has become official. The United Kingdom will be the first to leave the European Union, which includes 28 countries. The phase could be messy and difficult, procedures for the Brexit will take at least two years, as Britain adheres to its obligations, commitments and agreements signed, but it will not be allowed to participate in making decisions. Whereas, the United Kingdom will apply the article 50 of the Treaty on the European Union (TEU)⁴⁴, which is considered the only legal way of leaving the Union. It comprises several proceedings:

6. UK and EU Negotiations

Notification triggers the first stage in the withdrawal negotiations between the UK and the EU. The European Council, without UK participation, then adopts guidelines for the negotiations. A Council Decision will authorise the European Commission to open negotiations with the UK and issue detailed negotiating directives. The European Parliament will adopt a non-binding resolution beginning its position on the Brexit negotiations.

The EU negotiator, Michel Barnier, negotiated a withdrawal agreement with the UK. The withdrawal agreement will be concluded by the EU Council by a 'super' qualified majority (27 participating states - excluding the UK) after obtaining the consent of the European Parliament.

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⁴⁴ The Treaty base for EU withdrawal is Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU). This is considered the only legal way to leave the EU.

7. The Withdrawal Agreement

The European Commission and the UK would settle some issues such as safeguarding citizens' rights and reaching a financial settlement and resolving Ireland/Northern Ireland border issues. However, the agreement might also set out transitional provisions, taking into account the framework for the UK's future relationship with the EU.

8. Agreement on Future Relationship with EU

The EU does not want to discuss a future EU-UK trade and it is not yet clear whether the UK's future relationship with the EU will be covered by the withdrawal agreement or negotiated as a separate agreement.

9. Future Relationship with the EU

The future relationship between the UK and the EU will be contained in a separate agreement. Leaving the EU means leaving the European Economic Area (EEA), but the UK could rejoin the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and the EEA. This could be negotiated separately but alongside the withdrawal agreement.

10. The Impact of Brexit on Britain

In spite of the fact that the decision was taken by the majority of the British people in order to eliminate the problems that their country faced, the Brexit will not solve these problems. On the contrary, the country will face a set of challenges which are:

10.1. Economic

The initial effects of Brexit refer to the shock in the financial markets, which did not anticipate the outcome of the vote and considered remain is a foregone conclusion, but the result came such a storm for the British pound, which lost more than a tenth of its value in several hours, and the British Stock Exchange fell sharply in light of the collapse of British bank shares, which were Benefit from Britain's presence within the European Union, which allows London to play a central role in the European and global economy.

The economic shock was not limited to Britain, but also included the European markets, which collapsed in turn. The euro also fell in light of concerns about the future of the union,

even if the rate of losses was less than the British bleeding. This shock reached global markets, which lost more than a trillion dollars of its market value in a few days for fear of a new global economic crisis.

Moreover, there will have been numerous detrimental consequences on the United Kingdom. Concerning the economic impact on UK, an overwhelming majority of serious analyzes by government and business organizations, as well as the International Monetary Fund and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, intersect on the following proposals:

- Destruction trade ties, the United Kingdom's trading ties with the rest of the countries, regardless World Trade Organization (WTO) participation, will still be subject to great confusion. The current EU trade arrangements with other nations across the globe will fail to extend to the United Kingdom, so it will be a long and complicated procedure to reconstitute them on a reciprocal basis. As with the EU's current talks on international trade deals for example, with the United States, India and Japan the UK will not profit from a faster inside track on these bilaterally. While U.S expresident Barack Obama has made it known that the United Kingdom should be pushed to the back of the list for trading agreements with the United States, a sign of that.
- In the long term, there will be other effects, especially in London, as it is considered a financial and commercial center and Britain's ability to negotiate free trade agreements with other countries. Many sectors, such as the health and agricultural sectors, in which many Europeans work, will also be affected. Furthermore, Europe asked Britain to pay financial commitments amounting to 60 billion Euros as compensation for Brexit in order to allow it to withdraw.

10.2. Political

The losses were not limited to the economic side only, but extended to the political side, which became marred by many risks. With the result of the vote, Cameron found no solution except to submit his resignation after pushing Britain and the European Union into a critical impasse that could have been avoided. But Cameron's resignation was not enough, as the loss of confidence prevailed in the parties and political life in general.

In addition, the Brexit could contribute to protracted international uncertainty. Politicians' heads will roll, started with Prime Minister David Cameron, Theresa May reached to Boris Johnson "the current PM" but also inclusive other Tory members who opposed Brexit. The split would intensify and further votes in the Tory Party could be required. Brexit may also weaken the stability of Britain by potentially introducing a second vote on Scottish secession, reinvigorating Welsh nationalism and splitting London and South West, the increasingly Euro-skeptical midlands and Northern areas, increasingly pro-EU. Thus, the magic turned on the magician, as the United Kingdom, which voted to leave the European Union, is facing the prospects of Scotland and Northern Ireland leaving the United Kingdom.

Moreover, from a universal perspective, no one among Europe, the Commonwealth or the world at large that reinforces the idea of Brexit. The EU has appeared as a 'multiplier' for the UK's external and security policy interests throughout the world, backed by the heavy of the EU's Single Market, as well as its perceived neutrality. Secession would thus reverse that effect, reducing the UK's global influence.

10.3. Defense and Security

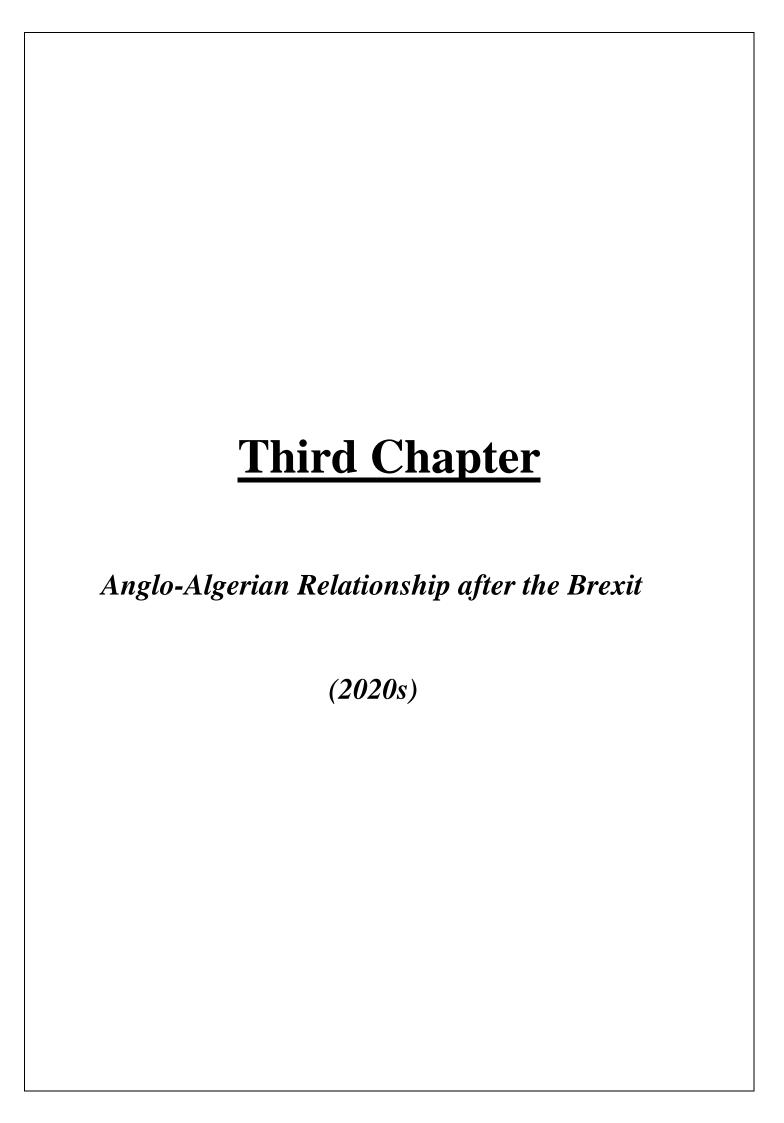
The divorce affected all the aspects of this bilateral relationship including defense and security. However, when compared it to other sectors such as travel across-borders its impact would be minimal because it is still the NATO. Furthermore, Britain pledged to remain committed to NATO following the Brexit. Moreover, the final extent of changes imposed by Brexit will be known with an exact shape of the UK-EU relations post 2020 due to all the arrangements and defense cooperation agreements need to reappraise.

In addition, the British arms industry will strongly be the biggest looser of Brexit as the new, post-2020 reality may impede many of its contracts and agreements with EU nations by increasing prices, all as possible results of locking up EU-UK borders. In this case Europe would force the UK to look for new markets for their weapon systems.

Conclusion

Britain officially exited from the European Union after 47 years of union and common destiny. The Brexit was seen as a baby who came out of the family to search for new opportunities that would enable him to impose himself and make his resplendent name.

Probably this example is not valid for Britain as a country because we are simply talking about a country that was an empire that spread across the continents where its sun never set. Its accession to the EU could be considered just an inactivity of the Kingdom that was the most powerful country through centuries. On the far side, leaving the EU will have economic consequences in a medium and long term because 47 years of integration cannot be skipped overnight without losses. Rather, there would be an economic recession that Britain should take immediate and effective measures to avoid social crisis due to the decrease in the per capita income of the British citizen. In this posture, Britain ought to build new relations with other nations such as North African countries. In the next chapter discusses seizing opportunities to strengthen Anglo-Algerian relationship after the Brexit.



Introduction

Britain exit from the European Union will present a new phase for British interests. In the same time the Brexit will unleash new challenges and bring great opportunities for changes in several domains in North African countries, in particular Algeria. Britain and Algeria will need to come up with new and fresh partnership strategies and seize the opportunity from the vacuum of EU. In overall business terms, British interests in Algeria are in fact relatively modest; hopefully in the future the partnership would be durable and prolific.

1. The Nature of British-Algerian Bilateral Relationship

The Global politics is not based on fixed positions, but rather is governed by fluctuating interests. The relationship between Algeria and Britain was built under the umbrella of the economy since the era of the Ottomans during the 16th century. Whereas, Algeria was a link to all commercial exchanges and this was due to its control over the Mediterranean. At that time, England had concessions and commercial facilities to deal with Algeria, as oils, corn, candles, leather, and wool were imported from Algeria with exemption of customs fees and reduced taxes.

The relation between Britain and Algeria was such as tides. However, Algeria attracted a fair number of Britons in the early nineteenth century, on the one hand, due to its moderate climate; during that period Britain witnessed an industrial revolution where some of the British people were exposed to respiratory health crises. On the other hand, the economic privileges that offered by Algeria.

"In England, first, the increasing prosperity and peace that followed the Crimean War, the development of transportation, the development of industrialization that produced smoke harmful to tuberculosis, and perhaps the desire to escape from the shackles; Victorian social norms, which were stressed, all of this drove sensitive Englishmen to flee their harsh country. In 1857, Algeria acquired a certain reputation, as its climate is warmer than that of the usual winter places (Montpellier, Nice, Rome, Pau, Madeira, Malaga or Gibraltar) and more pleasant than Cairo" (Joëlle Redouane 17)

Yet the scales were reversed, and precisely in the colonial period, when Britain was a supporter of the French policy in Algeria, even after the outbreak of the revolution. However, things did not remain as they were while the whole world became aware of the heinous crimes

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⁴⁵ Joëlle Redouane. La Présence Anglaise en Algérie de 1830 à 1930, L'Algérie impériale attire les anglais: 1853-1870, p17.

that committed by French against the Algerian people, so Britain had nothing but to stand in support of the rest of the countries by giving the Algerians the right to decide their fate.

"Throughout the Algerian war, British policy towards France and the Algerian rebellion was reactive rather than proactive. Within Whitehall at times, policy makers, African and Middle East experts were critical of France's conduct during the war but these criticisms were never made public, possibly for diplomatic reasons. From its start, up to its conclusion, however, the Algerian problem was often raised in the House of Commons by the Opposition Labour Party Members, notably Anthony Wedgwood Benn and Fenner Brockway leading the way. As subsequent examples will show, on many occasions Government responses were often couched in diplomatic and legalistic mumbo-jumbo language, which often raised more questions than answers and added further ambiguity on British policy or stance. In Fleet Street circles opinions were divided on the Algerian issue; left-wing papers were often critical of the French demeanour in Algeria whereas right-wing papers usually supported France on the ground that she was protecting wider NATO and Western interests in Algeria". (Geoffrey Barei48)

After the independence in 1962, Algeria came into a new phase and began to consolidate its relations with different countries around the world, trying to establish various economic relations, but its relationship with the United Kingdom was almost marginalized. From the independence in 1962 till 2000, Algeria faced many changes and challenges; including economic and social, because, from a side it was coping with a severe economic crisis and the other side social ruin due to the black decade. However, Algeria witnessed the light of the reforms in late of 2020.

Simultaneously with the reforms taking place in Algeria, Britain decided to leave the European Union in 2016; the exit from the European Union is still in place even after January 31, 2020, due to the epidemic that the world is living with. Furthermore, this step will create an economic gap that will be in the interest of both Algeria and the United Kingdom to seize opportunities to compensate and benefit from the experiences of both countries on education, the economic and political level, especially in the field of defence.

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⁴⁶ Geoffrey Barei. Britain and Algeria, 1945-1965. Britain and Algeria, November 1954 to September 1956, 2003, p48.

2. Algeria and Britain after the Brexit

The European Union has always been more than just a group of united countries. It is considered as a huge economic bloc that gives its members economic and political privileges. However, the Brexit will subject it to political, economic and social challenges, and its relationship with European countries will change. At the same time, the withdrawal from the European Union is seen as an "opportunity" to raise its trade relations and investments with Algeria to the highest levels.

UK will be leaving from close integration and co-operation with its nearest neighbours, but potentially reopening the opportunity to negotiate trade deals directly with non-EU countries such as Algeria, as the latter witnesses a reduction of its dealings with France. With this, the formation of Anglo-Algerian partnership would be a golden opportunity for both countries in the future, whereas, they will exchange their experiences in several domains.

The partnership between the two countries aspires to stimulate trade and investment, ensure the benefit of both, and ensure their long-term development. The partnership will also extend to British companies active for decades in Algeria in the oil and gas industry, led by British Petroleum and Petrofac.

The partnership is also expected to include all domains such as education, being the main pillar for the development of any nation, health, agriculture and tourism, as Algeria can take advantages of this partnership to develop and modernize its system according to modern rapid and profound economic transformations.

3. Anglo-Algerian Partnership in Economy

The world is witnessing provided tremendous potentials to creating projects and established development plans. There are three main things that distinguished the Algerian economy in those years; Reliance on central planning policy, monopolized trade by the state, and total dependence on hydrocarbons revenues.

At the same time, it was also characterized by weak infrastructure and a fragile banking system. In the mid-eighties, the Algerian economy recorded a great shock caused by the unexpected drop in oil prices, and the faults of central planning appeared, as it suffered from an economic recession, failure in the adopted plans and a deficit in the balance of payments.

Algeria was living a stifling economic situation, as it was no longer able to neither pay its debts nor provide wheat to the Algerian people, and the state treasury was devoid of hard currency, according to those responsible of the treasury, and the institutions that were affiliated with the public sector were completely paralyzed.

The Algerian state has been exhausted by embezzlement. Thus, former Prime Minister Abdelhamid Brahimi⁴⁷ announced that an estimated 26 billion dollars had been embezzled by military and political officials. Moreover, the substandard planning and the accumulated debts, Algeria found itself on the abyss of bankruptcy. The biggest disaster that made things worse was the drop in oil prices, which was a violent economic shock that hit the global economy, but it was more violent for the Algerian economy, which was completely dependent on oil revenues at a rate of nearly 92%.

Furthermore, the International Monetary Fund took advantage from such opportunity and started imposing its conditions, which increased in aggravating the social situation. Among the conditions putted forward by the International Monetary Fund that Algeria should reduce the value of the dinar by 50 percent, lift subsidies on necessary consumer goods subsidized by the government, and begin privatizing the public sector, its last condition was presented tens of thousands of workers into unemployment, many of whom have committed suicide due to the living crisis. This economic collapse was accompanied by a dangerous security escalation that affected all Algeria's regions.

As a result of these circumstances, Algeria has taken several measures in order to achieve macroeconomic stability and the necessary structural reforms, and efforts have been strengthened in macroeconomic corrections since the mid-1980s when it embarked on the implementation of the structural adjustment program with the aim of moving from the central planned economy to the market economy. In order to achieve a balance in the overall economy, improve the efficiency of the use of economic resources and achieve an increase in production capacity.

The reform process began by separating the public treasury from the central bank in 1986, which was working under its command in order to provide the necessary liquidity to finance

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⁴⁷ Abdelhamid Brahimi is an Algerian politician and the prime minister of Algeria under the president Chadli Bendjedid. He served as PM from January 22, 1984, until November 5, 1988. He has written several books, particularly about violence in Algeria.

the economy and investment projects without restrictions, and this was aimed at giving a measure of attention to the monetary and financial policy and controlling their functioning⁴⁸. Algeria always seeks to avoid economic obstacles and crises, trying to catch up with developed countries, by expanding its investments and diversifying its exports. Currently, Algeria is trying harder to develop its economic relationship with Britain, by exploiting natural and energy resources.

At the same time, the United Kingdom sought to earn the Algerian market after its exit from the union, as investments between the two countries amounted to two billion pounds. Britain is also seeking to make a leap in trade exchanges between the United Kingdom and Algeria. Brexit was an opportunity to strengthen the economic relations and raise investments between the two countries.

Currently in Algeria, 127 British companies are active in various fields. Furthermore, Algeria will benefit from the Kingdom's expertise as it is a former member of the Union. The Kingdom will also benefit from Algeria's human potential and natural scope. The cooperation between the two countries would be prolific not only in trade but also it could be advantageous in the sectors of hydrocarbons, agriculture, and in both projects that are not completed the solar energy and the shale gas.

4. Anglo-Algerian Partnership in Defence

Algeria faced several challenges over decades and still facing, most of them are political, economic and social. After the independence Algeria was completely devastated but its determination to struggle and endure such chaos made it one of the most important countries in North Africa. Its biggest challenges constitute in its confrontation to terrorism or the socalled "Black Decade" during the 1990's.

More than 20 years have passed since the bloody events took place in Algeria, up to this day the scars of wounds are still visible in one way or another. The black decade is a metaphor for the bloody civil war that the Algerians have lived it through a decade. It is almost ten years graved in the minds of Algerians. That period was associated with the armed conflict between Front Islamic Salvation (FIS) leaded by Ali Belhaj and Abbassi Madani⁴⁹ against the security forces of police, intelligence agency, and the army.

Economic Department, February, 2014.

⁴⁸ M.S. Mohanty. The Role of Central Banks in Macroeconomic and Financial Stability, Monetary and

⁴⁹ Abbassi Madani was an Algerian politician who was the Head of the Islamic Salvation Front. As its leader, he became the voice of a large part of the dispossessed Algerian youth.

A long period stained with blood, death, murders, violence, and rape. The heroes of that dirty movement declared rebellion against the state in which its spark was embodied in a struggle for power between officers who inherited the state after the colonialism (FLN) and the (FIS) that thirst for ruling that state.

After the bloody civil war in which the majority of Algerian people were victims of terrorism; more than two hundred thousand people were killed and tens of thousands disappeared in mysterious circumstances Algeria's sun began to shine again; the security and safety were spreading since the arrival of Former President Abdul-Aziz Bouteflika as a head of the state in 1999 by his Algerian Civil Concord referendum.

However, Algeria's military is strong enough to grapple external and internal threats. Further, the Algerian military is one of the Arab worlds and Africa professional and well-trained military. According to the Global Fire Power⁵⁰; the Algerian army is the second most important army in Africa. Knowing that the relation between Britain and Algeria are going well economically, it is also good at military. United Kingdom is one of the most notable arms dealers to Algeria in the near future instead of France. Moreover, Algeria and Britain have suffered from the terrorism and its attacks, and both of them will stand together to eliminate it because both understand each other's suffering. One of the reasons of the Brexit was to reduce the number of immigration in the country and thus avoid indiscriminate terrorist attack. It will also know in detail every individual who comes to the country.

Few years ago, the Ministry of National Defense received delegates that represented the most important British companies specialized in the manufacture of military hardware, among them a group specialized in aviation equipment "PI System" (Source Al-KHABAR).

"The British companies BI System, Thales, the British branch, and SABB made short offers upon their reception at the Ministry of Defense, in a new direction indicating the British interest in cooperation in the field of defense, especially after British companies benefited from deals in equipping the Algerian navy, especially with Corvette ships, tugboats and Augusta Westland aircraft. Note that the "BI Citizen" company, whose officials attended the meeting in Algeria, was among four international companies that competed for one of the most important deals to equip the Algerian Navy with frigates, with Italian Finmeccanica, the French Directorate of Maritime Industry and the German "ThyssenKrupp", and the deal is still in force. To date and not resolved yet. PI System plays an important role in the production of

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⁵⁰ Global Firepower 2020, World Military Strength Rankings : https://www.globalfirepower.com Accessed on 15/08/2020

military aircraft, including the "Aurofighter", especially "Typhoon" and "Tornado", and it also produces "Challenger 3" tanks" (Source: Hafid Soualili EL-KHABAR⁵¹).

5. Anglo-Algerian Partnership in Education

Education acts a vital role in the development of the country. It is one of the main pillars to build a better future. Most of developed countries such US, UK, Russia, and China have a high ratio of educated people. The growth of societies is related to extent of progress, regular, and modern educational system. As Algeria in turn endeavour to reforms and improve its educational system. The Algerian school strives to keep pace with the various changes that the world is witnessing, so it has embarked on a comprehensive reform of the Algerian educational system.

After the independence, the leadership that took over the affairs in Algeria after independence realized the horror of the absence of the Arabic language, so a group of members of the Constituent Assembly - Parliament - presented a bill to impose Arabization, and their memorandum stated that: "Since the establishment of the government and the meeting of the National Constituent Assembly, there has been too much speeches about Arabization".

Although some years have passed, but have not seen any trace of Arabization except for a small thing. The overwhelming majority of the Algerian people want Arabization, because Arabic is the national language, and yet it still lives on the sidelines as a foreign language in its homeland, and the evidence for that is countless, for instance, the higher education in various fields are teaching in French language, just as most administrations deal with citizens in the French language. From that we conclude that the hegemony of the colonizer is still represented by the domination of his language. However, El-Hirak made a considerable efforts to bring changes such as change French into English, however the progress of these changes are still being taken into consideration as the beginning of the global change in Algeria.

It will also cooperate with the United Kingdom to set up British schools in Algeria in the future, as there is one school in the capital, and we hope that there will be other schools in the future. The British Council, which was established in Algeria in 1962, helps improve

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⁵¹Hafid Soualili. EL-KHABAR, London follows in the footsteps of the Germans in military cooperation with Algeria press, article n°70813, November, 1, 2014. https://www.elkhabar.com Accessed on 30/08/2020

education and learning the English language in schools and universities in various parts of Algeria, by sharing the experiences of the United Kingdom with the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research. The step of shifting the French to English in universities will also be a positive step to facilitate the scientific research process, since English is a global language. Regarding to higher education system, most of student now are going to accomplish their studies in Britain instead of Europe, because British Scholarships for 2020 is considered one of the because it contains the best competitive universities in the world as it provides an opportunity to direct students' research at an early stage of work, working with a supervisor in their chosen area of interest.

Conclusion

Britain's exit from the European Union will have absolutely negative effects, at the same time it is a key to creating and strengthening relationships with non-European countries. However, the reforms that have taken place in Algeria, both countries will collaborate to fill that gap. In parallel with this, the two countries will have advantages and benefits from this bilateral relationship.

General Conclusion

The special relationship between Britain and Europe was under common interests. Britain joined the European Union for many reasons; the most important of these reasons is reinforcing its economy, at the same time Europe gains a powerful member. However, the interests' permutated and the priorities change, thus Britain exit from the Union.

The withdrawal created a hole in the British economy that possibly lead to an economic crisis and caused political shaking, as it created disintegrations within the country by submitting a referendum for the exit by Scotland and Northern Ireland. At the same time, Brexit is an opportunity in itself to establish and develop relations outside the union, and Algeria is an irreplaceable opportunity. The reforms that Algeria witnessed are considered a turning point in its history and the beginning of a new phase. The Kingdom's exit from the union is an opportunity to develop and intensify investments between Algeria and Britain. The partnership in the future will not be limited on the economy only; it will be a cooperation and mutual exchange between the two countries, particularly on security and defence by providing experiences and the benefits from each other. Moreover, Algeria will strengthen the English language in Algeria, because it is considered one of the most widespread languages throughout the world.

One concludes with this study that The British-Algerian partnership is considered one of the most important partnerships, as it is characterized by a set of goals that serve the interests of both parties. If we look at these stated goals of establishing partnership, we find that they are represented in the country's economic and social development with a sustainable and balanced manner, fighting poverty and unemployment, and creating better opportunities for intercultural understanding.

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