

People's Democratic Republic of Algeria

University of Algiers -3-

Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations



Presents:

A Monograph entitled:

**The Algerian Foreign Policy Approach
towards its Neighboring Region**

Presented to Master's students in the field of Regional Studies

(2nd Year Classes)

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Academic year: 2023/2024

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Introduction:

No foreign policy of any country is devoid of a set of controls and principles that direct its conduct, which in turn influence its positions towards various issues it faces. The same applies to Algeria, a state that has gone through a historical period that has defined and outlined its external orientation and principles that guide its current behavior. The Algerian foreign policy is characterized by a set of foundations that direct its orientation towards the external environment. These principles are enshrined in its constitution as well as many of the agreements it made. Despite the impact of various variables, physical and non-physical, in its external environment, Algeria managed to maintain its foreign policy's principles.

Axis one: foreign policy: A Conceptual Framework

The specific factor in studying foreign policy lies in its focus on both international and domestic arenas, necessitating the exploration of individual national and systemic analysis levels. Accordingly, Foreign policy is scrutinized from different perspectives, requiring the analysis of different actors such as the state, non-state actors, and sub-state actors. This analysis extends across different levels, including the individual, state, and systemic levels. Foreign policy is considered one of the crucial areas of research in international relations because it determines the patterns of relationships between states. To comprehend these relationships, understanding foreign policy is essential. It was only after the behavioral revolution that foreign policy became independent from the field of international relations. In the early 1960s, the phenomenon of foreign policy evolved significantly due to the multiplicity and diversification of its issues and the increase in the number of international units in the global system, underscoring its importance. Studying foreign policy is essential for understanding the external orientations of states in their relationships with each other. Additionally, it enables the identification and understanding of a nation's national strategies towards its external environment.

The Concept of Foreign Policy:

Many international relations scholars have given different definitions to the concept of foreign policy, reflecting their varied perspectives in defining it. The definitions can be presented in three trends.

The first trend defines foreign policy as a set of programs. Among the pioneers of this approach is Dr. Mohamed El-Sayed Selim, who defined foreign policy as "the public action program chosen by official representatives of the international entity from among a range of alternative programs to achieve specific goals in the external environment."

While this definition characterizes foreign policy, it limits foreign policy to being merely a structured program with defined goals, isolating it from the influence of both the internal and external environments. In effect, Foreign policy is not just a program or a specification of particular goals; rather, it is a blend of various behaviors of decision-makers in the state and their interaction with both the internal and external environments. Dr. Mohamed El-Sayed Selim's definition is also questioned for not specifying the nature of the international entity he referred to in the definition as international entities in the international system are diverse; they can be countries or international organizations.

The Second trend: Foreign policy is defined as decision maker's behaviour.

One of the most important proponents of this trend is Charles Herman, who defines foreign policy as follow: "Foreign policy consists of these distinct official behaviours of official decision makers in government or their

representatives which are intended to influence the foreign conduct of the state.”

Richard Snyder, supports this definition by demonstrating his interest in the cognitive dimension of the decision-maker when studying foreign policy, arguing that "the State is identified by its decision-makers, and therefore the conduct of the State is that of those acting on its behalf. Foreign policy is the outcome of decisions made by those people holding official positions in the State.

Therefore, it can be said that the decision maker's behaviour is the beginning of foreign policy work and that achieving the objectives is at the core of foreign policy.

The Third Trend: Foreign policy is defined as an activity.

In this context, Hamed Rabei provided a definition of foreign policy as "all forms of external activity, even if not issued by the state as a systemic reality. That is, group activity such as urban existence or self-expressions as an individual form of external movement falls under the broad category referred to as foreign policy."

Morgenthau also defined foreign policy as: “the system of activities that societies develop to change the behaviors of other states and to establish, according to the international environment. In this context, there are two patterns of activities: inputs and outputs.” For him, foreign policy can be understood through the following aspects:

- The relationship between inputs and outputs in the decision-making process.

- The policy-making process.
- Goals and objectives of foreign policy.
- The role of power in policy-making.

Marcel Merle also defines it as "that part of government activity directed towards foreign affairs, i.e., that which deals with problems beyond borders."

Through a careful examination of different definitions of foreign policy, a comprehensive definition can be offered: Foreign policy is the sum of the activities of the state resulting from its official communications with various actors in the international system. It follows a well-planned and goal-defined program, aiming to change the behaviors of other states or maintain the current status in international relations. It is also influenced by both the internal and external environments.

Foreign policy and related concepts:

A. Foreign Policy and International Relations: Dr. Abu Amer views the concept of foreign policy as less comprehensive than that of international relations. Foreign policy is the process undertaken by any state to defend its national interests in order to achieve a predetermined goal. Foreign policy is crafted within the state and is a reflection of its domestic policy. In contrast, international relations, as defined by Marcel Merle, encompass all flows that cross borders or even look towards crossing them, describing them as international relations. These flows include not only relations between governments but also relations between individuals and public or private groups on either side of the borders. International relations also include all traditional government activities: diplomatic, negotiation, war, etc.

Moreover, they involve flows of various economic, ideological, demographic, sports, cultural, and tourist natures. Thus, international relations are more comprehensive, representing the result of broader and more extensive interaction between multiple forces in the international system.

B. Foreign Policy and International Politics: Dr. Hamed Rabei defines international politics as "the interaction that inevitably leads to the expected and necessary clash and entanglement due to differences in goals and decisions emanating from more than one political unit." The main differences between foreign policy and international politics are that the elements of foreign policy include individuals, institutions, and parties, differing from the elements of international politics represented by states, international organizations, and active groups. The analytical element in foreign policy differs from that in international politics.

International politics is the interaction of the foreign policies of states apart from other international factors. It is more comprehensive than foreign policy, and the sum of international policies forms international relations.

C. Foreign Policy and Diplomacy: Diplomacy differs from foreign policy; foreign policy for a state is the management of its activity in relations with other states or the approach the state follows in its political, commercial, economic, and financial relations with other states. Diplomacy, on the other hand, is a tool for implementing foreign policy. Additionally, diplomacy is characterized by its peaceful nature and the use of peaceful means. Foreign policy can be peaceful or the opposite, as it is not bound to a single state and is subject to the criterion of national interest, which may change.

D. Foreign and domestic policy:

There are those who believe that the foreign policy of a specific country is a reflection of policies resulting from the interaction of internal environmental variables, while the traditional view advocates for a complete separation between the two policies. The subject of foreign policy lies outside the control of the individual state, while domestic policy falls within the framework of that unit's control. If foreign policy issues are related to societal resources and general conditions, they are more immersed and linked to internal societal affairs. Consequently, various societal groups show interest and connection to these issues when studying how the foreign policy of a country is formulated. This begins with studying the internal aspect of the concerned state before examining the regional and international dimensions.

According to Hendrick, foreign and domestic policies have become largely similar, termed as the "infiltration of foreign policy." There is a criterion for distinguishing between the two policies, summarized as follows:

- The scope of action for the two policies differs in terms of defining their sources. The state generally has control over the individual and societal levels in the domestic realm, while in foreign policy, the government deals with conflicting interests of other states, often proving inflexible and challenging to reconcile.
- The main objectives of the two policies are different. The axis of foreign policy revolves around survival, defense, and protection. Elements of foreign policy, such as foreign trade and defense strategies, have a connection with elements of domestic policy, such

as prosperity and the standard of living, but they are considered from a very different perspective.

- In domestic policy, there may be some doubt about the actual realization of general prosperity and shared welfare.
- Central concerns of foreign policy revolve around issues of defense and diplomacy. The government plays a more developmental role in foreign policy than in domestic policy. In foreign affairs, individuals and tribes are generally neglected, as they do not wield significant influence in this domain.
- Internal work requires building and sustaining the strength that may be exerted externally.
- External dissemination of power requires ensuring the internal affairs of the state, to the extent that the latter's domestic policy, especially, may be influenced or decided by other countries.

Foreign policy-making:

The process of decision-making and implementation involves multiple stages, starting with the preparatory stage, which includes determining the main criterion, identifying variables related to the subject (identifying alternatives, collecting information), and measuring variables with the main criterion. Then comes the stage of goal selection and drawing up a strategy to achieve the goal. The next stage is the decision-making stage, where one of the alternatives is chosen and implemented, translating the decision into practical reality through tangible actions, whether this decision is within the framework of action or reaction.

After that comes the stage of feedback and evaluation, where results are reviewed, and lessons and experiences are extracted from the decision implementation. Various official and non-official entities participate in the decision-making process, with legislative and executive authorities taking the lead.

The distribution varies in political systems, where legislative authority dominates the decision-making process in parliamentary systems, while executive authority dominates in presidential systems. In the field of foreign affairs, the executive authority plays a prominent role in shaping and explaining foreign policy.

Non-official actors include political parties, interest groups, and public opinion. Despite the impact of these entities in directing the behavior of foreign policy, the ultimate responsibility for making foreign policy lies with the official entities of the state.

Characteristics and directions of foreign policy

Foreign policy characteristics:

Foreign policy has characteristics that can be outlined as follow:

Foreign policy is characterized by features that can be summarized as follows:

1. External nature: Foreign policy is directed towards the external environment. Although it is formulated within state institutions, it serves as the framework for testing and achieving the outlined goals.
2. Official character: The term "official" implies that foreign policy is determined by an official entity within the state. No unofficial entity

has the final say in directing foreign policy. The key official entity giving foreign policy its official character is the executive authority, represented by the head of state, head of government, foreign minister, defense minister, and others representing official bodies in the state.

Dr. El-Sayed Slim sees "choice" in foreign policy as the act of selecting it from among possible alternative policies. This choice involves three dimensions: the actual formulation of foreign policy, which is typically done by the official authority in the state, the availability of alternative policies for decision-makers, and the flexibility of the chosen foreign policy, allowing decision-makers to adapt to changing conditions and data.

3. Unified character: Foreign policy consists of programs adopted by a single international unit in relation to other international units. This dimension distinguishes foreign policy from international relations.
4. Goal-oriented character: Any foreign policy must be aimed at achieving goals that have been planned by decision-makers. All available resources are mobilized to achieve these goals. In this context, foreign policy is not merely a reactive response to the external environment; rather, it is a conscious and intentional process.

Foreign Policy Directions

Regional-Global Orientation:

The regional orientation directs a state's foreign policy based on its geographical area. Some countries focus their foreign policy on regional issues and show little interest in matters outside their region. Examples include the Arab Republic of Egypt, which primarily focuses on the Middle East, and Brazil's foreign policy towards Latin America. This orientation is

accompanied by an important role in presenting the state as a regional leader, with powerful states taking on specific responsibilities. Turkey and Iran are examples of countries investing their resources to play an active regional role, particularly in the Middle East.

In contrast, the global orientation involves a state directing its foreign policy towards international units outside its region. These countries' interests are distributed across the world and encompass various global regions. Examples include the United States, with an active foreign policy in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and Europe.

Recognition or Change of Current International Relations:

This classification distinguishes between foreign policy orientations seeking to recognize the current pattern of international relations and those aiming to change the current pattern to an idealized one. Recognition or change in current international relations is not limited to regional issues but includes various international matters worldwide. Neutrality and non-alignment policies, adopted by independent countries during the Cold War, contribute to accepting the existing situation to some extent, providing these neutral and non-aligned states with credibility.

Interventionist and Non-Interventionist Orientation:

While the previous orientations are categorized based on a state's foreign policy goals, this orientation classifies foreign policy based on the tools a state uses to implement its policy. Interventionist orientation involves a state seeking to influence the policies of other states, directing them to affect the political power structure. The United States is a prominent example of a

country adopting this interventionist approach, always looking for influence and striving to preserve its national interests outside its region.

On the other hand, the non-interventionist orientation may also seek to influence the policies of other states but without intervening in the political power structure. Balanced foreign policy countries, like Algeria, rely on official agreements. For instance, Algeria's policy towards the crises in Arab countries since 2011 follows a non-interventionist approach.

It's important to note that a state may adopt a combination of these three orientations in its foreign policy.

Determinants of foreign policy:

The term "determinants of foreign policy" refers to the various factors that influence, in one way or another, the direction and formulation of a country's foreign policy. It also implies studying foreign policy as a dependent variable in the face of multiple independent variables imposed by the internal and external environments.

Internal determinants include:

1. **Geographical Determinants:** Encompassing factors like geographical location, area, terrain, and climate, these elements form the basis of a country's geopolitical landscape. They directly impact the dynamism of foreign policy and determine the international position and influence of the state.
2. **Natural Resources:** The possession of crucial natural resources such as energy sources (petroleum, gas), minerals (iron, copper, gold), and

food resources (wheat, corn) contributes to a country's economic independence. This, in turn, enables the country to play an active role in its regional and international context, influencing the foreign policies of other nations.

3. **Human Resources:** The availability of a skilled workforce, either domestically or deployed as labor abroad, plays a significant role. However, population size alone may not be a constant measure of military or economic power in the face of technological advancements.
4. **Personal Determinants:** The behaviors of decision-makers often reflect in foreign policy. Therefore, the personalities of these decision-makers are crucial, as leadership plays a vital role in the foreign policy decision-making process.
5. **Societal Determinants:** This includes characteristics such as national identity traits shared by the population, reflecting values and qualities that distinguish them from others. Additionally, public opinion, or the general sentiment of the people, and civil society's role in the form of political parties, interest groups, and associations are significant societal factors.
6. **Political Determinants:** Primarily associated with the nature of the political system, political determinants shape foreign policy. Democratic systems usually reflect peaceful foreign policies, characterized by pluralism and high levels of political participation.
7. **Military Determinants:** The military factor is a key indicator of a state's strength and an effective tool for achieving foreign policy goals.

A substantial military arsenal and highly competent military leadership contribute to a country's international influence.

Understanding and analyzing these determinants provide insights into the formulation and direction of a country's foreign policy within the framework of its internal and external environments.

External determinants of foreign policy.

The international or regional framework is considered one of the most important determinants of a country's foreign policy. The distribution of power within an international framework characterized by sharp polarization makes it difficult for a country to adopt an isolationist policy. If the international system is based on political and military blocs and axes, this prompts policymakers in smaller countries to enter into alliances to protect their national security, regardless of potential conflicts with their general political orientations or departure from some general principles of traditional policies in these countries.

These blocs also assist major countries that established them in implementing and enforcing their foreign policies on the ground, compelling other countries to accept them. The international system includes fundamental dimensions, namely:

- **Units:** The number of international units in the international framework plays a significant role in shaping the foreign policy of these units. According to "Deutsch" and "Singer," an increase in the number of international units enhances the stability of the international system, dispersing the attention that any international actor directs

towards other actors. Meanwhile, "Waltz" believes that a decrease in the number of international actors reduces the likelihood of war and increases the stability of the international system.

An increase in the number of international units can lead to a balance in the stability of the international system. This is due to the entanglement and intermingling of the interests of countries to a degree of complexity. The inability of a state to dissolve from this entanglement leads it to adopt a non-aggressive foreign policy, preserving its interests that may be harmed in the case of an aggressive policy. An increase in the number of international units expands the base of mutual dependence, reducing the occurrence of large-scale wars.

The fundamental difference between "Deutsch" and "Singer" on one hand, and "Waltz" on the other, is that they did not differentiate between the increase in international units in general and the increase in real actors influencing the international framework. An increase in the number of international units achieves the stability of the international system, but an increase in the number of directly influential active countries, particularly in case of conflicting interests, leads to a disruption of the stability of the international system.

International Institutions: International institutions significantly influence the foreign policy of countries. International institutions take on an organizational form for states, regulating their foreign relations. Legal international institutions also affect the foreign policies of countries as they create restrictions on certain foreign actions by states. The role of international institutions is not limited to coordinating cooperation between

countries; they also work to resolve conflicts between countries according to international law.

However, international institutions and organizations are characterized by a duality of standards. Major countries use them to achieve their interests even if it contradicts the principles of international institutions themselves.

International Political Processes: This refers to the dynamic aspect of the international framework resulting from various interactions between international units according to the principles of action, reaction, and reciprocity. These interactions lead to a cooperative or conflict nature between countries. The position of national interest in the stance taken favors action, reaction, and according to the state's position on power balances within the balance of power system, which is the nerve center of the modern international system.

Political processes reflect the influence of a state's foreign policy on its external environment. Although foreign policy is a reflection of domestic policy, it cannot be isolated from the external environment, outside regional and international balances, due to the complexity and interdependence of interests in the international framework.

International Structure: International structure refers to the arrangement of international units according to their strength and their regional and international roles. International structure significantly influences the foreign policy of countries. The susceptibility of international units to be influenced by the international structure varies depending on the nature of this structure. The more multipolar the international structure, the more opportunities there are for international units to influence it by joining one

of the poles. This makes polar countries in a continuous competition to attract a greater number of other countries.

Despite the multiple definitions of foreign policy, it does not deviate from the framework of a state's behaviors and its external activities seeking to achieve short or long-term set goals. Foreign policy is characterized by its official nature and determination by one or more entities. It also has an external nature, determining the direction of foreign policy, which is always beyond the borders of the state. These directions vary according to the diversity of actors in international relations.

The orientations of foreign policy are governed by several determinants, divided into internal and external determinants. Internal determinants relate to the internal environment of the state, including geography, the role of geographical location in determining the importance of the state, the diversity of natural resources, and their availability, providing the state with economic power if used effectively, giving it strength and self-confidence. External determinants revolve around the international framework through the multiplicity of international units. This linkage of units increases with the increase in their number. The interaction of the international structure and the interconnection of international units through international institutions and the resulting legal and ethical commitments contribute to directing the foreign policy of states.

Axis two: The Evolution of Algeria's foreign policy: A historical Framework

The Algerian foreign policy before independence cannot be discussed during the French colonial era without addressing the foreign policy practiced by Emir Abdelkader, who was the first to establish the Algerian Republic.

1. Algerian Foreign Policy during the Reign of Emir Abdelkader:

Emir Abdelkader established diplomatic relations with the Moroccan Sultan to finance his army besieged by the French from the sea. He sent a letter to the Moroccan Sultan along with some gifts to initiate friendly meetings. In response, the Moroccan Sultan sent a letter along with 600 rifles. After strengthening relations with the French following the Treaty of Desmichels on February 28, 1834, and the exchange of consuls, Morocco officially recognized his state. The Emir then established relations with the Bey of Tunis Ahmed Pasha after signing the Tafna Treaty between King Louis-Philippe of France and Emir Abdelkader. Gifts were sent to the Bey through Captain Yajroufi on February 28, 1834. When the envoys were released, the Emir thanked Pélissier for the royal gift, considering it a symbol of friendship. He expressed his intention to send a gift to the King of France soon.

Regarding efforts to establish relations with the Ottoman Empire to obtain assistance for the national cause, it was done at the urging of Hamdan Khodja. The Ottoman Sultan sent a message through Britain in December 1841, but British pressure on the Sultan led to the failure of these efforts. Turkey and Britain maintained friendship with the conflicting parties.

The Emir maintained excellent relations only with Morocco. However, after the French naval bombardment of Tangier and Essaouira, resulting in the destruction of many commercial and industrial centers, and casualties, the Treaty of Tangier was signed. Its crucial clause was that Morocco would not provide any military assistance to France's enemies, considering the Emir outside the law. Consequently, the Emir contacted the Spanish governor in Melilla and received a message from Queen Isabella II in April 1847 expressing her desire to mediate between him and the French to restore peaceful relations. The Spanish government, aware of France's strength, always maintained its friendship with both France and Morocco. It provided minimal assistance to Abdelkader secretly to avoid straining relations with France or escalating with Morocco.

By early December, Emir Abdelkader found himself surrounded due to the cooperation between French and Moroccan forces. French forces lined the border, while Moroccan forces pursued him in Moroccan territories. With his arrival at Mount Bani Khalled in Beni Yeznassen, he was surrounded from all sides. Realizing the impossibility of continuing the struggle, after convening the Shura Council, it was decided to surrender to the French. This marked the end of Emir Abdelkader's military and diplomatic struggle, lasting fifteen years.

Reviving Algerian diplomacy with the leaders of the national movement: After the failure of Algerians to resist the French occupation army by force of arms due to the limitation of armed resistance to tribal alliances, where these uprisings erupted in limited geographical areas, always besieged and eliminated by French forces, a educated class emerged, educated in French schools, noticing the clear difference in rights between the European

minority and the Algerian Muslim majority that lived in marginalization and deprivation. Three political currents emerged on the Algerian scene:

1. **The Reformist Religious Trend:** The Association of Muslim Scholars in Algeria laid the groundwork for an Arab-Islamic national renaissance. The credit for its establishment goes to Sheikh Abdelhamid Ben Badis, born in 1889 in Constantine. The association was founded on May 5, 1930, in Algiers under the slogan "Islam is our religion, Arabic is our language, and Algeria is our homeland." The association entrusted Sheikh Ibrahim and Sheikh Fadhil to carry out cultural and political communications with Arab and Muslim countries.
2. **The Integrationist Trend:** Led by Ferhat Abbas, he had contacts with international entities through the pro-German government in Paris. He and his supporters attempted to negotiate with the resistance movement in Algeria to secure political rights for Algerians.
3. **The Revolutionary Liberation Trend:** The activities of the liberation current in foreign policy began with the establishment of the Star of North Africa Party on June 15, 1926, in Paris, led by Shadhli Khairuddin from Tunisia and Messali Hadj as the Secretary-General. After Shadhli Khairuddin was expelled from Paris, the party became Algerian under the leadership of Messali Hadj. When the Conference of Colonial Peoples was held in Brussels from February 10 to 14, 1927, Messali Hadj participated and delivered a speech addressing the situation in North Africa under colonization in general and Algeria in particular. He then presented his program, which called for the complete independence of Algeria.

In addition to all the activities of the National Liberation Front (FLN), there was external activity by the Provisional Algerian Government. The Algerian government sought to thwart France's maneuvers with African countries to isolate it from the continent. The Algerian government also recognized the importance of gaining recognition from African countries through participation in African seminars and conferences. Some of the notable conferences include:

The Second Accra Conference: Held in December 1958 in the Ghanaian capital, Accra. The Provisional Algerian Government participated, and the conference called for granting the Algerian people their right to independence through urgent negotiations with the provisional Algerian government.

Conference of Independent African States: This conference took place in the Liberian capital, Monrovia, from August 4 to 8, 1959. It aimed to discuss possible support from independent African countries regarding the Algerian cause. The conference also focused on providing financial support to the Algerian revolution and urging African countries to recognize the provisional government.

Addis Ababa Conference: Held in the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, from June 14 to 24, 1960. It was the third conference for independent African states. The conference endorsed a resolution urging direct negotiations with the provisional Algerian government to settle the Algerian issue and pressured the French government to engage in these negotiations. The conference also called on African countries that had not yet recognized the provisional Algerian government to do so, while continuing support for the Algerian cause at the United Nations.

In summary, concerning the historical trajectory of Algerian foreign policy before independence, it can be concluded that Algerian diplomacy succeeded in gaining the support of anti-colonial African countries. The Provisional Algerian Government also established representations in African countries that responded to the Algerian cause to counter French propaganda.

As the liberation movement in Africa expanded gradually, the emergence of independent Algeria became evident. It evolved into one of the key players in the Arab Maghreb and Africa, given its military and political characteristics at the regional level. Its role was marked by aligning with the radical trend in eradicating imperialist colonization and supporting liberation movements worldwide. This became a central axis in Algerian foreign policy, supporting liberation movements materially, diplomatically, and technically through the training and rehabilitation of revolutionaries.

During the Cold War, Algeria coordinated with the Soviet Union as part of the liberation struggle. The Soviet Union saw this as an opportunity to extend its influence over the African continent, especially within the Maghreb organization. A significant focus of Algerian diplomacy was combating imperialism, particularly after the nationalization of hydrocarbons. Algeria established expertise in the field of hydrocarbons for African countries through institutions and Algerian universities, working collectively within the Non-Aligned Movement to fight imperialism.

However, the peak of Algeria's foreign policy activity during this period quickly declined due to the internal crisis in the country in the 1990s. The

diplomatic activity during this stage, despite its significant decline, revolved around three main axes: defending the legitimacy of the regime, managing the internal crisis, and cooperating with countries facing similar phenomena.

An essential focus for Algerian diplomacy was the Western Sahara issue, leading to territorial demands from Morocco. The Tuareg issue beyond its Saharan borders, in Niger and Mali, posed concerns about the potential spread of instability to Algerian territory. The crisis management extended to combating terrorism and addressing the Western Sahara issue, which has been a significant concern for Algeria. Despite gaining recognition from the Organization of African Unity for the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic and obtaining membership status, Algeria's reduced foreign activity led several African countries, including Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Guinea, and Senegal, to reconsider their recognition of Western Sahara, even considering leaving the Organization of African Unity.

As Algeria emerged from its internal crisis in the late 1990s, it returned to the international stage in its foreign policies. Starting with the 1999 Algeria Counterterrorism Agreement, Algeria provided mediation services in various conflicts, such as the Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict. However, some countries expressed concerns about Algeria's return to the international stage, particularly Morocco, which sought, along with France and the United States, to neutralize the United Nations in the Western Sahara issue.

Any success by Algeria in this mediation, where Europeans and Americans failed, could draw international attention to the restoration of Algeria's role in Africa and the Maghreb. Thus, Algeria managed to gain African and global support, as heads of states and governments expressed regret for the

insistence of some international circles on tarnishing the image of a country that no longer suffers from security problems.

With Algeria's successful mediation in resolving various conflicts and its increased attention to Maghreb and African issues, it regained its leading position in the Maghreb and Africa. From the preceding discussion, we can conclude that Algeria's distinguished position reflected its history in the pre-independence liberation struggle, its support for post-independence liberation movements, and its effective use of regional frameworks to serve its interests and causes. The decline in its status was due to its internal crisis, which threatened its interests, prompting it to become more active after recovering from the crisis to reclaim its position in the Maghreb and African arena, serving its interests accordingly.

Axis three: The structure of Algeria's foreign policy:

The process of formulating foreign policy, given its complex and sovereign nature, involves the collaboration of various state institutions. These institutions include those defined by the Algerian constitution, and the policymaker in foreign policy, namely the President of the Republic:

1. **Executive Authority:** Dominance in the formulation of foreign policy is within the purview of the executive authority.

It's worth noting that the study aims to make a comparison between various texts related to the Algerian foreign policy, shedding light on the roles of each institution in making and implementing foreign decisions.

Three major institutions emerged from the 1963 constitution that governs the Algerian state:

- **The Party:** Given its authorities, the party occupied the apex of power.
- **The National Council:** (Legislative institution) first elected on September 20, 1964.
- **The Presidency:** (Executive authority).

It is clear that all active groups were unified within the project of building the modern Algerian state. Many specialists describe the first stage of building the Algerian state as an objective alliance between small bourgeoisie, state bourgeoisie, party bureaucracy, managing technocrats, and the military apparatus, along with the leadership of the union due to the nature of union work under the one-party system and some academic elites.

However, the presidency, representing one of the major political institutions and the most powerful institution in the executive authority in the semi-presidential system adopted by Algeria, is considered the strongest in shaping and directing the country's foreign policy. This is due to the powers granted by various successive constitutions. Nevertheless, some argue that these powers are always subject to the principle of checks and balances, and a clear separation between authorities. What are the limits of the presidency's control in the field of Algerian foreign policy?

The Algerian constitutions have consistently affirmed the principle of the President's exclusive role in formulating and executing foreign policy. Article 46 of the 1963 Constitution stated that the President of the Republic manages and coordinates both domestic and foreign policies in accordance with the will of the people, as represented by the party and expressed by the National Council. This is considered a logical result of the centralized presidential system, which grants the President all the authority to manage public policy internally and externally.

The Algerian constitution defined the powers of the President in concluding international treaties and agreements, emphasizing that the President signs and approves international treaties and agreements after consulting the National Council and works on their implementation. The People's National Assembly plays a role in approving political treaties and those amending the content of the law.

On the other hand, the 1989 constitution granted the President the authority to conclude international treaties but specified the scope of treaties subject to executive control. The 1996 constitutional amendments reiterated this

principle, stating that the President concludes international treaties and approves them according to the provisions of the constitution.

However, the latest amendments in 2008 abolished the division of executive power between the President and the Prime Minister, reorganizing the executive power into a centralized presidential system. These amendments granted the President full authority to manage foreign policy, while the role of the Prime Minister is limited to implementing the President's program.

Legislating by decrees under Article 142 of the 2016 Constitution is a constitutional right for the President of the Republic, derived directly from the constitution without delegation from the legislative authority. This means that the President competes with the parliament in the legislative domain and has the authority to enact laws in various fields without restrictions on subjects and legislative boundaries. On the other hand, the parliament is unable to perform its legislative function, as declared, without the explicit approval of the President, which is necessary for the laws passed by the parliament in both chambers to come into effect. In contrast, the President can independently exercise legislative authority without relying on the parliament.

Second, Legislative power:

Determining the effectiveness of the constitutional jurisdiction granted to the legislative body depends on defining its concept, contribution, content, and the consequences of its violation by the President of the Republic.

1- Concept of Contribution: It can be inferred from the constitutional texts mentioned in the previous context that Algerian constitutions have granted the legislative body the right to participate with the President of the Republic in the authority to ratify certain international treaties. In reality, the authority to ratify treaties in the 1993, 1976, and 1989 constitutions falls within the exclusive jurisdiction of the President of the Republic and does not imply the prerequisite of prior approval from the parliament before ratifying some treaties. The legislative body participates with the President in the authority to ratify, meaning that this body's authority does not go beyond granting permission to the President to exercise his constitutional competence. The President is not obliged to give effect to parliamentary approval, retaining his full discretionary power. Thus, he can reject the ratification of a treaty approved by the parliament, but he cannot ratify it without obtaining permission from the parliament if it is a precondition.

2- Effectiveness of Jurisdiction: Regarding the effectiveness of the constitutional jurisdiction granted to the legislative body, the 1963 Constitution granted the National Council a consultative jurisdiction manifested in issuing a non-binding opinion before the President's ratification of the treaty. In contrast, the 1976 and 1989 constitutions granted the parliament a real and broad jurisdiction in concluding a specific category of treaties, with some differences between them. The 1976 Constitution required prior intervention of the parliament in only two types of treaties, thus restricting the legislative body's role in formulating the foreign policy orientation to only two types of treaties. However, it remains necessary to specify the intended meaning of "political treaties," which was addressed by the 1989 Constitution when it listed them as follows:

- Treaties relinquishing parts of the territory
- Mutual assistance
- Neutrality
- Protection
- Lease or lending of parts of the territory
- Armistice, peace, alliance, and border treaties

The determination of the effectiveness of the constitutional jurisdiction granted to the legislative body depends on defining its concept, its contribution, its content, and the consequences resulting from its violation by the President of the Republic.

Concept of Contribution:

It appears from the constitutional texts mentioned in the previous context that Algerian constitutions have granted the legislative body the right to participate with the President of the Republic in the authority to ratify some international treaties. In reality, the power to ratify treaties in the constitutions of 1993, 1976, and 1989 falls within the exclusive jurisdiction of the President of the Republic. It does not imply the prerequisite of obtaining prior approval from the parliament before ratifying certain treaties. The legislative body's role is to participate with the President of the Republic in the power to ratify. This means that the legislative body does not go beyond granting permission to the President of the Republic to exercise his constitutional authority. The President is not obliged to give effect to parliamentary approval and retains full discretionary power. Therefore, he can refuse to ratify a treaty even if it has parliamentary approval. However,

the President cannot ratify it without obtaining permission from the parliament when the parliament requires it.

Effectiveness of Jurisdiction:

Concerning the effectiveness of the constitutional jurisdiction granted to the legislative body, the 1963 Constitution granted the National Council a consultative role in issuing an opinion that is not binding before the President's ratification of a treaty. In contrast, the 1976 and 1989 constitutions granted real and broad authority to Parliament to conclude a specific category of treaties, with some differences between them. The 1976 Constitution required prior intervention by Parliament for only two types of treaties. Thus, it restricted the legislative body's involvement in shaping the foreign policy orientation to two types of treaties. However, the necessity of defining the term "political treaties" remained, which the 1989 Constitution addressed by listing them.

On the other hand, the 1976 Constitution did not specify the body authorized to adjust treaties and their nature. It seems that the executive branch is the one constitutionally endowed with this power because it is constitutionally responsible for determining the state's foreign policy. Due to the absence of a legal body capable of deciding on the constitutionality of treaties, the legislative body is left with discussing decrees and issuing recommendations to the President, thus diminishing its contribution to its primary legislative role.

Regarding the scope of the legislative body's authority in the 1996 Constitution, it limited its legislative authority in the field of foreign

relations within a narrow framework. This includes issuing a list about foreign policy. The 1996 Constitution allowed Parliament to discuss foreign policy either based on its initiative or at the request of the President. However, the constitution did not establish any legal consequences for this discussion. The 2016 Constitution narrowed the legislative body's authority in foreign policy to opening discussions based on a request from the President or the heads of either chamber, without specifying whether the resulting recommendations are binding on the President.

In overall, all successive constitutions have affirmed the principle of the executive branch's exclusive authority in managing the state's foreign relations. This does not mean the government's participation in formulating foreign policy; rather, the President of the Republic assumes this role. All constitutions have granted the President the powers to ensure the formulation and execution of the state's foreign policy. These powers include the exclusive appointment and dismissal of ambassadors, handing credentials to foreign diplomats, and terminating their missions. It is explicitly stated that treaties ratified by the President of the Republic, under the conditions stipulated in the constitution, prevail over domestic law, adopting the principle of the supremacy of international law over domestic law. This is in contrast to the 1976 Constitution, which adopted the principle of equality between international law and internal agreement within certain limits, rejecting the possibility of implementing an international treaty conflicting with valid legislation.

Third: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

There is a specialized department in each government dedicated to foreign policy, typically taking the form of an institutional body known as the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the UK, for example, the relevant administration is the Foreign, Commonwealth, and Development Office, while in the United States, the Department of State performs the same functions, with its specialized personnel known as diplomats and foreign service officers, respectively.

Each foreign affairs ministry is linked to a network of embassies abroad, constituting the diplomatic apparatus of the state. The primary tasks of this apparatus, which extend beyond mere execution, significantly contribute to shaping and directing the country's foreign policy. Diplomacy, as a government activity, is not just a political tool; it is also closely related to the process of making and implementing foreign policy. This is evident in five major tasks:

- 1. Information Gathering**
- 2. Policy Advice**
- 3. Diplomatic Representation**
- 4. Negotiation**
- 5. Consular Services**

The first two tasks are fundamental to the creation of foreign policy. Information and data are the primary materials for foreign policy, and diplomats contribute to the policy-making process by providing information and advice. The diplomatic apparatus provides a crucial political tool for the execution of foreign policy through representation, negotiation, and consular services.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, under the supreme authority of the head of state, is responsible for implementing foreign policy and managing diplomatic work and international relations for the state. It relies on a network of centralized structures and administrative bodies represented in embassies and consulates. Its tasks include analyzing the international situation, contributing to the decision-making of the state's foreign policy, and ensuring the country's international commitments.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs typically analyzes the international situation to identify elements that may threaten the country's security, interests, and external relations. This analysis, along with forecasting and predictions, is crucial for ensuring harmony and effectiveness in the country's international relations. Diplomats stationed abroad play a significant role in collecting information, whether from official sources, media, government reports, or informal communications with political elites in the countries they operate in.

With the expansion of foreign policy activities, governments have attached trained diplomats, such as trade attachés, military attachés, and cultural attachés, to embassies. Notably, in 2007, the General Directorate for Arab Countries, including the Sub-Directorate for Maghreb Countries and the Sub-Directorate for the Arab Maghreb Union, along with the Directorate for Arab States and the League of Arab States, were transferred to the new Ministry of Maghreb Affairs, African Union, and Arab League.

It's important to mention that the Constitutional Council examines the constitutionality of treaties or agreements before they become binding or through a decision when they enter into force.

Axis four: Principles of Algerian foreign policy.

First : Non-interference in neighbouring States' internal affairs

Many regional organizations, such as the Arab League and the African Union, adhere to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states. The United Nations Charter, in Article 2/7, emphasizes non-interference in the internal affairs of states. Algeria is considered one of the committed and supportive countries to the principles of the United Nations and the regional organizations to which it belongs.

Adherence to this principle requires mutual respect for the political, economic, and social systems in neighboring regions, refraining from interference, and establishing good neighborly relations. Violating this principle can lead to a spiral of conflicts, resulting in intertwined dilemmas between interference in internal affairs and the right to self-defense.

Second: The principle of peaceful settlement of disputes and non-use of force:

According to the first principle of the United Nations Charter, which calls for countries to refrain from using force or threatening it in their international relations, the intensity of relations between countries undoubtedly generates problems and conflicts. Therefore, the principle of refraining from using force or its threat plays a crucial role in freezing conflicts between neighboring countries, preventing armed clashes. Whenever disputes arise between these countries, where the use of force or its threat did not lead to resolution, the second principle dictates resorting to peaceful means for settlement through mediation, negotiations, reconciliation, judicial

settlement, and seeking the involvement of international and regional organizations.

The peaceful resolution of disputes between neighboring countries and the rejection of the use of force are essential conditions for good neighborly relations. Algeria, even before gaining independence and during the revolutionary struggle, rejects the use of force. It advocates cooperation and the peaceful resolution of conflicts, whether through direct negotiations or within the framework of regional organizations. When necessary, resorting to legal mechanisms or international organizations is encouraged. The Algerian foreign policy, through its modern diplomacy, has contributed to resolving and containing many international conflicts. The most significant example of this is Algeria's recourse to the African Union to address border issues with Morocco, within the framework of the Maghreb and African organization, which favors peaceful solutions, preventing external powers from intervening and discouraging the use of force to avoid causing harm to the interests of conflicting parties.

Third: Support for the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination:

Article 92 of the first chapter in the seventh section of the Algerian Constitution stipulates this right, stating that the struggle against colonization, imperialism, and racial discrimination is a fundamental axis of the revolution. Algeria considers solidarity with all peoples in Africa, Asia, and Latin America in their struggle for political and economic liberation and their right to self-determination and independence as a fundamental aspect of national policy. Supporting the self-determination of peoples is considered an important element according to the Algerian perspective on

the content of international and regional organization charters. This principle is derived from Algeria's long struggle against colonization to achieve the right to self-determination before and during the liberation revolution.

This principle is firmly rooted in the National Liberation Front, considering the right of peoples to self-determination as a non-negotiable principle. Algeria became a supportive country without conditions for liberation movements, demonstrated in its support for the right of peoples to self-determination. Algeria supported Mauritania when Morocco sought to contain it, and it supported Tunisia against foreign harassment. This support continues today for the Sahrawi people, both materially and morally, in their quest for self-determination. This support is based on Algeria's extensive experience in the global struggle against colonization.

Analyzing Algeria's support for the Palestinian and Sahrawi causes reveals a greater commitment to the latter. The Algerian stance on the Sahrawi issue is more substantial, as any liberation movement in the world, without strong support from neighboring countries, may struggle to achieve its goals. The right of peoples to self-determination is a key condition for good neighborly relations in the Maghreb, particularly in defining the course of Maghrebian relations.

The Brotherhood Agreement between Algeria and Tunisia included this principle in its first article to affirm Tunisia's position on the Western Sahara issue. Mauritania also recognized it in the agreement signed with the Polisario Front on August 5, 1979. Moreover, Libya recognized the right of the Sahrawi people to self-determination. However, Algerian-Moroccan relations witnessed a 12-year hiatus and did not return to their natural course after agreeing to enable the Sahrawi people to exercise their right to self-

determination. Algeria has not deviated from its initial stance, emphasizing the necessity of respecting the will of the neighboring Maghreb peoples. The Algerian concept of good neighborliness now includes a new principle related to the right of peoples to determine their own destiny.

Fourth: Principle of cooperation between neighbouring States:

This principle holds significant importance alongside the aforementioned principles to activate the positive image of good neighborliness in the Algerian perspective. According to this concept, bilateral or regional cooperation is initiated for the benefit of the involved parties. This cooperation is carried out through cross-border consultations to strengthen and develop neighborly relations between local groups or regional authorities belonging to two or more neighboring countries. It also involves the conclusion of necessary treaties and agreements for this purpose, as stipulated by the law governing this cooperation and the internal laws of the countries.

Adhering to this principle and following this perspective, Algeria has signed agreements of brotherhood, cooperation, and good neighborliness with neighboring countries except for Morocco since the late sixties. However, the most prominent aspects of this cooperation were between Algeria and Tunisia. Efforts of both countries focused on developing industrial units in the border regions, undertaking additional industrial projects within the framework of a development plan for these areas. These projects were inspired by the integrative projects of European countries that yielded ready results later on.

Efforts of cross-border cooperation resulted in significant achievements within the framework of the Greater Algerian-Tunisian Joint Committee and its subcommittee responsible for the development of border regions. In the energy sector, a major accomplishment was the construction of a pipeline delivering Algerian gas to Tunisia, with plans to extend it to the western regions of the Libyan Jamahiriya via Tunisia. In the industrial field, nine Algerian-Tunisian joint companies were established, boosting the level of joint investment between the two countries to over 121 million Tunisian dinars, employing a total of 1177 workers.

In the commercial and financial sector, several achievements were made, including the establishment of the Arab Maghreb Bank and customs exemptions for all national products in both directions. Thus, placing more emphasis on the principle of cooperation among neighboring countries is expected to give a positive content to the concept of good neighborliness in line with the Algerian perspective.

Fifth: Border control in accordance with the inherited Colonial Borders:

Since gaining independence, Algeria has sought to demarcate and control its borders with neighboring countries. It sees the principle of adhering to the borders inherited from colonialism as a continuation of the principles of its revolution. The country considers the demarcation and control of these borders as a major guarantee to reinforce the principles of positive good neighborliness. However, since the first border issue arose between Algeria and Morocco days after independence, Algeria intensified its commitment to its borders. According to the Tlemcen Agreement on May 27, 1970, and the Rabat Treaties on June 15, 1972,

These agreements, which addressed the border issue between Algeria and Morocco, prompted Algeria to turn to its neighbors to demarcate its borders with them. An agreement was signed with Tunisia on January 6, 1970, with Mauritania on December 13, 1983, with Mali on May 8, 1983, and with Niger on January 5, 1983. As for the Libyan-Algerian border, it was regulated under the French-Libyan agreement of 1956.

This concerted effort by Algeria to control its borders and determine them with neighboring countries aims to ensure a positive image in implementing the principles of good neighborliness. By demarcating borders with these countries, all causes of disputes around them are eliminated. This process turns into a factor for peace by providing strong impetus for disarmament and maintaining the sanctity of borders.

Axis Five: The determinants and objectives of Algeria's foreign policy.

First: Determinants of Algeria's foreign policy.

1-Economic determinants:

The economic factors have played a significant role in Algeria's relationship with its external environment compared to other factors. This is attributed to the nature of the Algerian economy, which imports most of its food and industrial needs from abroad. Additionally, its financial revenues heavily rely on exports, particularly hydrocarbons. Consequently, a substantial part of Algeria's foreign policy is influenced by the international economic fluctuations that occurred in the post-Cold War world.

The economic determinants include human resources and available natural resources. In the case of Algeria, its human resources place it in a weakened position due to a significant shortage. Natural resources, especially oil, are vital for the strength and wealth of countries. Algeria is among the countries rich in natural resources, particularly oil, as it is a major exporter of oil and gas. However, its economy is overly dependent on oil, which is inherently volatile. The fluctuation in global oil prices has profound effects on the Algerian economy, leading to internal crises.

Moreover, Algeria does not achieve self-sufficiency in terms of food production, making it vulnerable to crises, especially during times of war or emergencies. Food self-sufficiency is considered crucial for a state's strength, and any nation lacking this vital aspect is susceptible to collapse.

2. Political Determinants:

Algeria derives its political determinants from historical traditions, interactions with the external factor, religious heritage, and geographical location. The Algerian society, regarding foreign intervention, perceives it as bearing suffering and pain for the community, stemming from its experience with the occupying army. Hence, there is sensitivity to the issue of sending the Algerian army beyond national borders, even for peacekeeping operations, as it implies interference in external affairs. The Algerian constitution explicitly prohibits sending the army outside national borders.

However, when it comes to supporting liberation movements, the political culture of Algerian society overwhelmingly stands with these movements in their just causes. This was evident when Algeria sent a military unit to stand alongside Arab forces against Israeli occupation. Also, the support for the Sahrawi people's right to self-determination reflects the political culture's inclination to endorse liberation movements and their just causes.

One of the highest principles of Algerian foreign policy is the reconciliation between adversaries, advocated by Islamic law. However, historical experiences have negatively impacted this principle, making Algerians wary of sending their sons beyond national borders. The prevailing political culture in Algerian society is a crucial determinant of Algerian foreign policy, representing the self and social dimensions of the political process available to the political leader. The political culture influences the general direction of Algerian foreign policy. Therefore, the political culture of Algerian society, as a vessel for its bitter historical experience, is a defining factor for Algerian foreign policy. It somewhat restricts the political leader's

freedom in making foreign decisions and influences the overall direction of Algerian foreign policy.

3-Geographical determinants:

Algeria occupies a prominent position in the Arab and Maghreb region, situated in the center of Northwest Africa. This strategic location places it at the crossroads of the four continents: Africa, Europe, Asia, and America. The central location makes Algeria close to all these continents, facilitating its connections to the depths of the African continent. Moreover, Algeria acts as a bridge between Africa and Europe, benefiting from a 1600 km Mediterranean coastline that provides a substantial margin for contributing to international trade.

In terms of area and topography, the vast geographic expanse provides strategic depth for defense against external invasion. Algeria ranks first in Africa and the Arab world after the division of Sudan, with a total area of 2,381,741 square kilometers. This unique strategic depth historically hindered invaders, such as the Romans, Vandals, and Byzantines, who were unable to occupy the entire national territory. Even with advancements in weapons in the past century, it took approximately 18 years to occupy the northern part of Algeria during colonization, and resistance persisted across various regions for nearly a century.

Geographic location is a decisive factor in a state's strength or weakness. Observationally, smaller countries have left more significant marks on international relations due to the importance of their location compared to larger countries in terms of territory and resources. Coastal areas with

extensive maritime boundaries are considered vital sources of power for a country, as coastlines are natural gateways for international trade and transportation. Thus, most landlocked countries, such as Afghanistan and Mongolia, face challenges with the high cost of foreign trade and are subject to pressure from neighboring maritime countries.

4-Societal Determinants:

A state with social homogeneity, reinforcing internal cohesion, is better equipped to strengthen its foreign behavior. Internal coherence and national unity enhance domestic resilience during wars. Algeria boasts notable social homogeneity, with linguistic unity in Arabic, religious unity in Islam, and cultural unity represented by the Maliki Sunni tradition. This social cohesion results from a shared reference, contributing to the resilience of the Algerian people against attempts by France to exploit linguistic differences.

The attempt to employ the Amazigh language, which became an official language in the new Algerian constitution, failed to create regional conflict, as it encountered opposition from all directions. The commonalities within Algerian society were against French interests. Societies with minorities are less homogeneous, more prone to internal conflicts, political instability, and numerous disputes. Such division negatively affects state-building and, consequently, foreign policy. Conversely, a state enjoying social homogeneity experiences increased cohesion, strength, and unity among its citizens, positively influencing its foreign policy. National unity enhances internal front resilience, especially during wars.

5-International system:

It is one of the factors influencing the foreign policy of countries, and since Algeria is among the most significant countries in terms of size and capabilities, the structure of the international system leaves its impact on Algerian foreign policy to varying degrees. Depending on its nature, if the international system is based on bipolarity, it provides more room for movement and maneuvering, explaining the dynamism witnessed in Algerian foreign policy in supporting liberation movements financially and diplomatically. The bipolar structure increased its margin of movement and maneuvering, in harmony with the Soviet Union's stance supporting liberation movements as a means of fighting imperialism. Therefore, Algerian foreign policy gained prominence in the Third World by standing alongside and supporting liberation movements financially and morally, or defending the economic interests of Third World countries.

Hence, the international system is a significant determinant of Algerian foreign policy, providing it with a margin of movement based on its nature.

Algerian foreign policy has been characterized by several features throughout its course, features that Algeria has consistently adhered to on various occasions, focusing on the steadfastness of its principles, whether inherited from revolutionary action or developed in the practice of its foreign policy after independence. Among these features, one can mention the crisis-oriented nature of foreign policy, the dominance of personal factors of the president, and neutrality in its positions towards conflicts.

1-Features of the Algerian foreign policy:

The crisis character of foreign policy: After the eruption of the liberation revolution, strong diplomatic activity followed to rid the country of colonialism. After gaining independence and undergoing this transformation, Algeria was compelled to intensify its foreign activities.

With the implementation of nationalization policies on February 24, 1971, Algeria entered into a crisis with the West. Its stance on the outbreak of conflict in Western Sahara brought Algeria back to ground zero, leading to a severe isolation, as the crisis was exploited to besiege Algeria. This period was challenging for the country.

Algeria, once again, engaged in intense diplomatic activities to garner support for the Sahrawi cause, considering it a matter of self-determination and a means to isolate Morocco from African affairs. Eventually, Algeria succeeded in changing the positions of some conservative countries, such as Tunisia, Mauritania, Egypt, and Nigeria. Nigeria played a pivotal role in the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic joining the Organization of African Unity in 1982, leading to Morocco's withdrawal in protest. Algeria continued to impose African isolation on Morocco.

However, during the Black Decade, characterized by internal conflicts in Algeria, diplomatic activities waned, and stagnation dominated Algerian foreign policy.

With the beginning of crisis resolution, foreign policy activities resumed. Algeria re-entered the international stage by focusing its activities abroad, particularly in Africa and the Maghreb region. This region represents

Algeria's geographical and natural sphere of influence. Algeria played a crucial role in resolving conflicts, such as mediating the Ethiopian-Eritrean conflict in the Horn of Africa, and initiating the Partnership Project with Africa. Algeria made a strong comeback to the African and Maghreb arenas. Consequently, the crisis-oriented nature became a defining characteristic closely associated with Algerian foreign policy.

2-Personal factors in Algerian foreign policy:

The 1963 constitution, in Article 58, granted the President of the Republic the right to determine, direct, manage, and coordinate the internal and external policies of the country. This trend continued with the 1976 constitution, where the president decides on the general policy of the nation, leads it, and implements it. As for the 1989 constitution, Article 74 stated that the President of the Republic determines and directs the foreign policy of the country. Consequently, the president appoints ambassadors and envoys abroad, terminates their missions, receives credentials from foreign diplomats, and receives documents ending their missions. This pattern is also evident in the 1996 constitution, as expressed in Article 77

3-Neutrality in Algerian foreign policy:

Since the Algerian Revolution, the National Liberation Front (FLN) has adhered to a neutral stance in its foreign activities. Most leaders of the national movement maintained neutrality during World War II, refraining from intervention or taking sides in the events. This neutrality extended to the issues in the Maghreb and the Arab world.

When the FLN engaged in foreign activities, it maintained this tradition by avoiding interference in the internal affairs of Arab countries and refraining from involvement in Arab-Arab disputes. The FLN also exercised caution regarding alliances established by Arab countries with foreign powers, earning it appreciation and respect in Arab circles.

Algeria offered its mediation to resolve Arab conflicts and disputes, successfully mediating between Libya and Tunisia, as well as between Egypt and Libya. While conflicts between Arab countries and neighboring states often led most Arab nations to side with the Arab party against the other, Algeria's foreign policy retained its neutral character, making its mediation acceptable to non-Arab nations.

Algeria's foreign policy, marked by neutrality, earned it a positive reputation worldwide. For instance, during the Iran-Iraq conflict, while most Arab nations supported Iraq with financial aid and weapons against Iran, Algeria remained neutral and offered its mediation to settle the dispute, successfully resolving the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia as well. This neutrality became a distinctive feature of Algeria's foreign policy, contributing to its esteemed reputation in the world. The policy of neutrality persisted both before and after independence.

Second: the Objectives of the Algerian Foreign Policy

The Algerian diplomacy managed to assert its independent identity during the post-independence period in 1962 and throughout the seventies, at a time when half of the world was aligned with one of the two camps, either the East or the West, leading to dependence in many cases. This young state,

which secured its independence through significant sacrifices and a notable revolution, gained unlimited confidence in itself. It solidified principles in its foreign policy that remain steadfast to this day.

Primary Objectives of the Algerian Foreign Policy:

A. Preserving the State's Independence, Sovereignty, and National Security:

- Safeguarding the integrity of the national territory.
- Protecting national sovereignty and its symbols.
- Preserving national unity.
- Rejecting any form of foreign intervention.
- Opposing the presence of foreign bases in Algeria and the Maghreb region as a whole.

B. Enhancing the State's Power:

- This objective is closely related to the first goal, serving as a means to maintain the state's sovereignty and security. Algeria's presence as a regional power attracts other Maghreb countries, creating a significant polarization in Maghrebi relations. This was evident in the relationships between revolutionary states, represented by Algeria, and conservative states, represented by Morocco and Tunisia.

2. Vital Objectives of Algerian Foreign Policy:

The vital interests of the Algerian state are closely linked to the economic sector, including preserving the country's oil and mineral wealth, and

preventing subordination within the framework of completing national independence.

The development of the country's economic level is a crucial goal for Algeria. The existence of the state relies on having an economic foundation that includes a minimum level of national wealth and a diverse and extensive economic sector. This sector encompasses various production activities and service sectors such as energy, mining, agriculture, public works, irrigation, tourism, transportation, maritime fishing, finance, construction, and other activities aimed at achieving public benefit and building a strong national economy to ensure state sovereignty. However, considering Algeria's position in the Third World and its economy relying on oil revenues, there was a need to integrate its economy into policies aimed at supporting transitional economies, forcing Algeria to reassess its role in the economic field.

3-Secondary objectives of the Algerian foreign policy:

In addition to the aforementioned objectives we discussed, there are also several secondary goals of Algerian foreign policy, including:

1. Promoting the state's ideology and culture beyond its borders.
2. Strengthening the foundations of regional and international peace.

In conclusion, Algeria has dedicated significant attention to ensuring these objectives, driven by various considerations, including the modernity of the state's formation and the lack of solid institutional construction in the

political system. This allows the dissemination of the state's culture within the domestic society, cultivating its prestige and international recognition on the external front.

Axis Six : The Algerian Policy towards the Maghreb Region

First: Algeria and the Arab Maghreb Union.

The observer of the evolution of the Maghreb Union's construction process discovers many milestones, obstacles, and even contradictions that prevented the transformation of the dream of the revolutionary parties in the historic Tangier Conference into a tangible reality, at least on paper. A clear indication of this is that from 1958, Maghreb populations waited until 1989 to witness the official birth of the union, which remains ink on paper.

The idea of the Maghreb Union emerged before independence and crystallized in the first conference of Maghreb parties held in Tangier on April 28-30, 1958. This conference included representatives from the Moroccan Independence Party, the Tunisian Constitutional Party, and the Algerian National Liberation Front. However, the dream of Maghreb national movement leaders was not realized. Once the Maghreb countries gained independence, political disputes arose, especially due to border disputes. Morocco and Algeria entered the "Sand War" in October 1963 over Maghreb territorial claims at the expense of Algeria.

Despite this "war," Maghreb countries attempted to establish the groundwork for regional cooperation. The Permanent Maghreb Consultative Council was established in 1964 between Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, marking the first tangible project for Maghreb regional cooperation. However, this initial experience in Maghreb regional construction quickly failed due to political disagreements among Maghreb countries, the Cold

War atmosphere, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and Arab-Arab conflicts that cast shadows over Maghreb relations.

In the early 1970s, there was a slight improvement in Maghreb relations, especially between Algeria and Morocco, contributing to the resolution of border disputes. However, this *détente* was quickly overshadowed by renewed political tensions, exacerbated by the Western Sahara crisis in 1974. Algeria supported the Polisario Front in response to the tripartite agreement between Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania, which divided the Western Sahara region between Morocco and Mauritania. This tension led to the suspension of Maghreb multilateral activities during the twelfth session of the Maghreb Council.

Afterwards, the early 1980s witnessed some treaties between Maghreb countries, such as the Brotherhood and Concord Treaty between Algeria, Tunisia, and Mauritania in 1983. Additionally, a meeting of Maghreb leaders took place in Zeralda, Algeria, on June 10, 1988. The Zeralda Statement expressed the leaders' desire to establish the Maghreb Union and form a committee to regulate the means of achieving Maghreb unity. Less than a year after the Zeralda Conference, the Maghreb Union was officially established in Marrakech on February 17, 1989. It is noteworthy that the Marrakech Treaty establishing this union was characterized by the generality of its objectives. It did not specify a customs or economic union in Articles 2 and 3, which relate to the union's objectives. Instead, the treaty limited the text to general phrases about economic cooperation and common policy. Another notable point is the absence of a clear definition of the Arab Maghreb and its geographical boundaries. The term "Arab" was not considered a specific criterion for accepting or rejecting the membership of

other countries. Article 7 of the treaty stated that "other countries belonging to the Arab nation or the African group may join this treaty if the member states accept it."

According to Article 5 of the treaty, the Maghreb Presidential Council was supposed to hold regular sessions every year, in addition to extraordinary sessions when necessary. Since the founding summit in Marrakech in 1989, six sessions were held at the presidential level, the first in Tunisia, then Algeria, followed by Ras Lanuf in Libya, Casablanca, Nouakchott, and finally Tunisia in April 1994. The seventh session, scheduled to be held in Algeria, did not take place due to disagreements with Morocco.

It was initially planned for the Maghreb Union summits to be held regularly every year, but no summit has taken place since the Tunis summit in 1994. The reality is that the union's paralysis began before Morocco's decision to freeze its institutions. In January 1995, Libya refused to assume the presidency of the union in protest against the Maghreb countries' compliance with the international sanctions imposed on it. The presidency returned to Algeria, and the Moroccan-Algerian crisis in 1994-1995 paralyzed the institutions of this already ailing regional entity. When Morocco officially froze its membership, protesting what it called Algeria's policy against its interests in Western Sahara, this crisis highlighted the fragility of the Maghreb regional structure. The region returned to square one, with tensions resurfacing, making it likely that the situation will remain unchanged without progress.

Second: The implications of the Moroccan-Saharan conflict for the Algerian national security.

The Algerian-Moroccan relations have taken shape since the 1960s based on the dynamics of interaction within the region, stemming from the foundation of conflict and competition to protect and ensure national security. Morocco has consistently posed a threat to Algeria's security due to expansionist ambitions, leading to military border clashes in three areas: Tindouf and Béchar in Algeria, and the Aïn Fijij region in Morocco, collectively known as the Sand War, which resulted in a sharp divergence in the approaches of the parties regarding settlement mechanisms. While Morocco relied on mobilizing tribes to demand annexation to Morocco, Algeria turned to diplomatic conferences through the Organization of African Unity and the Arab League to defend its legitimate rights. This resulted in the establishment of a ceasefire agreement on November 20, 1964.

The Algerian diplomatic efforts continued to find a final solution to the issue, culminating in the mediation of Ethiopian leader Haile Selassie to form a military committee to oversee the withdrawal of Moroccan forces. The Organization of African Unity also established a special committee in Bamako to monitor the conflict on June 15, 1969, overseeing the resolution of the conflict between the two parties by signing the "Ifrane Agreement" between Algerian President Houari Boumediene and Moroccan King Hassan II.

During the eighth African summit in Rabat in 1972, the Moroccan king announced that the two countries had reached a final settlement of the border conflict.

It is noteworthy that Algeria managed the conflict with Morocco through conference diplomacy, which became a fixed reference for Algerian foreign policy, transitioning from the regional to the global level by advocating for just African causes in international forums.

Simultaneously, the Western Sahara issue presented a new challenge to Algerian diplomacy in defending the right of peoples to self-determination, especially given the divergent positions of African countries, some supporting the Moroccan stance, and others supporting the Sahrawi people's demand for independence (Algerian position). Algeria's stance on the Western Sahara issue was principled, aligning its foreign policy within the framework of African solidarity for the continent's political liberation, economic development, and social progress. This reflects Algeria's positive commitment to the struggles of African peoples against colonialism and discrimination.

Since 1975, when the Western Sahara issue escalated, Algerian diplomacy held several meetings between Mauritania and the Polisario Front, resulting in an agreement on August 7, 1979, where Mauritania recognized the Sahrawi Arab Republic. Algeria intensified its diplomatic efforts to garner recognition of the Sahrawi Republic by African countries. The climax was the recognition by 26 African countries during the Freetown Summit held in Sierra Leone from June 1 to 4, 1980, followed by the official acceptance of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic during the twentieth summit of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa on November 12, 1984. This led to Morocco's withdrawal from the organization in 1984, as it failed to create an African breakthrough. More than 30 African countries still support

the Western Sahara cause, with over 81 countries globally recognizing or establishing diplomatic relations with Western Sahara.

It is natural for any conflict with political dimensions to have significant implications for the national security of neighboring countries. This description applies to the Western Sahara issue, the Moroccan-Sahrawi conflict, with its political and economic impacts on Algerian national security, making it challenging to find common ground for rapprochement between the direct parties in the conflict and a resolution to the dispute. It is evident that Algeria paid a considerable price in terms of its security due to the Western Sahara conflict, which became a major source of tension along the western borders. Algeria deployed tens of thousands of soldiers to the Tindouf region since the Sand War and the conflict between Morocco and the Polisario Front. Therefore, Algeria sought to strengthen its military arsenal with various equipment. Additionally, the issue of Sahrawi refugees remains unresolved, posing a threat to Algerian national security and stability. The resolution of the Western Sahara issue implies finding a solution to this problem, which is one of the challenges threatening Algerian national security due to the prolonged duration of the issue and its potential multifaceted effects on various levels, directly affecting its security strategies. However, Algeria continues to support Sahrawi refugees, providing protection and assistance.

Algeria has political, military, and security institutions with a high level of professionalism, responsibility, and awareness of the magnitude of the challenges. The Algerian people maintain characteristics of solidarity and national consensus in the face of attempts to undermine Algerian sovereignty and territorial integrity. Nevertheless, the primary purpose of

presenting such security threats is to raise awareness of the danger of the Moroccan-Sahrawi conflict to Algerian national security.

Due to its international and regional commitments, principles in foreign policy, as well as historical and strategic considerations, Algeria has consistently sought a peaceful solution to this conflict within the framework of international law and the United Nations.

Third: The security challenge in Tunisia and its implications for Algerian national security.

In this context and based on what was discussed in the first chapter about the political transformations in Tunisia, Algeria is undertaking a series of actions and efforts to protect its eastern borders adjacent to Tunisia. This involves intensifying its military, security, and intelligence presence on the borders by deploying additional large forces along the Tunisian borders. The goal is to enhance security measures and thwart any operation that might jeopardize national security, societal safety, and individual well-being. Algeria allocates significant material and human resources to secure its borders with Tunisia, especially amidst ongoing disturbances and security threats along the Algerian-Tunisian border. This aims to weaken Algeria's capabilities, drain its resources, and divert its efforts.

The eastern borders were considered a relatively stable security zone for Algeria before the events in Tunisia at the end of 2010. However, with the emergence of terrorist activities in Tunisia, particularly along the Algerian-Tunisian borders in the Shaa'nabi Mountains and the Kef region, Algeria perceived the threats to its borders. Consequently, it increased its military and security presence on the borders, providing material and logistical

support to Tunisia. Additionally, both countries engaged in security cooperation and coordination to confront and counter these threats, as terrorism became a common threat to both nations.

As a result, Tunisian youth increasingly joined terrorist and radical extremist groups, especially those involved in the terrorist attack on the Ain Amenas facility in southern Algeria, where 11 Tunisians were identified among the attackers. Tunis has experienced political and security instability internally since the popular uprising and the overthrow of the former president, manifested through terrorist operations in Tunisia. This instability is exacerbated by the security situation in Libya, which directly affects Tunisia due to the chaos and instability, particularly the return of Tunisian fighters from Syria. The terrorist organization ISIS seeks to establish itself and extend its activities to North Africa and the Sahel region.

Tunisia has also witnessed a rise in smuggling activities along its borders with Libya, especially organized crime involving drug and weapon trafficking. The smuggling of weapons from Libya to Tunisia has increased amid instability for storage and use. This was evident in the events in the Shaa'nabi Mountains, where terrorist groups operate, launching attacks on security and military forces. Some of these weapons are smuggled into Algeria through the Tunisian-Algerian borders, contributing to the security deterioration. The common security threat from the Libyan chaos worries the Algerian state regarding the security situation in Tunisia, particularly given the nature of these non-traditional transboundary threats.

Algeria's concerns about these terrorist threats are amplified by the weakness of the Tunisian security system and the military experience of its army and security forces in facing these terrorist organizations. Consequently,

Tunisia's security agencies and the army need new and effective training to meet the challenges of the current and future stages.

Thus, Tunisia has witnessed several terrorist acts during the democratic transition, resulting in casualties from the National Army and some politicians, including Chokri Belaid and Mohamed Brahmi. These terrorist challenges pose obstacles to Tunisia's democratic path and constitute a threat to the Algerian state. Since the beginning of 2011, when Tunisia witnessed these events, it has experienced security disturbances with negative repercussions on its internal situation and neighboring countries, especially Algeria due to geographic proximity. Based on the foregoing, Algeria has adopted a set of mechanisms and strategies to confront the security deterioration in Tunisia. The study aims to summarize these in the following points:

1. **Improving Living Conditions:** Algeria seeks to enhance living conditions for residents of border areas and contribute to the construction of regional projects. Recognizing the link between poverty, ignorance, and illiteracy as primary contributors to terrorism or its support, Algeria aims to address the human element by implementing developmental projects that can absorb unemployment and ensure the stability of the population. This involves activating development in border areas adjacent to Tunisia.
2. **Mediation and Negotiation Role:** Algeria plays a role in mediating and negotiating to combat transborder terrorism. New measures are taken to promote national reconciliation, benefiting from this policy to engage with major terrorist leaders.

3. **Tripartite Agreement:** A tripartite agreement between Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya is established to enhance border security. The heads of the governments of Tunisia, Algeria, and Libya meet in the Libyan city of Ghadamis to discuss security conditions on the borders among the three countries. This aims to activate security cooperation, hold regular meetings to monitor progress, and discuss political and economic issues.
4. **Security Cooperation Agreements:** Algeria and Tunisia sign joint security cooperation agreements and partnership agreements to combat terrorism along their shared border. Financial cooperation is agreed upon, including providing border cities with natural gas. Additionally, an agreement on preferential trade exchange between the two countries is implemented, and air routes are established between Algerian and Tunisian cities. The railway link between Tunisia and the city of Annaba is revived to boost joint tourism.
5. **Smart Border Management:** Algeria employs smart border measures to counter cross-border threats. The Algerian government integrates media and new communication tools into its security policy. The Border Security Administration relies on technology, modern digital technologies, and geographic information for essential security data and information services. This approach aims to flexibly and professionally confront and minimize cross-border security threats.

In the context of current regional transformations and security threats from neighboring Eastern countries such as Tunisia, Algeria's national security relies on securing its borders militarily. This involves deploying military units and security forces equipped with necessary means to prevent the

infiltration of terrorist elements and arms. The political decision-maker is responsible for prioritizing security planning to provide a clear vision for dealing with these threats.

Additionally, diplomatic efforts and mediation are employed to bring conflicting parties closer together, achieve national reconciliation, and coordinate cooperation in the fight against terrorism. Emphasis is placed on achieving optimal levels of national security and balancing the various security elements.

Therefore, Algeria has the right to confront terrorism on its eastern borders to defend its sovereignty, security, and stability. This involves implementing a clear security strategy to isolate terrorist elements distributed along the Algerian-Tunisian and Libyan borders. It includes cutting internal and external support by effectively monitoring borders, eliminating all terrorist networks, and addressing jihadists coming from conflict zones, especially Syria, Iraq, and Libya. Algeria intensifies border inspection and enhances cooperation with neighboring countries to identify and dismantle the financial threat of terrorism through timely information exchange.

Fourth: Implications of the State's failure in Libya for Algeria's security policy:

In summary, this study will directly address the impacts of the Libyan crisis on Algeria's security policies, based on the previous discussion of the developments of the Libyan crisis since 2011. This part of the study aims to explore the Algerian approach to resolving the Libyan crisis and mitigating its regional impacts.

First: Implications of the Libyan Crisis

1. **Weapons and Smuggling activities:** The African coastal region and Libya, characterized by vast areas outside of any authority, pose significant security threats. A UN report in 2011 indicated that armed groups involved in smuggling Libyan weapons spread to approximately 14 neighboring countries due to the absence of control in Libya. This created a dynamic environment, exploited by active armed groups in the region, leading to increased security challenges. This was evident in the 2013 financial crisis, witnessing a resurgence of conflict along Algeria's borders, and the Tiguentourine hostage crisis in the southeast.

On the western Libyan border towards Tunisia and Algeria, the region has experienced periodic smuggling operations since 2011. Notably, incidents between 2012 and 2013, such as the seizure of numerous automatic rifles, substantial missiles, anti-tank mines, and RBG shells in areas like Ejbah, highlighted the severity of the weapons smuggling issue. Reports confirmed weapon smuggling activities along Libya's western borders, involving approximately 14 battalions profiting from this trade. The security situation remains unclear, especially with extensive connections between armed groups in the region, benefiting from the flourishing weapons trade.

2. **Proliferation of Armed Groups:** The primary military threat faced by the region is the proliferation of armed groups, taking advantage of the suitable environment provided by semi-deserted territories. Professor Ghoui Bouhenni classified these groups into three main types:

- a. Armed groups adopting political ideologies unrelated to terrorism, potentially causing security problems if they embrace expansionist ideologies. Notably, the Tuareg rebellion in Mali is a significant example.
- b. Armed groups with extremist ideologies and organizational ties to international terrorism. These groups, such as Ansar al-Dine, Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, ISIS in the Maghreb, and Boko Haram in Nigeria, have exploited the chaotic situation in Libya since 2011.
- c. Armed groups specializing in illicit trade, holding extensive connections with other groups. Engaging in arms trafficking, abductions, human trafficking, and drug trade, they pose a significant threat to Algerian national security, particularly through the western borders.

In conclusion, the security landscape remains complex, with terrorism, armed conflicts, and illicit activities presenting ongoing challenges. The Algerian government must navigate these complexities to safeguard its borders, enhance regional stability, and counteract the multifaceted threats emanating from the Libyan crisis.

Axis Seven: The Algerian Policy towards the Arab Region

With the intensification of Nazi and Fascist pressure on European countries during World War II, Britain and France sought to avoid further disruptions in their Arab colonies. They promised independence to the leaders of those colonies after the war and expressed encouragement for any direction towards Arab unity, as stated by their Foreign Minister Anthony Eden in 1941.

Some Arab leaders moved to capitalize on these statements, aiming to establish a framework for Arab unity. In September 1943, consultations began between Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, and Yemen, highlighting three directions among Arab leaders regarding the project of Arab unity:

1. A Greater Syrian unity encompassing the fertile crescent countries.
2. The second direction envisioned the creation of a unified state led by Iraq, incorporating the fertile crescent nations.
3. The third direction called for a broader and larger union comprising Egypt, Syria, Yemen, and the fertile crescent countries. Those supporting this direction were divided into two factions:
 - The first faction advocated for a federal or confederal union, or some form of union with supreme authority imposing its will on member states.

- The second faction envisioned a union working on cooperation and coordination among Arab countries, with each maintaining its independence.

After the end of World War II and the Allies' victory over the Axis powers, Western-occupied countries attempted to renege on their promises of granting independence to Arab nations, despite the latter's support and depletion of resources in the war effort. The Arab public opinion had inclined towards the establishment of Arab unity, and pressure began to mount through political parties and newspapers in this direction.

In June 1944, the Preparatory Committee for the Arab General Conference, responsible for formulating proposals to achieve Arab unity, convened. After eight consecutive sessions of discussions, Arab leaders dismissed the idea of a central government and focused the debate on forming a confederal union whose decisions would only be implemented by consenting member states.

The committee met in Alexandria on September 25, 1944, with representatives from Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Arab Palestine. After eight successive sessions, the Arab delegates in Alexandria issued a protocol known as the Alexandria Protocol, expressing their agreement to establish a league for Arab countries.

General principles of the Charter

The Arab delegations gathered in Alexandria drafted general provisions that formed the initial nucleus of the Charter of the Arab League. The Preparatory Committee, meeting at the Zafaran Palace in Cairo on March 17, 1945, approved the final version of the Charter of the Arab League. The

Charter, composed of a preamble and 20 articles with three appendices, officially came into existence on March 19, 1945.

The Arab League, driven by the pursuit of unity, aimed to strengthen ties among Arab nations, preserve their independence, and safeguard the security and well-being of the Arab region across political, economic, cultural, social, and health domains.

To achieve these goals, several institutions were established, and various agreements were concluded, including:

- Agreement for Facilitating Commercial Exchange.
- Unified Customs Tariff.
- Establishment of the Arab Financial Institution for Economic Development.
- Economic Unity Agreement.
- Joint Arab Defense Agreement enabling the Arab League to initiate and mediate conflict resolutions among member states.

To uphold the principles of Arab security and peace, Articles 5 and 6 obligated member states not to resort to the use of force in resolving disputes and mandated referral of disputes to the League Council for consideration and resolution through arbitration or mediation. In the case of a dispute between two Arab states, the League Council was duty-bound to intervene, albeit with specific conditions. Even in such cases, the decisions of the League Council were not binding on the disputing parties.

An amendment to this system occurred in the Joint Arab Defense Agreement of 1950, which authorized the use of measures and means, including armed force, to respond to any aggression against a member state. However, the final authority in maintaining peace rested with the United Nations Security Council, as stipulated in Article 11 of the agreement.

Since joining the Arab League in 1963, Algeria has worked to be a central state within the Arab circle, operating based on collective logic aimed at defending all just Arab causes. The country emphasized proximity and alliance rather than fragmentation and alliances. Consequently, Algeria sought to be a nurturing state for Arab issues, such as the Palestinian and Sahrawi causes, evident in its hosting of meetings and summits where crucial decisions affecting the Arab nation were declared.

The Algiers Conference, held on November 26, 1973, with the attendance of sixteen Arab countries initiated by Syria and Egypt after the October War, played a significant role in shaping the region's geopolitics. Although Iraq and Libya boycotted the conference, it concluded with a final statement and a set of resolutions, with the most notable being the acceptance of two conditions for peace with Israel:

1. The first resolution called for Israel's withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem.
2. The second resolution aimed at the restoration of the Palestinian people's established national rights.

As stated in the concluding statement of the conference:

- Provide all types of financial and military support to the Syrian and Egyptian fronts to ensure the continuation of their struggle against the Zionist enemy.
- Continue the use of Arab oil as a weapon and lift the ban on oil exports to countries committed to supporting the just Arab cause.
- Extend appreciation to African countries that decided to sever ties with Israel.
- Undertake reconstruction efforts to rebuild what was destroyed by the war to boost the spirit of resilience among Arab nations.
- Accept the accession of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to the Arab League.

The Algiers Summit in 2005, held on March 22 and 23, 2005, marked the first Arab summit convened after the death of Palestinian President Yasser Arafat and the assassination of Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri.

During the summit, leaders renewed their commitment to:

- The Arab Peace Initiative, considering it the legitimate Arab project for achieving a just, comprehensive, and lasting peace in the region. They emphasized that the peace process is indivisible and based on international legitimacy and relevant United Nations resolutions, particularly Resolutions 242 and 338, the land-for-peace principle, and the Madrid Conference framework.
- Regarding Iraq, leaders reiterated their respect for the unity, sovereignty, and independence of Iraq and non-interference in its internal affairs.

- Concerning Sudan, they welcomed the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Sudanese government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement on January 9, 2005, in Nairobi, Kenya. However, they expressed profound concern about developments in the Darfur region.

Algerian position on the Syrian conflict:

Most Arab countries initially maintained silence during the early stages of the events in Egypt. They dealt with the on-ground developments and fluctuations between the regime and protesters in Tahrir Square as an internal matter. The majority of Arab nations hoped for the situation in Egypt to stabilize, returning to normal. Some countries, like Jordan and Morocco, expressed close monitoring of the situation. Syria emphasized that what was happening in Egypt was an internal affair, and Algeria's stance was closer to Syria's, stating that it respected the will of the people and dealt with the governments emerging from it.

Algeria's position on the Syrian conflict:

The Syrian situation stood out in the context of the Arab uprisings due to significant contradictions in the interests of international and regional powers. This led to a clash between two main axes in the region. Regardless of the true objectives and historical backgrounds of each axis and party within the same axis, the Algerian Foreign Minister Murad Medelci emphasized during a closed session of the Arab League Foreign Ministers meeting held in Cairo on September 1, 2013, to discuss the developments of the Syrian crisis and how the Arab League should deal with it. He clarified

that, given the highly complex and sensitive circumstances in Syria, the Ministerial Council must ensure more than ever to respect the rules and regulations of the League and its charter. It must respect the sovereignty of states, avoid interference in their internal affairs and adhere to legal procedures. This is to prevent any tragic developments, not only for Syria but for the entire region, maintaining the credibility of the League by preserving the unity of Syrian territory and promoting dialogue between the government and the opposition. Additionally, there is an obligation to combat terrorism.

Algeria justifies its stance on the Syrian crisis based on two points:

1. The events in the Arab region, including Syria, are part of an international strategy to divide Arab countries, including Syria. Therefore, it is not solely about issues of democracy and the people's freedom but rather about the survival and continuity of the Syrian state.
2. Terrorism is considered the primary threat to the people, given Algeria's experience during the Black Decade. Hence, the Algerian position centers on the call for comprehensive dialogue among various Syrian actors, avoiding the militarization of the conflict. The second aspect relates to combating terrorism, starting from the perspective that the Syrian government is the sole legitimate representative of the Syrian people.

The Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in an official statement, mentioned that the visit witnessed the convening of the second session of the Follow-up Committee, chaired by Minister Messahel and the Syrian

Minister of Economy and Foreign Trade, Humam Al-Jazaeri. They discussed various aspects of cooperation between the two countries and ways to enhance and expand them.

On another note, Algerian State Minister Abdelaziz Belkhadem emphasized that the Arab League needs a deep review and criticized its stance on the Syrian crisis. He stated that the League is no longer truly Arab, as its name implies, and urged putting an end to the situation in Syria, allowing Syrians to decide their future. Foreign Minister Murad Medelci had previously expressed Algeria's reservation about the seventh point of the Arab League resolution issued on December 22, calling for referring the case to the Security Council. He expressed hope for a resolution of the Syrian crisis through the Arab initiative.

The Islamic Military Alliance and Operation Decisive Storm:

Despite the central importance of counterterrorism in Algerian foreign policy, Algeria rejected participation in the Islamic military alliance. The alliance, proposed by Saudi Arabia on December 15, 2015, translated into the participation of 34 Islamic countries. Its stated objectives were to confront the threat of terrorism in the region.

The Algerian decision to abstain from joining the Islamic military alliance against terrorism was expected and can be explained through two approaches:

Firstly, from a legal perspective, the official Algerian position is based on the argument that the Algerian constitution (Articles 29-30-31) prohibits the involvement of the Algerian army in missions beyond its borders. Algeria refuses to engage its army in Arab, regional, or international alliances in

compliance with its constitution, which prohibits the Algerian military from participating in combat missions outside its borders. This stance has become a deeply rooted doctrine in the country's foreign policy, emphasizing the non-deployment of Algerian combat forces beyond its borders. Algeria had previously refrained from participating in the Joint Arab Force formed by the Arab League to counter terrorism threats and preserve the security, safety, and stability of participating countries, constituting a direct threat to Arab national security.

Secondly, from a political perspective, the Algerian rejection can be interpreted in the context of the regional competition between the Saudi and Iranian axes, where the concept of terrorism might be politicized. This was evident in the decision to classify Hezbollah as a terrorist organization by the Arab League in March 2016, a decision that Algeria opposed. Algeria affirmed that Hezbollah is an essential component of Lebanese social and political life, emphasizing its non-interference in Lebanon's internal affairs.

Algeria also refused to participate in the military operation against the Houthi rebels in Yemen, known as "Operation Decisive Storm," which began on March 26, 2015. Despite the legal basis that the intervention had been at the request of the legitimate Yemeni President Abd-Rabbu Mansour Hadi, Algeria abstained due to its legal and political principles. Algeria believes in the political importance of engaging with the Houthi group as an integral part of the Yemeni political process, urging a focus on political dialogue among Yemeni parties.

Algeria, through its positions, strives to maintain neutrality and distance itself from regional and international axes and alliances. Instead, it advocates dialogue, convergence of views, and finding political solutions, avoiding

interference in the internal affairs of other nations. This approach not only serves Algeria's national interest by avoiding involvement in regional conflicts but also contributes to the interests of all peoples and countries in the region.

Given the recent waves of change, the Arab League member states have garnered significant attention. However, the lack of a strategic vision within the Arab League, coupled with the absence of coordination among member states, has led to differing stances on the Arab Spring revolutions. This can be attributed to the League's inability to adapt to rapid developments.

In this context, Algeria emphasizes the need for the Arab League to evolve and keep pace with rapid changes. However, discussions about the League's development, considering its current composition, may not lead to a reliable solution for building a strategic organization tasked with enhancing Arab collective performance. In a working paper presented to the Arab Foreign Ministers Council in Cairo in 2004, Algeria proposed that the Arab League Charter did not specify the nationality of the Secretary-General, nor did it regulate the issue of rotation. Consequently, it suggested activating the rotation principle among geographic groups to achieve equality among all Arab countries.

Axis Eight: The Algerian Policy towards the Africa

In all regional systems worldwide, there is a fundamental intuition that positively links regional leadership with the ability to play a role. However, exercising this role is contingent upon genuine legitimacy, composed of sources that evolve in each stage, depending on political priorities and variations in the expressions of power and goals of international actors. This leads us directly to the current sources of legitimacy for the role of leadership in the African regional system, considering the changes it has undergone and the elements required for its redefinition after some declared its demise.

One of the key new elements is the shift from the concept of leadership to the concept of governance, emphasizing the connection between regional roles and national achievements above all else. This implies that the capacity to implement real reforms and achieve tangible development domestically is the primary qualification for a state to compete in exercising a regional role externally.

Diplomacy of conferences - Algerian African policy:

The leadership function in Africa has been disabled and dispersed since the late 1970s. Despite leadership being a crucial element for shaping any regional system globally and measuring its effectiveness, leadership in Africa, since the establishment of the Organization of African Unity, has been subject to power distribution patterns based on resource, policy, and alliance patterns.

Algeria maintained a leading position in this system from the 1960s until the late 1970s. As an independent state, Algeria became one of the most

significant players in Africa due to its geostrategic location and economic and cultural resources. This positioned it to play a leading role in the African regional system, manifested immediately after independence by aligning itself with the anti-colonial movement in the Third World. The central axis of Algeria's foreign policy was supporting liberation movements, working towards achieving African unity and solidarity, leading to one of its major accomplishments: the unification of African peoples to defend their economic interests.

In this context, it is worth noting that Algerian foreign policy adopted conference diplomacy to defend African issues, evident in its membership in most regional and international organizations:

- Joining the United Nations on October 8, 1962, marked the first step for independent Algeria within the halls and conferences of the UN, allowing it to participate with its delegations, influence decisions, and have a voice through its voting and ratification rights.
- Its role in the establishment of the Organization of African Unity on May 25, 1963.
- Permanent membership in the Non-Aligned Movement.
- Joining the Arab League on August 16, 1962.
- Founding membership in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation at the Rabat Summit on September 25, 1969.
- Initiating the activation of the Arab Maghreb Union, materialized at the Zeralda Summit on June 10, 1988.

- Membership in the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

Generally, Algerian diplomacy towards Africa can be divided into three functional and temporal stages:

First Stage: Political and Economic Orientation (Independence to the mid-1980s):

Political Aspect:

After the establishment of the Organization of African Unity, Algeria faced a border conflict with the Kingdom of Morocco due to the latter's incursion into Algerian territory. Algeria expressed its willingness for the organization to handle the conflict, formally requesting the organization's intervention on October 23, 1963. Through the mediation of Ethiopian leader Haile Selassie, the OAU achieved a ceasefire and formed a military committee to monitor the withdrawal of Moroccan forces. A special committee for Bamako was also established in June 1969, and the conflict concluded with the signing of the "Ifra Agreement" between Algerian President Houari Boumediene and Moroccan King Hassan II.

African Summit in Rabat (1972):

At the eighth African summit in Rabat in 1972, the Moroccan King announced the resolution of the border conflict between the two countries.

Western Sahara Issue (1975):

The explosion of the Western Sahara issue in 1975 marked a new variable in Algeria's policy towards Africa. The continent became divided between countries supporting the Moroccan position and those supporting the

Sahrawi people's demand for independence. At the Freetown Summit in 1980, the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic became the fifty-first state in the Organization of African Unity. This led to Morocco's withdrawal from the organization in 1984, as it failed to gain African support. Over thirty African countries still support the Sahrawi cause, including, notably, South Africa.

Algeria's Position on Western Sahara:

Algeria's stance on the Western Sahara issue was principled, aligning with the National Liberation Front's national charter. The charter stated Algeria's commitment to African solidarity for the political liberation, economic, and social development of the continent. Algeria considered the complete liberation of Africa as part of its struggle for independence and dignity, aligning positively with African peoples fighting against colonization and racial discrimination. Alongside providing material support to the Polisario Front, Algeria initiated a diplomatic campaign to gain recognition for the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. Through its influence in Africa and the Third World, Algeria succeeded in the formal acceptance of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic during the twentieth summit of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa on November 12, 1984. Morocco protested by withdrawing from the organization. Algeria's diplomacy played influential and decisive roles in the African arena.

Second Stage: Intensive Diplomacy on Various Issues:

Algeria's diplomatic activity in Africa extended to various issues. It was among the few African countries that implemented the ministerial decision

of the Organization of African Unity in 1965, severing ties with London following Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence. Algeria hosted several OAU summit and ministerial meetings, as well as non-governmental African conferences. Additionally, Algerian diplomacy supported national liberation movements in Portuguese colonies and strongly opposed the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Third Stage: Resolution of Eritrean-Ethiopian Conflict:

Algerian diplomacy played a role in finding a solution to the Eritrean-Ethiopian conflict, which evolved from a border dispute to a comprehensive conflict spanning the 1000 km border between the two countries. Key phases included:

- 1998-2000: Armed conflict in the Tigray region of southern Ethiopia with Eritrea gaining ground militarily.
- May 17, 2000: The United Nations imposed a military embargo on both countries, creating the UN mission to Ethiopia and Eritrea with military observers and civilian support staff.
- December 21, 2000: Meeting of the Organization of African Unity's expert group in Algeria to prepare responses to Ethiopia's questions.
- December 12, 2000: Signing of the Algiers Agreement between the two parties, calling for the establishment of a neutral committee to determine specific areas for the redeployment of their forces.

Second: at the economic level:

The role of Algeria towards Africa is not limited to the political level but also extends to the economic aspect. In September 1973, Algeria hosted the fourth summit of the Non-Aligned Movement, where political neutrality was no longer sufficient, and economic orientation became another dimension to the concept of non-alignment.

On the other hand, it's worth noting that the term "New International Economic Order" entered the political vocabulary through the gateway of the Non-Aligned Movement since its conference in Algeria in 1973.

Moreover, the United Nations General Assembly held its sixth special session in April 1974, at the invitation of Algeria, aiming to discuss the economic issues facing developing countries. In 1974, the General Assembly issued two resolutions:

As argued by Cox in 1979 in his article "International Organization," the New International Economic Order represents, at one level, a set of negotiation requests or statements. At another level, it concerns the fundamental structure of the global system of economic relations (referred to as "global" rather than "international" because it involves actors other than states).

At a third level, it relates to the types of analytical frameworks to be used in addressing these issues, frameworks such as economic liberalism, mercantilism, new mercantilism, realism, and Marxism. Accordingly, the new international economic order is a system of ideology and authority.

Therefore, Algeria has consistently demonstrated its support for the issues of developing countries, providing evidence of Algeria's employment of its leading role in the Non-Aligned Movement often for economic demands. This is particularly evident in the completion of third world countries' economic independence and self-exploitation of their resources, which received support from all third world countries, especially African nations.

Algeria's diplomatic role was affirmed as it sought and succeeded for the first time in applying the principle of state voice. Algeria also hosted the OPEC summit in March 1975, emphasizing during the summit the sovereignty of nations over their resources, advocating for the rationalization of fuel policies, and confronting the greed of major international companies pursuing black gold at low prices. The summit paved the way for the establishment of the International Development Fund to support less developed countries, highlighting Algeria's diplomatic connection between politics and economics.

Since the late 1990s, warmth has returned to Algeria's leadership in diplomacy, influencing the African and international arenas. This effort aims to rearrange the priorities of the global system and lift it from a state of fragmentation and weakness. Despite the challenging circumstances during the Black Decade and the absence of its role on the international stage, Algeria quickly regained its status after the election of the late President Abdelaziz Bouteflika in 1999. Noteworthy in this regard:

1. Security challenges dominated international activities, focusing on Algeria's diplomatic efforts in recent years to call for greater coordination among the international community in combating terrorism and ensuring security. This was especially crucial amidst the

transformations in the Arab region, commonly referred to as the "Arab Spring," along with its far-reaching consequences that entered the world into endless calculations.

2. While the idea of calling for international mobilization against terrorism is not new, Algeria was at the forefront in urging the international community to coordinate efforts and raise awareness of its dangers. The issue of terrorism and the search for ways to combat it have taken a prominent place in Algerian diplomacy, evidenced by Algeria hosting high-level meetings. An example is the first international conference on partnership, security, and development held on September 7-8, 2011. The conference brought together regional countries and partners from outside the region, amplifying concerns about the growing phenomenon. This was especially true since the Sahel region provided fertile ground for the kidnapping of European nationals, with terrorists demanding ransom in exchange for their release.
3. The conference's objectives extended beyond raising awareness of the dangers of terrorism to a call for a new and robust impetus for cooperation between Sahel and Sub-Saharan African countries. This collaboration aimed not only to combat terrorism but also to address organized crime, poverty, and revitalize security and stability in the region. This was particularly pertinent in the face of the Libyan crisis, which created a new situation in the region, marked by the intensive circulation of weapons and the return of foreign nationals to their countries. These factors posed new challenges for these countries.

In all these efforts, Algeria affirmed its rejection of foreign intervention due to its serious repercussions on the region. Algeria adhered to this stance in accordance with the principles of its foreign policy, which called for an end to violence and the finding of consensus solutions among the Libyan people for national reconciliation.

Moreover, the recent period has been marked by developments along the southern borders of the country due to the crisis in northern Mali. This region faced a complex issue with serious repercussions that could inevitably affect all Sahel regions. Algeria has focused extensively on finding a peaceful solution to this crisis and avoiding military intervention. It has been adamant about excluding the military option in dealing with this crisis, despite international consensus, especially from some African countries and major powers. While the Algerian diplomacy worked towards a peaceful resolution, the UN Security Council approved a list authorizing military intervention.

Algerian diplomacy continued to call for intensified efforts and urged Sahel countries and their partner nations to combat terrorism. Algeria emphasized the importance of criminalizing ransom payments after engaging in a diplomatic battle culminating in UN approval and support from the G8. This is because funds from ransom payments constitute a significant source of financing for terrorist groups in the African Sahel, Somalia, and other regions experiencing terrorist activities.

Through the African Union, Algeria managed to propose a model African law to combat terrorism, indicating the possibility of initiating an initiative to unify legislation related to counterterrorism, organized crime, and

transborder crime. This would empower the security forces of countries to intensify efforts to combat terrorism. Algeria's mastery in the fight against terrorism was evident in the liberation of a large number of hostages following the attack on the Tiguentourine gas facility in Illizi.

The security and political approach adopted by Algeria at the regional, continental, and global levels has been acknowledged. Algeria has become a focal point for political and military leaders from the United States and Britain, recognizing Algeria's leading role in the African Sahel region. Former Africom Commander General William Ward acknowledged Algeria's decisive role in establishing security and stability in the region during his visits to Algeria.

In terms of African cooperation, Algerian diplomacy experienced a noticeable resurgence by recently hosting a meeting of the African Union Peace and Security Council. The theme of the meeting focused on national reconciliation, considered the optimal solution to conflicts. In this context, Algeria's experience received praise.

In summary, the current circumstances, power dynamics, alliances, and policies make Algerian diplomatic security initiatives take the lead, indicating a commitment to a leadership role as before. This selective role is imposed by circumstances and interests. Therefore, it can be said that the first thing to collapse in the regional system is leadership, and the first thing to be rebuilt is leadership as well.

It is useful to recall that the Algerian regime's experience indicates a leadership role practiced in reality, while another role is exercised through various forms of diplomacy. Some parties attempt to eliminate Algeria's

leadership role to scatter the entire system. On the other hand, there are parties that are compelled to perform a regional role and do so.

The concept of power, along with associated leadership styles and regional political roles, is an internal concept determined by African societies before political systems. This is in light of their ability to control their destiny and achieve national achievements in genuine reforms arising from people's needs and their right to freedom and development.

Amidst the growing economic and security fragility in Africa, the security knot remains fundamental in any Algerian-African relations. Algeria will continue to manage the "stability industry" in the African depth, and this industry will be for the benefit of addressing security issues at the expense of economic and development approaches.

Axis Nine: The Algerian Foreign Policy towards the Mediterranean Region

Cooperation between Europe and South Bank countries in general has witnessed instances of rapprochement and distancing, especially during the war where the polarization factor between the two camps played a key determinant of North- South relations. But following the transformations that led to the end of the bipolarity by the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, a kind of dialogue of cooperation and partnership among the Mediterranean States crystallized within the new perceptions of the form of international relations.

In this context, European countries have begun a broad process of reformulating their foreign policies towards southern neighbouring countries to preserve their strategic and security interests by building a stable and secure Mediterranean region.

First: Algeria at the 5 + 5 Dialogue Forum:

Dialogue 5 + 5 is a subregional government forum for the western Mediterranean countries five countries from the North Mediterranean basin (Spain, France, Italy, Malta and Portugal) and five countries from the South (Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania and Tunisia), established in 1990 to enhance cooperation in the areas of political dialogue, defence and security, migration, development, investment, transport, education, water education and research, environment and renewable energy, health and tourism.

Encouraging the establishment of the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA) 1989 and the development of the European Community, to revive President François Mitterrand's 1983 initiative to establish a mechanism for

cooperation between Western Mediterranean States as reflected in the ministerial meeting held in Rome on 10 October 1990 in the presence of the above-mentioned States, with the exception of Malta, which participated in this first meeting as an observer, To become a full member the following year, the Rome Founding Declaration for the Mediterranean Dialogue 5 + 5, which included several points, the most important of which are outlined as follow:

- Fostering an active dialogue among Western Mediterranean countries through periodic meetings to exchange views on issues of common interest.
- Work towards making the Western Mediterranean a safe space for cooperation and partnership.
- Emphasize the inclusive nature of the dialogue, especially in its economic dimension.
- Establishing the foundations and rules of regional solidarity to address the problem of imbalance in the region.
- The commitment of Member States, particularly the European Union, to ensure that the course of European cooperation and integration is accompanied by a similar effort in the area of cooperation towards the Western Mediterranean region.

In order to achieve these goals, the Rome Declaration noted the need to adopt effective project programmes in order to develop cooperation.

- Special Western Mediterranean programmes and projects.
- Encourage the economic growth of Southern Mediterranean countries.

- Exchange views and experiences to achieve cooperation policies and programmes for greater effectiveness.

In a related context, the Rome Declaration affirmed that cooperation between the Northern Mediterranean European countries and the Maghreb countries should include economic institutions, social actors and private investors, with a focus on increasing trade and helping to develop human resources in the Maghreb States, by undertaking to adopt an action plan that includes:

- Establishing a commercial and industrial information bank among Member States.
- Finding appropriate solutions to the external debt problem of the Maghreb countries.
- Establishing the appropriate legal framework and financial institutions to achieve projects in the Maghreb countries, such as partnership development and technology transfer.

It should be emphasized here that the 5+5 Dialogue does not have a permanent secretariat or specific financial tool; it operates based on the framework of periodic meetings. It focuses on meetings of heads of state and government, which have occurred twice so far, in Tunis 2003. However, there was a hiatus until it was decided at the Foreign Ministers Conference in Rome in 2012, amid the complex political scene in the region. As part of the diplomatic effort in response to the evolving political landscape in several regional countries, an official decision was made to organize a

second summit for heads of state and governments, including representatives from regional, European, and Maghreb institutions.

The 5+5 Dialogue has evolved into a comprehensive initiative involving various multilevel parties, such as European institutions and the Union for the Mediterranean. Gradually expanding into new areas of cooperation such as renewable energy, environment, health, education, culture, tourism, water, and more. The 5+5 Dialogue has demonstrated its value several times by ensuring the ability of its member countries to work together to achieve common goals and address common threats. However, the third summit, scheduled to take place in Tunisia, was disrupted due to economic sanctions imposed on Libya in the same year.

After a complete decade of hiatus from 1991 to 2001, the meeting of foreign ministers of the ten countries resumed on January 25, 2001. This paved the way for the first summit of heads of state and kings in Tunis on December 5-6, 2003. The leaders focused on three major challenges, aiming to develop policies for the countries of southern Europe. These challenges included finding common ground with the countries of the Arab Maghreb to combat terrorism, illegal migration, and interfaith dialogue. Additionally, they aimed to establish joint projects among Maghreb countries and revive the Maghreb Union.

It is noteworthy that the strategic dimensions behind activating the 5+5 Dialogue by Southern European countries involve significant competition among European powers for influence in the Arab Maghreb countries. This competition, especially between French and Italian interests in Libyan oil investments, as well as Italian-Spanish-French rivalry for investments in Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria. For some, the 5+5 Dialogue serves as a

framework for political dialogue between the Arab Maghreb and Southern Europe without interfering with the broader Euro-Mediterranean Barcelona Process, under a more modern approach to European neighborhood policies, despite being a precursor idea.

The emergence of the need for dialogue and cooperation between active parties, especially in the western section, which shares concerns and differs in others, regarding comprehensive security in the region. These parties are motivated by a desire to promote stability and dialogue in the hope of establishing a structure that encourages development and stability.

Considering that security dialogues in the Mediterranean, in general, and in its western section, in particular, emerged in the post-Cold War era, responding to changes in various fields, with security becoming a major variable. Afterward, the western Mediterranean, situated in a focal point, developed some aversion and contradiction between its two shores, exchanging many interests and gains, with the beginning of a sense of suspicion and distrust. Northern shore parties fear instability in the south, which might result in terrorism, illegal migration, and even the danger of possessing weapons of mass destruction.

The 5+5 Dialogue, for some, is considered a framework for political dialogue between the Arab Maghreb and Southern Europe. It does not hinder the comprehensive Euro-Mediterranean Barcelona Process for issues in the Mediterranean region, under a more modern approach to European neighborhood policies, even though it preceded the Barcelona Process.

In confirmation of the above, the ten countries organize sectoral ministerial conferences to intensify cooperation in various fields. These conferences

started with the Foreign Ministers Conference in 1990 and expanded to include several areas:

- Conference of Interior Ministers since 1995
- Migration Conference since 2000
- Parliamentary Relations Conference since 2003
- Defense Conference since 2004

Second: the Algerian-European Partnership:

The intellectual reference for the theory of Fernand Braudel laid the initial foundations for attempts to establish institutional connections between the European Economic Community (EEC) and the countries of the South and East of the Mediterranean. After signing the Treaty of Rome in 1958, the EEC initiated the Mediterranean Economic Policy, which was based on defining the relationship between the EEC and its geographic neighbors through the negotiation and signing of association agreements. Tunisia and Morocco requested negotiations with the EEC in 1963, urging the opening of negotiations for affiliation protocols with the six member countries, in accordance with the Treaty of Rome.

As for Algeria, it was still under French occupation at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Rome. Consequently, it was considered part of the treaty, as confirmed by the Constantine Plan document.

On the other hand, the EEC signed numerous preferential treaties on partnership and trade. The first treaties in the southeastern Mediterranean aimed to ensure stability and align with the Soviet trend toward Western

Europe. Agreements were signed with Greece on November 10, 1962, and with Turkey on September 12, 1963.

In the same context, Israel found itself surrounded in the region due to the escalation of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Most Arab countries strained their relations with Israel, leading Israel to request a preferential agreement with the EEC in September 1960. After a series of negotiations, the preferential trade agreement was signed on June 7, 1967. Subsequently, agreements were reached with Malta in 1970, Cyprus in 1972, and Egypt and Lebanon in 1972 for preferential agreements on technical support.

Algeria did not sign any cooperation or partnership agreements with the EEC and continued to benefit from customs preferences for its exports to the EEC, according to a decision issued on March 28, 1963. The relationship between the two parties was characterized as unique since the 1950s, with France considering Algeria part of it. Therefore, trade transactions between them and the EEC included Algeria, at least from the perspective of France and its European partners.

However, this situation did not last long despite the aforementioned decision. By the end of the 1960s, some EEC countries, such as Italy, decided to stop granting customs preferences to Algerian exports. This led to bilateral negotiations between the two parties in 1972 to reach a trade agreement within the framework of the comprehensive Mediterranean economic policy. Negotiations continued, with several interruptions over six years, culminating in a trade agreement on April 26, 1976. It officially entered into force on November 1, 1978, representing a cooperation agreement with the European Union with a trade-oriented nature, supported by financial protocols that are periodically renewed every five years.

The goal behind this agreement was to promote exchanges between Algeria and the European market, increase the growth of foreign trade, and improve the conditions for the entry of Algerian goods into the European market. Within the framework of the four protocols (1978-1996), Algeria benefited from financial assistance amounting to 784 million ECUs and 640 million ECUs from the European Investment Bank in the form of soft loans.

However, this agreement, characterized by providing one-sided trade preferences, became obsolete within the framework of the new directions of the renewed European Mediterranean policy, as well as the provisions and measures of the World Trade Organization.

After the emergence of the European Union as a powerful economic and political force in the international system, the Maastricht Treaty marked a new turning point in Euro-Mediterranean relations. The shift in perspective towards Euro-Mediterranean relations to the level of partnership and strategic cooperation became a new milestone in the course of these relations. While the economic aspect determines the European relationship with Mediterranean countries, it is evident that the political and security aspects were essential driving forces behind these agreements, achieved through economic instruments. The Europeans raised the slogan of "trade, not aid," emphasizing that the Euro-Mediterranean partnership is a fundamental strategic choice for all parties involved.

Negotiations resumed in 2000, a year after the late President Bouteflika assumed the presidency of the country. He worked directly on initiating negotiations with the European Union by studying all points related to the Partnership Agreement. After 12 rounds of negotiations, a preliminary

partnership agreement was signed in Brussels in November 2001, and the official signing took place on April 22, 2002, in the Spanish city of Valencia during the Euro-Mediterranean Conference. The agreement came into effect on September 1, 2005.

It is important to note that, for Algeria, the European Union is one of the most important trading partners. Algerian imports from the European Union accounted for more than 65% during the period from 1997 to 2003, and Algerian exports to the European Union also represented a significant percentage, reaching 60% during the same period. This indicates strong economic relations between the two parties. Economically, Algeria's demands focused on:

- Gradual opening of the national economy, relying on oil revenues.
- Generalizing the framework of economic cooperation to include areas beyond trade exchanges.
- Assisting in developing a program to rehabilitate the Algerian industrial sector.
- Expanding financial cooperation between the parties.
- Establishing a specific program to support Algerian exports beyond hydrocarbons.

The prolonged duration of negotiations between Algeria and the European Union, compared to its Mediterranean neighbors, was not only due to the difficult conditions Algeria faced but also to the difference in negotiation styles. The Algerian delegation raised the issue of the Algerian economy, emphasizing:

- Algeria possesses significant industrial capabilities and a substantial industrial base composed of unused complexes and factories, indicating the importance of the untapped productive potential of the Algerian industrial fabric.
- Algeria is a significant importer of agricultural resources, in contrast to Morocco and Tunisia, and is one of the largest importers of finished industrial goods.
- The value of Algerian exports to Europe outside of energy-related materials is almost negligible.

As a result, dismantling customs barriers would lead to unilateral concessions benefiting only the European side without tangible returns for Algeria. The Algerian market would be fully open to European products without the European market accepting any Algerian products, given that most Algerian goods are not exportable due to their lack of competitiveness and non-compliance with European standards and measures.

For Algeria, the mutual economic interests between the parties are among the most important factors urging close cooperation in all fields. Additionally, there is a strong incentive for cooperation in the realm of security and information exchange to overcome challenging security conditions.

The utilization of financial and technical assistance provided by the European Union to rehabilitate the economy is crucial for Algeria, considering the globalized era's requirement for regional blocs to integrate into the global economic movement. The Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Area presents an opportunity for Algeria to secure a permanent source of

revenue through exporting oil and gas, making it a valuable partner for Europe.

Furthermore, the need to penetrate new markets in South and East Mediterranean countries, including the Algerian market, is essential. The European Union recognizes the necessity of containing population growth by increasing economic growth rates and implementing effective population policies to address migration issues.

Europe's security is intertwined with the security of the Mediterranean, not only militarily but also culturally, economically, and socially. Stability in Europe depends on stability in the countries surrounding the Mediterranean Sea. Algeria, having experienced security disturbances in the 1990s, plays a significant role in this regional stability.

The primary driving force and main objective of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership idea is the hidden and declared competition between the United States and the European Union to control affairs in the Arab region, especially North Africa.

In light of these considerations, Algeria initiated negotiations with the European Union in June 1997 to conclude a partnership agreement. The negotiations faced delays due to Algeria's insistence on deferring the gradual dismantling of customs duties to protect its domestic production.

The Algerian economy was undergoing restructuring, making negotiations challenging. Since 1997, the negotiations, consisting of 12 rounds, aimed to reach an agreement between Algeria and the European Union, facing obstacles such as concessions on the agricultural sector, customs rights, capital movement, and competition issues. The emphasis was also on the

security aspect, eliminating terrorism, organized crime, and seeking financial aid for the modernization of the financial and banking sector. Expanding economic cooperation beyond trade exchange and carefully planning the de-protection procedures for the industry were crucial elements.

Axis Ten: Algeria's Foreign Policy: Challenges and Perspectives

First, the security challenge.

The security challenges and threats posed to Algeria's national security are not limited to Arab neighbouring countries, but the southern region is a very serious source of multiple security and political threats. Algeria's southern border strip connecting Mali, Niger and Chad, the security and economic traits that characterize the Sahel States, particularly with regard to State failures in the region because of the State's inability to protect its citizens from violence and destruction, while considering itself above the law even if it possesses democratic forms but suffers from serious democratic deficits at the level of its institutions. The crisis in Mali is considered one of the most significant political and security crises that has recently impacted Algerian security due to the internal conflict between the north and south. The conflict in Mali can be classified as a major and violent internal conflict due to the presence of internal and external parties. This has led to the use of weapons among the parties within the framework of the power struggle.

The crisis has had a profound impact on Algerian security. Mali is considered the weakest link in the Sahel region and more susceptible to destabilization and unrest due to the ongoing ethnic conflict. This has paved the way for the emergence of rebel and separatist movements. In addition to the threats, such as terrorism and organized crime, which will be discussed later.

The political and security situation in the African coast has affected the Algerian national security through:

Organized crime:

Against the backdrop of the Arab Spring from 2011 to 2015, Algeria witnessed several drug trafficking operations and how they were addressed. This was documented by the National Gendarmerie in recent years. Additionally, there were various other security threats, whether in the form of crime, particularly involving the use of weapons or prohibited substances, including biological weapons, especially since 2011. The establishment of illegal associations with terrorist objectives or affiliations also exacerbated border inflammation from terrorist operations and crimes across national borders.

In this context, opportunities for criminal activities across borders have increased, opening up global markets for illicit goods. This facilitated international, regional, and national travel and communications, transcending national boundaries. Simultaneously, cross-border crime threats to societies and individuals became impossible to ignore. The impact of these threats became severe amidst the Arab Spring and Arab revolutions, spreading easily and flexibly across economic, social, and political aspects of life. This led to a security threat on a global scale and particularly on Algeria.

Piracy is considered one of the serious crimes that threaten Arab national security in general and Algeria in particular. Several countries, including Algeria, have faced various acts of piracy, such as hijacked or threatened and kidnapped ships. Maritime piracy has become one of the most dangerous

global threats, impacting international trade, maritime safety, and stability in the region, especially with the increasing number of piracy attacks, particularly in the Horn of Africa region.

Arab spring Challenge:

The Arab Spring Challenge: Since the beginning of 2011, numerous popular protests have emerged in Arab countries under the slogan "The people want to bring down the regime." This occurred against the backdrop of the illusory stability that characterized the autocratic nature of the majority of Arab political systems, which used various means to maintain control. This movement started due to the deterioration of social, economic, and political conditions in Tunisia, in solidarity with Mohamed Bouazizi, who set himself on fire in protest against the humiliation. This incident triggered several popular movements in various Arab countries such as Libya, Yemen, Syria, and Egypt.

The motivations behind this movement are multifaceted, with internal factors including unemployment, economic and social marginalization, and the role of some international parties in fueling the protests, such as organizations supporting democracy in Egypt funded by the United States. The absence of democracy in Arab countries has played a crucial role in igniting the Arab Spring, leading to the overthrow of many Arab regimes, starting from Tunisia and Egypt, spreading quickly across the Arab world to reach Libya, Yemen, and Syria in March, with the situation persisting in Syria until now.

Many political observers in the region anticipated a revolution in Algeria immediately after Tunisia. The Algerian street moved early, in 1988, taking

the first practical steps towards transitioning to a democratic system. However, the attempt quickly failed, leading to a national tragedy with ongoing repercussions to this day, albeit with diminished intensity. The political and social scene in Algeria witnessed popular protests in 2011, and there were riots against the high cost of living that lasted a few days. The authorities quickly contained them by directly responding to the protesters' demands. The authorities found themselves compelled to delay implementing the necessary reforms to revive the Algerian economy more than ever before. This requires:

1. Combating corruption and smuggling.
2. Shifting from import dependence to production.
3. Rebuilding trust among investors who face legal disruptions and bureaucracy.
4. Widely avoiding tax payment, in addition to addressing inherent risks in public health and the environment from the previous economy.

Displacement waves of African refugees:

Algeria has experienced waves of displacement and mass migration, particularly towards North Africa and southern Algeria, and migration as a phenomenon crossing regions poses a social challenge that translates into a crisis regarding the integration of migrants, generating internal security challenges.

Since 2011, Algeria has witnessed significant waves of refugees from various Arab and African nationalities seeking stability and security. Reports indicate that more than 16,792 African refugees arrived in Algeria

through illegal means in 2015, including 5,588 Malian refugees. Official statistics also point to Algeria receiving over 120,000 Syrian refugees due to deteriorating security and humanitarian conditions in Syria.

The Tuareg problem:

The Tuareg crisis involves ethnic minority tribes concentrated in Mali, Niger, Algeria, Libya, and Burkina Faso. The Tuareg population has reached approximately three and a half million, representing around 85%, with distinctive ethnic, religious, and linguistic characteristics. The Tuareg issue is more pronounced in northern Mali than any other region within the African Sahel region. The roots of the Tuareg crisis can be traced to the political systems of both Mali and Niger.

The Tuareg problem poses a threat to the African Sahel region through organized crime, trans-border terrorism, smuggling networks, illegal migration, refugees, drug trafficking, and arms smuggling. These issues have serious implications for Algeria's security and stability. Algeria has implemented preventive policies by providing economic and social alternatives for the Tuareg people, gathering them in villages and cities in the south, improving their living conditions, and attempting to integrate them into political life. However, Mali and Niger have not offered any alternatives to compensate for the changes in the Tuareg way of life to serve the stability of the region.

Despite the Algerian Tuaregs having no issues with Algeria and not rejecting affiliation with it, similar to the Tuaregs in Niger and Mali, adopting the idea of independence, separation, and establishing a state for them in the Sahara – known for its wealth in oil, gas, and natural resources – could pose a threat

if Azawad movements ally with terrorist groups in the Sahara and other criminal gangs. This, in turn, is referred to as a security threat to Algeria and its national borders. However, the practices of terrorist groups and smugglers continue to pose a risk to the borders of the Algerian Sahara. The Tuareg crisis threatens the African Sahel region and jeopardizes the security of Algeria.

The fall of political regimes in neighbouring countries:

The popular protests that took place in the Arab countries led to the fall of several political regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, and Libya. The danger lies in the institutional vacuum left behind and its repercussions on the deteriorating security situation within these countries and their neighboring nations. Algeria, in particular, has been affected by neighboring countries, notably:

- 1. Libya Crisis and the Spread of Libyan Weapons:** Since mid-February 2011, various parts of Libya witnessed massive demonstrations against Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's regime, especially on February 17, which marked a day of protests against the government. The government attempted to forcibly disperse the protests, resulting in casualties that intensified the popular demonstrations in the initial phase. From February 15 until the outbreak of armed conflict in Libya, protesters gathered in various locations against Gaddafi's rule and the suppression of protests. Peaceful protests were met with violence, using tear gas to disperse them, and later live ammunition, small and heavy weapons, machine guns, and anti-tank weapons were employed. This period also saw the

arrest of prominent figures. The second stage witnessed the commission of humanitarian crimes in Libya, leading to the formation of armed opposition groups across the country and the outbreak of armed conflict. An important aspect of this stage was that the protesters acquired weapons early in the revolution, escalating the fighting between pro-regime forces and the protesters.

Algeria faces several threats, including terrorism, organized crime, drug trafficking, and illegal migration. The Libyan crisis remains a serious concern affecting Maghreb relations, given the emergence of the Libyan civil war and the increased presence of armed terrorist groups (militias), posing a direct threat to the countries of the Arab Maghreb, especially Algeria.

Second: the uprising in Tunisia:

The uprising in Tunisia began on December 17, 2010, in the city of Sidi Bouzid, protesting against the deteriorating social, economic, and political conditions in Tunisia. It expressed dissatisfaction with the difficult economic situation and the absence of social justice, sparked by the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi. Thousands of protesters, rejecting unemployment and corruption within the ruling system, quickly turned these protests into a popular movement that spread to other Tunisian cities, including the capital Tunis, Sousse, Kasserine, and others. Demonstrators raised slogans demanding the government to fulfill their social, political, economic, and psychological rights. The movement succeeded in overthrowing the Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, who had ruled the country for 23 years.

The security and institutional vacuum in Tunisia and Libya led to the proliferation of smuggling operations across the Algerian-Tunisian and Algerian-Libyan borders. Smuggling operations and the expansion of the black market resulted in the establishment of a free zone on the border with Libya in the south of the country. These areas predominantly operate in the black market.

Second: the economic challenge.

The global economic crisis since August 2007 is considered one of the worst economic downturns since the 1930s. It is particularly dangerous after the global economic system proved incapable of containing and quickly mitigating its effects. This led to the financial and banking crisis, causing a collapse in financial markets worldwide. The global economy also witnessed another crisis in 2014, affecting the oil sector, a vital sector for Arab economies. Oil prices plummeted by more than half, prompting many countries to implement austerity policies. Algeria, for instance, announced a new five-year investment plan between 2015 and 2019, valued at \$260 billion, to enhance domestic production and diversify income sources, aiming to reduce the economy's reliance on oil. However, the implementation of these plans may face challenges due to funding difficulties amid declining oil revenues, revealing the fragility and weakness of the economic system.

The continued deterioration of the economic situation in Algeria, driven by persistently low oil prices, negatively affects Algeria's ability to play an active and influential regional role in the medium term. The economic

downturn adversely impacts Algeria's regional contributions, hindering its ability to bear the financial costs required for coordinating and collaborating on security efforts with neighboring countries, especially in the Sahel region.

The ongoing economic weakness in Algeria, caused by the prolonged decline in oil prices, hampers Algeria's regional role in its African surroundings. The economic weakness affects Algeria's regional capabilities, limiting its potential to actively contribute to stability in the African Sahel region and the Arab Maghreb, as well as its role as a leader and regional coordinator in the security domain with its geographic neighbors. The lack of economic presence in the African region, as opposed to the focus on northern partners (Europe), diminishes Algeria's ability to use economic soft power tools effectively.

The economic tools are considered a means of soft power that countries can employ to achieve their national interests and fulfill outlined objectives in their foreign policy. The lack of Algeria's ability to utilize economic soft power tools in implementing its foreign policy in its African surroundings, particularly the economic means and tools at present, renders it unable to impose its approach and vision for solving crises in its geographic neighborhood. This is especially true when competing regional and international actors are present in the Arab Maghreb and Sahel region, affecting Algeria's regional role in the medium and long term.

The Algerian economy is undeniably affected by the global financial crisis, albeit to a lesser extent. Nevertheless, the economic and political-security crisis that the Arab and Algerian economies have experienced, particularly Algeria, has exacerbated several social problems, such as youth

unemployment and the worsening housing crisis. Consequently, Algeria is facing a reality that threatens its economic security.

Prospects for Algeria's foreign policy.

First: modernization of means and tools.

Algeria's foreign policy and its applications fall under the jurisdiction of the executive authority, a common phenomenon in most countries worldwide. The role of the legislative authority is limited, secondary, and auxiliary. The task of this authority is to monitor and evaluate the government's actions. In Algeria, both chambers of parliament (the Council of the Nation and the People's National Assembly) primarily focus on local affairs. Their role is limited in influencing the foreign policy of the government. However, parliamentary diplomacy has begun to play a prominent role in certain foreign issues, such as consultations and voting on significant international agreements, engaging with the International Parliamentary Union, parliamentary delegations, and more.

Despite the existence of committees within each chamber dedicated to foreign affairs, the role of parliamentary diplomacy remains very weak and ineffective in Algeria. Executive diplomacy has largely encompassed most foreign activities. It is essential for Algeria to activate the role of public diplomacy (often referred to as parallel diplomacy or track two diplomacy, multi-track diplomacy), carried out by civil society, non-governmental organizations, businesspeople, companies, intellectuals, tourists, and others. Public diplomacy aims to promote Algeria, explain and justify its foreign

positions, and attract economic benefits according to pragmatic considerations.

Public diplomacy has become increasingly influential, often surpassing official diplomacy and parliamentary diplomacy. Many countries resort to using sports diplomacy to enhance their international reputation, participating in and organizing sports events. Sports play an effective role in enhancing the literary status of these countries. The global landscape is also affected by digital diplomacy, such as Facebook and Twitter diplomacy, where presidential tweets are considered a form of global diplomacy without costs and with significant impact.

Second: internal integration.

The interconnected relationship between internal stability in Algeria and the new external dynamics has become clear in the local structure. As long as this factor is present, the government will be able to make decisions derived from popular sectors and thus resist external pressures. It can be said that Algeria's containment of current problems is itself a fundamental factor in avoiding future disasters. Many international parties, such as the European Union and France, attempted to intervene in the Algerian movement in 2019. However, thanks to internal/popular rejection, these forces couldn't find an entry point to influence Algerian public opinion and thwart its blessed movement.

The sustainability of Algeria as a cohesive political unit also depends on a mix of local support and its role as an active state externally. Algeria's support for a diverse range of international issues, its political structure,

unique capabilities, and revolutionary heritage make it a candidate for a pivotal state in various spaces. The blessed popular movement, along with peaceful million-person marches, coupled with political success tied to democratic openness and the establishment of a new republic, qualifies Algeria to create modern advantages that make it acceptable in the new approach to international issues. This enhances its legitimacy domestically and increases acceptance abroad.

It is evident that Algeria's individual ability to defend itself against external and traditional threats is sufficient. However, regardless of Algeria's military qualities, material and symbolic capabilities, it must collaborate with its regional environment to contain and eliminate common security threats crossing borders. It should avoid strategic slipping into problems that Algeria cannot handle or that bring no benefit. Algeria's determination and the political system's will to confront pressures and maintain the state's dignity are constant factors in contemporary Algerian history.

Thirdly: Explanation, Justification, and Clarity.

There is an absence of explanation and justification in Algeria's foreign positions. If the quest for power and interest is linked to all decisions in foreign policy, the process of explanation and justification is a map through which countries try to present a positive image of their decisions externally. The primary goal of this process is to reduce the burden of responsibility for the decision-maker. Algeria often finds itself in this position, adopting giant diplomatic stances globally. However, the absence of a culture of explanation and justification places Algeria in an incomprehensible and illogical position for others. This situation is often repeated, especially with Arab countries. Algeria refrained from recognizing the Syrian opposition

coalition at the Doha Summit in March 2013, based on its entrenched principles. However, this reservation was interpreted by Arab brothers as inhumane, showing a lack of concern for Arab concerns. Some Western capitals considered it a dominant diplomatic stance. This situation makes it necessary for Algeria to present a positive image of its decisions externally.

The process of explanation and justification is directed towards a multi-party environment, as well as an environment with enemies, friends, etc. When justifying our behavior towards friends, it is easy, but towards enemies, it is very difficult. The explanation and justification process is often directed towards the enemy, usually easier for neutrals. The means of explanation and justification vary from one country to another. Slogans and general principles, such as national interest or global slogans like democracy and human rights, can be used. The state may resort to religious or historical slogans. Government circles and sometimes the media play this role. At the international level, there are independent institutions whose main goal is to promote foreign policy (the process of selling positions in foreign policy).

Assessment of Algerian external behaviour.

The Algerian foreign policy towards the crises and challenges it faced in its regional and international environment has been characterized by a rational approach. The Algerian diplomatic activity during the period 2012-2015 witnessed significant movement due to regional and regional transformations affecting neighboring countries. It can be generally described with the following characteristics:

1. Commitment to the principles of the United Nations and the African Union, emphasizing non-intervention in internal affairs and avoiding the use of force to resolve international conflicts.
2. Striking a balance between diplomatic performance and military intelligence, as exemplified in the Tamanrasset operation.
3. Utilizing the changes in the African Sahel region to support its foreign policy, particularly with major countries, including the United States, which is considered a key partner in counterterrorism efforts, reinforcing the goals of Algerian foreign policy.
4. Emphasizing the need for collective action within the African Union, away from foreign interference.
5. Algeria adopting a diplomatic approach over declarative statements regarding its relations with neighboring countries.

However, within this policy framework, Algeria faced several challenges. Researchers and observers criticized its persistent commitment to non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. Additionally, criticism was directed at its silence on certain issues, particularly the security crimes in the Sahel region, which has many shortcomings:

1. Absence of clear relations between Algeria and Sahel countries, leading to a lack of continuity, often due to Algeria's repeated absence in unresolved issues, providing opportunities for Morocco, France, and the United States to establish effective relations in the region, negatively impacting Algeria's interests.

2. Economic resource limitations affecting Algeria's relationships with regional countries.
3. Inadequate adaptability of Algerian diplomacy in the Sahel region, especially evident during the crisis in Libya.
4. Acceptance of French military intervention in Mali, opening the door for foreign intervention, as Algeria cannot contradict UN decisions allowing military intervention in Mali.
5. Lack of cooperation between neighboring countries due to the inability to implement bilateral or multilateral agreements.
6. Weak institutional system and limited financial and military capabilities in Sahel countries, forcing Algeria to bear the cost of its security and that of its neighbors.
7. Economic threats and burdens, such as the influx of refugees and smuggling, affecting Algeria's budget.
8. Ongoing threats and risks, particularly from the Libyan crisis, where the control of revolutionary authorities led to the emergence of armed Libyan militias, posing a threat to Sahel countries.
9. Decline in Algerian diplomacy in the region, with agreements signed, such as between Mali and the Tuaregs, not being respected.

First, the problem of convergence between principles and interests

If the problem of the convergence of principles and interests arises in many States' foreign policy, Algeria to date offers a distinct approach to this problem. and the Algerian approach is based on a lack of conviction that

principles and interests are substitutes for each other, i.e. that States are forced to choose one of them and consider it the fundamental pillar of foreign policy guidance, Indeed, in Algeria's standpoints, the principles are intertwined, since a State adheres to certain principles. This will bring it into convergence with other States that uphold the same principles and thus establish a set of interests on the basis of such convergence. The vision of Algeria's current foreign policy is therefore based on a number of principles, which are interactively founded on the building of a set of interests.

If Algeria's foreign policy orientations know a high level of stability based on its distinct approach, current regional and international transformations will impose many future challenges on Algerian foreign policy.

If Algeria's relations with the major Powers are subject to a kind of balanced dependence, which is based on a key security role in the Sahel region in exchange for establishing a strategic relationship with Russia on its military and energy side, but the strategic situation for Algeria will be very different if these forces directly intervene in the region in response to developments in the Libyan conflict and it is natural that every major Power seeks to take Algeria as a regional force in North Africa on its side.

Second: Retreat in regional organizations.

The Algerian foreign policy relies heavily on its diplomatic activities within regional organizations, particularly the Arab League and the African Union. Regarding the Arab League, the main challenge lies in the potential future decline of Algeria's role within this organization. As for the African Union, the recent calls for Israel to return as an observer to the African regional organization, as it was before 2002, and the invitation for Morocco to rejoin

the African Union after thirty-two years of withdrawal, both indicate a lack of alignment with Algerian foreign policy. This is especially evident considering the notable development in Egyptian-Israeli relations, as Egypt holds significant importance within the African Union.

The current context also suggests that Algeria's relations with neighboring countries, especially Morocco and Libya, may deteriorate in the future. Concerning Morocco, the new aspect is its shift in strategy towards Algeria, employing what is known as fifth-generation warfare, a modern strategic concept seeking to create internal disruptions in other countries. Morocco utilizes specific media channels to influence public opinion against the Algerian government. Socially, Morocco attempts to exploit existing social contradictions in Algeria, such as religious differences. Regarding Libya, future developments in the Libyan crisis pose two major challenges to Algeria. Firstly, the crisis is likely to escalate, diminishing Algeria's influence due to the involvement of numerous concerned parties. Secondly, the governance system that will be established in Libya may not necessarily reflect Algerian preferences. Algeria is also expected to bear the primary security consequences of the Libyan crisis.

In general, Algeria's foreign policy has not been influential internally but rather reactive to external events and various factors. The external environment has a greater and more significant impact on Algerian policy than internal dynamics. Therefore, the Algerian policy is characterized by short-term and long-term considerations, shaped by the dynamics and changes in the foreign policies of neighboring countries and regional developments.

Despite the central concepts that have been integral to Algerian international practice from the beginning, such as supporting liberation movements or democratizing international economic relations and combating transnational terrorism, there is now a need to introduce new concepts into Algeria's diplomatic language. These include democracy, institutionalism, flexible and voluntary political transition, new development, and human empowerment. Through the success of its grassroots movement, Algeria has the potential to become a new hub for democracy, just as it was for free movements, and a beacon for liberation movements worldwide. Algeria can serve as a source of democracy, fostering interaction through the South-South axis.

Conclusion.

Algeria has been affected by the new regional challenges in the post-2011 period, resulting in a threat to its national borders' security and a negative impact on national security. Among the prominent challenges faced were traditional ones such as terrorism and organized crime, in addition to modern challenges arising from the Arab Spring and the fall of political regimes in neighboring countries, leading to several crises, including those in Libya and Mali.

Algerian diplomacy responded to these challenges by intervening as a mediator to settle political and security crises. Internally, efforts were made to protect and secure national borders to counter internal and external threats. This was achieved through joint coordination and cooperation with neighboring countries, as these threats posed a challenge to Algerian security as well as to neighboring states in general.

The levels of threats increased significantly for most of Algeria's neighboring countries, especially due to the Libyan crisis after the fall of Gaddafi's regime in 2011 and the crisis in northern Mali after the attempt to secede by the Azawad in 2012. These crises created a fragile security environment, complicating the challenges faced by Algerian national security. The spread of terrorist organizations became a serious concern, along with the chaos in Libyan arms and the illicit trade of weapons, following the collapse of its security institutions. Additionally, the increase in the number of illegal immigrants carrying diseases and risks added to the burdens.

Facing these challenges, Algeria adopted multidimensional strategies, including tightening border controls by deploying a large number of National People's Army personnel, updating surveillance tools on border paths, and relying on the experience gained in combating terrorism through various peaceful means such as reconciliation and awareness. Deterrent measures included dismantling terrorist cells, eliminating active cells, and curbing sources of terrorist funding, such as ransom. Furthermore, efforts were directed towards combating organized crime and its various criminal activities without leniency.

Algeria also activated its diplomatic role in crisis resolution, particularly those related to its neighboring countries, by mediating between conflicting parties and providing financial assistance to some economically disadvantaged African countries. Algeria joined various regional and international forums to confront these risks and challenges.

In the economic aspect, Algeria aims to rely on a diversified economy by reforming the private sector, launching developmental projects, and adopting renewable energies in the future.

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