

EVOLUTION OF INTERSTATE BOUNDARIES IN SAHARA: A CASE STUDY OF ALGERIA

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation entitled "**EVOLUTION OF INTERSTATE BOUNDARIES IN SAHARA: A CASE STUDY OF ALGERIA**", Submitted by **SHADAB KHAN** is in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**. This dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university and is his own work.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiner for evaluation.

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**Dedicated to My
Beloved Parents**

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For any drawback in this dissertation if any, I alone am responsible for it.

Shadab Khan

CHAPTER I

Evolution of International Boundaries in the Sahara: Geographical and Historical Background

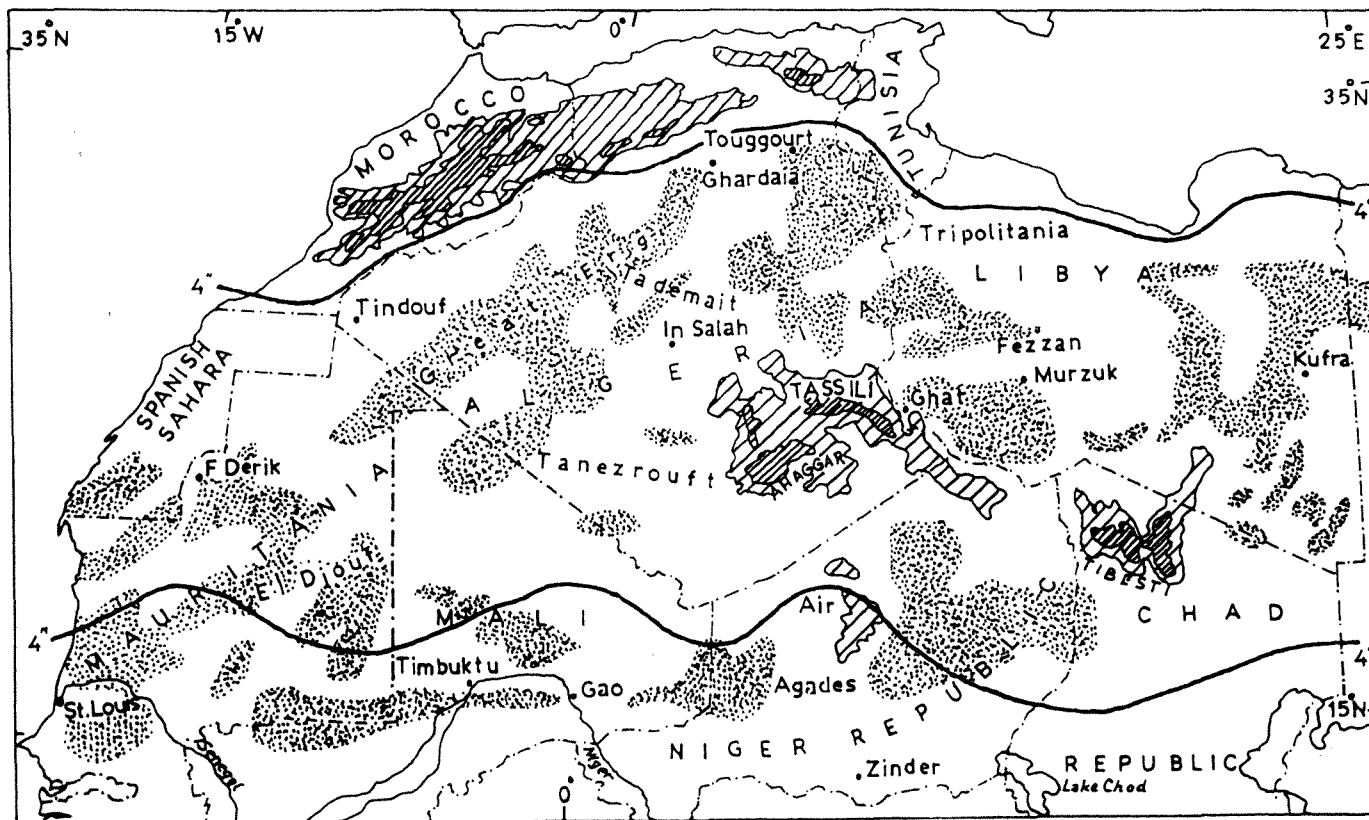
The Sahara is the largest tropical desert in the world. Its name "Sahara" comes from the Arabic world meaning "wilderness". In terms of area it covers almost one quarter of Africa, it fills almost all of the east-west oriented northern part of the African continent. It extends 5,600 kms from the Atlantic to the Red Sea and 1,760 kms from the Atlas mountains to the northern bend of the Niger River.¹ Its main topographical features include plains lying at from 600 to 1,200 feet above sea level, lowlands and depressions, and two mountain chains – the Ahaggar mountain and the Tibesti mountain which rise to 11,204 feet in Emi Koussi, the highest point in the Sahara.

No sharp line distinguishes the Sahara from surrounding environment, although 100 mm isohyets (4 ins.) consider as its approximate boundaries. The northern zone is defined by a band of salt savanna receiving seven inches of precipitation annually while the southern border comprises of a belt of vegetation covering "dead" (fossil) sand dunes and receives an annual rainfall of six inches of rainfall annually. However 10 inch isohyets is used to delineate the Sahara.

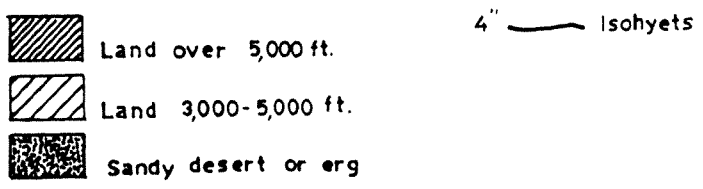
Politically, parts of northern Sahara include Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, Spanish Sahara, Libya, Egypt and the Sudan. The Southern part

¹ Church, Harrison, R.J., "Africa and the Island", Longman Group Limited, London, 1970.

The Sahara



Source: Jarrett, H.R., "Africa"



extends into the countries of Tropical Africa. The tremendous size and the great variation in landforms and settlement give rise to the saying. "The Sahara is a land of a hundred landscapes." Sahara has acted as a kind of "human divide", separating the Hamitic and Semitic peoples of the north from the Negroids of the South. It is useful to bear in mind the fact that by no means the whole of Sahara region is truly the deserts. For in some upland areas such as the Ahaggar, Tibesti and Air Massifs and these highlands do support a sparse population which is generally nomadic and pastoral in nature. Indeed, the Sahara has well recognized sub-regions which are designated by local names such as Tanezrouft and Tademait (which are stony deserts) Hoggar (a rocky desert) and EI Bjouf (a sandy desert).²

Physiography

The topography of the Sahara Desert is dominated by the monotony of its plains. It has a varied relief feature, ranging from the high dissected plateaus of the center to the marginal depression, or basins such as Bodele, Tanezrouft and EI Bjouf. These are some of the most prominent features of the desert in the Mid Sahara Rise include a series of peneplains. The northern Sahara is a vast trough of recent composition which gently descends and widens to the east and is known as the Sahara Piedmont. It is a region of oases and numerous nomadic flocks and extends southward by way of a secondary trough containing low plateaus and further oases, the Mزاب, Tademait, Gourava, Touat and Tidikelt.

² Jarett, H.R., Africa 4th edition., Macdonald & Evans Ltd., 1974.

The highest summits of Tibesti and Ahaggar are over 3048 meters and just below the height respectively. The Western Sahara has the aspect of an immense flat plain gently inclined towards the Atlantic. South-east of the Eglab are the gravel wastes of the plain of Tanezrouft, probably the most desartic region of the whole of Sahara. A lower plateau links Ahaggar with the Adrar of the Iforas, a dissected upland extending from southern Algeria upto Mali.

The Central Sahara is dominated by the vast massif of the Hoggar whose lunar landscape was caused by erosional effects on volcanic and crystalline forms. The eastern Sahara is a vast plateau which rises from the volcanic and crystalline massif of the Tibesti, whose highest peak, the gigantic volcano Emi Koussi, is 3,418 m.³ On the whole the central highlands of the Sahara are rocky so it may be said that they fall into the category of Hammada desert.

Drainage and Soil

Valleys extend over the mountains and plains which originated in the past wet periods. An individual valley is called a wadi (ouad), kori, enneri or karkur. Many of them are so narrow as to be canyon like while those with high ground water tables may hide thick acacia forests. The plains are covered with angular stone fragments of boulders, gravel and sand. Dust and gypsum desert also occur north of the Tibesti and their powder fine earth is known as fesch-fesch. Garavas or closed basins into which wadis flow, have great accumulations of alluvium, where the water evaporates in salt marshes or salt fats, they are known as Sebkhas.

³ The New Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol.1, 15th eds.

Structured soils of reticular pattern similar to those of the Arctic Tundras, also occur. Although they cover only about 20 percent of the Saharan surface, the ergs (areas of continuous sands) were long considered to be a typical feature of the desert. The erg store water therefore sometimes having grassy surfaces.

Climate

The Sahara has not always been a desert. At one time it was a jungle and as recently as 10,000 years ago it was well populated. It has become progressively drier. This change, however, has not been sudden. It is considered likely that the rainfall 2,500 year ago was about the same as it is today.⁴ The Sahara exhibits climatic extremes. Day temperatures during the summer are very high and the highest shade temperature recorded anywhere in the world under standard conditions was experienced at El-Azizia. The temperature may also reach extremes, the highest value of annual altitude of the ground temperature at Tamanrasset, Algeria, at an altitude of 4,513 feet was 84⁰C.⁵ The warmest months are July and August in the north and May and June in the South. Summer temperatures in the Southern interior parts of the Sahara are among the highest on the entire continent and they are commonly exceed 49⁰C in the above period. So the temperature is not constant, however a daily range of as much as 50⁰ to 60⁰ Fahrenheit result from the dry climate.

Rainfall patterns occur in three distinct zones – a northern zone which receive the small amount of rain in the winter, lies in the tropical region. Where

⁴ Touval Saadia, "The Sahara, Bridge or Barrier", International Conciliation, 1963.

⁵ Jarett, H.R., Africa 4th edition., Macdonald & Evans Ltd., 1974.

except in the mountains, a succession of years without rain is possible and a southern region which is also known as the Sahel, with fairly regular precipitation in summer. Dew is not infrequent, while cloud formation decreases towards the east. In short, the Sahara is a region which has no seasons of regular, annual and general rain.

The dust storm form a very unpleasant feature of the climate of Sahara. The dry, desiccating south winds, moving walls of dust that darken everything, are known by various Arabic names such as ghibli, simoom or samun, khamsin, haboob and irifi.⁶ In the northern Sahara hot winds are called cheheli and in the central areas they are known as ouahdj. Sirocco or hot Shergis during the summer carry the dry dust of the Sahara across the North Africa and same times out into the Mediterranean. Sirocco often known by local names such as khamsin in Egypt and in Israel and in Algeria as Sirocco. The dry, dusty wind which blows southwards over west Africa, particularly during the dry season, is known as Harmattan.

The Saharan climate is also controlled by the north-south shifting of the trade wind belt. The climate is also affected by the surrounding oceans. In the west, the cool ocean current moves southward and parallel to the coast, bringing little moisture inland. So the permanent characteristic of the Sahara region is kept in place by the surrounding of geographic and atmospheric conditions.

⁶ World Mark Encyclopedia of the Nations "Africa", Vol.2, World Mark Press Ltd. Publishers, 1986.

Natural Vegetation

The natural vegetation of Sahara may be divided into two groups, one which belongs to the northern and central regions comes under the Holarctic region and second group which include the southern region comes under the Paleo tropical realm. About 25 percent of plant species occurring in the north are still of Mediterranean origin.⁷ The most frequently found plants include grasses, febracease and species belonging to the goosefoot and sunflower families. The most frequently occurring trees are date palm is the north, doom palms in the centre and various species of tamarisk and acacia. Near the high humidity of the west coast the trees are covered with lichens. While on the east coast, high humidity accompanied by high temperature, only a narrow strip of vegetation with salt Marshes occur with some mangroves.

The People

The inhabitants of the Sahara are probably about 2,500,000 in number with an average density of less than 0.20 per sq. km., although Sahara is as large as the United Sates. Four fifth of the population live in the northern margins of the desert. The only comparatively populous parts of the interior are the Tibesti and Hoggar Mountains and some groups of oases.⁸ The people of the Sahara are usually divided into four main groups: The Arab-Berber peoples in the north; the less Arabized Moors of the west; the distinctive Tuareg of the south central mountains; and the Teda of Tibesti and southern areas. All of

⁷ The Middle East and North Africa 2001, 4th ed. European Publications.

⁸ Gautier E.F., "Sahara: The Great Desert", Octagon Books, New York 1970.

these groups are ethnically predominantly Berber, although the Teda shows a Negroid intermixture.

Distinction by languages is clearer. The Berber-speaking people are found mainly in southern Algeria, in the oases of Mزاب, Gourara and the Oued Rhir. The Tibu of the Tibesti have their own language. Berber and Tibu speaking peoples are partially surrounded by Arabic speakers in the eastern, western and northern Sahara. The Tuareg occupy the central Sahara, were renowned for their wallike qualities. These are the “people of veil” who for centuries ruled supreme in the central Sahara. They derived their name from a strip of cloth worn around the head, covering all but the eyes, hence their name came out. Major pastoral groups include the Regeibat of Mauritania and the Chaamba of the northern Algerian Sahara. The Moorish groups to the west formerly possessed powerful tribal confederations and warred with both Moroccans and with black-skinned people to the South. Moors are of very mixed origin (Arab, Berber, Negro, and possibly Ethiopian). The Teda are isolated and less advanced mainly camel herders.

After dealing with the geographical background of the Sahara now we move to the historical background of the Saharan boundaries. To study the evolution of Saharan boundaries it is necessary to first discuss the African boundaries emergence because Sahara too belongs to the part of northern Africa. Taking into account the African boundaries it is essential to know about the African colonial history for the development and evolution of boundaries.

Historical Background of African Boundaries

The real importance of the African continent to the outside world began in the fifteenth century. Starting in this period, many European nations showed a live interest in the dark continent. So most African boundaries were established during the late 1800s when Great Britain, France, Belgium and Germany scrambled to secure their claims to the African continents. As there was rush to secure more territory, Europeans established claims to different territories by treaties. Therefore between 1885 and 1904 most of the present political map of Africa was drawn, which was complete by 1919.⁹

The key to understand African boundaries is the speed with which they were defined. Most of them were decided between 1884 and 1919 and great lengths were agreed upon in each treaty. Many boundaries represent approximate limits of their political penetration in the past. In many cases mistakes in partitioning were made because the colonialists were misinformed about the geography of the area. In other cases, they adopted the simple rules to divide the territory without taking time to consider demographic, ethnographic or topographic factors. About the boundaries the fact is that 44 percent of them are straight lines that either correspond to an astrologic measurement or are parallel to some other set of lines.¹⁰ Because of the artificiality of these boundaries each independent African state is made up of a

⁹ Herbst Jeffrey, "The Creation of Maintenance of National Boundaries in Africa", International Organization, Autumn, 1989.

¹⁰ Ibid, p.675.

whole host of different ethno cultural groups and nations having different historical traditions and cultures and speaking different languages.¹¹

The borders that the colonialists established became the borders of the newly independent African countries. There has not been even one significant boundary change in Africa since the dawn of the independence era in the late 1950s. Different theories have come up about why African boundaries have remained so stable over time. One explanation focuses on the characteristics of the politicians who gained power in the terminal colonial period and have ruled since independence. A second explanation traces the stability of international borders in Africa to the development of international norms of sovereignty, especially since the end of World War II. Boundaries drawn on maps by Europeans politicians bore little relation to the physical and even less to the social, economic or political fabric of indigenous societies. The rapid and intensive partition of Africa took place when little or no knowledge was available of the terrain, people and economy of the interior. Thus lines of latitude or longitude, areas of circles, watersheds, rivers and lakes were frequently adopted. Over one third by length of Africa's international boundaries are geometrical.¹²

African boundaries are unique in their arbitrary and artificial character. They are of course artificial but in this they do not differ greatly from international borders else where. Two kinds of boundaries can be distinguished

¹¹ A. Adu Boahen, "African Perspectives an Colonialism" (Baltimore, Md. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), p.96.

¹² East. Gordan W. and Moodic A.E., "The Changing World, Studies in Pol. Geog." Ed. By Chapter XXXI, African Boundaries by R.J. Harrisan Church. George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd. London.

in the process of boundary making. The first involves the boundaries between territories possessed by different European powers labeled here as “boundaries established by international agreement”. The second concerns boundaries separating territories belonging to the same European power. These shall be called ‘Unilateral boundaries’ because they were set by the unilateral act of the one government.¹³ So this directly indicate that the ultimate decision on the allocations of territories and the delimitation of borders were always made by Europeans. In a simple term we can say that Unilateral borders divided territories belonging to one colonial power. Unilateral boundaries were changed or modified much more frequently during the colonial period than boundaries established by international agreements.

Historical Aspects of Saharan Boundaries

The Sahara Desert which covers some 10.4 million sq. km. (4 million sq. miles) and is the largest desert of its kind in the world, with a north-south width of 1,800 km and an east-west extent of 5,600 km. In Sahara region two main types of political frontier can be identified i.e. frontiers of separation and frontiers of contact. In those region where the population is sparsely distributed, frontiers of separation were most common. But on the other hand more populous regions depicts the frontiers of contact.¹⁴ The concept of frontier in the Sahara region was the ancient criteria for depicting a regional identity. But in the contemporary boundaries of the Sahara region are

¹³ Touval Saadia “The Boundary Politics of Independent Africa” Chapter I, The Drawing of Colonial Boundaries”, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1972.

¹⁴ Drysdale, Alasdair and Blake, Gerald H., “The Middle East and North Africa: A Political Geography”, Oxford University Press, New York, 1985.

extremely youthful, many of them having been delimited in the early years of twentieth century and the last decade of nineteenth century. In general boundary alignment were made earlier in Sahara during the French, British and Italian colonial adventures before World War I.

The boundaries of a state are among the most important of its attributes. If the internal part of a state is regarded as the vital skeletal frame, then its boundaries form the outer shell. It is along boundaries that the state impringes on its neighbours. Though the studies shows that the French colonial policy was based upon concepts of direct administration, centralization and assimilation which paid little attention to tribal divisions or traditional authorities. However the significance of ancient boundaries is limited. The relative insignificance of traditional boundaries derives from three sources. First, many allocations of territory were in accordance with limits of the allegiance of groups or the limits of settlement of groups rather than by means of fixed alignment. Secondly, alignment when they did exist were not formed with the precision required by more recent conditions of territorial competition and concepts of administration. Thirdly, the colonial partition overrode traditional boundaries for the most part.¹⁵ So it is a fact that a political map of Africa is not very different from the political map in 1977, as it was during the early 20th century.

The boundaries of Sahara region is drawn in a few years at the end of the 19th century or as the effect of the Berlin Treaty of 1884. The demarcation

¹⁵ Brownlie, Ian "African Boundaries A Legal and Diplomatic Encyclopaedia", Chapter I, pp.8-9. C. Horst and Company, London, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972.

of these boundaries was done without taking the geographical and socio-economic aspects into consideration. This view is summarized in the phrase 'the scramble for Africa'. Sahara region poses several major obstacles to the establishment of the natural frontiers. Here frontiers means boundaries which correspond to some already existing division of people and which would lead to significantly fewer political problems that was between Algeria and Morocco. The distribution of the population in Africa, in both the precolonial and independence periods, created severe constraints on the amount of information available to would be boundary creators in Sahara. In that period the political power in Sahara was exercised not over land but over people.¹⁶ Population distribution thus did not provide much information on how to draw stable boundaries. On the other hand ethnic identities also did not provide adequate information on how to create boundaries.¹⁷

There was a problem faced by the European and African Government as to how to create and preserve as boundary system in a region like Sahara where the demographic, ethnographic and topographic facts of life make the creation of national frontiers exceptionally difficult because little information is available. The two traditional political alternatives that did not require information to create boundaries, were unappealing. First, the European could have established strong political institutions in Africa and then gradually expanded the administrative structures to cover greater and greater number of

¹⁶ Jack Goody, "Technology, Tradition and the State in Africa, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p.30.

¹⁷ Herbst, Jeffrey "The Creation and Maintenance of National Boundaries in Africa", *International Organization*, autumn, 1989.

people. Second the Europeans were not interested in the other method of boundary creation that did not require significant amounts of information.¹⁸

One may distinguish boundaries so far as Saharan Africa is concerned:

- (i) Treaties and agreements: The rulers claims their territory on treaties or agreements which granted the political rights of administration or economic rights of exploitation over the territory of the indigenous ruler. There was also a notion that these agreements with indigenous rulers were not treaties because treaties could only be made between states which formed part of the international legal community. There was the further complication in some instances that the agreements were made by private individuals or chartered companies rather than by their governments.
- (ii) Conquest and occupation: Most of the African territories was acquired by conquest or by occupation, in reality the agreement being no more than devices to facilitate peaceful occupation. The acquisition of territory must either have been voluntary or compulsory. In the African context where European powers who had barely penetrated the interior erected enormous quadrilateral territories based on the coastline, which was in their effective occupation.¹⁹
- (iii) Usage and Sufferance: The boundaries which have developed through usage and sufferance, where there was not a convention between neighbouring territories or powers. Often in consequence may have been

¹⁸ Ibid, p.681.

¹⁹ Widstrand, Carl Gosta (ed.), "African Boundary Problems", The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, 1969.

duly delimited verbally defined or demarcated physically only at a later stage.

Evolution of Boundaries in Sahara

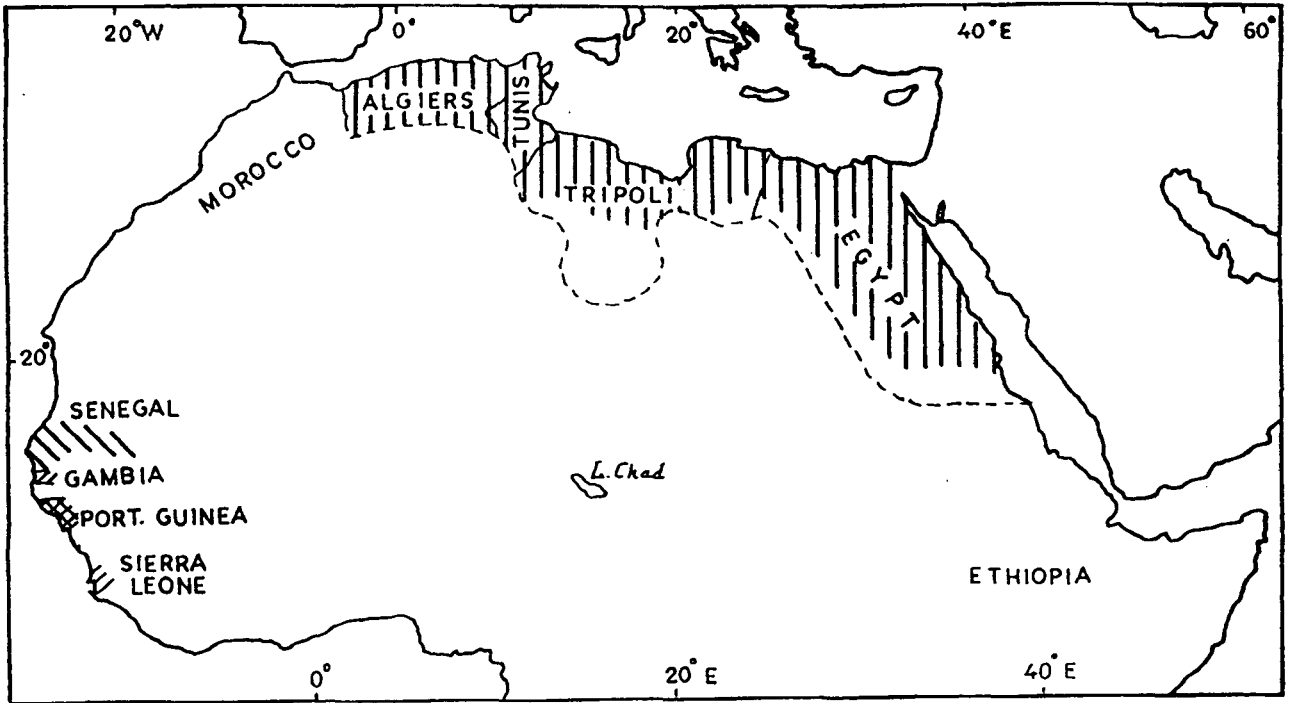
The earliest boundaries in Sahara were not lines but zones or border marches. The functioning of these boundaries throughout Sahara is largely the outgrowth of nationalism as it developed in Europe, especially within the last two centuries. The first European powers to establish footholds in Sahara in modern times were Spain and Portugal. Before that under the Turkish hereditary dynasties by Beys were founded in Tripoli and Tunis, while Algiers became an oligarchic republic ruled by a Dey elected for life, thus laying the foundation of the present political divisions of Libya, Tunisia and Algeria.²⁰

Evolution of Boundaries Before 1914

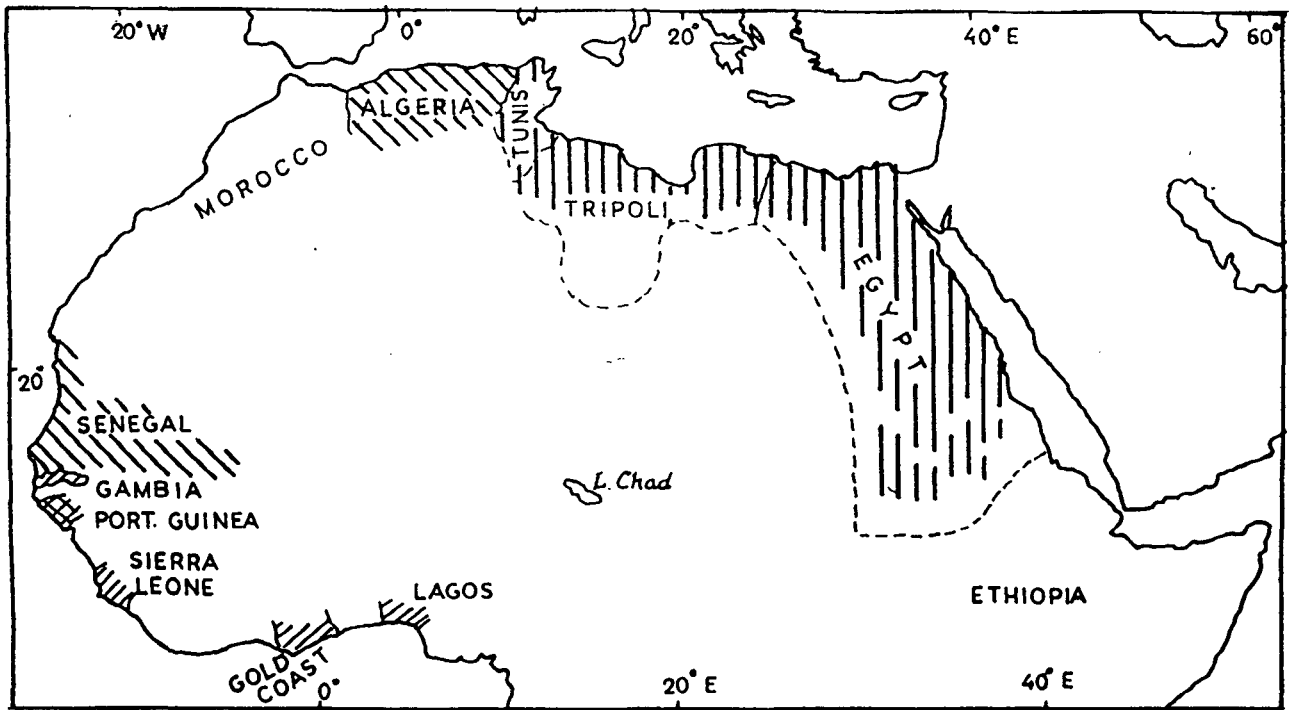
The evolution of Saharan boundaries conveniently divided in to three periods before 1914, and period between two world's wars and after the second world's war. The majority of Saharan boundaries were delimited and demarcated according to bilateral agreements involving the various colonial powers. The Portuguese were the earliest coastal explorers and the first of Africa's European colonists. The main reason behind to make these nation their colony was the slave trade, which reached its height in the eighteenth century.²¹ In the Sahara region the earliest explorations and earliest political division took place in the west. In the year of 1830, as the map shows the northern Sahara

²⁰ Boateng: EA. Political Geography of Africa, Cambridge University Press, 1979.

²¹ Foredham, Paul, "the Geography of African Affairs", Penguin Books, C Nicholls & Company Ltd. 1968.

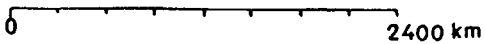






1830

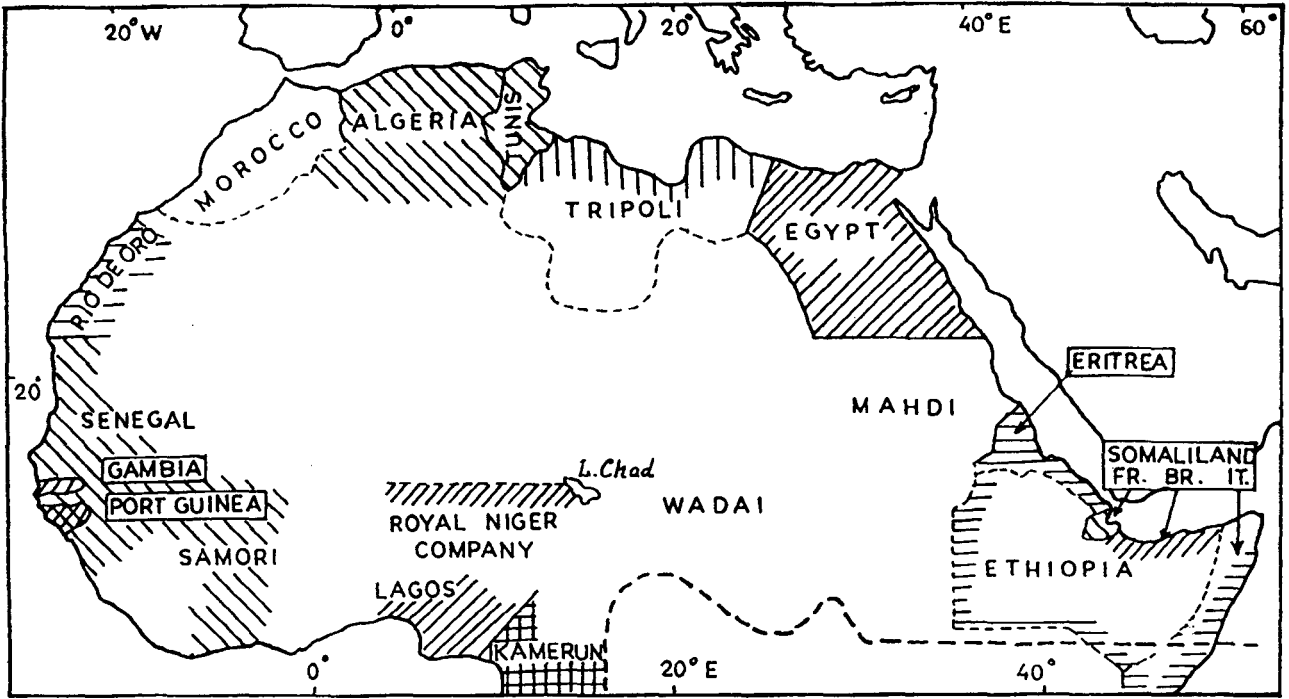


Source : Fage, J.D., "An Atlas of African History"

1880

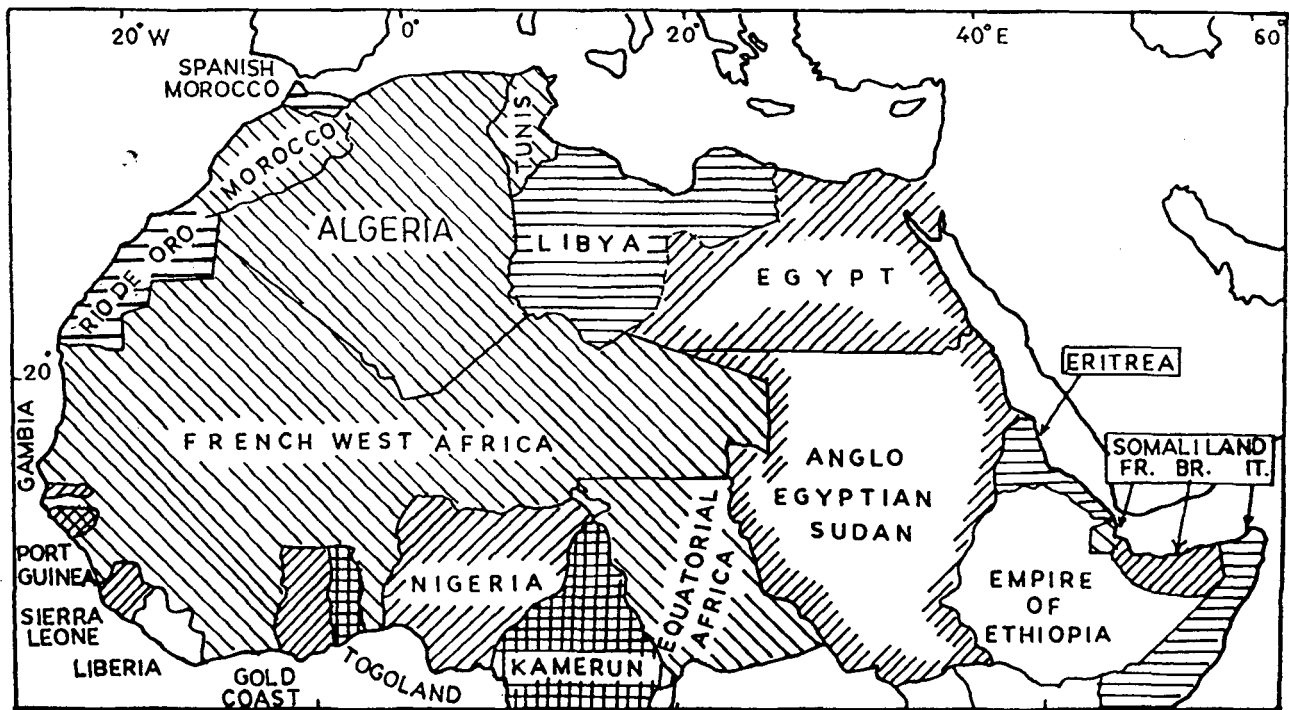


-  Turkish Suzerainty
-  Portuguese
-  British
-  French



1891





0 2400 km



Source: Fage, J.D., "An Atlas of African History"

1914

--- Boundary of Free Trade Zone established by Berlin Act, 1885

-  Turkish Suzerainty
-  Portuguese
-  British
-  French

-  German
-  Spanish
-  Italian

comes under the Turkish suzerainty, while the western Sahara was occupied by Portuguese, French and some parts by British Colonists. Political involvement in Western Sahara by the European powers remained very small till the 1880. Upto 1800 west and north of Sahara had been explored, but the whole of the central and eastern parts of the Sahara remained unknown. So upto 1880s none of European powers had shown much interest in taking the more responsibilities in the central Sahara.

Between the Berlin conference of 1884-85 and the treaties of 1890 most of Sahara was parceled out between Britain, France, Germany, Portugal and Spanish Colonists. As the 1891 map shows that Algerian and Tunis comes under French occupation, Tripoli was under Turkish suzerainty and Riode Oro under Spanish and part of western Sahara under French domain. The boundaries of Egypt were carved out by British colonists. By the year of 1914 most of the part of Sahara came under the French rule. This was the time when the emergence of most of the Sahara boundaries took place. The boundaries of Libya as now defined by treaties between the Italy on the one hand and France, Egypt on Great Britain on the other hand largely comprise straight line traversing chiefly desert but partly hilly areas.²² After Italy's conquest of Libya in 1911 and the French and Spanish partition of Morocco in 1912, the whole of Sahara comes under the European control at that time only Ethiopia and Liberia

²² Boggs – "International Boundaries" – A study of Boundary function and Problems, ANS Press, New York – 1966.

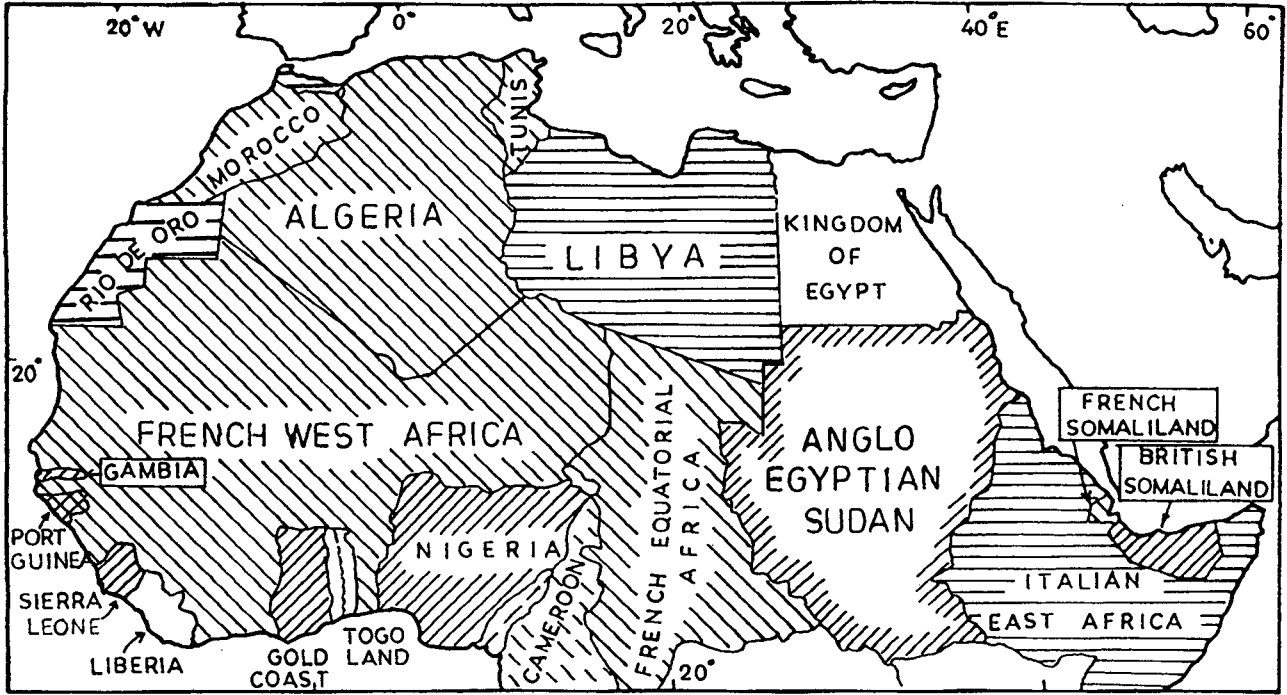
was the exceptional case. The boundary between Egypt and Anglo Egyptian, Sudan had been defined as the 22nd parallel of latitude.²³

France divided the Sahara into two parts are is known as French West Africa which include the central and eastern parts of Sahara and second part known as French Equatorial Africa, in which during the first world war, Britain and France created same unilateral limits to carve their larger possessions into smaller sections for convenient administration. The division of French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa is a good example of this division. During this period, the Saharan exploration entered into new phase but the central part of Sahara was not much explored. So, France was the most influential power in the Sahara apart from British and Italian. Very little knowledge was available as far as geographical background of Sahara concerned. So the European adopted straight line boundaries. These long straight line is more expensive to survey and fix accurately on the ground than a boundary line adapted to local features. These straight lines are some times called “astronomic lines” because their location upon the earth determined by means of astronomic and geodetic observation as the meridian of Greenwich.

Evolution of Boundaries Between 1914 to 1939

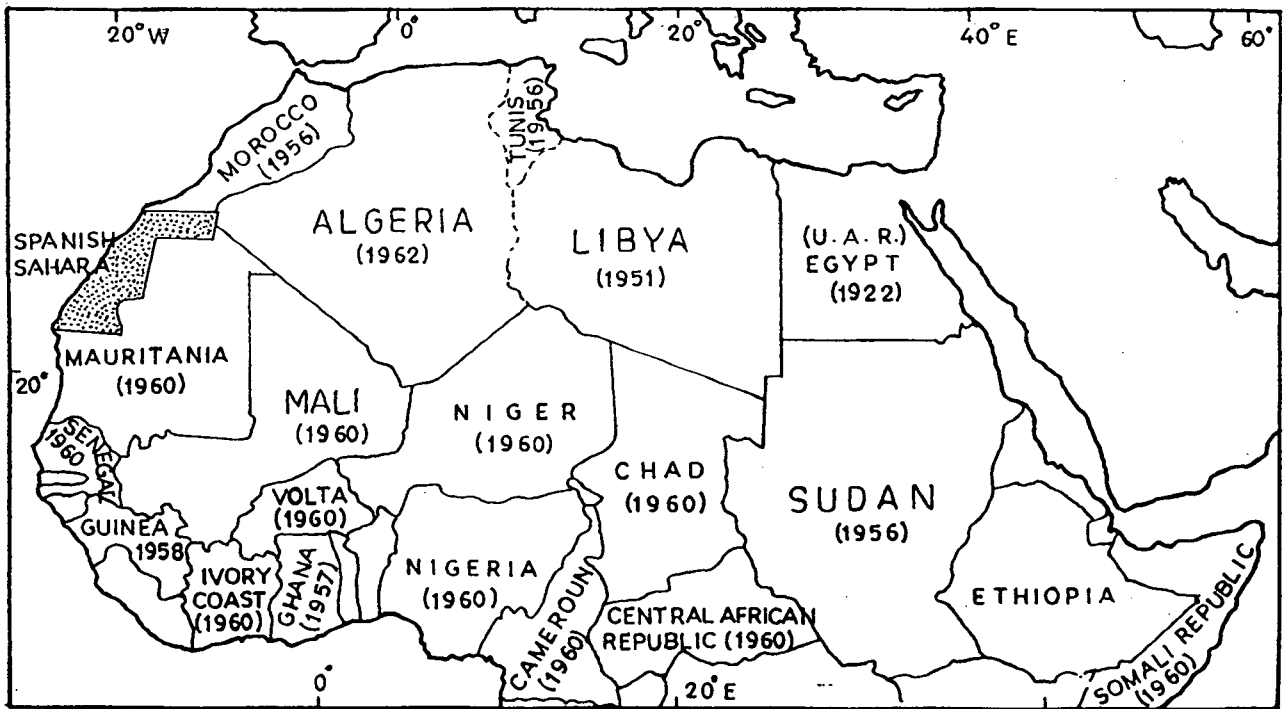
The boundaries in Sahara to some extent remains the same as it was before World War I. The change occurred only in Libya’s boundaries, Egypt and Sudan. Prior to 1919 no part of southern boundary of Libya was defined in

²³ Ibid, p.158.











1939

0 2400 km



1965

Source: Fage, J.D. "An Atlas of African History"

- | | | | |
|---|----------------|---|---|
|  | Portuguese |  | Independent African States in 1965 (with dates of independence in brackets) |
|  | British |  | Remaining Colonial territories |
|  | French | | |
|  | French mandate | | |
|  | Spanish | | |
|  | Italian | | |

any agreement. This was the last Saharan country to fall into European hands but it was the first, apart from the Egypt which became independent as far back as 1912, to achieve its independence after IInd World War (1951).²⁴ In between the period of two world wars Sahara region did not produce any new boundaries. The three countries of French North Africa-Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia together make up an almost entirely separate entity, cut off as they are from central and Southern Africa by the Sahara. So it is clear from the two maps that till the 1939 there was no major change in boundaries in Sahara region. Between the period of two world wars only major changes occurred in Libyan and Egyptian boundaries. Rest of the Saharan countries boundaries remain the same.

Boundaries after II World War

Libya was the first country which got independence among the Saharan countries in the year of 1951. In the year of 1956 the countries of Morocco and Tunisia gained their independence from France in rapid succession without any serious difficulty. Algeria's progress towards independence however, took a different course and it was not until 1961 that country was able to win its freedom from France. Mauritania, Mali, Niger and Chad got independence in the year of 1960. Mauritania, Mali, Niger and Volta carved out their boundaries from the French West Africa on the other hand Chad was formed from the part of French Equatorial Africa. These countries made their boundaries with adjacent countries which was imposed by the European colonialist. They

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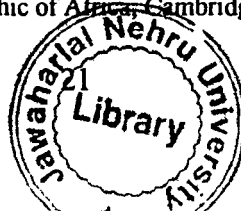


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²⁴ Boateng, E.A.: A Political Geographic of Africa, Cambridge University Press, 1979.

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follow more or less the same criteria as European used for the boundaries evolution. The straight line international boundaries in Africa are more extensive than in any other continent and constitute something like thirty percent of total and in particularly Sahara region these straight line boundary were frequently used. A number of arrangement agreement by Saharan countries were made to demarcate their boundaries. In this way the agreement concerning demarcation of existing boundaries have been reached by Algeria with Morocco, Mali, Niger, Tunisia, Mauritania. With Algeria's attainment of independence (1962) all the countries of Sahara became politically free. After independence a conflict emerged between Algeria and Morocco which was settled after an agreement. Boundary demarcation agreements were signed by Algeria with Niger and Mali in 1983. So, this is how the boundaries evolution took place in Sahara region which was started with the penetration of European power.

CHAPTER II

Evolution of Algeria's International Boundaries from the Ancient through the Medieval to the Modern Era

In order to study the evolution of political boundaries it is essential to discuss the growth of the state. Algeria developed in a series of stages over time. New boundaries were established at each phase. So, this chapter will examine several stages in the development of the evolution of boundaries in Algeria.

With an area of 2,381,741 Km², Algeria is the second largest country of Africa by its extent. Algeria as a distinct political entity has emerged within the last 400 years. Before the conquest of Europeans there were no boundary concept. Only frontiers were used as a territorial jurisdictions. The first organised and powerful state in Algeria was called Numidia. It developed through the centuries and reached its peak during the reign of Gala and especially Massinissa whose watchword was 'Africa for the Africans'.²⁵

Massinissa transformed the whole North Africa into a single and powerful kingdom which stretched from Tripolitania to Tinguitania. The Roman penetration in Africa increased after the fall of Carthage. Jugurtha, well known for his political and military abilities was unable to avoid the division of the kingdom. However, it was not before one hundred years after Jugurtha's death that Roman settled in Africa. The Vandal invasion accelerated the fall of

²⁵ ALGERIA, Land of Opportunities, Embassy of Algeria, New Delhi: March 1999.

the Roman Empire. The Byzantine rule over a century was unable to develop the country.

A new Numid kingdom was about to be organised: the same thing was happening on the other side of the Mediterranean. The advent of Islam in the 7th century imparted a new direction. Islam introducing a new spirituality, contributed to the birth of another civilisation. In the 11th century, the Almoravides, originally from Western Sahara united North Africa. The Turkish Regency established itself in the 16th century, marking the beginning of a new era. The French conquest from 1830 led to a stiff resistance which culminated its struggle against colonialism. So, keeping all these historical fact in mind the Algerian history of boundary evolution could be divided into three phases. These are ancient, medieval and modern phase. The period before the French colonialism i.e. before 1830 comes under the ancient phase while between 1830 to IInd World War comes under the medieval phase and after the Second World War to the present, includes the modern phase.

Ancient Phase

The history of Algeria is the history of successive conquests. In ancient times the inhabitants of Algeria have lived along the Mediterranean shore, they settled in the area upto the 250 km island. That time there was no concept of boundaries even frontiers were rarely used because the area was too vast and population was too less. Drawings and painting which are discovered in the Hoggor and Tassili N' Ajjar region of southern Algeria belong to Neolithic

culture.²⁶ Historical evidence suggests that sailors of the island of Crete in the Aegean Sea may have established depots on the Algerian littoral sometime before 2000 B.C.²⁷ The Phoenician colonisation marks the beginning of the historical age in North Africa. So, it was the arrival of the seafaring tradesman from Phoenicia who established colonies along the southern shores of the Mediterranean before the 12th century B.C. The Phoenician trading posts set up along Algeria's coast in places such as Cherchell and Hippo (Annaba). Phoenician was followed by the Carthaginians in the 8th century B.C., emerged as the most important center of this Punic trading empire, which has extended its hegemony across much of North Africa. The Carthaginian state included the northern portions of modern Tunisia and the region from Annaba to Constantine in Algeria up to the Tripolitanian coast of today's Libya.²⁸

The Berber people comprised the majority of the population in the area to the west and south of the Carthaginian territory. Several kingdoms of Berber tribes emerged by about the 3rd century B.C., two of which (the Maeslian and the Maesulian) were located in Numidia which constitute the present day Algeria. Massinissa was the most famous numidian king who is also considered by Polybius and Cicero as the strongest personality that native North Africa produced in ancient times. Massinissa established his capital in Citra, today's Constantine – Algeria's third largest city. From 208 to 148 B.C. Numidia

²⁶ Constitution of African states - prepared by: The Secretariat of the Asian African Legal Constitutive Committee, New Delhi.

²⁷ Entelis, John P., "Algeria" – The Revolution Institutionalised, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1986.

²⁸ World Mark Encyclopaedia of the Nation 'Africa' vol.2, World Mark Press Ltd. 1984.

occupied most of the present day Algeria north of the Sahara.²⁹ After the destruction of Carthage and death of Massinissa in 146 B.C., Massinissa's son Micipsa was able to maintain the kingdom's unity for another three decades. Massinissa's grandson Jugurtha tried to extend his hegemony to his eastern neighbours. During the second century B.C. the Berber kingdom of Numidia greatly reduced its extent and was transformed into a Roman vassal state.

Roman rule was restored in the provinces of Africa (Modern Tunisia) and Numidia and parts of the coast. Elsewhere, the Berber confederacies, centered in the Aures and the Kabyle, maintained their independence. Roman Empire controlled only those areas that were economically useful or could be defended without additional manpower. Roman rule left great material monuments, cities, roads, dams and country houses in Algeria, Timgad and Djemila. During the period of 4th century the north Africa constituted as one of the dominant Christian areas because Christianity had been adopted as the official religion of the Roman empire.

Vandals who were the nomadic people of Germanic origin crossed the Mediterranean from Spain in 429 A.D., seized power and established a kingdom centered in Carthage. Vandals confined their rule to the most economically profitable areas. Their rule lasted a century and made less impression on the Marghreb than any other foreign conquerors. Byzantines restored the unity of the Roman Empire in the first half of the sixth century. the Byzantine reconquest included the provinces of Proconsular Africa (Tunisia)

²⁹ Ibid. p.10.

and Numidia and established a tenuous hold on the west coast, the region of modern Algiers. The rest of the Algeria was left under the control of Berber tribes. The arrival of the first Arab raiders from the east in 647 A.D. destroyed the Roman civilisation in North Africa. Algeria thus came under the influence of and was absorbed into the Islamic world.

The Rise of Islam

The rise of Islam in Arabia very soon arrived in the Marghreb within the two decades of the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 A.D. The first Arab raids took place about the middle of the seventh century. Arab armies swiftly took over Egypt in 642, in 670 they established a permanent base for their operation in Qairawan, on the steppes of central Tunisia.³⁰ They captured Carthage in 698 and in 710 the whole of North Africa was under the Arab rule. The areas apart from Qairawan was remained under Byzantine control and the Berber tribes setup a state control on the eastern Maghreb. The Berbers gradually converted to Islam and the whole of area was incorporated into the Ummayyad Empire. In the year of 756 A.D. the Berbers freed themselves from the control of the Abbasid Caliphate and for the next three centuries, power was disputed between various Arab dynasties and Berber tribes. In these three hundred years following the initial conquest of the Marghreb by the forces of the Arab-Islamic world, a confused pattern of political rule, social forms and religious movements emerged. During the eleventh century, around 1050, Banu

³⁰ Algeria – land of opportunities. Embassy of Algeria, March 1999.

Hilal invaded North Africa in large numbers and altered the face and cultures of the region.

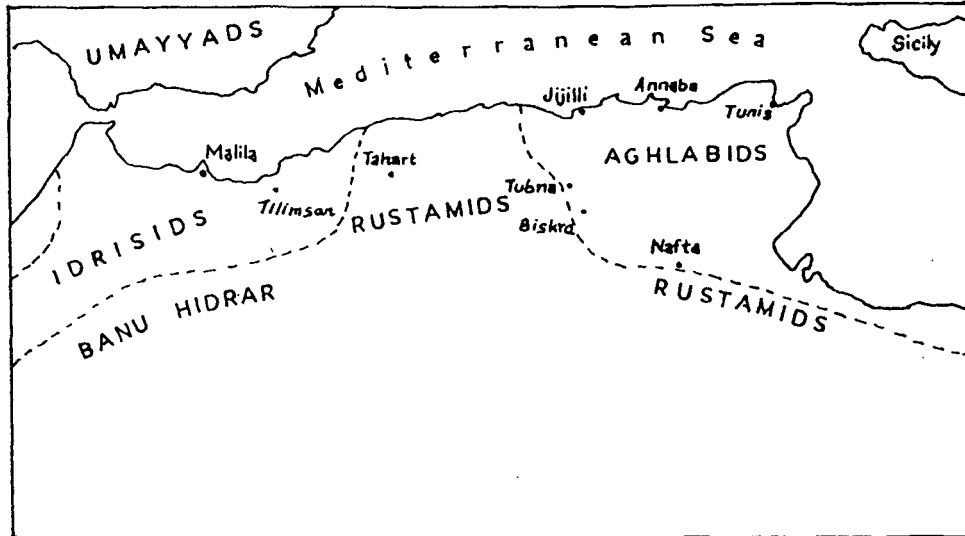
The Berbers by then converts to Islam set up large and power empires in the middle ages and founded two dynasties: the Almoravides and the Almohades. The Almoravida Empire (1042-1147 A.D.) was established by Berbers from the Western Sahara and Mauritania.³¹ This was the first dynasty which unify Morocco and at one time their rule extended as far as modern Algiers and Oran. The second major indigenous empire to be established was the Almohads (1147-1269 A.D.) who were the direct successor to the Almoravids.³² The Almohads unified the whole of the Maghreb and Muslim Spain, bringing cultural and economic propriety to North Africa. The Almohad Empire came to an end by Merinid leader Abu Yusuf in 1269. This was the period when the subsequent emergence of three separate Berber kingdom occurred: the Hofsidis in the east (Tunis), the Zayanids in the center (Tlemcen) and the Merinids in the west (Fez). From the middle of the century the region entered a period of decline which persisted for more than two countries.

It was during the first decade of the sixteenth century when Iberian powers intervened in North Africa and to establish coastal enclaves. The Spaniards occupied most of the parts they coveted on the Maghreb coast. In Algeria, Mers al-kebir was captured in 1505, Oran in 1509, and Bougie in 1510; Algiers at that time has possess little importance.

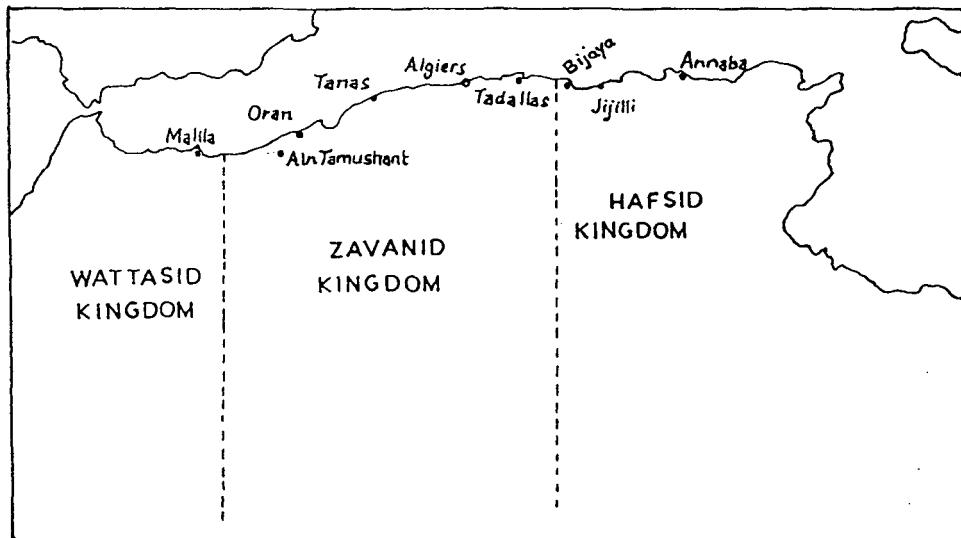
³¹ World Encyclopaedia of Political Systems, vol. 1, Longman 1983

³² Oliver, Roland (ed.), The Cambridge History of Africa c1050-c1600, Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1977.

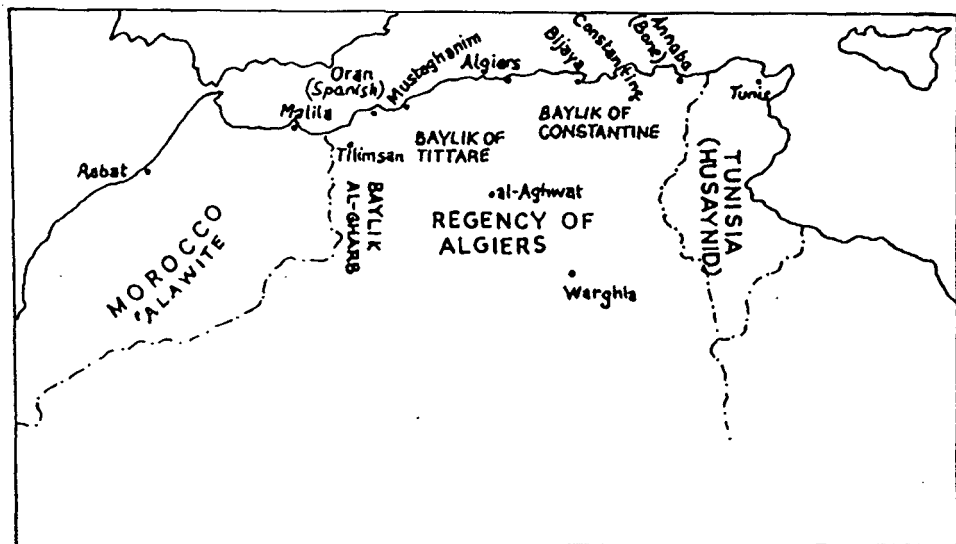
Boundaries Evolution in Maghreb



The Maghreb in ninth century



The Maghreb in 1529



The Maghreb in 1750

Ottoman Empire and Emergence of Algiers

In the sixteenth century Algeria, together with Tunisia, became part of the Ottoman empire. It was the Ottoman intervention in North Africa which provided Algeria a recognizable political entity.

Aruj and Khair-al-Din (Barbarossa) were the two real architects of Ottoman rule in Algeria. On the death of Ferdinand of Castile in 1516 the Algerian sought the assistance of the Turkish corsair Aruj who took possession of Algiers and several other towns and proclaimed himself Sultan.³³ After the death of Aruj in 1518, Khair-al-Din assumed command of Algiers. Khair-al-Din placed all his territories under the nominal protection of the Ottoman Sultan and this decisive act may be said to mark the emergence of Algiers as a political entity. Khair-al-Din gradually conquered north eastern Algeria, the coastal region between Constantine and Oran and captured the Spanish fortress outside Algiers in 1529. The establishment of the regency of Algiers under the title of "beylerbey" (bey of beys) was also confirmed by these Turkish Sultan.³⁴ These beylerbeys were responsible directly to the Sultan in Istanbul. After 1587 the regency of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis were set up but of the three it was Algiers that captured the imagination of Europe as a fearsome and vicious enemy. The first period of Turkish rule (1518-87) was followed by the period of triennial pashas (1587-1659) and then by that of the deys (1659-1830).³⁵

³³ "North West Africa". Encyclopaedia.

³⁴ Constitution of African State, Prepared by: The Secretariat of the 'Asian-African legal consultative committee, New Delhi, Ocean Publishing the Dobbs Ferry, New York, 1972.

³⁵ The Cambridge History of Africa vol. 4, from C1600 – C1790 ed. by Richard Gray Cambridge Univ. Press, 1975.

From 1587 onwards pashas were sent from Istanbul as governors for a period of three years. The administration during that time was conducted by the council (Divan) of the ojaq under the leadership of the agha. In 1659 the agha became the governor, leaving the pasha a few ceremonial functions only. But in 1671 Corsairs, the ojaqs rivals, appointed a governor of their own choice with the title of deys. Under the dey were the beys, as governors of the three provinces.³⁶ Real power in Algiers was held by two bodies' the janissary corps and the guild of corsair captains. The regency of Algiers reached the peak in the 17th century. The authority of the Turks was effective over no more than one sixth of present day Algeria. During the eighteenth century the growth of European sea power in the Mediterranean brought a period of decline in Algiers. In April 1827, an incident leading to the assault on the French carsul by the dey provided an excuse for armed intervention by France. On July 5, 1830 France captured Algiers and most of the Turkish officials and the dey were sent in to exile.

Medieval Phase

Before Medieval phase, only frontiers were used as a territorial jurisdictions in ancient time during the reign of Zavanid kingdom in the middle of 15th century. But after the advent of European coloniser in the Sahara region a new chapter of boundary demarcation added to the history of this region. As they had a very little knowledge about the terrain and physiography of the region so they preferred to demarcate the boundaries in a straight line method.

³⁶ The Cambridge History of Africa vol. IV.

For Medieval period's, historical background is necessary to understand the boundary evolution in Algeria:

The medieval phase include the period between the French conquest i.e. from 1830 to the Second World War. In the 19th century Algeria is basically northern Algeria, the coastal and mountainous parts not the vast Saharan region in the south currently within Algerian boundaries. Politically, this was a clearly defined country before 1830. It was officially part of the Ottoman Empire. In 1830, there was a dispute between the dey of Algiers and France over an old debt. This diplomatic incident led to a French blockade and eventually the seizure of Algiers. It was the year of 1834 when French decided the further conquest and annexation of Algeria. During this period a Governor-General of French possessions in North Africa was appointed and 1834-40 occupation was confined to Algiers, Oran, Bougie and the immediate surrounding districts. Constantine, the last Turkish stronghold, was captured in 1837 and by 1841 French rule had been consolidated in most of parts and much of eastern part of Algeria was under French control by the 1844.³⁷

It was the year of 1839 when official named "Algeria" came up when the position of governor general was created for the territory. During 1844, east was under French control but the western Algeria was under Abd-al-Qadir who claimed descent from Prophet Mohammad. The war against him was long and wearisome and he finally surrendered in 1847. By the following year the conquest of Algeria was virtually complete. Under a ministerial order of

³⁷ The Cambridge History of Africa vol. 5, C 1790 – C 1870 ed. by John E. Flint, Cambridge Univ. Press 1976.

February 1, 1844, a department for native affairs and military “Bureau Arabes” was established.³⁸ During the second French Empire the conquest of Algeria was completed in 1857 and the policy of colonization was continued. In 1858 and the policy of colonization was continued. In 1858 the Governor Generalship was abolished and replaced by a ministry of Algeria and the colonies.

Between 1849 and 1870, France was ruled by Louis Napoleon. He was in favour of French glory. When France was defeated by Prussia in 1870 there was a tremendous uprising in Algeria.³⁹ This was also the period of establishment of third French Republic, also followed by a period of agitation and disturbance. This was also a period of revolt led by a former collaboration, Al Mugerani. The revolt was crushed in early 1872 and many tribal lands were seized. The end of result of the result was the destruction of the old structure of Algerian Society and the beginning of a period where the French saw everything important. After this revolt the situation was regularised by a new French administration under Adolphe Thiers. On Aug 26, 1881, Algerian affairs were allotted to the various ministries of France and the Governor General became merely an agent for carrying out instruction.⁴⁰ In 1898, an Algerian legislative assembly was introduced, entirely dominated by 1/9th of the population that had European status. So, from 1871 to 1900 there was considerable economic development in Algeria.

³⁸ The Middle East and North Africa 2001, 47th Edition, Europa Publications.

³⁹ Best, Alan C.G. and Bliji, Harm J. de- African survey.

⁴⁰ Muhlberger Steve- the French Conquest and colonization of Algeria, Nipissing University.

By the turn of the century Algeria secured administrative and financial autonomy, to be exercised through a sort of Algerian parliament the so called financial delegations, composed of two thirds European and one third Muslim members. The settlers enjoyed a high level of propriety in the years before the First World War. After the First World War the spirit of nationalism was emerged among Algerian Muslims. The industrialist and other workers even those Algerians who had gone to France to study raised their voice for national aspirations. In the year of 1924 Messali Hadj founded the first Algerian nationalist newspaper in Paris. Messali Hadj and his movement were forced into hiding by the French Government, but re-emerged in 1933 to sponsor a congress on the future of Algeria-demanding full independence.⁴¹

The World War II period temporarily froze Algerian nationalist activities. During this period Algeria came under the Vichy Government till the Allied Landing on November 8, 1942. In the early 1943 declaration known as the Manifesto of the Algerian people, which included demands for legal equality, agricultural reform, free compulsory education, creation of an Algerian state associate with France, was put forth. After having dealt with the historical background of Algeria one can say that between the period of 1885 and 1904 most of the boundaries of Algeria was drawn which was practically complete by 1909.

⁴¹ Entelis, John P. "Algeria" – The revolution Institutionalised, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1986.

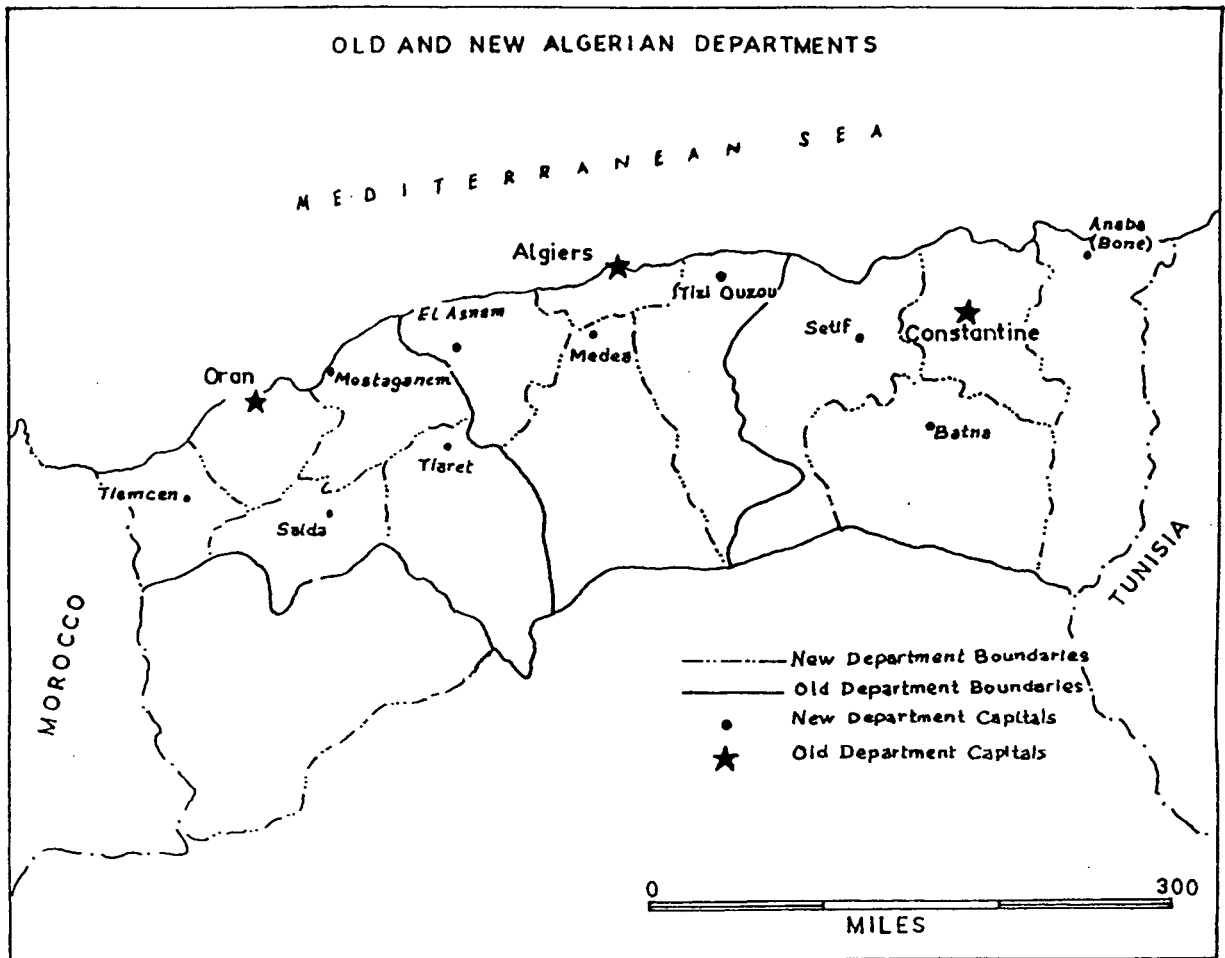
Modern Phase

Though the demarcation of the boundaries had already taken place in the medieval phase but some boundaries problems emerged during this modern phase. Algeria's problem regarding the boundary demarcation with adjacent countries and the role of government to solve these problems and the emergence of Algerian nationalist and the process of Algeria's independence all these would be discussed in this part.

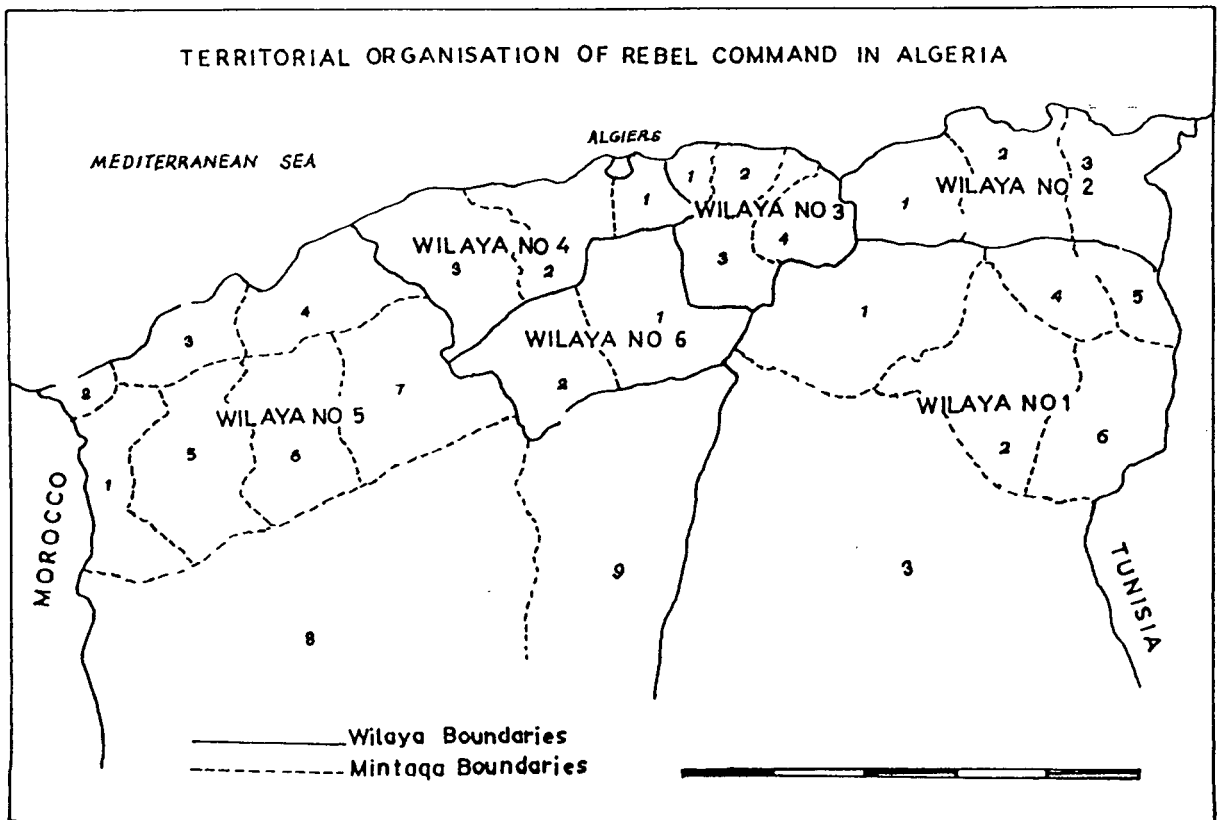
The modern period in Algerian history may be said to have began after the II World War when nationalist feelings rose high in Algeria but officially the nationalist movement was outlawed. After 1945 the two communities of Algeria – settler and native were separated by an abyss of mutual understanding, hatred and fear that fed on itself right down to the end of the revolution. On September 20, 1947 under the regime of the Fourth Republic the statute of Algeria was enacted. Algeria became a group of three 'departments' Algeria, Oran and Constantine.⁴² The French Government introduced a new constitution on the same day granting French citizenship and therefore the right to vote, to all Algerian citizens and recognizing Arabic as equal in status to French. But the new constitution was never brought fully into operation.

In 1946 Ferhat Abbas, released under an amnesty, launched the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto (UDMA) with a programme providing for the creation of an autonomous, secular Algerian state within the

⁴² Heggoy, Alt Andrew: *Insurgency and counter insurgency in Algeria*. p.63, Indiana University Press, 1972.



Source: Heggoy, A. Andrew, "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Algeria"



Source: O'Ballance, Edgar, "The Algerian Insurrection, 1954-62"

French Union. On the other hand, Movement for The Triumph of Democratic Liberties (MTDL) formed by Messali Hadj, demanded in creation of a sovereign constituent assembly and the withdrawal of French troops. Despite party's electoral victories in the French National Assembly the UDMA failed to achieve any of its objectives. It withdrew from the assembly in September 1946 and refused to participate in the next election. As early as 1947, several younger member of the MTLD had formed the 'Secret Organisation' (OS) which collected arms and money throughout Algeria in proportion for armed insurrection and establishment of a revolutionary government. Within two years they felt itself strong enough to launch a terrorist attack in Oran but the movement was discovered and suppressed by the French Government.

Algeria was divided into six wilaya (administrative district) during 1954 and a military commander was appointed for each.⁴³ These six wilayas in Algeria were:

Wilaya I: Which included the Aures Mountains and Nementchas Mountains

Wilaya II: Based on in North Constantine region

Wilaya III: Based on the Kabylie region

Wilaya IV: Based on the region just south of Algeria

Wilaya V: Consisted of most of Western Algeria

Wilaya VI: Consisted of the territory to the south of Wilayas III and IV, and all the Sahara Desert.

⁴³ Ibid p.63.

A serious nationalist uprising began in Algeria on November 1, 1954 under the director of the National Liberation Front (Front de Liberation nationale – FLN) and its Army of National Liberation (ALN). The aim of the movement was not only to break up French military control of Algeria but also to weld the Muslim man into a nationally conscious organised population. So, the nationalistic feeling steadily mounted and in 1955 a state of emergency was proclaimed, military reinforcements were dispatched and Algeria was virtually at war with France, which remained for long firmly opposed to the granting of full independence to the territory. Beginning in the Aures, during this time the revolt had spread to the Constantine area, the Kabyle and the Moroccan Frontier, west of Oran. By the end of 1956 the ALN was active through out the settled areas of Algeria. In April 1956, Ferhat Abbas and Ahmad Francis of the more moderate UDMA and the religion leaders of the Ulema joined the FLN.

In May 1958 the colonists rebelled and installed committees of public safety in the major Algerian town.⁴⁴ During the same year the frustration over failure to suppress the rebellion produced the overthrow of the French Government by a revolt among the settlers, backed by the army in Algeria and the French supporters of the claim that Algeria was part of France.⁴⁵ General de Gaulle returned to power and new constitution gave him increased powers. He later declared a policy of achieving an 'Algerian Algeria' through self

⁴⁴ O' Balance Edger-The Algerian Insurrection-1954-62 p. 102 Faber, 24 Russel square, London, 1967.

⁴⁵ Boyd, Andrew and Rensburg, Patrik Van – An Atlas of African Affairs. Fredrick A. Praeger Publishers, New Delhi-1966.

determination. His belief that he would further their aim of complete integration of Algeria with France.

The independence of Morocco and Tunisia in March 1956 had its effects on the Algerian revolution. The establishment in August 1958 of a Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic (GPRA) headed by Ferhat Abbas and including Ben Bella and other leader who had been interned in France.

Already de Gaulle was beginning to recognize the strength of Algerian nationalism and was moving cautiously towards accepting FLN demands. On September 28, 1958 alongwith the rest of French territories Algeria voted to accept the De Gaulle Constitution of 1958. On September 16, 1959, the French President recognised the right of the Algerians to determine their own future by a referendum which was held in Metropolitan France and Algeria on 6-8 January 1961, accepting the principle of Algerian self-determination.⁴⁶

The formation of a secret Army Organisation (OAS) of anti-Gaullists in February 1961 and in April a full scale revolt against the French Government took place. It was not until June 17, 1962 that an agreement was reached between the Algerian settlers and the Algerian Muslims reaffirming the condition of possible co-existence. In the meantime a ceasefire agreement was signed in Evian between the French Government and the Algerian nationalist on March 18, 1962 which provided the establishment of an independent Algerian State on July 5, 1962, on the 132nd anniversary of the French entry into Algeria.

⁴⁶ Entries, John P.-"Algeria-the revolution Institutionalised, Westview Press Boulder Colorado, 1986.

Post independence Period of Ben Bella to the Present

After the independence a vicious struggle for power among contending groups began. The three major contestants for power were the Algerian provisional government, the Wilaya commands and the army of the frontier or external army (ALN). Ben Bella, with the military support of the ALN, was able to gain the initiative and established his authority over party and nation. In 1962 elections, the assembly elected Ben Bella premier and empowered him to form a government.⁴⁷

In July 1965, the 1963 constitution was suspended and the new constitution was promulgated which also known as the second Algerian Republic. The new constitution signaled the return of constitutional government and month after this approval of the constitution Boumedienne was overwhelmingly elected president of the republic. Elections for new popular national assembly was held on Feb 25, 1977 and after two month a new government was formed.

After Boumedienne's sudden illness that led to his death in 1978, Chadli contested the election for the presidency in Feb 1979. During his tenure Algeria has evolved away from the ideological military and economic authority into a more liberalised phase of decentralization, deconcentration and democratisation. During the mid seventies Front de Liberation Nationale (FLN) or National Liberation Front was the country's only political party. The FLN was committed to socialism. By the 1989, a revision to the constitution ended

⁴⁷ Ibid p.38.

the one party system and permitted any number of parties to operate. The main opposition party is the Front Islamique du salut (FIS) or Islamic Salvation Front which calls for making Algeria an Islamic republic.⁴⁸ Multiparty national legislation elections were held in December 1991. Before the 1991 elections the Algerian government was headed by an elected president, who appointed a prime minister. The prime minister appointed the council of Ministers to supervise the various government departments.

In the above said modern phase we studied both political and historical development simultaneously along with boundary evolution. The dispute of western Saharan part of Algeria with Morocco also settled and boundary demarcation took place. Tunisia and Algeria made minor adjustment to their border as part of a 1982 rapprochement and in May 1982, Algerian official approved an agreement that demarcated Algeria's boundary with Mali. So at present there is not such any boundary problem in Algeria with its neighbouring countries regarding the demarcation or delimitation of boundaries.

⁴⁸ The World Book, Encyclopaedia, Vol.1.

CHAPTER III

Geopolitical Factors in the Evolution of Algeria's International Boundaries

The territory that we call Algeria acquired more or less settled frontiers only after the French occupation of 1830, and was so called only from 1839. From the first external influence of Phoenician to the French colonization, Algeria's northern portion i.e. coastal areas came under the different powers. As far as Algeria's Geopolitical factors are concerned, the main factor is the position and its strategic location in the Mediterranean and to some extent its climate also influenced the evolution of national boundaries in Algeria. Earlier coloniser had settled in those areas which were agriculturally or climatically suitable for them. First the demarcation of the frontiers was done. But after the French occupation, the boundaries in Northern Africa (Maghreb) emerged. They demarcated the boundaries of Algeria's as convenient for their administrative point of view. They had no knowledge about the geographical and demographical aspects of Algeria so they choose the straight-line boundaries while delineating and demarcating the entire area.

Geopolitical Aspects of Colonisation

From the 7th century until 1962, Algeria knew only the rule of the foreign occupiers. The history of its Berber and Arab peoples, however is of considerably great antiquity. Islam arrived Algeria (Maghreb) with Arab

invaders and by 710 A.D. the whole of North Africa was under the rule of Arabs. Next to Arabs were the Berber speaking people of Almoravid Empire. After that the Ottoman intervention came to North Africa and there was the period when Algeria emerged as recognizable political configuration. French conquest over the Algeria was started with the period of 1830 to the 1962, 132 years of French colonial rule.

As late as 1890 the French in Algeria actively pursued a policy of land expropriation. The natives of the 'Tell' have been deprived of the greater part of their holdings. After the disastrous war with Prussia (1870-1). The French Government looked to Algeria as a region where it might recover its lost prestige through imperial enterprise, and at the same time add to French territory as compensation for the cession of Alsace Lorraine.⁴⁹ To this day it is not regarded as a colony but rather a part of political structure of France, and is controlled not by the Ministry of the colonies but by that of the interiors and they divide it into 3 departments and each of which sends a senator and deputies to the National Assembly in Paris.

The plain of Bone, which is about as extensive as the plain of Mitidja, has been selected by the French as their main colonizing centre in Eastern Algeria. The French farming community was especially associated with viticulture, since 1880, it was the chief interest of the country. French policy is placing so much land under this crop has been criticized because very little of

⁴⁹ Fitzgerald, Walter - "Africa" - A Social Economic and Political Geography of its Major Regions, 1968, Methuen and Co. Ltd., p. 397.

the wine production is consumed in the country, whose native inhabitants are mainly Muslims.⁵⁰ One of the main factor that helped to promote French interest in viticulture was the temporary destruction of the vineyards of France by the Phylloxera pest in 1878. Algeria was colonised in the sense that the America or Australia and New Zealand were.

The period of French colonisation brought a degree of modernisation to many parts of Algeria, infrastructure were developed especially where activity was more intense, modern consumer products and manufacturing techniques were introduced. Until a few years before independence France was committed to the goal of assimilation of African territories in a French Union in which all citizens would became citizens of France.

Before 1844, no defined lines comparable to boundaries existed; only natural features or zones of fluctuating width separated traditional areas. French coloniser demarcate Algerian boundaries for their administration purpose. In the North Western Algeria and Central section, the boundary was defined by tribal areas rather than by geographical features. From Teniet-el-Sassi to South of Figuig, the 'Varnier line' and 1901 protocol boundary was identical.⁵¹ The main geopolitical factor of the French official policy was to colonise the territory with French settlers and many French citizen became permanent residents. Unlike most of France's overseas possessions, Algeria was not formally a colony but was "attached" to metropolitan France. However

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 381.

⁵¹ Fisher, Charles A., "Essays in Political Geography, Chapter XIII, 1968, Methuen and Co. Ltd., London, p. 243.

political and economic power within Algeria was largely held by the white settler as the indigenous, Muslim majority did not have equal rights.

The factors which are responsible for the evolution of Algeria's national boundaries are divided into the Geographic setting, Climate, economic resources, Agriculture, Population including the European; Strategic factors like the industrial basis, Transportation system, location of mineral oil and gas field etc. These factors are the main elements which forms the basis of the power of a state. Algeria's boundaries evolution, "to some extent", rely on these factors which give its main contribution in emergence of Algeria as a political entity and also help to demarcate the modern boundaries. Now, in modern time, Algeria's contemporary geopolitical significance also depend on these factors which we discuss below separately.

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING:

Location

The location of a state may be expressed with reference to astronomical factors to land and water, to central or marginal accessibility or to strategy in term of land, sea and air bases. Location with reference to land and water bears a close relationship to the defensive and offensive strategy of a state. In geopolitics, the strategic locations are important. Algeria which is the largest of the three countries in north-west Africa that comprise the Maghreb and is second in size after Sudan. It is situated between Morocco and Tunisia, with a Mediterranean coastline of nearly 1,000 km and a total area of about 2,381,741

km², over four fifths of which lies south of the Maghreb proper and within the western Sahara.⁵² Its extent both from north to south and west to east, exceeds 2,000 km.

Shape and Size

This is the most important geopolitical element of the state because shape or form of a country may have an important influence on its foreign policy. A state may be compact or attenuated. One that is compact, possesses the advantage of a shorter boundary. On the other hand, an attenuated state has more boundaries because of its elongation. As far as Algerian boundaries are concerned it is said to be compact state. The size of a state is extremely important in geopolitics. The further power of the world will consist of those states that have among other facts, a vast area for defence in depth. The nature of the surface features of the state will also determine the nature of its offensive and defensive strategy. All in all the nature of the topography is highly important in the military strategy of the state.

Physical Settings

Physical geography of Algeria played a very important role in shaping the course of events. The major contrast in the physical geography of Algeria is between the mountains, relatively humid terrain of the north, which forms part of Atlas mountain system and the vast expanse of desert to the south, which is

⁵² Entelis, John P. - "Algeria" The Revolution Institutionalised., West view Press, London 1986. p. 2 & 3.

part of the Saharan table land. In order from north to south, five zones can be distinguished, these zones are the Tell coastal zones, the Tell Atlas, the Plateau of the Shotts, the Saharan Atlas and the Algerian Sahara.

(1) The Tell Coastal zones

The coastal zone of the Tells, which extends all along the 600 miles (960 km) of Mediterranean coast, is narrow and broken. Some time these zones referred to as coastal lowlands which occur as a series of pockets or valleys between the enecheloned prongs of the maritime Atlas. From west to east the important lowlands are the plains around Oran and along the Sig River, the Chelif valley, the plains of Algeria and the Metidja, and those near Bejaia and Annaba. One of the most notable of these coastal ranges is the Dahra.⁵³

The Tell is more reminiscent of southern France than any other part of Algeria, with its characteristic Mediterranean climate and its geological similarities and it is not surprising that this region became the chief area of French settlement and most productive part of the whole country. To the French, the vine was the “Soul of Algeria” and it was the most powerful attraction for many “colons”.⁵⁴ The Metidja with its level surface its deep and rich soil and its adequate water supply, is one of the most productive parts of Algeria. The coastal lowlands are the sites of the major cities of Algeria which has a number of large island cities.

⁵³ World mark Encyclopaedia of the nations “Africa” vol.2, World Mark Press Ltd. Publisher, 1984.

⁵⁴ Best, Alan, C.G. & Blij, Harm J.De, “African Survey” Part VII, Chapter 32, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1977.

(2) The Tell Atlas

This region may be divided into three zones: the littoral band where hills, known as the Sahels, plunge abruptly in the sea, the coastal plain and the Tell Atlas. The Sahels are intensively used for the gardening, vineyards and orchards. The coastal plain already discussed in the above paragraph. The Tell Atlas consists of large tabular plateaus with some mountainous massifs often cut by deep valleys, it joins with the Saharan Atlas in Tunisia. This Tell or Maritime Atlas consists of a series of long narrow ridges such as the Tlemcen and the Ouarsenis.⁵⁵ There are notable contrasts between the western and eastern parts of the Tell. The west is spilt up into smaller region and is less massive, drier, hotter and more suited to pastoralism; the high plains are arid, very different from those of Constantine. The east is better watered better suited for sedentary agriculture, more densely populated.

(3) The Plateau of Shotts

Stretching across the country between the Tell Atlas and the Saharan Atlas is a region of semiarid high plateau with an elevation of about 3,300 feet. The plateau of Shotts derives its name from the basin of interior drainage, occupied by ephemeral lakes and salt flats. These Shotts are the featureless plain. To the west, near the Moroccan Frontier, they form a broad, monotonous expanse of level terrain about 160 km across and more than 1,000 m above sea level.

⁵⁵ Encyclopaedia Americana international edition, Vol-1, 1983, Grolier incorporation.

They gradually narrow and descend eastward to end in Hodna basin. The surface of the plateaux consist of alluvial debris from erosion of the mountains to the north and south. The internal drainage, known as Shotts, among which Hodna basin is the largest. During rainy period water accumulates in the Shotts to form extensive shallow lakes which give way to Saline mud flats and swamps.

Along the north of the plateau are large areas used for grain production. Nomadic and semi nomadic herding is the most widespread activity of the plateau and becomes increasingly dominant towards the drier south.

(4) The Saharan Atlas

The Southern region of the High Plateaux is marked by a series of mountain chains and massifs that from the Saharan Atlas. So, the Saharan Atlas consists for the most part of a number of discontinuous ranges which are generally only a few hundred feet higher than the plateau of the Shotts. They are more interrupted than the Tell Atlas and present no serious barrier to communication between the high Plateaux and the Sahara.⁵⁶

The greatest significance of this southern range is the protection it gives to Algeria from the drying Saharan winds. It does support extensive grazing and some alfafa grass production. From west to east to east the chief mountain chains are the Ksovr, Amour, Ouled Nail, Ziban & Aures. The latter is the most

⁵⁶ Jarret H.R., "Africa", MacDonald and Evans Ltd, 1974, Chapter IX, p.233.

impressive massif in the whole Algerian Atlas system and includes the highest peak: Djebel Chelia 2,328m.⁵⁷

Along the slopes of the valleys in the centre & north of the ranges are grown crops of cereals while along the valley floors there are orchards of peaches, plums, apples and olive. In the south the conditions are drier and favour date palms in the valley oases between which extend scanty pastures. These factors normally stimulate the tourist trade as well.

(5) The Algerian Sahara

South of the Saharan Atlas is the enormous region of Algerian Sahara with an area of about 800,000 square miles (2.1 million sq km). Topographically, the Sahara is mostly dry plains and plateau with occasional mountains such as the Ahaggar, the Aïr and the Tibesti. Characteristic surfaces include sand dunes and ergs – such as the eastern and western ergs of Algeria. The vegetation of the Sahara is characterized by its ability to withstand long periods without moisture. The major impact of the harsh physical conditions of the Sahara is to limit severely the utilizable areas. In the Algerian Sahara about 100,000 acres (40,000 ha) are cultivated – about 0.017 percent of the total.⁵⁸

Inhabitants of the Algerian Sahara include Berbers, the oldest historically known white group, who may be either nomads or sedentary basis

⁵⁷ The New Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. 1, 15th edition.

⁵⁸ Church: Harrison, R.J. – 'Africa and the Islands, Chapter VI, The Sahara, p. 143, Longman Group Limited, London 1970.

dwellers; Arab Berbers, who inhabit the northern region; Negroid peoples, who are descendants of the earlier Saharan Settlers.

Climate as a Factor in Geopolitical Relation

The third prime factor in the geopolitical basis of the state is climate. The health and energy of man in both peace and war conditioned by climate. Climate also set up a barrier to the movement of man.

The climate of northernmost Algeria is of 'Mediterranean' type with warm, wet winter and hot dry summers. Apart from northern Algeria, the region of coastal plain and the Tell Atlas southward to the margin of the high Plateaux also come under the same climate. Rainfall occur mostly in winters, it varies from over 1,000 mm annually on some coastal mountain to less than 130 mm in sheltered.⁵⁹ The drought situation lasts for three to four months during the summers. When the sirocco also occurs which locally known as the Chehili. Due to high temperatures the crops are unable to withstand the intensity of evaporation and may die within a few hours.

Oued Chelif is the longest perennial river which rise in the High Plateaux and crosses the Tell to reach the Mediterranean sea east of Oran, "Mediterranean" condition give way to semi-arid or steppe climate, on the northern margin of the High Plateaux, in which summer drought lasts from 5 to

⁵⁹ Gautier E.F. – "Sahara – The Great Desert", Octagon Book, New York 1970.

6 months and winters are colder and drier. South of the Saharan Atlas the cultivation without irrigation becomes impossible because annual rainfall decreases to below 200 mm. The other reason is that there are no permanent rivers south of the Tell Atlas. The Climate contrast between the humid Tell and the semi arid leads reflects the difference in vegetation and soils in northern Algeria.

The Climate of Saharan Algeria is characterised by extremes of temperatures, wind and aridity. Daily temperature ranges reach 32⁰C and maximum shade temperature of over 55⁰C have been recorded. Mean average rainfall is everywhere less than 130 mm and some of the central parts of the desert it falls to less than 10 mm.⁶⁰

Geopolitical Aspect and Distribution of Population

The fourth geopolitical element of the state is the population. During the war both manpower as the battlefield and women and manpower on the home front are essential to victory. A state must have the people to occupy the space if the state is to be powerful. However, the mere number of people in a country must not necessarily be considered a prime factor of geopolitical power.

The population of Algeria was found where the zone of cultivation found with adequate rainfall and irrigation facilities. On the basis of population distribution the boundary of northern Algeria was formed because the southern

⁶⁰ Willian. A. Hance. – “The Geography of Modern Africa”, Columbia Univ. Press – New York 1975.

Algeria's had no population at that time. But after the exploration of mineral resources the population started to increase and due to discovery of mineral oil in Algerian Sahara, people wish to migrate there for jobs opportunities. After 1871 the population of France began to decline and agricultural sector required manpower. So during that time a mass migration took place to France. But after 6 years, in the year of 1878 when the destruction of French vineyard took place during the great phylloxera, only northern Algeria was suitable for viticulture.⁶¹ France prepared farm settlements in suitable areas to accommodate the arriving settlers and by the beginning of twentieth century the population increased with the number of settler came to the cities of Algeria.

Algiers under the last of the Turkish government had perhaps 100,00 residents; at the end of the colonial period its population approached 1 million. Although the French predominated – they represented more than three-quarter of the non-native population of Algeria.⁶²

The population of Algeria increased its rate of growth markedly during the colonial period. During the invasion of France at Algiers, the population of what is today Algeria probably was between 2 and 2.5 million. Just one century later this had tripled, the 1936 figure was over 7.2 million.

Northern Algeria is the zone of greatest demographic importance. Yet there are few districts where the density reaches figures would be regarded as

⁶¹ Fitzgerald, Walter – "Africa" – A social, Economic and Political Geography of its major regions, 1968, Methuen and Co. Ltd., p. 380.

⁶² Oliver, Roland and Atmore, Anthony – "Africa since 1800" New edition, Cambridge University Press, 1994.

normal for rural averages in Western Europe. Even in the fertile areas under native farming the condition of agriculture do not permit a high density, except where orchards are kept.

At the time of independence the population was in excess of 11 million and by the 1976 the population was 18 million, increasing at the rate of 3.2 percent. During 1997 the population was 30.2 million, nearly 75% aged less than 30 years. About 55% of the population were urban. The percentage of active population was 27%. The overall population growth rate averaged 3.1% per annum during 1970-80 and 2.8% per annum in 1980-92. The estimated population of the main cities in 1996 being 3.1 m in the capital Algiers, 1.2 m. in Oran, 1 m. in Constantine and 8,00,000 in Annaba.⁶³

Most of the Algerians are Sunni Muslims of the Malikite sect and almost all are Arabic speaking. Since both Arabs and Berbers are descendants of the same tribal people, it is a mistake to think of these two groups as representing rigid and exclusive ethnic blocs. The several distinctive Berber subcultures that exist in the country have little in common with each other except that their dialects are derived from a common root. The Kabyles are the largest and most important of the four major Berber speaking groups, they originated in the mountainous area East of Algiers. The groups are the Shawiyas (in eastern Algeria), the Mozabites and the Tuareg nomads of the south, deep in the Algerian Sahara.

⁶³ "Algeria, Land of Opportunities", Embassy of Algeria, New Delhi: March 1999.

STRATEGIC FACTORS

Natural Resources, Industrial Basis and their Geopolitical Significance

The fifth geopolitical element of the state is its natural resources and industrial basis as an expression of economic power. Military success depends largely upon superior equipment in terms of planes, tanks, ships and guns, which in turn depend upon the industrial capacity of the country. In modern war, industrial capacity is the key to victory.

Algeria has varied natural resources. In the coastal, regions are fertile plains and valleys where profitable return are made from cereals, wine, olive, and fruits. The remainder of the country support little agriculture. On the other hand the mineral wealth of Algeria is by no means negligible. There are especially rich iron ores, free from phosphorus and suitable for steel manufacturing which are mined at the Tell and exported from many of the coastal ports like Oran, Algiers, Bougie, Philippeville and Bone. Mineral resources, in particular, petroleum and natural gas, are abundant and dominant Algeria's export trade.

Algeria has a developing economic based largely on income from Natural gas and petroleum production. The government controls the nation's key industries including the production of natural gas and petroleum and the manufacturer of construction of materials, textiles and iron and steel.

The most important sector of Algerian economic is that of hydrocarbons, which constitutes the dominant part of the country's GDP. This sector contributes almost 60% of the budgetary cash flow and 95% of product exports.

Oil reserve total 9.2 billion barrels, representing about 1% of the world reserves and gas reserves are estimated at 3700 billion cubic metres, roughly 2.5% of the world figure.⁶⁴

As regard other sector of the Algerian manufacturing industry the public sector still dominate, even though the private sector is making rapid and important inroads into different segments. The Algerian industry is quite diversified compared to that of similar countries, with a significant part for semiproducts and transformation industry and to a lesser extent, for capital goods.

Strategic Significance of Minerals

Recent exploration in the Algerian Sahara has proved that the desert has mineral resources for more varied and copious than those of the Atlas Mountain, though their remoteness may prove to be an obstacle in the way of their early exploitation. During the colonial era the mineral output of Algeria was confined largely to phosphate of lime, the basis for a fertilizer and iron

⁶⁴ Ibid; 8.

ores of high quality. In Algeria the principal phosphate mines are in the district of Tebessa, on the interior Plateau near the Tunisian border and in that of Tocqueville, south of the Tell Atlas and to the north of the great Shott el Hodna.

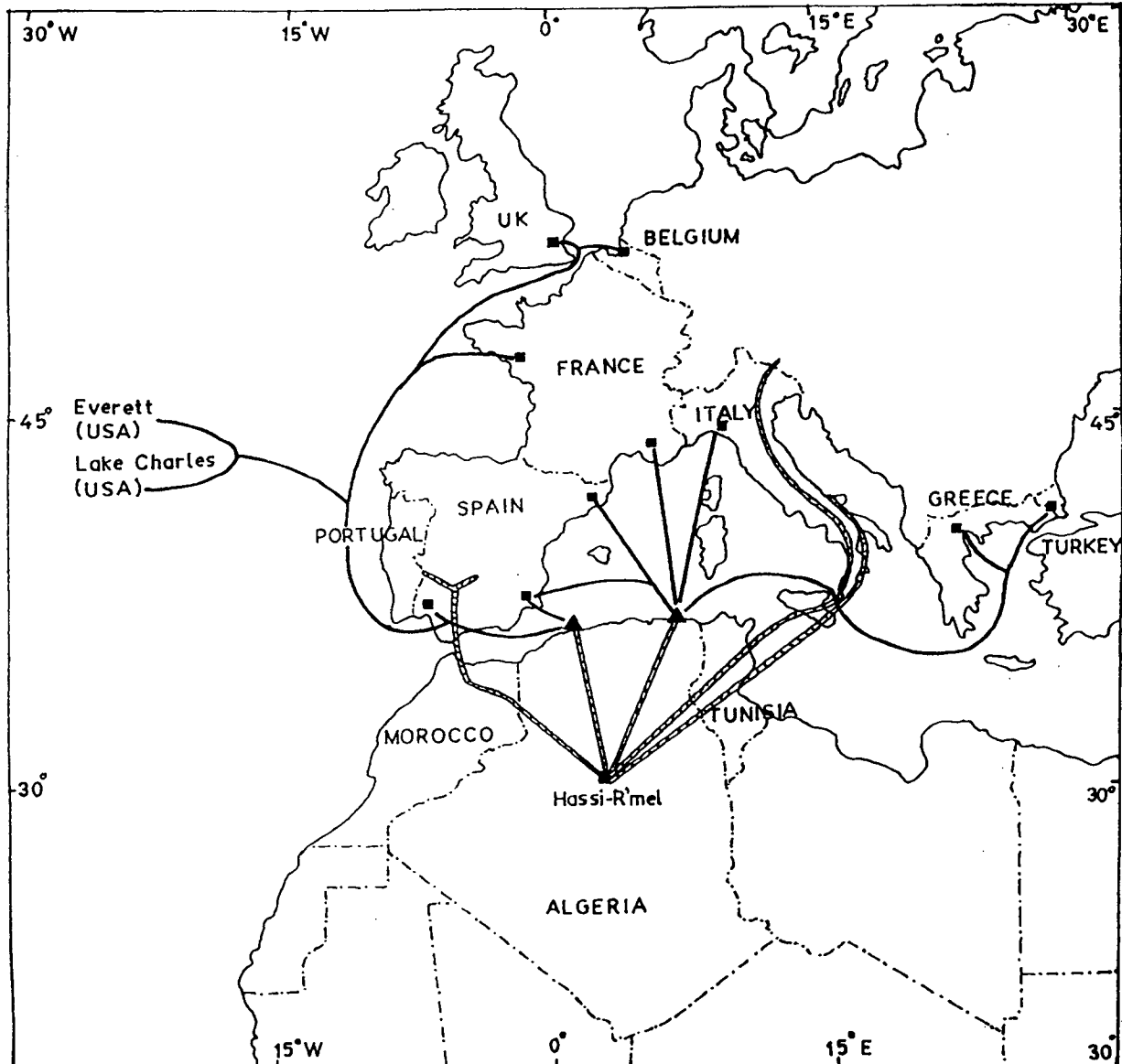
Algeria has also rich deposits of lead, zinc and antimony. Mining is controlled by the state enterprise that was created in 1983 by restructuring of the former monopoly SONAREM. Iron-ore is mined at Beni-Saf, Zaccar, Timezrit and near the frontier at Ouenza and Bou Khadra. The average grade of ore is 50% - 60%. The deposits Ouenza represent 75% of total production. Important deposits were found in 1975 at Djebel Bouari in Batna Wilaya. Bituminous coal mined at Colomb Behar-Kenadza and Ksiksov.⁶⁵

The main deposits of lead and zinc are at el-Abed, on the Algerian-Moroccan frontier and at the Kherzet Youcef mine, in setif region. Exploitation of large phosphate deposit at Djebel-Onk began in 1960. Phosphate in quantity are also produced and about one half of produced is exported mainly to France and Spain. Other mineral resources include tungsten, manganese, mercury, copper and salt.

The discovery of most significance for the economy of both Algeria and metropolitan France has been that of mineral oil and gas in abundant quantities. Oil was first struck at the chief field, that of Hassi Messoud in 1956 and in

⁶⁵ ALERGIA – Land of opportunities, Embassy of Algeria, New Delhi, March 1999.

Natural gas pipeline & LNG export system



SOURCE: EMBASSY OF ALGERIA

- Liquefaction plants ▲
- LNG receiving terminals ■
- LNG —
- Existing gas pipelines - - -

December 1959.⁶⁶ A pipeline 384 miles long was opened from there to the coast at Bougie. Successful borings have been made at Edjele, Tiguentourine and Zarzaitime in the Polignac Basin near the Libyan border and oil from this area begin arriving by pipeline in 1961 at the Tunisian port of Skirra.

Algeria's production of crude petroleum increased since independence and this was done through the pipelines to the coast, one from the eastern fields through Tunisia to La-skhirra and other from Hassi Messoud to Bejaia on the Algerian coast. In early years of sixties these pipelines came into operations.

The Government had complete controls of the Algiers refinery and of the domestic distribution network. The expansion of a small refinery at Hassi Messaoud was completed in 1979. There are other refineries are at Arzew and Skidda. In 1991 the Government established an organization to monitor energy strategy and projects.

Most of the gas was in the Hassi R'Mel region, 400 km south of Algiers. This field was discovered in 1956 and is still considered to be one of the largest in the world. Unassociated gas is also found near in Amenas, Alrar Gassi, Touil, Rhourde Nouss, Tin Fouye and In-Salah. For the development of these gas fields a huge investment has been done by the Government. Pipelines were laid to the coast to supply local gas distribution system and LNG has been exported since 1965. Before 1962 Algeria exported relatively small amount of

⁶⁶ William A. Hanu – "The Geography of Modern Africa, Columbia University Press, New York-1975.

LNG from the Camel liquefaction plant at Arzew. The second phase of Algeria's gas development began in the early 1970's.

In 1970's the Algerian oil interests of Shell, Phillips, Elwerath and AMIF were nationalized and SONATRACH became Algeria's largest producer. During 1971 Algeria nationalized French Petroleum companies operating in the country as well as pipeline network and natural gas deposits. In the late 1991 a new hydrocarbons law was promulgated with the aim of encouraging greater participation by foreign companies in Algeria's oil and gas industry.⁶⁷

Agriculture as a Factor in Demarcation of Algeria's Boundaries

Agriculture and stock rearing are by far the chief occupations of the people of Algeria. It was the agricultural activities during the colonial era, which form the southern boundary of Algeria because the region lying in the Algerian Sahara has made no contribution in agriculture sector. Two of the narrow plain of Shelif, longest of Algerian river and the more famous plain of Mitidja, deeply covered with alluvium. The headquarters of French farming colonization witness the most magnificent vineyards found to be in this region only.⁶⁸ Behind the 'Tell' of Oran and Algiers the high plateaux extends southwards where the intensive farming becomes impossible.

⁶⁷ Best, Alan C.G. and Blij, Harm J.De, "African Survey" Chapter 32, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1977.

⁶⁸ ALGERIA – Land of Opportunities – Embassy of Algeria, March 1999.

The coastal zone including Cheliff valley and Mitidja, are the most productive parts of the country where large crops of cereals, fruits and vegetables are grown, a large part of this produce finds its way to the market of France. The chief agricultural activity on the larger farms is the cultivation of the vine and the value of the wine shipped overseas for long greatly exceeded that of any other agricultural export. But after independence many of the former vineyards have been destroyed, partly because of smaller sales of wine abroad and partly because the devout Muslim is forbidden by his religion to drink alcohol, so that the domestic market is very limited. A crop of increasing importance is tobacco, which is grown especially near Constantine. It forms the basis of a flourishing manufacturing industry and cigarettes, cigars and pipe tobacco are all produced for domestic use and for export.

European farmers before independence produced more than half of the entire domestic crop of Algeria. But now the fact remains, that the Algerians are not able to produce enough foodstuffs to supply their own needs.

Though possessing little arable land (3% of total area of the country), Algeria was a granary of Europe just before the arrival of French. During French occupation, agriculture developed further and Algeria became a next exporter of high quality of agricultural products, ranging from cereals and fruits to wines and grapes.

More than 90% of the land consists of arid plateaux, mountain or desert, supporting herds of sheep, goats or camels. Only the northern coastal strip, 100

km - 200 km wide, is suitable for arable farming, 4.4 m. ha. Land is covered by forest and most of the Sahara is devoted to semi desert pasturage. Most of the cultivated area is devoted to cereals principally wheat and barley, other crops include citrus fruits, vegetables, grapes, olive and dates.

During the nineties, priority programme of reforms was designed to increase productivity, diversify crops and encourage the cooperative and private sectors. Greater irrigation, use of fertilizers, and adoption of modern methods of culture including dry farming and cultivation of hilly regions are some of the prominent features of new projects which are adopted in nineties. Agricultural research is being promoted and land reforms have been taken up. The agriculture and fishery sector contributes about 12% of GDP and employed nearly 25% of Algeria's labour force.⁶⁹

Since the French colonial era, wines have been one of the Algeria's principal agricultural exports, however the annual output of wine declined since from the independence in terms of area. Cereals are grown principally in the Constantine, Annabe, Setif and Tiaret areas: Wheat and Barley are the most important cereals. Production of cereals fluctuates, considerably largely due to drought and grains have to be imported particularly from Canada, France and U.S.A. Olive are grown mainly in the western coastal belt and in the Kabyle. The Citrus crops grown in the coastal districts.

⁶⁹ Fitzgerald, Walter - "Africa" A Social, Economic and Political Geography of its Major Regions. P. 407, Methuen and Co. Ltd. 1968.

Cows, horses, sheep and goats are raised and a special programme has been undertaken to increase milk production. But great improvements are needed in stock-raising methods, grasslands, control of disease and water supply if the increasing demand of meat is to be satisfied. Official figures for 1998 indicated that there were 3.2 m goats, 1.3 m cattle and 17.5 m sheep.⁷⁰

During the nineties the Government sought to exploit its fishing potential and made attempt to increase the annual catch. Most of the local fishing activity is carried out in small family owned boats. Under legislation passed in 1994, foreign fishing boats may apply to catch fish in Algeria's territorial waters.

Governmental Strategy

After independence in 1962, Algeria's government sought to promote economic growth as a foundation for a future socialist society. In 1966 the government nationalized foreign owned mines, land which had been abandoned by Europeans at independence, and insurance companies. In 1971 it assumed control of the hydrocarbon sector.⁷¹ But now a days, a number of significant changes have been introduced in the Hydrocarbon law of 1986 where foreign companies were given the rights to operate and new fiscal terms were introduced to encourage exploration outside the proven fields. The hydrocarbon

⁷⁰ The Middle East and North Africa, 2001, 47th Edition, European Publications.

⁷¹ Ibid; P. 315.

sector alone accounted for 32.8% of Algeria's gross domestic product (GDP) in 1997.⁷²

The Governmental strategy for development traditionally involved a high degree of austerity with heavy restrictions placed on the import of luxury and consumer goods. In the mining sector, the law of 1984 which is related to mining activities, the government permits foreign companies to invest in Algeria in exploration, development and exploitation of mining resources through partnership and association with Algerian companies.

Geopolitics and Emergence of Transportation System

The introduction to transport system came with the establishment of the first French colony in the Plain of Mitidja. But before that, French had a possession on ports because their penetration was mostly from the sea and from the trade point of view, strategically there ports are much important than railway. By the early years of 20th century, French colonist built a railway from Algiers to Blida, which is in the extreme south of the plain and about 30 miles from the capital. In different parts of the central 'Tell', separate lines were constructed and by joining, provided the east-west railway axis of modern Algeria: such were the lines, Algiers to Oran; Philippeville to Constantine: Constantine to Algiers.

The development of Algerian Sahara is closely associated with the project of one or more railway and motor roads traversing the Sahara and

⁷² The New Encyclopaedia Britannica vol-1, 15th Edition.

having terminal points at railway heads in southern Algeria. At the two places the Algeria railway system reaches the Sahara; from the Oran 'tell' line leads across the high Plateaux while another brings the important oasis-group of Touggourt into contact with the eastern centres of Algeria. In 1927 the French Government appointed the Trans-Saharan commission to investigate possible routes for a desert railway that should link Algeria to French west Africa and the commission finally decided to recommend a line from Colomb Bechar to Gao. Such a line to the north west of Ahaggar plateau provide the most prominent converging point of Caravans throughout the interior of the Sahara.⁷³

After the independence, the Algeria transport system developed in a tremendous way. With a total network of 1,00,000 km, sweeping all over the country, the Algerian Roadways are the most developed in the Maghreb. In the Northern part, particularly along the coastline, it is quite dense and of high standard. There is a trans-Saharan Highways, popularly known as "The Road of African Unity", a vast network of 8,500 km linking Algeria to five neighbouring countries (Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Chad and Tunisia) which is not only important for trade point of view but also strategically too. The Algerian Sahara has 3 major highways to the south and about 3,200 kms of paved roads. In 1971 the first segment of a modern trans-Saharan road was opened between El Golea and In-Salah. Numerous proposals have been made for road crossings

⁷³ Algeria, Land of Opportunities, Embassy of Algeria, March 1999.

of the desert and in the year of 1980 a first-class road 1,858 km, was made between Gao in Mali and Arlit in Niger passing through Algeria.

The Railway network has a total length of 4290 km with 200 operational stations. 305 km are double tracked and 299 a electrified. The Trans Maghreb line ensures connection with neighbouring countries. The Airport facilities include 33 operational airports – out of which 13 operate international flights.⁷⁴

The port facilities along the 1200 km coastline include 13 commercial ports and 10 fishing harbours. Nine of the commercial ports (Algiers, Annaba, Ghazaouet, Jijel, Mostaganem, Oran, Tenes, Beni-Sof, Djen-Djen) are multi-products oriented, while the three others (Skikda, Arzew and Bejaia) specialize in hydrocarbons handling.

CONTEMPORARY GEOPOLITICS OF ALGERIA

Until the discovery of vast reserves of oil and natural gas in Algeria, it was considered as a poor region in terms of natural resources and agriculture was the principal economic activity. Only the neighbouring countries were rich in mineral resources like Morocco in phosphate and Tunisia is iron ore, phosphate and lead and zinc.

The economic strategy for the development was begun with the three year programme of 1967-69. But the thrust toward industrialization began in earnest with the four-year plan of 1970-73, which marked the first real effort at

⁷⁴ See – Schraeder, Peter J. "France and the Great Game in Africa, *Current History*, 96 (010) May 97, 206-11. See, Algeria, Land of Opportunities.

comprehensive economic policy in post-independence era.⁷⁵ So, Algeria's development strategy of rapid industrialization has been made possible by petroleum and gas revenues. So, Hydrocarbons reserves and agricultural sector are the two main basis of the Algeria; political economy and make the main factor of geopolitics of Algeria. The country owns the world's fourth largest proven natural gas resources after the Soviet Union, Iran and the United States and significant reserves of crude oil. The main oil field/gas field are in the Hassi-R'Mel from when the gas has been exported to the European countries through pipelines. Arzew and Skikda are the two ports from when the LNG has been exported to Spain, France, Belgium and UK and from Skikda to Italy, Greece and Turkey.

The country developed under the regime of Houari Boumediene (1965-78) whose emphasis was placed on as rapid and as extensive exploitation of energy resources as technology and world market. But a significant shift in policy took place with the ascent of Chadli Benjedid to the presidency of the republic in 1979.⁷⁶ After assumed the power many of the shortcomings associated with Boumediene's centralized development strategy had become evident. The industrial development had been concentrated in the overcrowded northern cities of Algiers, Oran, and Constantine. Industrial units are now being moved to rural areas in the central and southern regions of the country as a means to provide the jobs and services and amenities in regional centres.

⁷⁵ Entelis, John P. "Algeria" P. 114.

⁷⁶ Pickles, Dorothy "Algeria and France" from Colonialism to Cooperation - Methven and Co. Ltd., London 1963.

Despite the low development in agricultural sector, the country has becoming a developing nation and considered as one of the main nation in southern world. Now the position of Algeria among the African countries is much better as compared to others in social, political and economic terms.

CHAPTER IV

Typology of Algeria's International Boundaries

A boundary is a line that separates the territories or legal jurisdictions of adjacent states, a boundary may be considered a disjoining element since it separates the inhabitants of neighbouring regions from one another. Political geographers have developed many different concepts and approaches for analyzing the characteristic, functions, spatial elements and evolution of boundaries. Ratzel provided one of the oldest concepts of boundaries and frontiers which he derived from his original view of the state as a living organism while EC sample had a mixed conception of boundaries and frontiers.⁷⁷ Extensive boundary evolution took place during immediately after both world wars.

It is common practice to distinguish delimitation and demarcation of a boundary delimitation of a boundary is the selection of its location as defined by a treaty or formal agreement. These boundary lines allocate territories to each state.⁷⁸ Such lines can be arbitrary straight lines or may be related to physical or cultural features. Demarcation, on the other hand is the identification of specific lines on the ground by observable markers which indicate the location of the boundary line. Usually the agreement on boundary delimitation prescribes the demarcation arrangement.

⁷⁷ Prescott, J.R.V., *The Geography of Frontiers & Boundaries*, London 1965, pp. 14-15.

⁷⁸ Jones, S.B. 'Boundary Making', Washington D.C. Cornegle Endowment for international Peace, 1945, p. 57.

The evidence of boundaries may emerge from a variety of sources international agreements, unilateral declaration by government or individual officials, press releases, statement by ministers in the debates of national assemblies, official maps and surveys department, boundary description, the resolutions of United Nations organs or of regional intergovernmental organization such as the organization of African unity or the Arab league in relation to the boundary. Historical background is necessary to explain and confirm the existing boundary alignments. African boundaries are those of the colonial period, providing allowance is made for the fact that many of the boundaries are the former intra-colonial boundaries of the units of French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa. In the majority of instances African Frontiers divide tribes or language groups.⁷⁹

Boundary making in the period of European expansion in Africa took place in circumstances which generally militated against reference to tribal or ethnological considerations. In any case lines were commonly drawn on maps at a stage when there was no very great knowledge of the region concerned. The boundaries which emerged were generally based upon geographical features, especially rivers and watersheds and astronomical or geometrical lines. However, the significance of ancient boundaries is limited. The relative significance of traditional boundaries derives from three sources. First many allocations of territory were in accordance with limits of the allegiance of groups or the limits of settlements of groups rather than by means of fixed

⁷⁹ Prothero, R. Marshall, "A Geography of Africa: Regional Essays on Fundamental Characteristics, Issues and Problems", Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1969.

alignment. Secondly, alignments when they did exist were not formed with the precision required by more recent conditions of territorial competition and concepts of administration. Thirdly, the colonial partition overrode traditional boundaries for the most part. It is remarkable fact that a political map of Africa in 1914 is not very different from the political map of 1977.

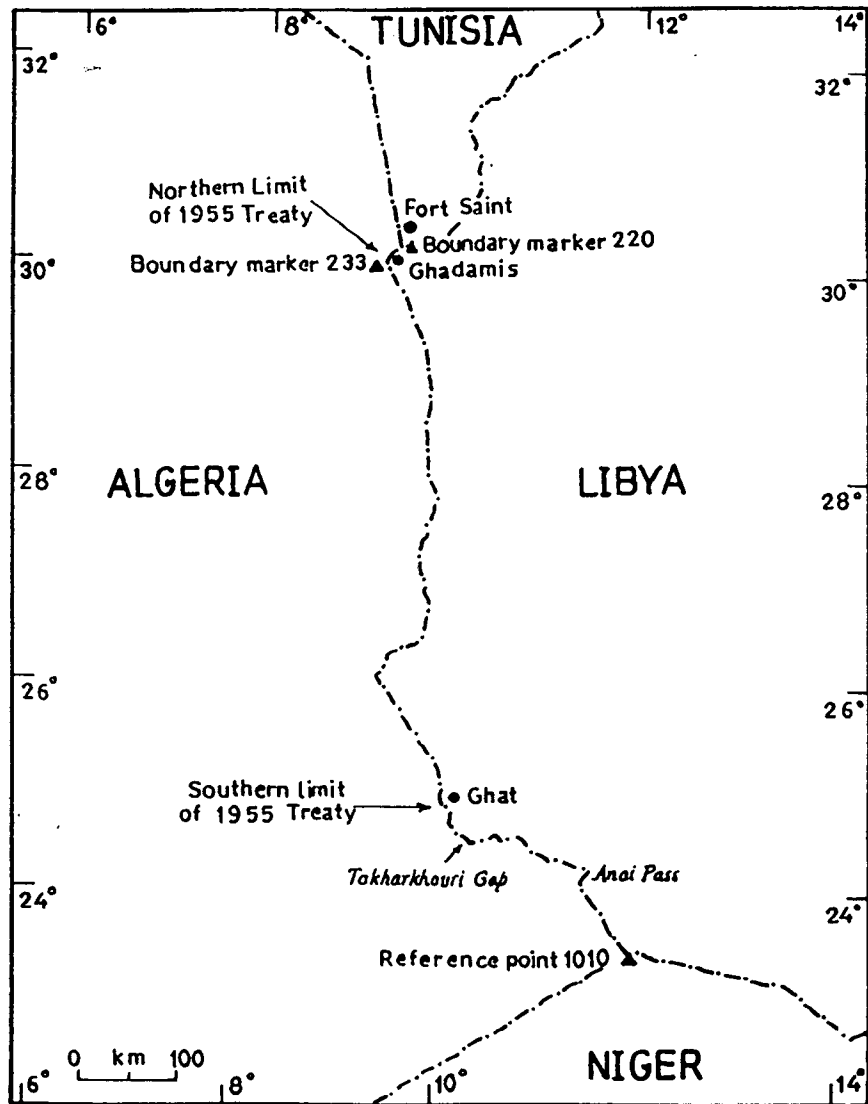
It we take into consideration. Algeria was no longer a separate land for 800 years, from 7th to the 15th century. As its geographical name in Arabic al-Maghreb-al-Ausat, indicates, it was the central portion of the Maghreb or Arab west 10th to 19th century. Algeria was under the Turkish domination for three centuries. This period was important because Algeria received its present frontier. Boundaries of Algeria's are colonial creations. Some were drawn a result of the Berlin Conference of 1884-85.⁸⁰ The total length of boundaries of Algeria is 5970, of which 4,000 is Geometric, 800 on River, 75 on watershed and 142 on road in kilometres. With an area of 2,381,741 km², Algeria is the second largest country in Africa by its extent. Algeria has a common boundaries with its seven adjoining states, these are, from western to eastern, Morocco, Western Sahara, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Libya and Tunisia.⁸¹

1. ALGERIA – LIBYA

From 1912 until 1943 Libya had the status of an Italian colony. After a period of international administration the territory became independent on December 24, 1951. Algeria became independent on July 3, 1962. Since

⁸⁰ Idem, "Treaties, Borders & the Partition of Africa." *Journal of African History*, 1966 pp. 279.

⁸¹ Algeria – Land of Opportunities, Embassy of Algeria, New Delhi, March 1999.



ALGERIA - LIBYA

Source: Brownlie, Ian; African Boundaries

independence Algeria has shown no disposition to question the delimitation resulting from earlier agreements, viz. the Franco-Turkish convention of May 19, 1910, the Franco-Libyan Treaty of August 1955 and the Franco-Libyan Exchange of Letters of December 26, 1956.⁸²

In the north the short sector of some twenty miles from Saint (mark 220) to Southwest of Ghadamis (mark 233) result from the Franco-Turkish Convention of May 19, 1910. This alignment was confirmed by the Treaty of Friendship signed on August 10, 1955 and the more detailed delimitation in the Exchange of Letters of December 26, 1956. The remaining, southernmost, sector between Ghat and the Niger tripoint was dealt with, but only in general terms, in the exchange notes of September 12, 1919.⁸³

The treaty of friendship of 1955 states that the frontier between Ghat, and Tummo passes through three points namely, Takharkhoury Gap, Anai Pass and the reference point 1010. The French Government and the Libyan Government having decided by common agreement to proceed to the delimitation of the Algerian-Libyan frontier between Ghat and Ghadamis, as indicated in the Franco-Italian Arrangement of 12 September 1919, that task was entrusted to a mixed commission which held its meetings at Tripoli.

The sector between Fort Saint and mark 233 (southwest of Ghadamis) was demarcated in 1911. The sector between Ghadamis and Ghat was delimited in the Franco-Libyan Exchange of letters of December 26, 1956. There was no demarcation as such envisaged: presumably the terrain made this

⁸² Brownlie –I. "African Boundaries: a legal and diplomatic encyclopedia". London: Hout, 1979.
⁸³ Ibid.

impracticable. The prominent features and ports of the boundary consist of geometrical line drawn between the natural features specified.⁸⁴ Ghat and Niger tripoint is not demarcated but map evidence indicates a delimitation in clear terms.⁸⁵ Most of the boundary lines are joined by straight line and thalweg line.

2. ALGERIA-MALI

Mali became independent, as the Republic of Sudan, on August 20, 1960, consequent upon the dissolution of the Federation of Mali. The latter had become independent on June 20, 1960, and was composed of the former colonies of Senegal and French Sudan, which had become constituent members of the French Community in 1958 and which has been units of the colonial federation of French West Africa. On September 22, 1960, the Republic of Sudan was transformed into the Republic of Mali. The division between Algeria and French West Africa was established in outline in 1905 by a French administrative arrangement and the line has remained un-challenged as a matter of principle in the period since the independence of Mali and Algeria.⁸⁶

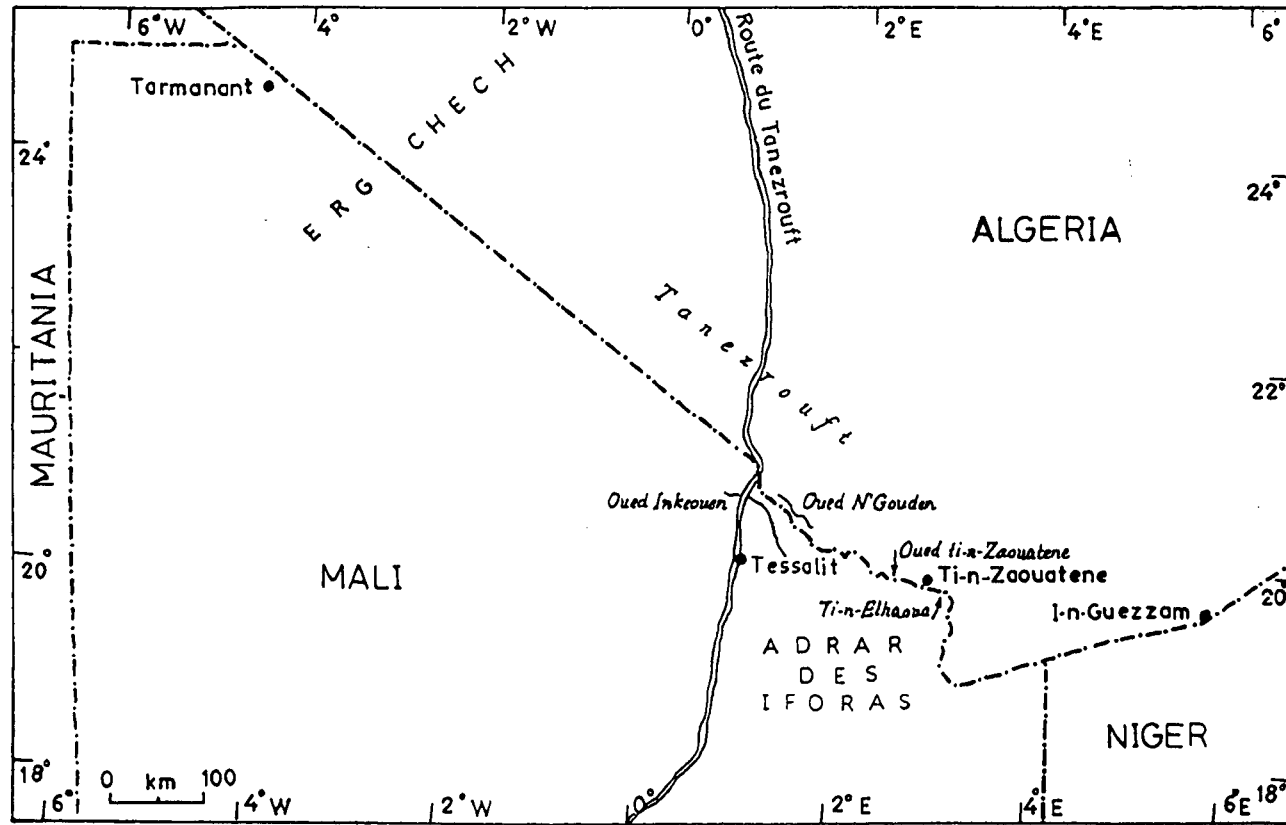
The boundary line between Mali and Algeria was defined, without much detail, in the Niamey convention of June 20, 1909. On January 31, 1970, it was announced in a joint communiqué that the heads of State of Mali and Algeria had agreed to take practical steps to demarcate the boundary.⁸⁷ The text is not available but the event suggests that the general principle of the boundary is

⁸⁴ Trout, Frank E. "Morocco's Saharan Frontiers, Geneva 1969.

⁸⁵ Hajjaji, S.A. "The New Libyar," Tripoli, 1967.

⁸⁶ Browlie, I. "African Boundaries: A *Legal & diplomatic encyclopedia*", London, 1979.

⁸⁷ A.R.B. January 1970, p. 1635.



Source: Brownlie, Ian, 'African Boundaries'

ALGERIA - MALI

accepted by the two neighbours. Moreover, Mali is a party to the Kayes Treaty signed in 1963, the provisions of which refer to a tripoint on the border with Algeria. On June 7, 1905, the French Minister of the Interior and the French Minister of Colonies made an arrangement dividing the Territories *du sud* from French West Africa.⁸⁸

In 1970 Mali and Mauritania agreed to take practical steps to demarcate the boundary; no information is available on progress since the agreement. The Niger tripoint is not exactly fixed as a consequence of lack of demarcation though it is marked on maps. The tripoint with Mauritania which is fixed by the treaty of Kayes of 1963. In that relation, it is clear that Algeria is not bound by such third party determination unless by her conduct she had accepted it.

3. ALGERIA - MOROCCO

Before France conquered Algiers in 1830. North Africa had no boundaries as are known to them today. Only natural barriers or traditional border zones of fluctuating width separated the different groups. Their neighbours were of similar origin and of the same religion. They were all engaged in expanding dar-al-Islam, the world of Muslim faith, at the expense of dar-al-harb, the world of infidels, at times with the help of dar-al-solh, the tributary non-muslim peoples.⁸⁹

In 1844, Marshall Bugeaud's victory paved the way for fixing the border of French Algeria and Morocco. Unfortunately, the Tangier Convention of that

⁸⁸ See Trout, Morocco's Saharan Frontier, pp. 181-93.

⁸⁹ A.S. Reyner, "Morocco's international boundaries: a factual background". The journal of African studies I, 1963 p.313.

year only regularly stated that “the boundary was to remain the same as when Algeria was under Turkish domination.”⁹⁰ Conflicts continued and required a more definite delimitation. As a result, the 1845. Treaty of Delimitation signed at Lalla-Marina precisely described 165 kilometres (10.25 miles) of boundary from the mouth of the Oued Adjeroud (Oued kiss) on the Mediterranean to the hill of Teniet-el-Sassi, located at approximately 34⁰ 06’ N & 01 38’W in the Saharan Atlas.⁹¹ The boundary follows specified water courses and connects fixed cultural geographic features.

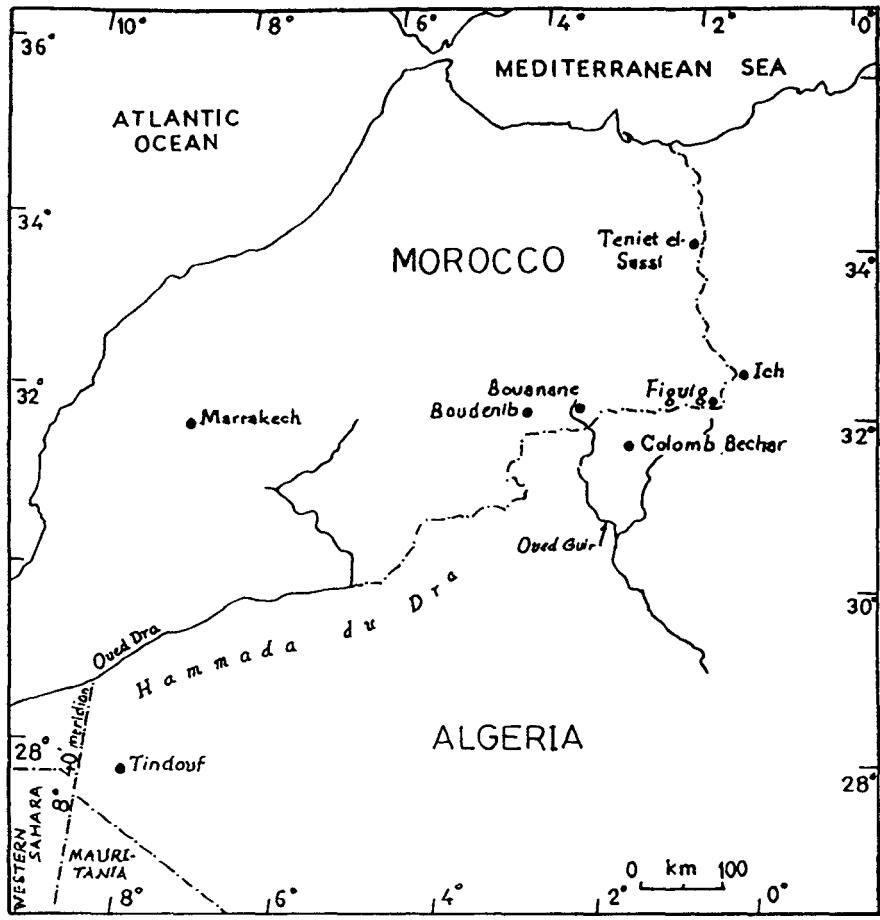
As French control spread southward into the Sahara, clashes with tribes under allegiance to Morocco led to re-examination of the frontier question. Local French officials declared the concept of a ‘frontier’ indefensible. As a result, on 20 July 1901, a protocol signed in Paris extended the boundary southward from Tenit-el-Sassi to Guir south of Bechar.⁹² In the central part the boundary was defined again by tribal areas than by geographical features. Realising the problems created by utilisation of tribal limits as boundaries of the flying and colomb-Bechar sector, Varnier proposed a line which was accepted by a French Ministerial Decree in 1912. The Varnier line coincided with the 1901 protocol boundary between Tenit-Sassi & Figuig.⁹³

⁹⁰ The French text of the Tangier Convention, Published in the Bulletin des Lois, 1844, No 1158, and ratified on 26 October 1844, can be found in British & Foreign state papers XXXII p. 1202.

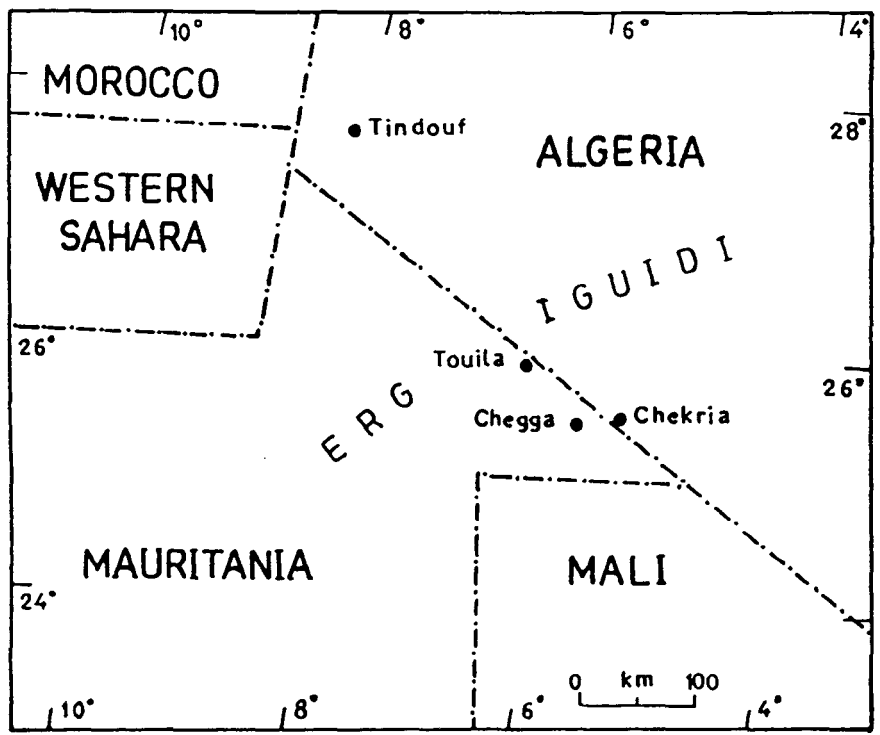
⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Protocol of Paris (‘Execution of Treaty of 1845; southwest Algeria’) was ratified on 16 December 1902, British & Foreign State Papers, 101-458.

⁹³ A.S. Reyner, “The Case of an Indeterminate Boundary: Algeria – Morocco,” *Essays in Political Geography*.



ALGERIA – MOROCCO



ALGERIA – MAURITANIA

The Sector from the Mediterranean coast to Teniet-el-Sassi is described in the Treaty of Lalla Marina, signed on 18 March 1845. This line is reproduced on various official maps with reasonable though less than complete consistency.

The sector from Teniet-el-Sassi to the neighbourhood of Figuig was established as a matter of administrative practice during the colonial period and also by acquiescence by Morocco and Algeria since independence.

To the west of Figuig, the line proposed by Varnier continues for some distance along the crust lines of Djebel Grouz and its extensions to the west, including the Djebel Zelmon and reaching the junction of the Oued Zelmon with the Oued Guir.

The remaining sector of the boundary from Oued Guir, westward to the western Sahara has been the source of considerable uncertainty, but the evidence provides some basis for a general indication of the line at least.⁹⁴ Apart from use of watercourses the sector from the coast to Teniet-el-Sassi remains as a line applied on the ground by administrative practice and is not demarcated by beacons of pillars.

After the conflict of 1962-63 Algerio-Moroccan relation improved. Morocco resiled from her larger claims, including the claim to Mauritania. On January 15, 1969, a treaty of solidarity and cooperation was signed at Ifrane.⁹⁵ In 1970, a meeting of the two heads of state at Tlemcen resulted in a Joint

⁹⁴ Brownlie I. "African Boundaries: A legal and diplomatic encyclopaedia," London, 1979.
⁹⁵ A.R.B. 1969, p. 1291 A.

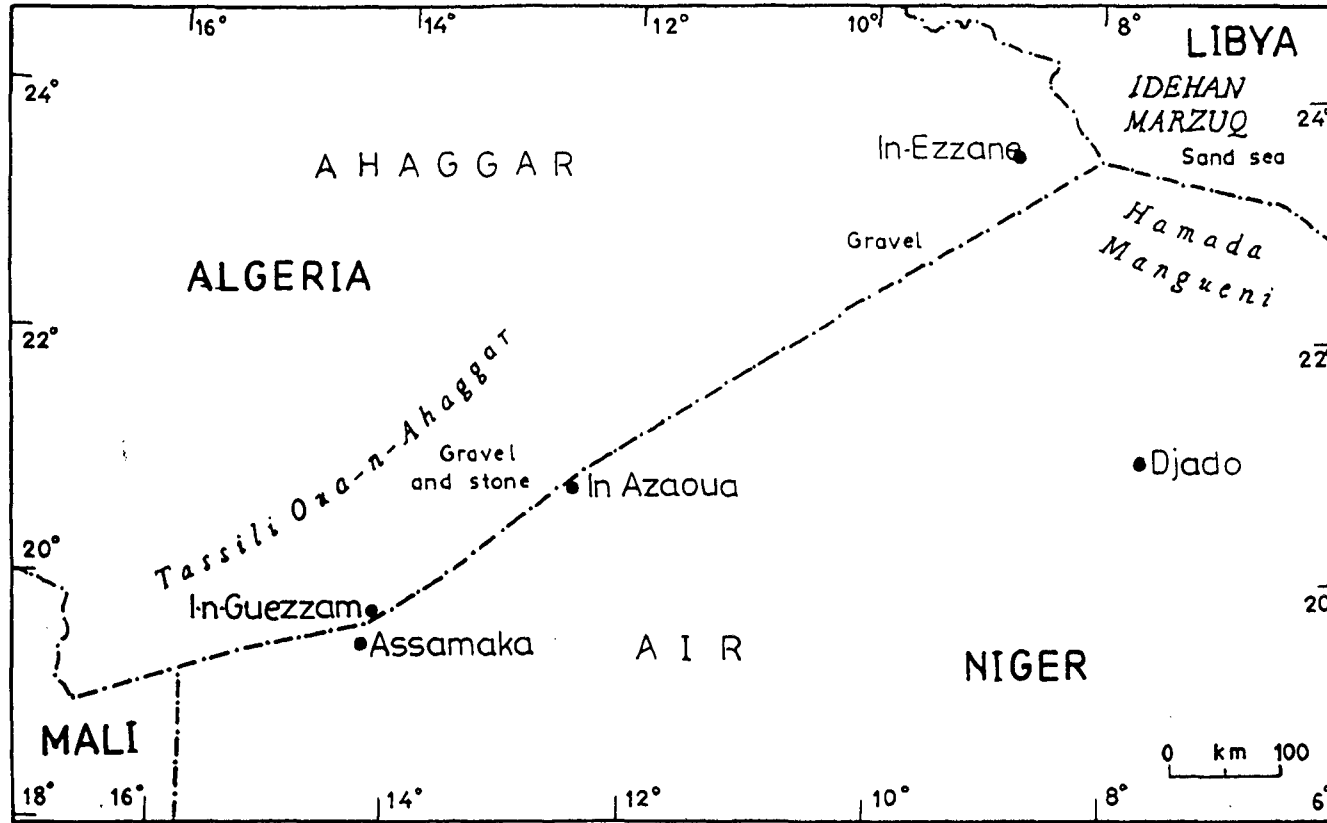
Communiqué of May 27 1970.⁹⁶ For the demarcation of boundaries, a number of treaties have been done from Lalla Marnia of March 18, 1845 to the agreement relating to the delimitation of the state frontier between the kingdom of Morocco and the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria signed on June 15, 1972.

4. ALGERIA-MAURITANIA

Mauritania became independent on November 28, 1960. In 1958 it had become a constituent member of the French Community. In the year of 1920, Mauritania acquired the status of a colony. The division between Algeria and French West Africa was established in outline in 1905 by a French administrative arrangement and the line has remained unchallenged as a matter of principle since the independence of Algeria and Mauritania.

The boundary line between Algeria and Mauritania was defined in the Niamey Convention of June 20, 1909. The map showing a straight line about 288 miles in length. In 1963 Mauritania and Mali concluded the Kayes Treaty, the provisions of which refer to a tripoint on the border with Algeria. Algeria is not bound by such third party determination qua treaty but no protest on her part has been reported. This tripoint with Mali depends upon the very general terms of the Treaty of Kayes and general conventional acceptance of the line as

⁹⁶ A.R.B. 1970,p. 1748.



ALGERIA - NIGER

Source : Brownlie, Ian; "African Boundaries"

fixed in practice. Maps showing the tripoint include the following Chegga, Chekria, Touila and Tindouf. The point is reported to be 25° N. 4° 50' W.⁹⁷

5. ALGERIA-NIGER:

The Saharan area of Algeria was formally annexed by France on December 24, 1902. Thereafter, the area was administered as a unit, the Territories du Sud Algerian. The organic statute of Algeria of September 20, 1947, provided for the reorganization of these independent on August 8, 1960. Niger achieved the status of a colony by a Decree of October 15, 1922 and was thus within the colonial federation of French West Africa.⁹⁸

The boundary line between Algeria and Nigeria was defined, without much detail, in the Niamey Convention of June 20, 1909. The boundary runs along with In-Guezzan on Algerian side and Assamaka, In-Azaova on the Niger side. On June 7, 1905, the French Minister of the Interior and the French Minister of Colonies made an arrangement dividing the territories du Sud from French West Africa.⁹⁹ In spite of the not very precise terms of the Niamey Convention, modern maps delineate the frontier line with considerable consistency. On July 28, 1971, it was announced that Algeria and Niger had agreed to establish a Joint Technical commission to demarcate the Border.¹⁰⁰

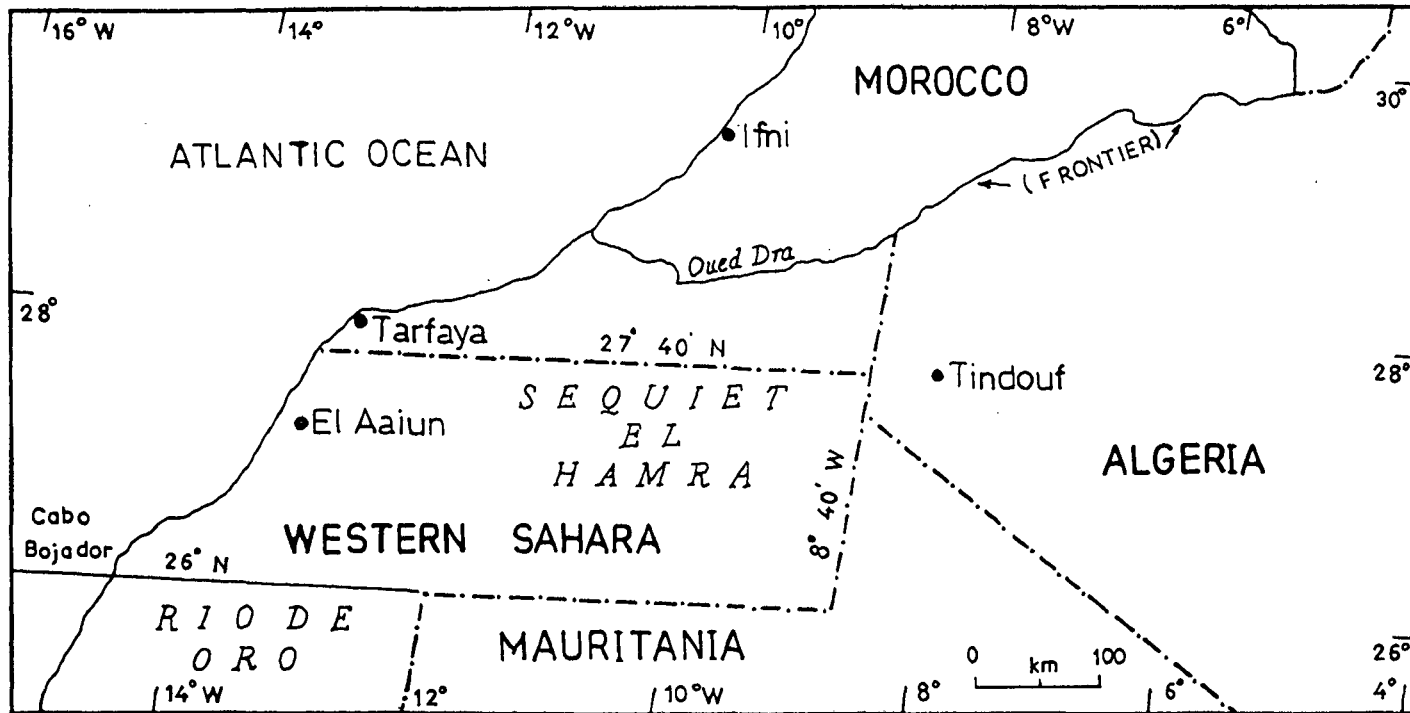
The tripoint with Mali is not exactly fixed. Another tripoint with Libya, so the

⁹⁷ Brownlie, I, "African Boundaries: A legal and diplomatic encyclopaedia," London, 1979, p. 53.

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 86.

⁹⁹ Trout, Morocco's Saharan Frontier pp. 181-93.

¹⁰⁰ Brownlie. I. "African Boundaries: A Legal and Diplomatic Encyclopaedia, London, 1979, pp.100.



WESTERN SAHARA - ALGERIA

Source: Brownlie, Ian, "African Boundaries"

two tripoint is a matter of doubt as far as the actual marking on the ground is concerned.

6. ALGERIA-WESTERN SAHARA

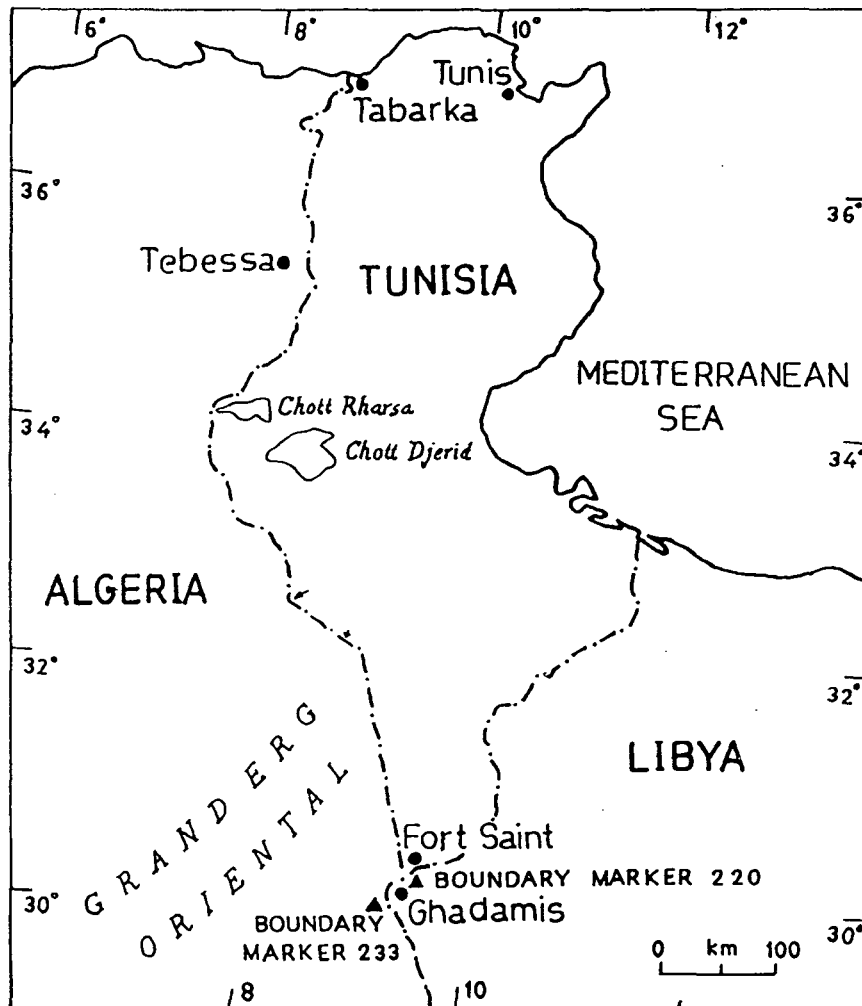
Western Sahara which shares a very small boundary with Algeria is also known as Sequiet el Hamra. By a convention of October 3, 1904 the area between the Atlantic Seaboard was left within the Spanish sphere of freedom of action. The Franco-Spanish convention of November 27, 1912 conferred title in this zone upon Spain. In the February 1976 Spain handed the territory of Spanish Sahara over to Morocco and Mauritania and a partition was arranged.

General confirmation of the boundary as established by the convention of 1904. The boundary was demarcated by a France-Spanish commission in 1956-58. The boundary is shown by straight line of $8^{\circ} 40'$ W. The tripoint with Mauritania has no precise location as yet. No challenge to the principle of the line or to the line as demarcated in 1956-58 has been reported.

7. ALGERIA-TUNISIA

Tunis existed in the nineteenth century as a province of the Ottoman Empire. By a Treaty signed on May 12, 1881 French protection was established in Tunis. The treaty was imposed by force and led to protest by the Porte.¹⁰¹ The frontier between French Algeria and Tunis prior to the imposition of French rule was uncertain. Tunisia became independent on March 20, 1956. At

¹⁰¹ See, *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 51 (1957) p. 683.



ALGERIA TUNISIA

Source: Brownlie, Ian, "African Boundaries"

independence both states assumed a succession to the status quo of the colonial period.

A definitive line was established during the period of French administrative from the Mediterranean as far south as Bir Romane. Neither Algeria nor Tunisia have challenged this line since independence. South of Bir Romane situation before independence was characterized by two features. The first was a tripoint with Tripoli (Libya) resulting from a demarcation carried out in 1911 as a consequence of the Convention between France and Turkey signed on May 19, 1910. The second feature was a provisional line established by French administrative decisions in 1911 and 1923. This line was a series of straight line sector from Bir Romane to Daklet el Guelta to Mark No. 220 of the 1911 demarcation (placed near Fort Saint). Some French map shows no line in this sector, but other indicate this line but designate is as 'undemarcated'.

The principle of a common frontier was agreed upon in a process verbal signed at Tunis on April 16, 1968.¹⁰² The frontier would consist of straight line sectors from Bir Romane to Puits Morts and from Puits Morts to Fort Saint. The Algerian-Tunisian-Libyan tripoint was placed near Fort Saint, and not at Mark No. 233.¹⁰³ The frontier line thus constituted was confirmed by an Agreement signed on January 6, 1970.

The frontier from Mediterranean southwards to Bir Romane was established as a consequence of French delimitation, mapping and

¹⁰² A.R.B. 1968 p. 1033.

¹⁰³ Browline. I. "African Boundaries. A legal and Diplomatic Encyclopaedia", London 1979, pp. 78-97.

administrative practice in the period 1883 to 1902. The sector from Oglat Dhafia (North of Chott Rharsa) to Bir Romane was established in a Proces-verbal, signed by the French-Resident-General in Tunis and the Governor of Algeria on September 20 and December 1, 1901, respectively. The Protocol of April 16, 1968 provided for demarcation of the entire frontier between the two countries and the outcome was confirmed by the Agreement signed on January 6, 1970.¹⁰⁴ All issues have been settled by this agreement which has been ratified by both parties.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

CHAPTER V

Boundary Disputes and Conflict Resolution

Different categories of territorial conflicts have been suggested, Ravi Kapil distinguishes two types of territorial claims, historic and ethnic.¹⁰⁵ Vernon Mckay discriminates between border delimitation controversies, irredentist movement, ethnic disputes and economic competitions.¹⁰⁶ Zartman, by way of contrast, tends to deal with individual territorial conflicts rather than with different subcategories. By inference it might be said that he makes a distinction between present disputes – ethnic, historic and technical and future dispute which are likely to arise “as the frontier zone shrink to lines and authority meets authority.”¹⁰⁷

“A conflict emerges wherever two or more persons (or groups) seek to possess the same object to occupy the same space ‘or the same exclusive position, play incompatible roles, maintain incompatible goals, or undertake mutually incompatible means for the achieving their purposes’.”¹⁰⁸ When African countries were on the verge of getting independence, the belief in some quarters was that it would lead to the outbreak of numerous conflicts.¹⁰⁹ On a general level conflict can be classified as caused by

¹⁰⁵ Kapil, *World Politics*, vol. 18, no.3.

¹⁰⁶ Vernon Mckay (ed.), *African Diplomacy: Studies in the Determinants of Foreign Policy*, New York: Fredrich A. Praeger, 1966 p.7.

¹⁰⁷ Zartman, I. William: “The Politics of Boundaries in North & West Africa”, the journal of modern African study vol. 3, August 1965.

¹⁰⁸ Robert C. North, “Conflict Political Aspects” in David L. Sills (ed.) *International Encyclopaedia of Social Science* (London 1968) vol.13, p.226.

¹⁰⁹ Touval, Soadia “Africa’s Frontiers: Reaction to a Colonial Legacy”, *International Affairs* (London) vol. 42 Oct 1996.

- a) racial or colonial issues.
- b) Boundary.
- c) Personality causes.
- d) External intervention domestic disorders.

J.R.V. Prescott who differentiates four types of boundary dispute over territory, position, function and resource development.¹¹⁰ Territorial conflicts arise from the fact that some portion of land belonging for the moment to one state is actively sought often by another neighbouring state. In Africa they resulted from the arbitrary way in which political boundaries were superimposed by alien powers on the cultural and physical landscape of the continent. Following Zartman territorial conflict may further be distinguished as to the nature of arguments advanced to justify alteration of the status quo.¹¹¹ The first type of disputes may be described as territorial boundary dispute and their result from some quality of the neighbouring borderland which makes it attractive to the country initiating the dispute.¹¹² Almost all the border conflict in 1963 can be included in this category. In some other instances, territorial conflict have arisen from alleged historic claim referring to both colonial and pre colonial times. Morocco at one time claimed all the Mauritania and a large area of Algeria. To realise its claims based on pre-colonial history, Morocco has fought wars with Algeria. At one time refused to recognise the legitimacy of the Republic of Mauritania. The second type of boundary dispute concerns

¹¹⁰ Prescott, J.R.V. "The Geography of Frontiers and Boundaries", Chapter 5.

¹¹¹ Zartman, I. William "The Foreign and Military Politics of African Boundary Problems", in C.G. widstrand (ed.) African Boundary Problem (Uppsala, 1969) p. 80-86.

¹¹² Prescott, J.R.V. "The Geography of Frontiers and Boundaries", Chapter 4.

the actual location of the boundary and usually involves a controversy over the interpretation of terms used in defining the boundary at the stage of allocation, delimitation or demarcation. This type may be called positional boundary disputes.¹¹³ The fact that different regions of different countries belonged to one administration unit of a colonial administration combined with inaccessibility to the border areas left many borders undefined at the time of the independence. Though the factors like discovery of mineral resources cutting across undermarked borders, differences over the interpretation of a treaty may generate into border conflict. Both territorial and positional disputes can only be solved in favour of the claimant state by altering the position of the boundary.

Functional, the third type conflict related to the application or non-application of state functions at the border.¹¹⁴ The colonial ruler had, for their own convenience, allowed *laissez-faire* policy towards their boundaries, but the new sovereign nations passed immigration laws imposed export and custom duties posted borderguard to check free flow between two sides of borders. The last type of dispute concerns the use of some transboundary resources such as river on a coalfield. It refers to the exploitation of a resource held in common by two or more countries. In Africa there are lakes that borders on several states and of rivers that either constitutes or cut across international boundaries. Disputes of this kind usually occur when development takes place and the countries are in better position to exploit these resources, problem may arise.

¹¹³ Ibid. p.90.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. p.92.

ALGERIA-MOROCCO BOUNDARY DISPUTE

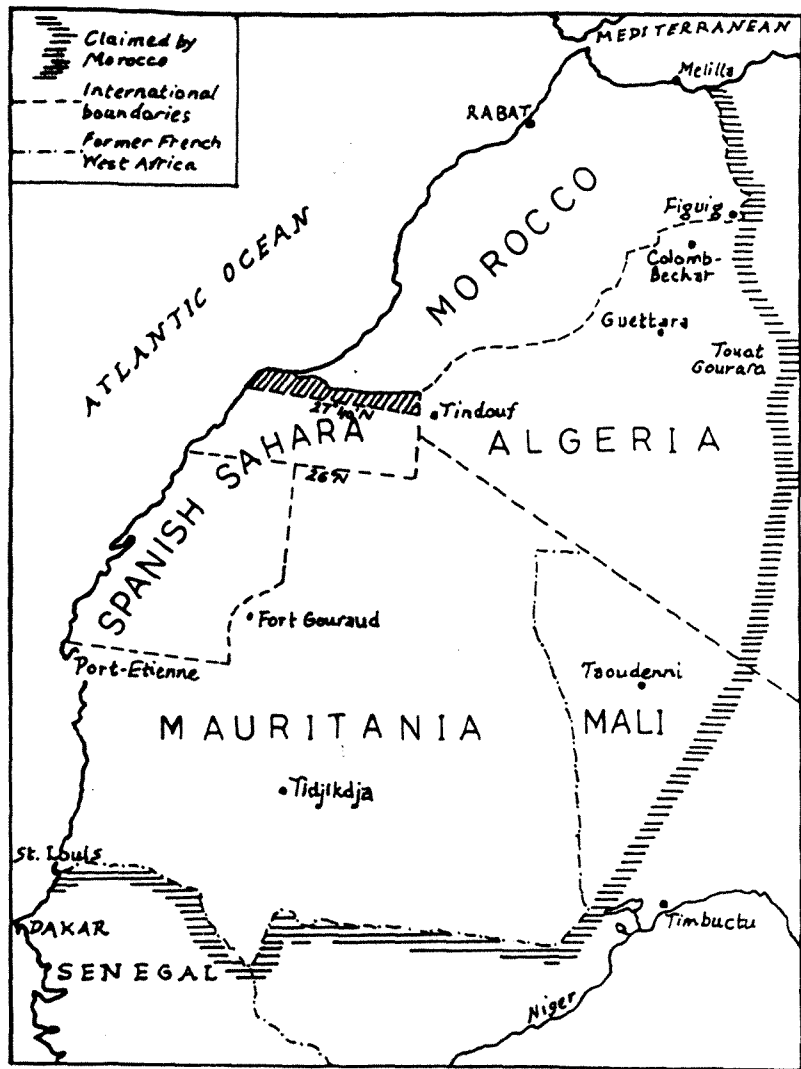
The dispute between Algeria and Morocco concerns Algeria held Sahara. The delimitation between two countries was secured in 1845.¹¹⁵ Against this background French authorities concluded a number of boundary agreement with the sovereign Moroccan government between 1830 and 1912 defining the boundary between Morocco and Algeria.¹¹⁶ The treaty of Lalla-Marnia of 1845 described 165 kilometres of boundary from the mouth of the Oued Adjeround (Oued Kiss) on the Mediterranean to the hill of Teniet-el-Sassi, located at approximately $34^{\circ} 06' N$ and $01^{\circ} 38' W$ is the Saharan Atlas.¹¹⁷ South and southwest of Teniet-el-Sassis within a region of the Sahara, the border was defined according to the tribes which inhabited the area. This methods of delimitation really created frontier zones rather than a definite boundary. The French authorities, 1912 established an administrative frontier known as the varnier line between Teniet-el-Sassi and the town of Figuig in Morocco. The Franco-Moroccan Treaty of 1912, establishing a French protectorates over Morocco, did not clarify the boundary situation. So, the "treaty of protection of 1912" merely referred to the 'natural frontiers' of Morocco and did not affect the established boundaries.¹¹⁸ By 1914 the limit was moved eastward to the eastern edge of the Hammada. In 1938 a French

¹¹⁵ Sharma, "International Boundary Disputes and International Law".

¹¹⁶ Wild P.B." the OAU & the Algerian- Moroccan Border Conflict;," International Organisation, pp.18-36, 1966.

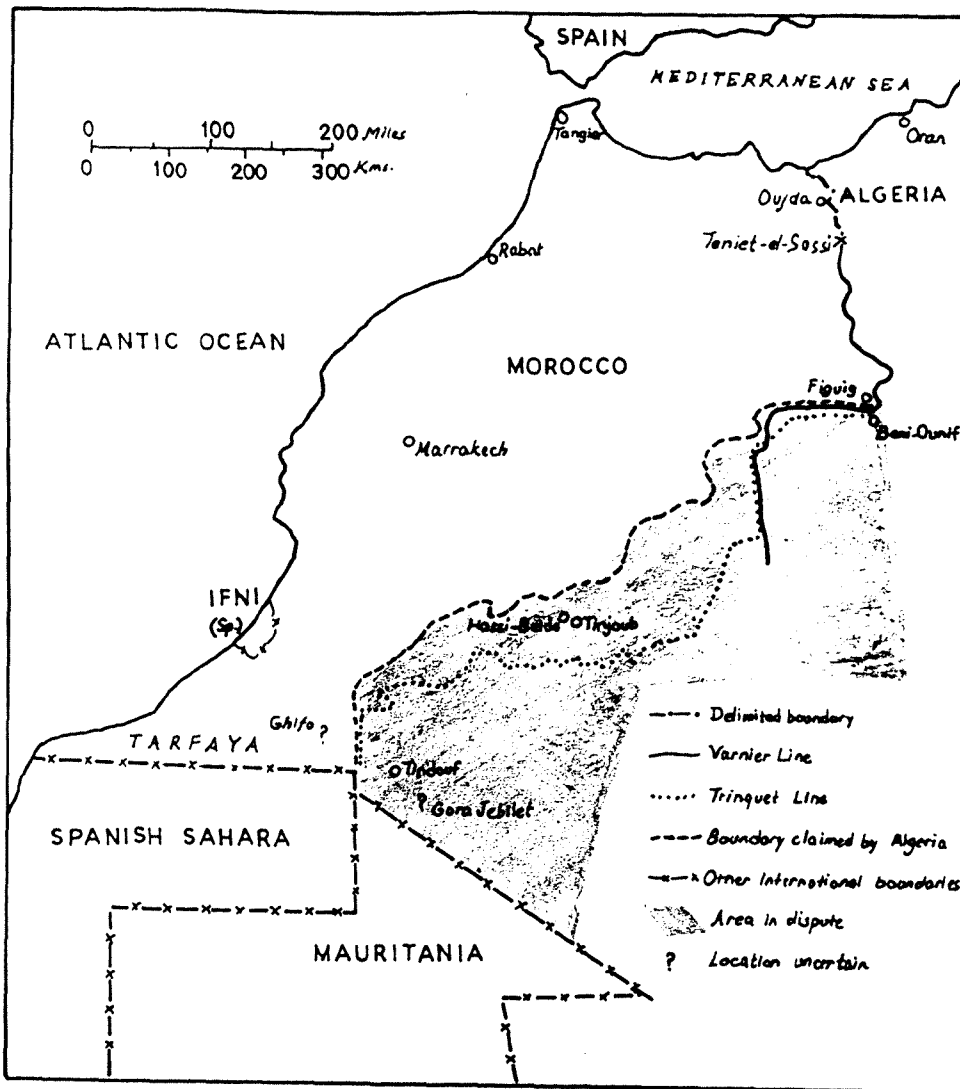
¹¹⁷ Reyner, A.S. "the cave of an Interminate boundary: Algeria-Morocco, Essays in Political Geography.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. p.248.



GREATER MOROCCO

Source: Reyner, Anthony, S. "Morocco's International Boundaries: A Factual Background" *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 1.3, 1963 p. 321



THE ALGERIAN MOROCCAN FRONTIER

Source: Wild, P, Berko, "The O.A.U. and the Algerian-Moroccan Border Conflict" *International Organisation* 1, 18-36, 1966

military administrator in Morocco, Colonel Trinquet, proposed a new boundary which would have placed much of the desert region within Morocco. While this plan was rejected by the French government, the town of Tirlont remained under Franco-Moroccan military administration until 1952. Again in 1950 the "Varnier line" was moved westward close to, but not coinciding with the 1912 position. When Morocco became independent in 1956, its border with Algeria remained only partially defined as it had been since 1845.¹¹⁹ The legitimate boundary problem was further complicated by the discovery of important oil and mineral resources in the Sahara. In order to promote the exploitation of the economic resources of the Sahara, the French government created the Common Organization to the Sahara Regions (OCRS) in 1957. The OCRS originally included Mauritania, the Sahara region of Algeria, Soudan (Nali), Niger and Chad, and were administered by a French Delegate-General.¹²⁰ The Evian Agreement of March 19, 1962, granting independence to Algeria, abolished the OCRS and replaced it with a joint Franco-Algerian Saharan Organism. So in this case, the problem of unidentified border was compounded by what Algeria viewed as a threat to its government. These two different but related factors. The undefined border was a result of:

- a) French oversight
- b) The peculiar concept of a border held by Morocco added to these were some causes relatively immediate is origin which included.

¹¹⁹ Reyner, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol.1, no.3, p.316-318.

¹²⁰ I. William Zartman, "The Sahara-Bridge or Barrier?" *International Conciliation*, January 1963, pp.15-18.

- i) The discovery of oil and mineral resources in Sahara
- ii) Political consideration which assumed greater importance for the king of Morocco after Allatal-Fassi of Isteqlal party raised the “Greater Morocco” issue. The difference in political system between the countries was also a factor.

According to Saadia Touval Moroccan irredentism was inspired by history rather than by ethnic solidarity.¹²¹ It aimed at the reestablishment of Greater Morocco state which would include territories over which Morocco rulers exercised authority at various times in history. Thus Greater Morocco would include extensive parts of the Algerian held Sahara, all of Mauritania and Spanish Sahara, as well as parts of Mali and would extend southward to the river Senegal.¹²²

The Moroccan-Algerian dispute concerned the area from Figuig southwards. At first the Moroccan claim as formulated by Allal-al-Fasi, the Istiqlal party leader, was based on Morocco’s historical connection with the region, and on traditional Islamic concepts. Moroccan territory was thus to extend as far as the people recognised the authorities of the Moroccan ruler, an allegiance symbolised by the saying of Friday prayers in his name and the payment of time.¹²³ When the Moroccan government adopted the irredentist

¹²¹ Africa Research p. 631 Oct. 1966, Special Study by Saadia Touval.
¹²² A.R.B. vol.3 Oct. 1966, p.631.
¹²³ Ibid.

aspiration as part of its policy, the territorial claims as part of its by political and legal arguments. These can be summarised as follows.¹²⁴

1. Since their conquest of Sahara in the 16th century. Moroccan rulers never abandoned their sovereign rights over that region. The confirmed exercise of Moroccan authority was exemplified by the appointment and recognition of tribal chiefs, deputations sent by the tribes to the Sultan as their ruler, the payment of tribute by tribes to the Sultan of Morocco and saying of Friday prayers in his name.
2. France was committed by the general act of the Algerian conference by the general act of the Algerian conference of 1906 to respect Morocco's territorial integrity.
3. France recognised Morocco's ownership of the disputed territory by the exchange of letters annexed to the Franco-German agreement of November 4, 1911. It stated that the "Morocco included all of North Africa comprised between Algeria, French West Africa and the Spanish Colony of Rio do Oro". According to the Moroccan interpretation of this document, Morocco is bound in the East by Algeria and French West Africa as they existed in 1911 and which did not include at that time the Saharan regions
4. Morocco was neither morally nor legally committed by any treaties between France and other powers, nor by any France unilateral acts affecting her territorial integrity which did not receive her free

¹²⁴ A.R.B. No.5, 1966, p.632.

consent.¹²⁵ Thus Morocco did not accept the border in the south west delimited by the Franco-Spanish treaty of 1912. Neither did Morocco accept the Varnier line and other unilateral boundary delimitation by France.

5. Morocco explicitly refused to recognise acts which she regarded as prejudicing her territorial integrity. When Morocco regained her independence, this Moroccan position was embodied in the Franco-Moroccan agreement of May 28, 1956, where by Morocco recognised that is assumed the obligation resulting from the International treaties concluded by France in the name of Morocco, as well as those resulting from the International acts concerning Morocco about which it has made no observations.” The reservation contained herein applied to the question of Moroccan boundaries¹²⁶.

Soon after Morocco attained independence, she began to pursue her territorial claims. A representative of the Sahara was appointed as member in the Moroccan Consultative Assembly and in November 1957 an office of Saharan and border affairs was established in the Ministry of Interior. Morocco also refused to join the common organisation for the Saharan regions (OCSR) initiated by France at that time explaining her refusal by the need to settle the border question first.¹²⁷ Another reason why Morocco refused to negotiate with France was, Moroccan Solidarity with the anti-French rebellion in Algeria.

¹²⁵ For Moroccan claims, See A.R.B. No. 5, 1962 p. 631-32.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

Instead negotiations were opened with the Algerian nationalists. On July 6, 1961, an agreement was reached between the Moroccan government and the Provisional government of Algerian Republic, according to which the Algerian Provisional Government recognised the existence of a “territorial problem”, resulting from the arbitrary delimitation imposed by France and started from the arbitrary delimitation imposed by France and stated that the problem would be resolved by negotiations between the two governments after Algeria attained independence¹²⁸. But this agreement could not work out later as because of ideological clashes between the regimes of Morocco and independent Algeria, based on hostility between traditionalist monarchy of Morocco and the revolutionary socialist regime of Algeria. The legitimate boundary issue was complicated by important economic and political consideration.

The Algerian Case

The Moroccan claim to have exercised sovereignty over the Sahara continuously since the sixteenth century, was countered by the argument that the activities of Moroccan rulers in the Sahara were sporadic and of short duration. Although the existence of Moroccan influence in Sahara was recognised, it did not amount to effective and continuous occupation which is a condition for the exercise of sovereignty¹²⁹. But the principal Algerian argument was that independent Algerian state inherited the territory formerly comprised under French-Algeria. Algeria claimed that the borders of the newly

¹²⁸ Touval, Saadia –“The politics of boundaries in North West Africa *Journal of modern African studies*, p.p. 255-256, 1965.

¹²⁹ A.R.B. p. 631 Oct. 1966.

independent states should be those of the former colonial territories in which the new states were established and considered that the general acceptance of this principle was necessary for the reservation of peace and stability in Africa¹³⁰.

The Out-break of Hostilities

In 1962 Algeria became independent and immediately after this, fighting started between the Algerian and Moroccan troops. On July 1, 1962, referendum was held in Algeria and several days after this referendum, Moroccan troops tried to occupy Tindouf but they had to withdraw as their area was firmly controlled by the Algerian troops. There were some conflicts between the officers of Morocco and local tribes¹³¹.

But what worsened the situation was desertation on 29 Sept. 1963 of some 8000 Berber Veterans of the Algerian army who joined the Berber stronghold in Kabylia mountains swearing to over throw Ben Bella. There were accusation of Moroccan Complicity. Thus while as late as mid September the border skirmishes were dismissed as created by uncontrollable elements, by the beginning of October was seemed imminent. In the same year minor hostilities broke out between the two states. Algerian government expelled Moroccan citizens from its frontiers and the government of Morocco expelled the merchants of Algeria from Oujda. During August-September 1963, governments of both the states tried to reduce the occurrence of these

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Zartman, "Government and Politics in North Africa" p. 37.

conflicts¹³². The Foreign ministers of Algeria and Morocco met at Oujda in Morocco to consider the recent hostilities. They decided to normalise the relation between the two countries, to withdraw the Moroccan troops from the border and to appoint a mixed commission which would meet in Algeria to examine the border problem¹³³.

But on October 9, both the states accused each other of attacks on the disputed border posts. By Oct 14, the Moroccan royal army was firmly in control of Hassi-Beida and Tinjaub. The Algerian government criticised Morocco of having violated the Charters of United Nations; the Arab league and the organisation of African Unity; and declared that Moroccan government was trying to liquidate Algerian socialism¹³⁴. As usually happens in wars, both countries proclaimed that they were only fighting for self defence. Morocco moved in additional troops and Algeria declared a general mobilisation. The combat went on in the Saharas for a fortnight. A close look at the third party involvement in the process of conflict management shows that most of them were doomed to fail, because of the marked bias of the mediators. President Bourguiba of Tunisia had sent telegrams to the disputants urging them to end hostilities and he tried for the meeting of North African foreign ministers in Tunis to deal with this question. But the relation between Algeria and Tunisia were not exactly friendly. In December 1962, President Bourguiba had accused the Algerian regime of harbouring the Tunisian perpetrators of a plot against his life. Similarly President Nasser's invitation to the Governments of

¹³² Africa Diary, 1963. P. 1443.

¹³³ Zartman, International Conciliation, No.541, p. 49.

¹³⁴ Africa Diary, 1963 p. 1443

Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Libya went unanswered because of his open support for Algeria. The Arab League was thought to be sympathetic to Algeria. So the mediation effort from this quarter had no better result. Guinea's President Sekou Toure also urged Morocco and Algeria to end hostilities but his moral support was for Algeria.

During the Algerian-Moroccan dispute, both the United States and the Soviet Union formally adhered to neutrality. The west was irritated by Algeria's flirting with the communist world; but at the same time it was anxious not to strain relations any further. On the other hand the communist states accepted the official Algerian view that the war was a western attempt to intervene in Algeria to support the Kabylia revolt. Yet they (communist) did not blame Morocco; but the west¹³⁵. China too adopted a neutral stand and after Premier Chou-En-Lai's visit to Algeria and Morocco, issued a joint Chinese-Algerian Communiqué on Dec 27, 1963, which declared China's support for, "the African countries in their efforts to settle their dispute peaceful consultation."¹³⁶ With the outbreak of hostilities between Algeria and Morocco, Mr. Boumedienne, the foreign minister of Algeria said "Algeria still hoped for a peaceful settlement of the dispute with our Arab brothers."¹³⁷

Bilateral negotiation had failed earlier. The war front had stabilized and Morocco had a slight territorial advantage. It still held Hassi-Beida and Tindouf but could not only be taken at the cost of heavy losses. It was becoming

¹³⁵ Saadia Touval "The Boundary Politics of independent Africa." p. 132.

¹³⁶ Ibid. p. 133.

¹³⁷ Africa Diary, 1963 p. 1443.

obvious that no more could be gained by fighting. A special meeting of the Arab league's council which began in Cairo on October 19, 1963, called on Algeria and Morocco to withdraw from positions held before fighting broke out between them and appointed a six member committee to help settle the border fighting. The United Arab Republic government came out solidly in support of Algeria. The Cairo press criticised Morocco and described Morocco's act as "criminal aggression on Algeria". President Nasser called for a meeting of the heads of states of Morocco, Algeria, Libya and Tunisia to settle the Algerian-Moroccan border fighting. President Nasser said, "UAR had supported Algeria since the first days of the revolution in Algeria, from the beginning of the Algerian-Moroccan dispute, the UAR tried to settle the matter peacefully, and threat against Algeria revolution was a threat against U.A.R."¹³⁸

The peace making role of the third parties became imperative when the two sides failed in their short lived bilateral talks to end the armed conflict. A deadlock was reached on October 18 when Morocco insisted a negotiations on its territorial claims and Algeria insisted on the withdrawal of Moroccan forces from the positions they occupied as well as on the recognition of the borders existing at the time of Algerian independence¹³⁹.

The Role of O.A.U.

The Algerian-Moroccan border conflict provided the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) with the first test of its machinery and procedures for peacekeeping and for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Since the initiative

¹³⁸

Kessings' Contemporary archives, 1963 p. 19491.

¹³⁹

Cuidstrand. C.G. (ed.) "African boundary problems".

taken by the league of Arab states to conciliate the dispute had failed, both parties explored various other possibilities which led eventually to an agreement to seek a solution through the OAU while Algeria wanted the settlement of dispute through the OAU, Morocco wanted the United Nations to intervene and settle the dispute¹⁴⁰. The President of Tunisia, Habib Keita and Emperor Nasser of the UAR, President Modibo Keita of Mali and Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia made efforts at mediation between Algeria and Morocco.

The Tunisian President appealed to the two countries to call for a meeting of the North African Foreign ministers: he suggested that such a meeting could be held in Tunis. The Moroccans agreed but the Algerians refused as long as Moroccan troops did not vacate the disputed frontier posts¹⁴¹. On October 19, Algeria formally called for an emergency meeting of the council of ministers. However, Morocco had some initial reservation about the efficiency and even the integrity of the OAU. Rightly or wrongly, it was under the impression that OAU has a tilt towards Algeria. The following are the likely reasons:

- i. The king Hassan of Morocco had not attended the Addis Ababa Conference.
- ii. The diplomatic position of Algeria was strong in Africa. The Algerians benefitted from a certain sympathy evoked by their suffering during the

¹⁴⁰ Kessings Contemporary Archives, 1963-64, p. 19942.

¹⁴¹ Zartman, "Government and Politics in Northern Africa" p. 83.

war of Independence. The Casablanca group of states were strongly backing Algeria.

- iii. The Moroccan government knew that the principle of Uti Possidetis was overwhelmingly supported in the Addis Ababa Conference, however with the prominent place of irrendentism in Morocco's policy, it naturally was relvetant to take the matter to the OAU.

At this juncture when there was lot of diplomatic confusion and it become clear that the good offices offered by certain North African Heads of state would not be mutually accepted by Algeria and Morocco, the Emperor of Ethiopia and the President of Mali tried and succeeded in persuading the king of Morocco and the President of Algeria to meet them on Oct 29, 1963 at Bamako, to conclude an agreement¹⁴². On the initiative of Emperor Haile Selassi of Ethiopia, after a good deal of Shuttle diplomacy, agreement was reached at Bamako in Mali. Apart from the belligerents Ethiopia and Mali were parties. The Bamako meeting achieved a limited success. Its decisions were the following:

- i. Immediate end of hostilities on November 2 at zero hour or to effect a cease fire from midnight on 1 November 1963.
- ii. Establish a committee composed of Algerian, Moroccan, Ethiopian and Malian officers to determine a demilitarised zone.

¹⁴² Kessings Contemporary Archives, 1963-64, p. 19942.

- iii. To invite Ethiopian and Malian observers to supervise the cease fire and watch over security and military neutrality in the demilitarised zone.
- iv. To request an extraordinary meeting of the OAU council of ministers, for the purpose of creating a committee of arbitration to effect a definite solution of the Algerian-Moroccan border conflict.
- v. To request Algeria and Morocco to cease all public and press attacks on each other as from November 1 and to observe strictly the principles of non-interference in each other's affairs and of settlement of all disputes between African states by means of negotiations.

The Bamako agreement was hailed as a great success for both sides. Morocco obtained Algeria's renewed acceptance of the examination of the border problems. Algeria obtained Morocco's withdrawal from the positions occupied during the fighting and Moroccan agreement that the problem be examined within the framework of the OAU- a forum which was known to favour the preservation of the territorial status quo. The triumph of the 'Addis Ababa Spirit' but a close look reveals that Morocco's recognition of the OAU's jurisdiction came after a lot of pressure was brought to bear upon it. Consequently, two separate machineries concerned themselves with the dispute, the cease fire commission of Ethiopian and Malian officers and the OAU Ad hoc Commission. The ceasefire Commission helped to put the cease fire into effect, assisted in defining the demilitarised zone and supervised the withdrawal of forces.

Another factor was the rebuff by the United Nations. It is a fact that time and again Morocco approached the Security Council of the UN for the consideration of the crisis. The Security Council and the Secretary General advised Morocco to apply the 'try OAU principle'. This was also advised by the two permanent members of the Security Council USA and France.

Consideration of the Conflict by the OAU

In November 15-18, 1963, when a cease fire had been effected with the help of the Ethiopian and Malian members of the mixed military commission, the OAU council of ministers met in an extraordinary session to consider the dispute. The meeting held at Addis Ababa in accordance with Article XII, paragraph 2, of the OAU charter¹⁴³. The basic agenda item being article form of the Bamako communiqué which asked the council to set up a commission.

The session was opened on November 15 by the Emperor Haile Selassie who congratulated the member states on the fact that the OAU was about to provide a means for the settlement of an African dispute in African framework. The OAU's council of minister's invited the foreign ministers of Algeria and Morocco to present their cases. Moroccan claims were based on historical territorial rights and the settlement of the disputes by peaceful means within a strictly African framework.

Moroccan government based its case primarily on the non-existence of a boundary in the disputed area, the Algerians ignored that point of fact and presented their case in terms of the general problem of the maintenance of

¹⁴³ Ibid, Also see Saadia Touval: "The Boundary Politics of Independent Africa" p.p. 132.

Colonial borders. The fact is that the boundary near Tindouf, object of Moroccan claims, was clearly defined. Only the combat area near Hassi-Beida and Tinjoub lay along on undefined frontier. Both sides, Algeria and Morocco, reiterated their positions and exchanged accusations. The Algerian representative said that the OAU's council of ministers decisions would have far reaching implications for all African borders¹⁴⁴. The final resolution of the extra-ordinary session, adopted on November 18 present an admirable summary of the political and legal principles accepted by the council in considering the Algerian-Moroccan case. The council of ministers, partly with a desire to allay Moroccan fears of partisan behaviour, declared that members should scrupulously respect all, the principles enshrined in the charter.

In addition, the council created an Ad hoc commission of seven states to mediate in the dispute. These seven states were Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan and Tangyanika to serve as an ad hoc-commission. It appeared that Bamako cease fire committee would continue to fulfil its peace making function and to establish contact with the OAU ad hoc commission. Its work was thus brought within the overall diplomatic efforts of the OAU and also and attempt to affect a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

OAU Intervention and its Result

The first meeting of Special Committee was held on December 2-5, 1963 at Abidjan, Ivory coast.¹⁴⁵ The outcome of the meeting was to determine the responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities and secondly to examine the

¹⁴⁴ Kessings Contemporary Archives, 1963-64, p. 19939-40.

¹⁴⁵ The Maghreb Digest, vol.2, No.1, p.30, Jan 1964.

basic cause of the conflict and to submit concrete proposals to the parties for its definitive settlement. On January 23-28, 1964, at Bamako, the special committee met for a second time. Documents presented by the Algerian and Moroccan governments were accepted and presided over an exchange of documents between the disputants. There were slight improvement in relations between Algeria and Morocco, due to the efforts of announced that they had signed an agreement which provided for the ending of the dispute and for the resumption of diplomatic relations. On 26 Feb, spokesman in Algiers and Rabat revealed that the agreement had been signed in the presence of the Bamako ceasefire committee. Algerian troops were to be withdrawn from Figuig while the Moroccans would withdraw to the positions which they occupied before October 1, 1963.¹⁴⁶ After the accomplishment of this task i.e. withdrawal of forces, the ceasefire commission was dissolved in April by Mutual agreement. The Commission did not supervise the observance of the demilitarisation agreement, as was earlier decided by the Bamako agreement.¹⁴⁷

Relations between Algeria and Morocco improved further considerably during April and May 1964. In mid April, the exchange of prisoners took place. During this period the special committee of the OAU announced that it was awaiting the final observation of the disputants before submitting its final recommendation to the Algerian and Moroccan Governments. But new crisis were emerged when Algerian government nationalise the mines in 1966, which

¹⁴⁶ The Maghreb Digest, Feb 1964 (vol.2, no.2), p.18.

¹⁴⁷ African Diary, 1963, p. 1443.

include the mine at Gara Djebilet, an area claimed by Morocco.¹⁴⁸ On May 12, Morocco lodged a complaint with Algerian government over the nationalisation of iron ore deposits at Gara Djebilet.¹⁴⁹

When the ad hoc commission of OAU met in July 1966, the crisis had blown over. But Morocco tried to convince the commission that this unsolved dispute was a danger to peace. At this point, the role of the ad hoc commission became a matter of controversy. The ad hoc commission of OAU served to cool off the dispute and thus it created conditions for settlements. The ad hoc commission also helped in clarifying issues and to narrow down the areas of disagreement.

Both the states negotiated for Joint development of Algerian mineral resources. Morocco also was willing to forget the bitter relationship of past years, King Hassan visited Algeria in September 1968, to attend the OAU summit Conference.¹⁵⁰ The OAU's Algiers meeting was followed by President Boumediennes state visit to Morocco, in January 1969. King Hassan II said that President Boumediennes visit would strengthen the ties of history, language and religion between Algeria and Morocco.

A treaty of solidarity and cooperation was signed between Morocco and Algeria on Feb 15, 1969. Mr. Laraki, the Foreign Minister of Morocco said "this treaty would open a new page in the history of the two countries and help to realise the aims and aspirations of the Moroccan and Algerian people and of

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, Also "observer" Nov. 1963.

¹⁴⁹ African Diary 1966 p. 2923.

¹⁵⁰ A.R.B. (Economic Series) Feb-March 1968, p. 939-940.

all people of the Maghreb.” It would promote conditions likely to bring about closer cooperation in the economic and social sphere in particular.¹⁵¹ The delegates of both the countries reaffirmed their attachment to the principles and the objectives of the United Nations, the Arab league and the OAU charter and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.¹⁵² The final communiqué was issued at the end of the talks in which no mention of any previous differences between Algeria and Morocco was made.

The essential part of the communiqué was on the wishes of both countries for solidarity and cooperative in the economic sphere most of all and for a long term period.¹⁵³

Treaty implemented: - The communiqué had also stated that concrete measures were to be taken to implement the new spirit which has been established between these two brother countries.” Among these measures were:

1. Algeria and Morocco both signed the application of the convention.
2. The multiplication of contracts between local authorities, particularly on the common frontier and
3. The exchange of delegation of senior official of the two interior ministers and of governors and prefects.

¹⁵¹ A.R.B. January 1969 p. 1240A.

¹⁵² A.R.B. January 1969 p. 1291 B.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

In addition the communiqué had asked the prefect and provincial authorities to strengthen relation with the commercial services to facilitates the settlement of problems raised by nationals of the two countries.¹⁵⁴

The two heads of the states agreed on a final solution to the frontier dispute which provoked armed conflict in 1963 between two countries. A joint commission was to established to map out the delineation on the frontier. Thus the line from the West of Colomb-Behar and find out, through 1,000 km of Saharan desert would constitute a recognised international frontier. This meant that the region of Gara-Dejbilict, containing substantial iron-ore deposits, would be the property of Algeria. This agreement marked a significant achievement for OAU due to whose intervention agreement was reached through bilateral negotiation. It provided a possible model for the settlement of the other boundary dispute. Finally, in May 1970 a final settlement was reached.

¹⁵⁴ A.R.B. March 1969, p. 1344 B.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The Sahara stretches like a giant nomad's tent across northern Africa. Here Arab and Black Africa meet and mingle. For centuries the desert has been a highway for trade and culture. Sahara is also in great divide between Mediterranean and African climates. The past decade has been rich in changes that make the role of the Sahara as a connecting link both more important and more questionable. Before the discovery of the minerals and oil, the regions considered to be the most poorest one but after the discovery of minerals, oil and gas, the region considered to be a more important and profitable. Due to this, European powers carved out the boundaries in Sahara so that they can exploit the natural resources of that region. So, this is how the evolution of boundaries in Sahara took place.

The concept of boundaries in Sahara is not new. Earlier they used the frontier as their territorial jurisdiction during the Turkish or Ottoman Empire. Only the fertile areas of Sahara were demarcated. Even European colonist occupied those areas which were economically beneficial for them. But it was Berlin Conference when they realized to demarcate the boundaries in Sahara, the demarcation was done in ignorance of geographical conditions. They partitioned Sahara among themselves with such haste like players in a rough game. At the outbreak of the First World War France, Britain, Germany, Belgium, Portugal and Spain had carved up west, central and east Sahara

among themselves. It is an obvious point that the motives behind this division was for needs of independent economic development in the second half of the twentieth century. Europeans in Sahara captured those areas which were from the economic point of view were beneficial so first they made coastal areas as their colonies.

The boundaries in Sahara are often characterized as artificial and arbitrary on the basis of the fact that they do not respond to what people believe to be rational demographic, ethnographic and topographic boundaries. However, the borders are always artificial because states are not natural creation. Therefore it is important to judge boundaries – political creation – on the basis of their usefulness to those who created them. Based on this criterion, the current boundaries are not arbitrary. The boundary system developed in 1885 represented a rational response by colonialists because it served their political needs.

When underground resources were found during the 1950's there was a complete reappraisal of the value of the Sahara. Carved up by these powers into geometrical shapes, the Sahara now has boundaries of little significance to Saharan peoples themselves. Algeria obtained the greatest shares along with Libya. So, the boundaries have gained more significance than ever before, especially as the oil is so unequally distributed between nations.

Algeria which shares the greatest resources of Sahara, occupy the second position in area Africa after Sudan. The Algeria as distinct political

entity is a relatively recent creation. Earlier it came under the Maghreb region. The Roman, Arabs and the Ottoman, Turks ruled it. Though it was the Ottoman rule which provided Algeria with its recognizable political configuration but the French provided Algeria's territory in the sense that demarcate the boundaries and made Algeria as a nation come under French dominion. The history of Algeria has already discussed which gave the base for boundary evolution. The first evolution start with the French colons who established themselves with agricultural farmyard in the Mediterranean North Algeria. They divided the country into three main regions, Oran, Algiers and Constantine. They did this due to their administration purpose but they left the areas of southern Algeria due to its infertility.

During the period between 1885 to 1914 the emergence of Algerian boundaries took place. The independence movement in Sahara also gave the birth to new independent states with their new boundaries. So, by the time when Algeria got independence, its state boundaries touches the seven international boundaries. Algeria's southern desert region was kept mainly under the military rule until 1957. Algeria got independence on 5 July 1962 after the 132 years of rule of French colonists. Soon after the independence the Algeria had a boundary problem with Morocco, which was settled later with the help of OAU.

Before the discovery of mineral oil and gas in Algeria it was considered as a poor nation but after these discoveries in different parts of Southern Algeria, it considered as one of the developing nation in southern world.

Algeria has a strategic location from the economic point of view. It has most developed nation in Maghreb. Oil and gas industry provide the main contribution to its economic development. Earlier vineyards were the main source of the foreign export. Now hydrocarbons contribution is foremost in the sector of Algerian economy. Other sector also contribute to the economic sector like agriculture, tourism etc. Algeria's future also depends on the oil and gas industry. This oil industry has manifold social and economic implications. The main hope is that the massive revenues from oil will be used wisely especially in the productive sector.

The Algerian economy is dependent on politics. The country had seen so many changes in politics since its independence. At the time of independence, Algeria nationalized all major foreign business interests as well as many private Algerian companies. But today the Algerian economy is almost totally government controlled. Algeria's development strategy has been changing from the regime of Houari Boumediene to the Chadli Benjedid to the present Abdelaziz Bouteflika. The economic and political development both are interrelated with each other as far as Algeria is concerned.

Today Algeria has a good relation with its neighbouring countries. The disputes which emerged with Morocco and Algeria had already been settled in the year of 1972. Algeria's minor boundary problem with Mali which was settled with Malian official approved agreement that demarcate the boundary in May 1983. Algeria's and Tunisia made minor adjustment to their border as part of a 1982 rapprochement. Now, Algeria has no boundary dispute

with its neighbour. But it is facing a internal revolution with fundamentalist forces.

Finally one could say that the making of boundaries was not necessarily convenient and they were not always made with the welfare of the local population in mind. The criteria for selecting many borders may have been inadequate or they may have been misapplied, or the decisions may have been based on erroneous information. All of the Sahara is now free from colonial rule and since mid twentieth century it has been shown to contain more riches than ever imagined. Never before has so much attention been focussed upon the Sahara before the discovery and subsequent exploitation of its hydrocarbons. Contemporary Algeria is in a revolutionary phase and it is difficult to forecast either its economic or its political future.

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