

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

Faculty of Law and Political Science

Department of Political Science

Lecture on the Scale of Algerian Foreign Policy

For students of the second year Master of International
Relations

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The axes :

1- Development of Algerian foreign policy

A- Colonization

B- The stage of the liberation revolution

C. Post-independence

- Ahmed bin Bella period

- Hawari Boumediene period

- Chadli Ben Jadid period

- During the security crisis

- The period of Abdelaziz Bouteflika

2- Principles of Algerian foreign policy

3- Determinants of Algerian foreign policy

4- Algerian foreign policy-making

5- The roles of Algerian foreign policy - Africa as a model -

6- Algerian foreign policy towards the Libyan crisis as a model

The conclusion

Introduction

These lectures deal with understanding the characteristics of each stage of Algeria's political development and its impact on Algerian foreign policy, which prompts us to address how Algerian foreign policy is made through these different time periods and what are the factors affecting this industry.

Algerian foreign policy is among the most important effective policies in the region and even in the world, especially in the post-independence phase, where the echo of the Algerian revolution still has weight in international forums in light of the nature of the existing international system at that stage, and the effectiveness continued until the beginning of the Algerian crisis, where this role shrank due to many repercussions at that stage.

But with the recent transformations in the African Sahel region, Algerian diplomacy began to move in order to find solutions to the problems facing the countries of the region and threaten their security, and here we had to study them by addressing foreign policy and its intersection with the Algerian security doctrine, which plays an important role in formulating foreign policy..

Therefore, these lectures came in the scale of Algerian foreign policy to understand and study Algerian foreign policy by addressing the history of Algerian diplomacy from the colonial period until the stage of revolutionary activity, where Algerian diplomacy had a great impact in drawing and defining the features and principles of Algerian foreign policy, and the stage of independence and state-building comes Where was Algerian foreign policy an influential factor in the international arena, although there were fluctuations from time to time?.

And we will address the following axes :

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The conclusion

The first axis: the development of Algerian foreign policy

Algerian foreign policy has gone through many phases, starting from the colonial phase or the period of the war of liberation until the present day, where Algerian foreign policy has crystallized from revolutionary premises and well-established principles that have not changed since the dawn of the Algerian revolution, where it has remained firmly established to this day, despite the transformations that the world has known in terms of principles and foundations..

1- Algerian diplomacy before independence

The diplomatic activity of the Algerian revolution dates back to before the outbreak of the Algerian revolution, but with the beginning of the French colonization of Algeria, where the Algerian diplomatic activity dates back to the beginning of the French occupation of Algeria, where Hamdan Khoja recorded the most important crimes and testimonies in a semi-petition that reached the size of the volume, which was known as "The Mirror" in which he mentions the glories of Algeria, saying "Algeria is for the Algerians" and Hamdan Khoja made many tours in the East and Europe explaining the tragic conditions of Algeria. [Salah Ben Kobi, Algerian diplomacy between yesterday and today, Algeria, National Agency for Publicity, 2002, p. 12.]

With the beginning of the activity of the national movement, there was a different activity according to each national trend, as the movement for the victory of democratic freedoms established since 1945 a foreign mission in the Egyptian capital, Cairo, where it was tasked with linking contacts with the latter on many issues, where the mission included in 1951 each of the gentlemen:

Mohamed Khider, Hocine Ait Ahmed and Ahmed Ben Bella. [Omar Boudarsa, The Diplomatic Activity of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, Algeria: Dar Al-Hikma Publishing, 2014, p. 127]

The importance of the external dimension of the planners of the Algerian revolution can be shown in the following points with regard to the activity before the outbreak of the Algerian revolution in the following: [Ibid., p. 128.]

1/ The leadership in charge of preparing the Algerian revolution sent a delegation to Switzerland in July 1954 to talk with the two conflicting currents within the Movement for the Victory of Democratic Freedoms, the Messalists and the Centralists.

2/ The revolutionary leadership took advantage of the presence of Mohamed Khider and his stay in Cairo to gain the support of the Egyptian government along with Ahmed Ben Bella and Hussein Ait Ahmed, and this translates the revolutionary leadership's orientation towards working at the international level and mobilizing global support for the revolution and from the statement of the results of external action is to gain Egyptian support, which was broadcast in the statement of the first of November on the waves of the Egyptian radio Voice of the Arabs and the establishment of an office in Cairo.

3/ Mohamed Boudiaf has been appointed to coordinate the FLN's activity internally and externally.

Within the framework of the National Liberation Front's support for its armed struggle with political action, especially in the foreign field and diplomatic activity, where the National Liberation Front (FLN) identified after the Soummam conference the transformations in the foreign policy of the Algerian revolution by turning to the United Nations to raise the Algerian issue and establishing eight foreign policy offices and committees in Cairo, Damascus, Tunis, Baghdad, Beirut, Jakarta and Karchi, New York, with the appointment of Mohamed Lamine Dabbaghine as responsible for Algerian diplomacy in the Algerian interim government, and here we find the shift and focus on the international dimension to gain support for the Algerian cause by opening offices and working to provide all the data on the Algerian revolution. Ardavan Amir aslani , Ardavan Amir aslani ,

l'âge d'or de la diplomatie algérienne, Constantine : media plus , 2015 ; p 19]

The decisions of the Somma conference focused on activating foreign policy and diplomacy in order to gain global support, especially the United Nations, and to pressure French interests abroad, especially economic, as well as on Latin America, especially the Arab community in it, as it was decided as follows : [Abdelkader bousselham , la diplomatie algérienne ; Alger : Edition dahlab, 2015, p55]

- Opening a permanent office in the United Nations and the United States of America for the National Liberation Front.
- Opening a representation of the National Liberation Front in Asian countries.
- The formation of an internal body in the National Liberation Front (FLN) whose task is to organize the Front's participation in international conferences and gatherings in support of the national cause.
- Establishing an office for the press and media and a publishing house and documenting events with pictures and films for the national cause.

After that, the National Liberation Front established departments at the level of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, namely the department of "the Arab world", the second "Africa - Asia", the third "Europe and America" and the fourth "socialist countries", in addition to the activity of the Association of Algerian Muslim Students Abroad, especially Cairo University, the University of Baghdad and Damascus, which had a basic and intensive activity to introduce the Algerian cause and gain official and public support for it, as this activity was led by Eid Al-Hamid Mehri and then Tawfiq Al-Madani, without neglecting student activity in France, especially Grenoble, Paris and the Zitouna Mosque in Tunisia . [Ardavan Amir Aslani , op cit ; p 21]In 1954, offices of the National Liberation Front were established

abroad in Cairo and Nador in Morocco, Switzerland and Madrid, and between 1956-1957 offices were opened in Baghdad, Rabat, Jeddah, Damascus, and in 1958 offices were opened in Jeddah, Amman, Beirut, Benghazi, Belgrade, Vienna, Brussels, Oslo, Aleppo and Basra in Iraq. Algerian diplomacy activity at the foreign level to introduce the Algerian cause . [Ardavan Amir Aslani , op cit , p 59]

Offices were also opened in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and Buenos Aires, Argentina, for coordination in the Americas, and on February 6, 1960, the President of the Provisional Government, Abbas Farhat, supervised the opening of a group of representative offices of the Algerian Provisional Government, including : [Ibid. p 59.]

Turkey office supervised by Colonel Omar Amran

Pakistan office supervised by Major Idir

·Beirut office represented by Ibrahim Kabwiyah.

Tokyo office represented by Ibrahim Qafa

·Accra office in Ghana represented by Frantz Fanon

·Belgrade office represented by Boukadoum.

Mohamed Khider and Hocine Ait Ahmed were also entrusted with coordination with Arab countries, and Ahmed Ben Bella and Mohamed Boudiaf were assigned the task of logistical support between home and abroad.

With regard to the consular activity of the foreign representations of the Algerian government, namely: [Ammar Boudarsa, previous reference, p. 214.]

Approving the Cairo office as the headquarters of the central administration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs supervising sixteen (16) foreign offices :

- Preparation of passports.
- Regulation of traffic licenses.
- Preparing visas and residence permits, especially for those heading to Egypt.
- Regularization of the status of Algerian refugees.
- Organization of administrative correspondence.
- Reporting.

Resolving differences between Algerian refugees and providing them with assistance

- Linking relations with the media that enable advertising.

Algerian students also had a role in diplomatic work and the definition of the national cause can be summarized as follows: [Salah Ben Kobi, previous reference, p. 70.]

At the beginning of the academic year 55-56 AD, the General Union of Algerian Muslim Students established offices at all French universities and even existing in Algeria.

Mohamed Siddiq Ben Yahya as president and his deputies Amara Rachid, Ahmed Taouti Mohamed Lounis, Mustafa Saber, Saleh Ben Qi, Abdel Halim Ben Hussein "International Relations", Hafsa Beskri, Secretary General, Zalkhia Ben Kaddour, Secretary of Finance, while the foreign offices are based under the chairmanship of Awada Ben Attouche.

This external student activity was led by three students who had the greatest impact in supporting the Algerian cause at the external level, namely Mohamed Khemisti and Mohamed Siddiq Ben Yahya and Lakhdar Brahimi, Mohamed Khemisti was 26 years old student at the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Montpellier and became the

president of the Algerian Muslim Students Organization in 1956 and is considered a very close friend of Ahmed Ben Bella by virtue of the fact that they are from one region and is Mughniyeh, and was arrested then in 1957 Siddiq Ben Yahia was a 23-year-old law student and a trainee in a law firm and is considered one of the founding members of the Union of Algerian Muslim Students and represented Algeria between 1956 and 1960 in Cairo, the United Nations, Accra, Monrovia, Tripoli, Indonesia, Moscow and London, and participated in the Evian negotiations in 1961 . Ardavan amir Aslani , op cit ; P22]

As for the foundations and objectives of the diplomatic activity of the interim government 1958/1954, it came in the following context, which gave another strategy to Algerian diplomacy during the Algerian revolution: [Ammar Boudarsa, op. cit., pp. 133-134.]

The charter of the Soummam conference stressed that it is the duty of the revolution to be regularly keen to preserve the independence of the Algerian revolution completely and to stay away from any pressures that affect the decisions of the leadership, even from the closest brotherly and friendly countries, but this does not mean not consulting, but its decisions were taken by its own hands.

Giving the diplomatic activity of the Algerian revolution a responsible character so that the greatest support of the countries of the world can be obtained to benefit from their solidarity with the cause of the Algerian people materially and morally.

In 1958, the so-called Coordination and Implementation Committee established what is known as the ministerial departments, which included the Department of Foreign Affairs headed by Mohamed Lamine Dabbaghine, which was considered the nucleus of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which will be led by the same person after the establishment of the interim government of the Algerian Republic on 19/09/1958, and its gains abroad became like travels and consulates.

The policy of the interim government was divided and directed to geographical areas dealing with it with the aim of achieving actual gains for the national cause, as it focused on the Arab countries for many reasons, the most important of which is the cultural, religious, linguistic and geographical convergence, where we find foreign policy towards the Arab countries as follows: [Ammar Boudarsa, previous reference, p. 144.]

The Liberation Front stressed in a statement the first of November 1954 on the external dimension of its revolution, which seeks to achieve the Arab Maghreb Union, and the neighboring countries had great importance for material support with weapons as well as the containment of penal refugees, which prompted France to build the Charles and Maurice lines in 1958 and 1957 respectively, along with Libya in 1957 after the entry of the Sahara Front and increased the cohesion of the Maghreb peoples with the incident of Sakiet Sidi Youssef on 08/02/1958, as well as the Tangier Conference in April 1958.

As for Libya, the Libyan King Idris Al-Senussi provided great support and provided safe passage for weapons from the Egyptian Matrouh to the Algerian border, and this explains the capital, Tripoli, hosting three conspiracies of the National Council of the Algerian Revolution 59/1960 - August 1961 and 1962.

After the discovery of oil in the Sahara, Morocco and Tunisia demanded the amendment of the border with France, where Morocco announced the acquisition of the border drawing committee with the Moroccan government in August 1958, this is what the interim government considered an act contrary to the values of common struggle and external struggle and the same trend taken by the Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba, who will announce the need to redraw the Algerian-Tunisian border, which he officially confirmed before the Tunisian National Assembly in September 1959. [Ibid., p. 146.]

Trend of the Arab orientation countries:

The contribution of the Arab countries was clear in supporting the Algerian cause, especially in its presentation at the level of the United Nations General Assembly in 1955 as well as in 1956-1957, which was reflected in Algerian foreign policy, especially the issue of non-interference in internal affairs and neutrality in conflicts, although the Egyptian support was clear through the broadcast of the first November statement on Radio Al-Arab from Cairo and enabling both Hassin Ayat Ahmed and Muhammad Yazid to travel to Indonesia with Egyptian passports. Ammar Boudarsa, reference Ibid., p. 149.]

Without neglecting the material support and continuous financing of weapons for the Algerian revolution as well as what was taken by the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956, Egypt recognized the interim government after its declaration on September 18, 1958.

He established the second office of the National Liberation Front in Damascus in 1956 and the same for Iraq, where it supported the revolution with money and weapons, the Amman office was established in January 1958 and recognized the Algerian government, while Saudi Arabia established an office in April 1958, and this office was dissolved unofficially until 1960, but the Kingdom made a donation of 1 million.

Direction of Africa: The National Liberation Front focused on the African dimension, as it participated in many African conferences, especially since France has great influence in the African continent, including:

The Conference of African Peoples was established in December 1958 where the Liberation Front led by Ahmed Boumenjel participated and received great support for the revolution.[Ardavan Amir Aslani , l'âge d'or de la diplomatie algérienne, Constantine : media plus , 2015 p 18]

The Conference of Independent African States Monrovia in August 1959 (Liberia) at the request of the Algerian interim government to

discuss ways to support the Algerian revolution by independent African countries, where it included very good results and this conference contributed to supporting the Algerian cause at the level of the United Nations General Assembly.

It is also noted that African support for the Algerian cause was lagging behind compared to the Asian Group until January 1960, when the Front did not establish any office in black Africa, which prompted the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Interim Government to propose the opening of an external office in the Ghanaian capital by virtue of its location.

Towards Asia: The most important country in the region is Indonesia, which has provided good propaganda support to the Front and allowed it to establish an office in the capital, Jakarta, as well as providing aid and donations to the Algerians, as well as recognizing the Algerian government on September 27, 1958, and the official of the office was Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, who carried out great diplomatic activity in the region.

United states:

As for the United States of America, it stood hostile towards the Algerian revolution through its unconditional support for France within the framework of the organization Salen Drunken that voted for France within the United Nations, and this prompted the interim government to use its relations to win over personalities such as John F. Kennedy [Abdelkader bousselham, op cit .p53] and intensified its activity within the New York office, where Mr. Abdelkader Strley's talks with John F. Kennedy began in August 1960, which were considered a shift in the American position.

On June 2, 1957, Senator John F. Kennedy submitted a report to Congress declaring his support for Algerian independence. [Salih ibn al-Qubi, op. cit., p. 15.] The FLN also published from its library in New York a news bulletin entitled "Free Algerien", which was

headed by Abdelkader Chanderli, which contributed to the internationalization of the Algerian cause.[Ibid., p. 14.]

The Soviet Union: The Soviet Union is based on supporting liberation movements in the world within the framework of its export of socialist thought, but the Soviet Union did not resolve its position on the Algerian issue until 1958 by virtue of the internationalization of the Algerian issue in the United Nations as well as the spread of its resonance in the world in addition to Chinese support for Algeria, where this support culminated in the recognition of the provisional government of the Algerian Provisional Republic in late 1960. [Ammar Boudarsa, op. cit., p. 175.]

Strategies adopted by Algerian diplomacy during the liberation revolution :

* Propaganda: The National Liberation Front focused in its foreign policy on the human dimension towards world and European public opinion by highlighting the suffering of refugees living in camps scattered on the western and eastern borders of Algeria through propaganda and media in world and European capitals, especially Stockholm, which played an important role in this regard .

* International and international conferences:

During the liberation revolution, Algeria also relied on the strategy of participating in international conferences, which have weight in raising and supporting global issues, as these international and international conferences were considered a platform to gain support for the national cause, such as: [Ammar Boudarsa, previous reference, p. 188.]

- World Peace Conference held in Stockholm 8-13 May 1959 and represented by Algeria Yaali Mohamed.

- Congress of the World Socialist International in Hamburg, Germany, 14-17 July 1959.

- The International Student Forum in the Norwegian city of Gol, which was represented by Algeria, Mohamed Cherif Sahili.

The policy of interests: With Algeria's reliance on the policy of attendance, it has become resonant at the level of international forums, which has strengthened the establishment of relations and the establishment of many new alliances based on three principles: [Saleh bin Kobi, previous reference, p. 15.]

Similar interests, complementary interests, conflicting interests, and this means that Algeria dealt with the countries of the world case by case, not as a single bloc, but in a way that requires the national interest, so Algeria's dealings with Morocco are not like Tunisia and not like Egypt, and this is a very important strategy that gave dimension and maneuver to the National Liberation Front in managing its foreign files.

* Joint committees and official visits:

Working on the establishment of joint committees with different countries of the world such as the Algerian-Norwegian Committee, the Africa Commission and the British Committee for Algeria, an activity represented in the ratification of Stockholm in favor of the Algerian cause in the United Nations General Assembly 1954-1959.

Focusing on official visits such as the visit of the People's Republic of China and Vietnam led by Ministers Ben Youssef bin Khadda and Mahmoud Sharif in 1958, as well as the visit of the Prime Minister to the Republic of India and Pakistan in April 1959 and the visit of Farhat Abbas to Yugoslavia in June 1959, in addition to other visits to Arab countries such as visits to Iraq in April 1959 and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on 06/03/1959. [Ammar Boudarsa, op. cit., p. 206.]

*Negotiations :

Algeria relied on entering into negotiations with the French party after France made sure that there is no way for it to continue occupying

Algeria, as Algeria confirmed the success of its revolution internally with the increase of the people's rallying around it and the successes achieved on the battlefield and externally by raising the Algerian issue at the level of the United Nations and gaining international support in all forums, and this indicates the depth of Algerian diplomacy in resolving matters and running them despite the difficulties and obstacles it faced.

The Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic considered it necessary to adopt a peaceful solution and negotiate in order to end the Algerian war in order to prove that it is not conducting war for war as claimed by the French government.

Difficulties faced by Algerian diplomacy during the liberation revolution :

Algerian diplomacy was subjected to pressure due to internal problems that affected the diplomatic performance of the Algerian issue, as this ministry has known turmoil since the resignation of Mr. Lamine Dabbaghine, who was serving as Minister of Foreign Affairs, in addition to the imbalance of the relationship between him and the government of Boussouf Abdel Hafid, as well as the lack of coordination between foreign missions and internal issues, especially after the transfer of headquarters from Cairo to Tunisia and the state of Zubair's rebellion in 1959.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was also sidelined after the resignation of Mr. Lamine Dabbaghine with regard to shaping Algerian foreign policy at the United Nations, despite Mr. Boukadoum's guarantee of ensuring the proper functioning of its various interests. [Ammar Boudarsa, op. cit., p. 272.]

The officials of the offices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were subjected to assassination attempts by the French intelligence "Red Hand", where the Spanish secretary of the Madrid office was assassinated in June 1959, the attempt to assassinate the official of the German office Ait ahmed Hussein in November 1959, and the car

bombing of the official of the Rome office, Mr. Tayeb Boulhrouf, July 1959.

In addition to the great pressure exerted on the Algerian government by the Tunisian government, especially with the increase in French pressure and the Algerian-Egyptian rapprochement, as well as the Moroccan-French alliance, the Algerian government pushed the Algerian government to exercise balance and caution in dealing with the two countries and put forward the option of China and the Soviet Union as an alternative to them without dropping the permanent consultation between them, despite Bourguiba's intervention in many areas in directing the decisions of the Algerian government, which rejected his remarks.

The last stop was the first raising of the Algerian flag in the United States on April 15, 1959, in what was known as the African Friendship Day.

2- Algerian diplomacy from 1962 to 1999

During this period, the priority was to internal requirements, work to support political stability and face security challenges affecting national unity, as well as the external threat of the sand war led by Morocco against Algeria .

President Ahmed Ben Bella had international positions comparable to the leaders of anti-colonial countries from Castro to Gamal Abdel Nasser, but he had a hardline stance towards liberation issues, especially within the framework of the Organization of African Unity, as well as the preparation for the second Bandung Conference in June 1965 in Algeria to support liberation and anti-colonial movements .

The stage of President Ahmed Ben Bella was the African pole of liberation movements, especially with the good echo left by the Algerian revolution among the peoples of the world and Africa in particular, Algeria during his reign worked to receive African leaders and presidents along with the leaders of revolutionary movements

under the fixed principles of Algerian foreign policy. . [Nicole grimaud, la politique extérieur de l'Algérie , Alger : Rahma édition ; 1984 , p 272]

After independence, Mohamed Khemisti was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs under President Ahmed Ben Bella, where he met with his French counterpart in order to determine the future of bilateral relations between the two countries, especially the economic and financial aspect in terms of freedom from the French franc and how to promote investment between the two countries in accordance with the Evian Agreement. Ardavan Amir Aslani , op cit ; P41

In May 1963, Abdelaziz Bouteflika replaced Mohamed Khemisti as Minister of Foreign Affairs, as he was not known to French circles, as he was a young man who reached 26 years, especially in these circumstances in which France is conducting its nuclear tests in the Sahara, as well as the file of immigration and Algerian workers in France.

But there was a shift in the way President Ahmed Ben Bella ruled, where he was unique in power by limiting several sovereign positions to his hand, such as the position of the head of government, the Ministry of the Interior, information and finance, in addition to his position as president of the republic, as he removed Ahmed Medghari and Abdelaziz Bouteflika from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [Lotfi Khouli, for the revolution and the revolution, Algeria: Publications of the Boumedini Gathering, 1975, p. 106].

The Ben Bella Ahmed period was also characterized at the external level by a lack of clarity towards the two camps, although the ideological line of Algeria is socialism, but his visit to the United States of America and then to Cuba created a blur in his position that affected Algerian foreign policy.

On the other hand, Algeria faced during the rule of President Ahmed Ben Bella its first challenge at the security and military level and at the external level, which is the sand war, represented by the Moroccan

aggression against Algeria in 1963, during this war Algeria was able to gain Arab, African and international support and played the good relations between President Ahmed Ben Bella and President Gamal Abdel Nasser in gaining Egypt's support and standing by the Algerian side in this war.

These were the most important features of the rule of President Ahmed Ben Bella, which ended in a coup in 1965 and was succeeded by President Houari Boumediene .

3- President Houari Boumediene period 1965-1978:

During the tenure of former President Houari Boumediene after the coup against President Ahmed Ben Bella, Algeria faced international pressure to restore power to President Ben Bella, where diplomacy turned here to defend Algeria's perceptions, and a set of changes also coincided with, including: [Ismail Dabash, Algerian foreign policy between principled premises and international reality, Algeria: Dar Houma for Printing and Publishing, 2017, p. 151]

The Arab-Israeli war of June 1967, or what is known as the setback, and Algeria's political and military role in this war, which gave it a stronger dimension in anti-racist attitudes.

Algeria's nationalization of hydrocarbons on February 24, 1971 within the framework of the completion of national sovereignty, which contributed to the adoption of the same method by some countries.

Algeria played a leading role in the expulsion of Taiwan and China's entry into the United Nations in 1971, where Foreign Minister Abdelaziz Bouteflika was at the time.

Algeria's role in expelling the apartheid regime in South Africa in 1974 from the United Nations General Assembly.

The role played by Algeria in the October 1973 war as well as the use of oil as a weapon in this war.

The Third Non-Aligned Conference was held in Algiers, which paved the way for the presentation of economic, social and political transformations in a new international order within the framework of the Algerian proposal at the United Nations in 1974.

Algeria's support for the Western Sahara issue, its rejection of the 1975 Madrid Convention and the recognition of the Polisario Front as the sole and legitimate representative of the Sahrawi people.

- The establishment of what is known as the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, which came after Egypt announced its desire to conclude a peace agreement with the Zionist entity in 1977, which resulted in the boycott of Egypt and the transfer of the headquarters of the Arab League from Cairo to Tunisia.

During his rule, President Houari Boumediene relied on economic diplomacy within the traditional principles of non-alignment and the fight against imperialism, but the economic dimension in Algerian diplomacy on the incursion towards the Western camp, especially the United States of America, where he relied on a special figure, Messaoud Zaqar, where he began to be active in 1967, where he strengthened his presence in Washington and built strong relations with many important figures in the United States of America .
Ardavan amir Aslani , op cit ; P119]

Despite the fluctuation of relations between Algeria and the United States of America, especially between 1965 and 1971, economic reports show the increase in trade exchanges between the United States of America and Algeria, so Algerian-American relations were restored in 1974, but during the severance of relations between the two countries due to the 1967 war, the cooperative dimension was now based on the conclusion of the 1969 agreement, which stipulates that Algeria will sell annually 10 billion cubic meters of liquefied natural gas. For 25 years in exchange for Algeria's acquisition of technology for the petroleum industry. [Rabah Lounici, Presidents of

Algeria in the Balance of History, Algeria: Dar Al-Maarifa, 2011, p. 237]

We find that the late President Houari Boumediene believed that the construction of the Algerian state as a prerequisite for building a strong state, in addition to the fact that the world is not fair under the laws and frameworks that regulate international relations at that stage, and still, as it is necessary to change the rules of the international system in accordance with justice and achieve equality in roles within the international system, especially the economic aspect within the framework of what is known as the South South and the restoration of balanced relations North-South.

Algeria tried to establish relations with the countries of the North within the framework of narrowing the gap between the North and the South, and this was embodied in many bilateral relations, including Algerian-Swedish relations, especially during the reign of Olof Palme, the Swedish Prime Minister from 1969 to 1976 and 1982-1986 [Ismail Dabash, previous reference, p. 159], where it knew its facet and activity within the framework of a win-win relationship.

The late Algerian President Houari Boumediene also tried to rebuild Algerian-French relations with French President Giscard de Stin by inviting him to visit Algeria on April 10, 1975 within the framework of rebuilding balanced Mediterranean relations with both shores of the Mediterranean .

Algeria and the Palestinian case:

The Palestinian cause is one of the most important issues in Algerian diplomacy, which sought to help and support it, as it supported the resolution issued at the Khartoum summit in 1967, which was expressed in three ways: "No negotiation with Israel, no recognition of the State of Israel, no peace with Israel, which Algeria supported and adhered to, especially as it declared that it is with Palestine unjust or oppressed." [Ardavan Amir Aslani , op cit ; p 126]

Rather, President Houari Boumediene sent Algerian military units to repel the Israeli aggression, which included 47 warplanes, which are what Algeria owns and kept 6 aircraft, and sent 30 tanks and three corps to the Egyptian front to support the Egyptian forces against the Israeli aggression. [Taher Zubiri, Half a Century of Struggle: Memoirs of an Algerian Chief of Staff, Algeria: Al-Shorouk Media, 2011, p. 160]

When Algeria chaired the General Assembly at the United Nations, it sought to support the Palestinian cause, where it gave Yasser Arafat the opportunity to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people on November 13, 1974, especially since this event is an exception in the diplomatic custom at the United Nations to speak a figure who is not represented by a recognized country in the United Nations forum, where President Houari Boumediene sent the file of Yasser Arafat and gave him an Algerian plane to transport him to New York. . [Ardavan amir Aslani , op cit ; p166]

On the other hand, President Houari Boumediene rebalanced Algerian-French relations, on the one hand he refused to visit a Frenchman as a fixed position he has and on the one hand did not close the door with it, but he restored the base of Marsa el-Kebir in 1968 and the evacuation of the Bousfer air base in 1970 and he also prevented the sale of alcohol to France in 1970 and ended with the nationalization of hydrocarbons in 1972 and thus restored the balance between Algeria and France within the framework of the rivalry between the two countries . [Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi , mémoire d'un Algérien , tome 2 ; alger : edition casbah , 2008 , p 396]

President Houari Boumediene also relied on mediation diplomacy in resolving many issues, especially the Iranian-Iraqi dispute, which ended with the Algiers Agreement on March 6, 1975, and this is a great victory for Algerian diplomacy at that stage to resolve an issue of this complexity in a complex international environment..

4- The period of President Chadli Bendjedid:

During the tenure of President Chadli Bendjedid, the adoption of policies and positions consistent and complementary to President Houari Boumediene, whether at the regional or international level, but the Algerian foreign policy has witnessed an escalation in its external performance, as President Chadli Bendjedid opened up to the West, especially with the adoption of a policy of political and economic openness, where we can summarize the most important diplomatic activities during the rule of President Chadli Bendjedid, namely: [Mohamed Bouacha, Algerian Diplomacy, Beirut: Dar El Jeel, 2004, p. 34]

Algeria mediated in the issue of the liberation of American hostages at the US embassy in Tehran, which gave another dimension to the Algerian diplomatic role, as Algeria rapproched with the United States of America, and this was embodied in providing technical and military assistance to Algeria.

Tunisia was neutralized from the Algerian-Moroccan dispute through the Agreement of Fraternity and Accord signed in March 1983.

- Supporting African relations by strengthening relations with the powerful countries in Africa, including Nigeria, which played an important role in the accession of Western Sahara to the Organization of African Unity in 1982.

- The visit of French President François Mitterrand to Algeria, which is the continuation of cooperation between the two countries, and President Chadli Bendjedid had a visit to France in 1983 and also another visit to the United States of America in 1985, and this reflects the new orientation of Algeria towards the West, which coincided with international transformations at that stage with the beginning of the US-Soviet rapprochement and the dominance of pragmatism in international relations. Algeria tended at this stage to build relations with the West according to This logic .

- The visit of the British Queen to Algeria, which is another orientation towards the West.

Rebuilding Maghreb relations by building the Maghreb Union and bringing the Sahrawi issue within the framework of the United Nations.

Algeria mediated in resolving the Iraqi-Iranian conflict, in which Algeria lost former Foreign Minister Mohamed Siddiq Ben Yahia following the bombing of the Algerian plane on the Iraqi-Turkish border on May 3, 1982.

President Chadli Bendjedid visited Iran in 1982, where Algerian-Iranian relations were good, but Algeria played the role of sponsor of Iranian interests in Washington after the severance of Iranian-American relations, and this represents Iran's confidence in Algeria and the confidence of the United States of America in Algeria as a positive mediator between the two parties. Sid Ahmed Ould Salem, Algerian-Iranian relations are mostly dead, taken from Al Jazeera Studies, www.aljazeera.net dated 22/08/2018]

Algeria mediated the resolution of the Lebanese issue by participating in the Taif Agreement.

Algeria's support for the Palestinian cause, which gave it the possibility of declaring the establishment of a Palestinian state in Algeria.

As for the second Gulf War, Algeria's position through President Chadli Ben Jaid was the reservation about directing an Arab force led by the West to strike Iraq, and this does not mean that Algeria stands by Iraq, but Algeria's position was clear and strict, and this is what Major Lakhdar Boureggaa quoted in a statement to Al-Shorouk TV. Any Algerian soldier even if in civilian clothes to Saudi Arabia" [This is what Chadli told the American ambassador in Cairo about the invasion of Iraq, Al-Khabar newspaper.]

What distinguished this phase of President Chadli Bendjedid rule was the decline of the role of the president's personality in directing Algerian foreign policy, unlike Hawari Boumediene and the emergence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as an effective bureaucratic body in directing Algerian foreign policy, where Foreign Minister Mohamed Siddiq Ben Yahya played a key role in solving many international issues, and thus the course of Algerian foreign policy-making changed at this stage from the previous one through the basic role of the bureaucratic apparatus, represented by the Ministry of External.

Algerian foreign policy during the national crisis :

At this stage, Algeria entered a security and political crisis as a result of the suspension of the electoral path and the beginning of violence in Algeria and the spread of terrorism and an institutional vacuum that led Algeria to adopt external behavior in line with the situation it is experiencing, and we can determine the institutions that existed at that stage, after the announcement of the cancellation of the electoral process, the formation of the High Council of State assumed the functions of the presidency from January 1992 until the symposium of national accord in January 1994, where Boudiaf was appointed president of Algeria, but He was assassinated to succeed Ali Kafi, after which Yamin Zeroual came to power with presidential elections in 1995. [Abdullah Belhabib, previous reference, p. 130]

At this stage, Algeria relied on four basic strategies in its foreign policy: [Ibid., p. 165]

Self-motivation strategy: This strategy aims to emphasize Algeria's regional role and the need to engage in regional and international political calculations, as Algeria adopts international principles related to international peace and security as well as strengthening international cooperation, which is embodied in some agreements and statements such as Algeria's role in the Tripartite Commission "Algeria, Burkina Faso, France", which led to the peace agreement

between the Nigerien government and the Touareg movement in 1995, and Algeria's positions on the Moroccan Union. Arab.

- The strategy of rigidity: This strategy aims to show Algeria's independence from dependence and non-submission to pressure by emphasizing its regional strength to resist all types of interference by consolidating the principles of Algerian foreign policy, and this came after the decision to cut relations with Iran as well as the responses provided by the Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards European accusations.

- Adoption strategy: This strategy means commitment to norms and international legitimacy and this strategy has appeared clearly in the Algerian external behavior during the peak period either to justify the internal behavior directed abroad or in international forums and this was manifested with the inauguration of President Mohamed Boudiaf President of the Republic by sending envoys to him abroad, where Mr. Ali Haroun and Reda Malik were sent to the Netherlands, Sweden and Denmark on 12/03/1992 to explain the situation in the country.

Bargaining strategies: This strategy is at the heart of Algeria's foreign political behavior, where there are large spaces for diplomatic maneuver, and this strategy aims to achieve the highest degree of profitability where it linked terrorism as a central topic in its foreign policy and linked its foreign perception with the international community to terrorism.

It is worth mentioning at this stage the transformations that have occurred in foreign policy in terms of the order of geostrategic priorities in Algerian foreign policy, where the order of the Mediterranean dimension has been modified in terms of precedence compared to the African dimension, as stated in the preamble of the 1996 Constitution as follows: "Algeria is the land of Islam and an integral part of the Arab Maghreb and an Arab, non-Mediterranean and African land" [Samir cat, Algerian foreign policy in Africa, Democratic Center, Berlin, Germany, 2017], this is the first time since

Algeria's independence that Africa's position in Algeria's external priority has declined and given importance to the Mediterranean dimension, due to the transformations that took place in that period, which is the building of the European Union, where it became a regional and international power, and Algeria's desire to have strong ties with a neighboring economic force in light of the new challenges.

Algeria hastened to strengthen the European partnership within the Barcelona Declaration of 1995, where the negotiations began, but Algeria adhered to the principle of customs dismantling gradually to protect its national economy, which is not ready for this stage, and did not agree to the political conditionality related to the political and security situation in Algeria, but this did not diminish the importance of progress in negotiations and benefiting from European aid to the Maghreb region, knowing that Algeria concluded a cooperation agreement with the European Community on 01/07/1976 over a period of 20 years. Abdelmajid, "Algeria and the Barcelona Process: Opportunities and Challenges", intervention delivered at the International Forum on Arab Economic Integration as a Mechanism for Improving and Activating the Euro-Arab Partnership, University of Setif, 8-9 May 2004, p. 2].

The security situation and the instability that Algeria experienced in the decade did not prevent Algeria from moving towards neighboring countries, especially the European Union, and realizing its geopolitical and economic value in building future relations between Algeria and the European Union, especially since what unites Algeria and the European Union are economic determinants as Algeria is among the most important gas exporters to Europe, in addition to security cooperation in the fight against terrorism.

The most important developments of Algerian diplomacy during this period can be summarized:

- Liberation of Africa: Algerian diplomacy has mobilized itself since the early years of independence towards the liberation of Africa and

was its first destination in the framework of solidarity with liberation movements and away from French hegemony in the African continent, which made it a base from which Algerian diplomacy to the world is launched, Algeria supported the African National Congress in South Africa materially and politically and contributed to the establishment of what is known as the Editorial Committee by the Organization of African Unity. Abdallah Belhabib, *Algerian Foreign Policy in Light of the Crisis 1992-1997*, Amman: Dar Al-Raya, 2012, p. 17.]

B- A global economic system: In the seventies, after Algeria nationalized its oil on February 24, 1971, Algeria began a diplomatic campaign with the need to recognize the right of peoples to dispose of their natural resources. [Ibid., p. 19]

It went on to call for a new economic order within the framework of the Group of 77 in 1967 [Nicole grimaud; opcit p 294] and enshrined it at the Non-Aligned Conference held in Algiers on 5-9 September 1973 and the sixth extraordinary session of the General Front of Nations held on 9 April 1974 on the proposal to reform the system of international economic relations.

C- The eighties and the mediation stage:

Algeria relied on the policy of mediation for many factors, including: [Abdallah Belhabib, op. cit., p. 21.]

Many African countries gained their independence.

Demanding a new economic order.

The economic crisis that hit Algeria.

These factors affected the external political behavior of Algeria, forcing it to move towards calm and mitigate the causes of conflict and tensions, and the beginning was within the framework of Maghreb relations through the application of the principle of the positive right of neighborliness expressed by President Chadli Bendjedid in his speech to the nation on December 20, 1981, and this principle

includes the exclusion of border disputes and the establishment of public cooperation across borders, where agreements were signed with Niger, Mali and Mauritania to demarcate the borders and It carried out a mediation operation in 1981 to free the American hostages held by Tehran, where conditions were met in Algeria agreed to by both parties, namely the United States and Iran [Abdullah Belhabib, op. cit., p. 22.] which is sovereignty / independence / integrity, this mediation allowed to strengthen its hegemony and prestige, i.e. the Algerian ambassador in Tehran, Mr. Abdelkrim Gharib, was the first diplomat to visit the American hostages.

Algeria also participated in the tripartite committee with Morocco and Saudi Arabia to settle the Lebanese crisis.

As for the stage of the national crisis between 1992 and 1999, Algerian diplomacy was based on a strategy of defending itself, especially within the framework of what is known as who kills whom, and the media and diplomatic blockade that Algeria was subjected to at that stage, where a set of factors affecting Algerian foreign policy during this period, namely:

- 1/ Cancellation of the electoral process.
- 2/ Bloody violence that cost 200,000 people.
- 3/ The assassination of the head of state.
- 4/ The question of human rights.[Ibid., p. 33.]

This has affected Algeria's external isolation, as Algerian foreign policy has turned into a key tool in managing the crisis externally.

In addition to economic factors such as dependence on hydrocarbons as a main source of income and reserves from the difficult campaign and dependence on profit distribution, which prompted borrowing from abroad and resorting to debt, especially with the International Monetary Fund within the framework of the 1994 Stanbay agreement,

which affected the independence of decision-making in Algerian foreign policy.

5- Algerian diplomacy since 1999

The stage after the arrival of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika to power, especially the period 1999 to 2006, where the President did Article 77 of the Algerian Constitution, which gives the President of the Republic the power to approve and direct the country's foreign policy, in addition to other institutions that contribute to the Algerian foreign policy-making process such as the Ministry of Defense and Foreign Affairs. [Wahiba Dala, op. cit., p. 85]

Levels of influence of external factors on Algerian foreign policy :

Before talking about Algerian diplomacy after 1999, it is necessary to address basic points, namely the levels of influence of external factors on Algerian foreign policy, namely :

- Regional level [Wahiba Dala, previous reference, p. 87]: The nature of the geographical location of Algeria made it a vital area subject to the influences of the external environment in its regional surroundings, and therefore it is looking for structuring the regional role in the region, especially the Maghreb, African and Arab space, in order to find channels of dialogue, cooperation and resolve crises peacefully.

On the Arab front, Algeria relied on an approach based on the system of regional blocs and work to revive them, as well as improve Arab relations such as Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco, and push the path of the Maghreb Union forward.

As for the African front, Algeria sought to revive its regional role through the organs of the African Union, contribute to the resolution of African conflicts such as the Eritrean-Ethiopian conflict, and contribute to the experience of NEPAD, in addition to Algeria's

participation in the Group of Eight as a representative of the African continent.

At the international level: Algeria sought to improve its relations with the United States of America at all levels through its participation in the Atlantic dialogue with NATO, visits to Washington and making the file of combating terrorism the link with the two countries, especially after the events of September 11, 2001, in addition to adopting a strategy of diversifying partners such as China and the European Union, without forgetting the French partner, which maintains its relationship with Algeria despite its often lukewarm experience.

Beginning in 1997, foreign activity began to move by focusing on media circles and some newspapers with a wide spread and political figures, but with the advent of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika in 1999, activity began towards intensifying external work, focusing on America and Europe, and Africa took the largest share and with the events of September 11, 2001, it was an opportunity for Abdelaziz Bouteflika's diplomacy towards returning to the world and the most important data on which Algerian diplomacy relied, namely:
[Mohamed Bouacha, op. cit., p. 39]

1/ Africa Algeria participated in the 35th Summit of the Organization of African Unity in its capacity as Chair.

2/ Extraordinary Summit of African Unity, Sirt, Libya, 1999.

3/ Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, October 1999.

4 / Rimini gathering in Italy August 2000.

5 / Africa-Europe Summit in Cairo April 2000.

6 / Sixth Summit in Africa and the Middle East, May 2000

7/ NEPAD initiative.

Through these meetings, Algeria tried to present its perceptions of African issues as follows:

The continent suffers from ethnic conflicts and disputes.

-The nature of the problems because they differ from the problems of the rest.

The fragility of the African economy.

President Bouteflika also travelled 31 times between 1999 and 2002 to defend African causes, highlighting the possible activities of Algerian diplomacy.

Focus on peace and development for Africa's advancement.

- Contribute to ending the war between Eritrea and Ethiopia
- Algeria's persistence and adherence to the principle of the right to self-determination of the people without compromising on it.

Algeria has chosen the Ethiopian-Eritrean dispute as a starting point to improve Algeria's image externally by employing his relations and diplomatic experience to resolve the contentious issue between Ethiopia and Eritrea, so President Abdelaziz Bouteflika appointed Ahmed Ouyahia as his special envoy to manage the Ethiopian-Eritrean file, where he was serving as Minister of Justice and did not assign the Minister of Foreign Affairs to this file and this during a whole year and after that the file was followed by Abdelkader Messahel, Minister Delegate to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in charge of Former African in addition to the Algerian mission in Ethiopia.

What can be noted is that the file remained confined to Justice Minister Ahmed Ouyahia within the framework of the close relationship with the President of the Republic and the rest to the negotiating delegation and even the one who implements the instructions. [Mohamed Bouacha, op. cit., p. 123]

On the other hand, President Abdelaziz Bouteflika was able to restore relations with Iran after cutting them off, and then fluctuated during the era of Presidents Ali Kafi and Yamin Zeroual, where he visited in October 2003 [Sid Ahmed Ould Salem, previous reference] and cooperation agreements were concluded, and even went until Iran was ready to provide Algeria with nuclear technology .

On the other hand, President Abdelaziz Bouteflika focused on the Mediterranean dimension and the strengthening of European cooperation, and here it is worth noting that President Abdelaziz Bouteflika had already agreed with "Romano Prodi", President of the European Commission during his visit to the headquarters of the presidency of the European Union in mid-October 2001 on the need to speed up the signing of the partnership agreement between the two sides and postpone the adjudication of files that have not been finally resolved, the most important of which is freedom of movement. People and cooperation in the field of security and information exchange [Cham Farouk, "The importance of the Arab-European partnership in improving the investment climate: a case study of Algeria", intervention delivered at the International Forum Arab Economic Integration as a Mechanism for Improving the Euro-Arab Partnership, University of Setif, on 8-9 May 2004, p. 6], and indeed the final agreement was reached on 22/04/2002 and entered into force on September 1, 2005, Algeria's goal of this partnership is to link the national economy with economies. President Bouteflika's awareness of Algeria's delay in taking its place in the Mediterranean space compared to Tunisia and Morocco on the one hand, and compared to the capabilities and capabilities possessed by Algeria on the other hand, so he was keen to speed up the conclusion of this agreement even if all matters are not resolved and the outstanding files are studied, and this highlights the importance of the Mediterranean dimension in Algerian foreign policy.

It is also noted that the post of Foreign Minister under President Abdelaziz Bouteflika was initially succeeded by three ministers, Ahmed Etaf, and the president found him when he took power and he

lasted in office for eight months (April - December 1999) without being assigned serious tasks - he remained on the sidelines until he was appointed ambassador to Britain in the winter of 2001 and the second Youssef Yousfi, former Minister of Mines, was the conduct of foreign affairs formally and then appointed ambassador of Algeria to Canada, and the third Abdelaziz Belkhadem, His role is also merely the manager of this institution.

He relied on Ahmed Ouyahia to supervise the Algerian mediation in the Horn of Africa in its difficult and dangerous stage, and he is the one who works as Minister of Justice, and this at a time when there is a minister in charge of foreign relations, Ahmed Etaf, the reason is due to the discomfort of some of the latter because of his mismanagement of foreign affairs, especially with Arab countries, which have been very denounced regarding - especially Libya - and the Gulf countries.

Algerian foreign policy strategies at this stage :

Foreign policy is based on a set of strategies and tools that were used at this stage, where this stage was strongly concentrated by President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, where he wanted to be a president with full powers, and also restored Algeria to its international status and thus the strategy of controlling the institution of the presidency in the process of building foreign policy.

Algeria also relied at this stage on what is known as shuttle diplomacy [shuttle diplomacy depends on the speed of movement and explaining the positions and circumstances of the other party, as well as on the possession of hidden and declared means of carrot or threat to help push in the direction of overcoming obstacles and reaching limited practical results (see Political Encyclopedia, vol. 2, Beirut: Arab Institute for Studies and Publishing, 1991, p. 672 [[Henry Kissinger is considered among those who engineered diplomacy, as he termed him diplomacy step by step he performed in particular in mediating in the Arab-Israeli conflict (see Mohamed Bouacha, previous reference, p.

147)) This principle adopted by Algeria, especially when it mediates a file within the framework of mediation and applies it when the crisis intensifies, as it applied it in the mediation between Iraq and the Shah of Iran in 1975, as well as in the release of hostages as well as in Mediation between Ethiopia and Eritrea, this diplomacy pushes the president to come to the conflict zone and devote a lot of effort and money in order to reach a solution to this dispute. [Mohamed Bouacha, op. cit., p. 148]

The principle of summit diplomacy:[ibid., p. 158]

It is among the methods adopted by Algeria in its foreign policy, especially during the African Summit held in Algeria 35, as well as in the Eritrean-Ethiopian crisis led by President Bouteflika and the President of the Organization of African Unity The concept of diplomacy is intended to move from the level of representatives of presidents and kings to assume these personally the task, especially during crises and major issues, a new and effective method of support after World War II was employed to control danger sites, especially if there is a desire and will when the owners The actual decision that negotiates themselves in such cases explains why President Bouteflika moved to the place to negotiate with the actual decision-makers in each of the two municipalities.

Second Theme: Principles of Algerian Foreign Policy

Algerian foreign policy is a natural extension of Algerian diplomacy during the liberation revolution, which laid the foundations and principles of the foreign policy of independent Algeria, which emphasized these principles and orientations through their confirmation in the constitutions and official declarations of the Algerian state and from this point of view we find that the study of the principles, foundations and orientations of Algerian foreign policy is a must to understand and analyze this policy in its regional and international environment by addressing the principles and determinants & Objectives .

1- Principles of Algerian foreign policy

Algeria has drawn its principles since the liberation revolution, whether through the November First Communiqué or the Somma Conference or post-independence constitutions within the framework of the sovereignty of national constants in foreign policy..

The Algerian revolution is one of the pillars on which the Algerian foreign policy was based as a major reference in building foundations and principles, as the Algerian revolution emphasized unity and national sovereignty and rejected oppression, foreign occupation and foreign intervention, in addition to fighting racial discrimination that Algeria suffered from throughout the colonial period [Ismail Dabash, previous reference, p. 124].

Before addressing the principles of Algerian foreign policy, it is necessary to address the transformations and conditions that crystallize these principles so that we can understand the environment in which these principles were developed and the extent to which these principles affected the stages of Algerian diplomatic activity in the stage of the liberation revolution and even after independence..

Circumstances and developments of the principles of Algerian foreign policy :

The principles of Algerian foreign policy came with the Algerian revolution through the statement of the first of November, then the Somma Conference, and crystallized definitively at the Tripoli Conference, where he identified the fight against colonialism and support for liberation movements as the most important principles of Algerian foreign policy, but was considered the guide to it, and these principles were emphasized with the annual conference of the National Liberation Front held in 1964, where he reaffirmed the principles adopted at the Tripoli Conference.. [Amina Mernache , "la diplomatie algérienne , la nostalgie d'une gloire perdue", revue dynamique internationales : université de paris est Créteil , n 07 , 2012 , p 2]

Before presenting the principles of Algerian foreign policy, we wanted to present pictures of Algeria's external activity after independence in different periods, where we find that diplomatic activity was associated with these principles with a difference in employing these principles according to the nature of governance and the nature of the international system..

Algeria considers the issue of supporting liberation movements a fundamental issue in Algerian foreign policy by virtue of the Algerian experience in independence from France, where it fought a war of liberation that cost it a lot, and for this reason Algeria sought to receive many liberation movements in Africa and support them financially, militarily and politically within the framework of African cooperation.. [Ammara Bekkouche;" la politique africaine de l'Algérie" , revue africaine des livres , V3 N 1 , March 2007 , p 2]

The seventies of the last century are also considered the most prosperous stages of Algerian diplomacy, especially in 1974, where Algeria chaired the United Nations General Assembly and the APEC Summit in the same year and the beginning of the introduction of a new approach in the global economy based on South-South and North-South cooperation according to a better investment of the capabilities and capabilities possessed by developing countries, where

the summit of the Non-Aligned Countries was opened by President Houari Boumediene entitled "Petroleum, Raw Materials and Development". Amina mernache , Op.cit. p 7]

As for the era of President Chadli Bendjedid, he benefited from the diplomatic work carried out by President Houari Boumediene with the change of Foreign Minister, who was then Abdelaziz Bouteflika, with Mohamed Siddiq Ben Yahia, where Algeria somewhat changed its strategy by relying on pragmatism instead of ideology, despite the retention of the principles of socialism in the constitution and order, despite the death of Foreign Minister Mohamed Siddiq Ben Yahya on May 03, 1982, but the Algerian diplomatic activity remained conservative Algeria contributed to the liberation of the American hostages in Tehran in September 1983 and the first visit of President Chadli Bendjedid to the United States in April 1985 . Ibid. p 11]

However, the Algerian foreign policy, with the return of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, tried to lead the foreign file himself, where he took the first step, which is Algeria's hosting of the summit of the Organization of African Unity in mid-July 1999, then entering into a dialogue with NATO within a new security approach, then the partnership with the European Union, the engineering of the peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea on December 12, 2000, and a state visit to France in June 2000 and to the United States. American 2001.[. Amina mernache , Op.cit .p 13]

All these confirm the transformation in Algerian foreign policy, which has become different according to a purely pragmatic logic, in addition to preserving the basic principles of Algerian diplomacy, and can be limited to the premises and dimensions of foreign policy, which was characterized by continuity and stability, which was derived from the constants and objectives embodied by the National Liberation Front during the liberation revolution, which are as follows: [Ismail Dabash, op. cit., p. 131]

The Algerian revolution did not aim to achieve human values, apply laws, respect human rights on a nation and people, and restore the sovereignty of the State of Algeria only, but also at the same time had international dimensions for coordination and joint action to achieve these goals in Algeria and in other regions of the world, especially the colonized world, as included in the November first statement.

The greatest objective of the Algerian revolution is to defend a fundamental right in international law, the right of colonized peoples to self-determination.

- Supporting international peace and security through the Maghreb and Mediterranean region.

The Algerian revolution provided a model for the colonized peoples in the use of what is known as the popular revolution, which was considered an example to confront colonialism in Asia and Africa, and the best example of this is what the fighter and former President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, went in 1962 to Algeria near the Moroccan border for training, and after his release from prison in 1990, his first destination outside South Africa was Algeria, in recognition of the liberation and human dimension of the Algerian revolution.

The Algerian revolution had a direct impact on the issuance of Resolution 1514 in December 1960, which included the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the unconditional end to colonialism in all its forms.

After addressing the circumstances and stages of Algerian diplomatic activity and the role of the Algerian revolution in drawing and formulating Algerian foreign policy, we find that defining the principles of Algerian foreign policy was developed with the announcement of the first statement of November and the Algerian interim government dealt according to these principles in its diplomacy to achieve the goals of the liberation revolution, but these principles were formed more clearly after independence, and we can

summarize the most important stages that drew the features and principles of Algerian foreign policy.

Principles of Algerian foreign policy according to the Tripoli Declaration 1962 :

The Tripoli meeting of May 27 to June 4, 1962 was the beginning of the embodiment of the principles of Algerian foreign policy in the post-independence phase and complemented the Algerian revolutionary diplomatic activity, and we can define these principles as they came in the Tripoli meeting as follows: [Ardavan Amir aslani ; l' âge d'or de la diplomatie algérienne , Constantine : media plus ; 2015 ; p 15]

First: The struggle against colonialism and imperialism: This principle came as a result of what Algeria experienced from the long French colonialism and the participation of liberal Western countries alongside France in its fight against the Algerian revolution in addition to the participation of the Atlantic Alliance, and this is what made Algeria put its first principles in its foreign policy is to fight colonialism and Western imperialism, and for this reason Algeria considered in its statement that it seeks to achieve independence and not to bloc to any party until getting rid of imperialism.

Second: Supporting movements that seek unity and cooperation: As a result of the expansion of the independence movement and liberation movements that produced a trend towards cooperation against imperialism, and here the Algerian foreign policy was determined to define the geographical circles, which are the Maghreb circle, then the Arab and African circles, where the statement considered that these circles are the most important in order to achieve the unity of peoples.

Third: Supporting liberation movements [Ibid; p 16] According to this meeting, Algeria is working to support liberation movements after gaining independence, especially the colonies that are still struggling in Africa, such as Angola, South Africa and many East African countries.

Fourth: Supporting international cooperation: The meeting stated that international cooperation between the peoples and countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America must be strengthened in all fields and fields for the sake of the values of democracy, justice and freedom.

Fifth: Make the Liberation Army the National People's Army that protects and defends the nation.

Through the above, we find that these principles did not differ from the principles brought by the Algerian interim government during the liberation revolution, but rather complemented them within the framework of strengthening the Algerian vision of international and regional issues according to national constants determined in the constitutions and becoming a policy directed to the Algerian external role.

Objectives and principles of Algerian foreign policy according to the 1963 Constitution :

We can summarize the most important objectives that the Algerian foreign policy seeks to achieve in its regional and international environment as stated in the 1963 Constitution according to Article 10 as follows:

1- Preserving the independence of the state, its sovereignty and national security, and this is what made the link between the approaches and strategies that make up the national policy to ensure the continuity of the state fall within the concept of national defense, the existing role of the military institution and [the Algerian Constitution of 1989, taken from the site of the Constitutional Council, previous reference] This can only be through the protection of borders and the country from any external danger, and this work is not only according to the military institution, but falls under the objectives Patriotism as a whole, including foreign policy.

2- Increasing the power of the state: This goal is linked to the first goal, but it is the administration and the means to preserve the

sovereignty and security of the state and the presence of Algeria as a regional power, which means the presence of Algeria as a major power that plays the role of a locomotive that leads the rest of the Maghreb countries [ibid.] to unity and cooperation, thus increasing Algeria's position in its Maghreb dimension first, and Arab and African dimension second.

These principles came in accordance with the overall objectives and the launch of foreign policy in activity now some internal and external circumstances affected this external activity, including internal conflicts in power and the Moroccan aggression on Algeria in addition to the military coup led by the Minister of Defense at that stage, Houari Boumediene and the disruption of the constitution, and therefore these principles existed but the environment of their interaction was complex.

Principles of Algerian foreign policy according to the 1976 Constitution :

The Constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria enshrines the principles of Algerian foreign policy according to the following articles of the 1976 Constitution. [www.conseil-constitutionnel.dz/consultation76 Algerian Constitution Constitutional Council signed on 17/03/2017 at 12.00]

Article 86: The Republic of Algeria adopts the principles and objectives that include the charters of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the Arab League. Through this article, we find that foreign policy is based in its principles in accordance with the international principles of international organizations by virtue of the fact that Algeria's accession to it automatically constitutes Algeria's approval of the principles of these organizations and is in line with them, which are often aimed at international peace and security. The United Nations, as well as the Arab and African dimensions, is represented by the importance of Algeria's geostrategic position.

Article 87: "The unity of the Arab peoples shall be included in the unity of the destiny of these peoples. [Algerian Constitution from the Constitutional Council website, previous reference]

Whenever the conditions are created for the establishment of unity based on the liberation of the popular masses, Algeria is committed to adopting formulas for unity, union or integration that are capable of fully meeting the legitimate and deep aspirations of the Arab peoples.

We note through this article that Algeria places in its goals Arab unity as a strategic choice, and this goal was the subject of the statements issued during the colonial period, especially the Maghreb region, which is considered one people that must be achieved in any possible way as long as it serves the Arab interest as a whole..

Article 88: "The achievement of the objectives of the Organization of African Unity and the promotion of unity among the peoples of the continent constitute a historic demand and are a permanent line in the policy of the Algerian revolution. [Algerian Constitution, Constitutional Council, previous reference]

This is evidence of the orientations of Algerian foreign policy towards Africa as a vital depth and historical link in the framework of the fight against colonialism, and for this reason Algeria has placed African unity and cooperation as a primary goal in Algerian foreign policy .

Article 89: "The Republic of Algeria refrains, in accordance with the charters of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States, from resorting to war in order to infringe upon the legitimate sovereignty and freedom of other peoples."

Through this article, Algeria has laid one of the most important foundations of Algerian foreign policy, which is the non-use of force against others or interference in the internal affairs of states, in addition to seeking to resolve international disputes peacefully as a basic principle in Algerian foreign policy.

Article 90: "In fulfillment of the principles and objectives of non-alignment, Algeria shall strive for peace, peaceful coexistence and non-interference in the internal affairs of States." [Algerian Constitution, op. cit.]

In confirmation of the above, Algeria is working to achieve peace and push for it in various fields, and this is what Algeria has sought since its independence until today.

Therefore, adherence to this principle imposes mutual respect for the political, economic and social systems of the neighboring regions, which establishes good neighbourly relations between States, of which Algeria is one of them, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

Article 91 "No part of the national territory shall ever be ceded [ibid.]

According to this article, Algeria has settled the issue of Moroccan ambitions aimed at seizing parts of Algerian territory, especially the western side, and therefore Algerian foreign policy works to close any maneuver and puts the unitary dimension of Algerian territory as a foreign policy goal that must be preserved and defended.

Article 92: "The struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination is a fundamental focus of the revolution." [Ibid.]

Algeria affirms in its endeavor that the goals of the liberation revolution are the guiding line in its foreign policy, especially during the sixties and seventies of the last century, where the ideological conflict existed and in its zenith, and therefore foreign policy set its principles in accordance with these goals set since the liberation revolution and which it worked to achieve in that period. [Moncef Bekay, *Algeria's Role in the Liberation of Africa and the Elements of its African Diplomacy*, Algeria: Dar El Ummah, 2017, p. 37]

Supporting peoples in self-determination is an important element according to the Algerian vision of good neighborly relations in accordance with the charters of international and regional organizations, and this principle derives from Algeria's long struggle against colonialism of all kinds.

Article 88 of the Constitution of 1976 states that "achieving the objectives of the Organization of African Unity and promoting the peoples of the continent is tantamount to continuing the policy of the Algerian revolution" [ibid., p. 37], and on this basis the Algerian legislator did not neglect some of the basic principles of the African policy of Algeria.

Algeria's solidarity with all peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America in their struggle for political and economic liberation for their right to self-determination and independence is an essential dimension of national politics.

Here, another principle of Algerian foreign policy is to support peoples in self-determination and also support them in liberation and armed struggle against colonialism, which is an extension of the principles of the liberation revolution and continues to this day through unconditional support for the Palestinian cause as well as the Sahrawi cause.

Article 93: "Support for international cooperation and the development of friendly relations among States on the basis of equality, mutual interest and non-interference in internal affairs are fundamental principles of national policy ."

This article identified one of the most important principles of Algerian foreign policy, namely non-interference and support for international cooperation, i.e. strengthening cooperation between Algeria and various countries of the world in fair principles and maintaining diplomatic borders with regard to the internal side of countries, and this is the fixed course of Algerian foreign policy, which has not changed to this day, and we find this principle not stipulated in any

article in the 1963 Constitution, but it was present in the official speeches of the Algerian state. [Morsi Bashir, Algerian Sovereign Security and the Approach to Safe Borders, Amman: Dar Al-Hamid for Publishing and Distribution, 2018, p. 351]

Principles of Algerian foreign policy according to the 1989 Constitution :

The 1989 Constitution is the first constitution in the stage of political pluralism, which came as a result of the transformations that Algeria experienced after the events of October 5, 1988, this constitution came with many amendments and at the level of foreign policy and its principles, we find the following :

Article 25: Algeria shall refrain from resorting to war in order to infringe upon the legitimate sovereignty and freedom of other peoples and shall make every effort to settle international disputes by peaceful means" [Constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria of 1989, taken from the position of the <http://www.el-mouradia.dz/arabe/symbole/textes/constitution89.htm> presidency].

This article maintained the principle of resolving international disputes in a peaceful manner and considered war an illegitimate principle and an unacceptable act to solve international problems, and thus Algeria maintained its principles as it was in previous constitutions..

Article 26: Algeria stands in solidarity with all peoples struggling for political and economic liberation, the right to self-determination and against all racial discrimination.

Algeria affirmed in the 1989 constitution the principle of Algeria's solidarity and support for all forms of struggle, but the change that occurred here is that it focused on the economic dimension, which did not exist before, and this is what was translated before in the Algerian orientations towards building international economic cooperation according to a cooperative perspective away

from exploiting the capabilities of peoples from the ways of major powers, as Algeria maintained its support for the principle of self-determination and racial discrimination as one of the sovereign constants in foreign policy. Algerian.

Article 27: "Algeria shall endeavour to promote international cooperation and the development of friendly relations among States, on the basis of equality, mutual interest, non-interference in internal affairs, and shall adopt the principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations." [Constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria in 1989, previous reference]

This article also maintains the traditional constants of Algerian foreign policy, which are the compatibility of the principles of Algerian foreign policy with the Charter of the United Nations, the achievement of the objectives of international cooperation and the positive development of international relations, and on the other hand, maintaining and emphasizing the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states..

Article 74, third paragraph, that the president decides and directs foreign policy" [Algerian Constitution 1989, Constitutional Council website 17/02/2017 at 14.30] It also specified how ambassadors and envoys should be appointed, how to terminate their duties and dismiss treaties and agreements, and this is the same in all constitutions that came where the president is the rapporteur of Algerian foreign policy.

Principles of Algerian foreign policy according to the 1996 Constitution :

According to this constitution, the articles that existed in the previous constitution, namely Article 25, 26 and 27, remained fixed and did not change in the 1996 Constitution [The Constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria of 1996, taken from the position of the Presidency of the Republic <http://www.el-mouradia.dz/arabe/symbole/textes/constitution96.htm>] in terms of content, but what changed is the order in the articles, where Article 25

in the 1989 Constitution became Article 26 in terms of arrangement, but the same content is the same for Article 26 became 27 in the Constitution 1996 and Article 27 of the 1989 Constitution became Article 28 in the 1996 Constitution, i.e. it maintained the same content with a change in the number of articles only.

Article 77 also maintained its contents related to the functions of the President of the Republic, including that the President of the Republic is the guide for foreign policy, but the numbering of the article changed from what it was in the 1989 Constitution, where it was No. 74 and became 77 in the 1996 Constitution.

This indicates the stability of the principles of Algerian foreign policy, which it considers a distinct gain for Algerian foreign policy from other countries .

Principles of Algerian foreign policy according to the amendments to the 2016 Constitution :

The amendments to the 2016 Constitution came in the context of political and social transformations in Algeria as well as international and regional transformations, where some articles were amended and new articles were added, and among the additions that were approved in the amendments to the 2016 Constitution we find Article 27 (new article) "The State shall work to protect the rights and interests of citizens abroad, while respecting international law, agreements concluded with host countries, national legislation and legislation of countries of residence.

The State shall ensure the preservation of the identity of citizens residing abroad, the strengthening of their ties with the nation, and the mobilization of their contribution to the development of their country of origin."[Amendments to the 2016 Constitution According to the Official Gazette of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, Law No. 16-01 of March 06, 2016 Official Gazette No. 14 of March 7, 2016 taken from the website of the Official Gazette <https://www.joradp.dz/har/consti.htm>]

This new article added another dimension to Algerian foreign policy, which is respect for the principles of international law and the need to protect Algerian citizens abroad and link it to Algeria, and this is specific to the Algerian community abroad, and here a new shift in Algerian foreign policy that was not clear in previous constitutions was clearly added in the amendments to the 2016 constitution.

As for the articles that define the principles of foreign policy, they remained fixed in terms of content with the change in the numbering of articles, as they were in the 1996 Constitution No. 26, 27 and 28 respectively, and in the amendments to the 2016 Constitution, the articles bear the following numbering, respectively, also 29, 30, 31, and this is an indication of the continuity of the stability of the principles of Algerian foreign policy.

Article 77 of the 1996 Constitution was amended twice, as it was amended in the amendments of November 15, 2008 and the amendments of March 6, 2016, and the article number became 91, third paragraph, which states: "Decides and directs the foreign policy of the nation" [ibid.]. Algeria has undergone partial amendments to its constitution after 1996, respectively the amendment of April 10, 2002, the amendment of November 15, 2008 and the amendment of March 6, 2016, source Official Gazette of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria <https://www.joradp.dz/har/consti.htm>] That is, this article amended some of its paragraphs, but the third paragraph on the role of the President of the Republic was not changed .

Through the above, we find that the principles of Algerian foreign policy have remained constant since independence and to the present day, both in terms of legal texts governing the principles of Algerian foreign policy and in terms of practice in which Algeria relies on its principles in its dealings through its support for customary global issues, liberation movements, the fight against racial discrimination and the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

Third Theme: Determinants of Algerian Foreign Policy

Each country has determinants in its foreign policy and this policy cannot be effective without developing and drawing these determinants that allow it to draw action strategies and plans to implement its foreign policy and Algeria is no exception and we can determine the determinants of Algerian foreign policy as follows :

A- Political Determinants :

The political determinants are based on several elements, the most important of which is the political culture of Algerian society, as it represents the subjective and social dimension of the political process [Dalaa Wahiba, previous reference, p. 118] available to the political leader, as the political culture affects the general orientation of foreign policy.

The prevailing political culture in society is also a pattern of political beliefs that include the perception of individuals in external dealings, and this pattern derives its roots from historical traditions and religious heritage, and the issue of interference in internal affairs by Algeria can be linked to something negative by virtue of the heritage inherited by the Algerian people through their colonial experience. [Miloud Ben Gharbi, Algeria's position on the Western Sahara conflict in the context of regional variables and national challenges, Algeria: Treasures of Wisdom Foundation, 2011, p. 100]

The political process that takes place within the political system is among the political determinants that affect the foreign policy of any country because the political system when it enjoys a great deal of freedom, openness and democracy, it contributes to building integrated contexts and great options in the process of making foreign policy. Decision and effectiveness.

On the other hand, the political system based on democratic foundations such as elections and the absence of political violence or political and military coups, this system enjoys the ability of the international community, which enables it to interact in a sound environment and has credibility, trust and acceptance of other parties.

Therefore, most researchers and specialists focus on the political determinant as a basic criterion in building the foreign policy of any country because it formulates issues and issues resulting from crises and problems, as well as the nature of this system itself and its specificity, which works either to find solutions in a deliberate or irrational manner. [James Doherty, Robert Baltzgeraf, *Conflicting Theories in International Relations*, (tr: Walid Abdel Hay), Beirut: University Institute for Studies and Publishing, 1985, p. 110]

The political system in Algeria has known a number of transformations at the level of structure and stability, especially with the security crisis experienced by Algeria during the nineties and the external restrictions that took place on Algeria, which put it in the framework of the defender of its positions always.

But we find here that the political culture acquired by Algerian society despite the conflicting situation, but it remained one hand and did not allow external parties to interfere in internal affairs even by foreigners, and this is what gave solidity to the Algerian external position in front of external pressures, and this is what distinguished Algerian society in all its components, unlike what we noticed in other societies.

Besides, political parties in Algeria do not have a significant influence, regardless of the experience that Algeria experienced in the nineties and the political openness with the amendment of the 1989 Constitution, but this experience made the actors and interacting with political parties within the political system do not go far in the process of influencing Algerian foreign policymaking to complicate the foreign policy-making process in the Algerian political system, but their positive position on the issue of non-interference in internal

affairs and Basic issues such as the Sahrawi issue and national unity are considered a red line for parties, whether opposition or loyal, and this strengthens the role of the Algerian external decision-maker.

B- Economic Determinants:

The most important economic determinants in foreign policy, as they play an important role in linking countries with their regional and international surroundings, as the economy is the most important vital factor governing international relations at the present time, and therefore it mainly determines the dynamics of foreign policy and its directions towards the international community.

The economic determinants of any country are based on the human element or human resources, which are the most important by virtue of the fact that the human being is the real capital of any country and its strength, and the second part is represented in natural resources, whether raw materials or various economic resources that enable the development of a sustainable development process within the state and make it an actual force internally and externally, and this contributes to the formulation of public policies and foreign policy of any country directly because it makes it either influential in The international environment by virtue of the strength of its economy and makes it affected and dependent on economic interactions that are in the hands of the most powerful countries.

Algeria is based in the economic part on the energy economy, or in other words, the Algerian economy is a rentier economy, but the Algerian economy relied during the rule of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika on openness to the world politically and economically by relying on the diversity of partners so that he tried to get out of traditional partners such as France to other countries, especially Spain, the United States of America, China and Turkey, and the issue of concluding the Association Agreement with the European Union played a fundamental issue in drawing policy determinants Algerian Foreign Ministry by adapting to these agreements.

We find that the economic determinant is important in Algerian foreign policy, what we observe on the other hand is the issue of Algeria's accession to the World Trade Organization, where the economic part and the preservation of national interests played great importance in joining this economic organization..

The energy dimension in Algerian foreign policy :

Algeria depends on energy in its economy, where oil represents 35 percent of GDP and 97 percent of Algerian exports, and therefore all social and economic policies depend on it to finance it, in addition to being the main source of hard currency, [Wahiba Dala, previous reference, p. 119] Therefore, Algeria is working in drawing up its energy policies to ensure price stability in global markets. Where Algeria moves in OPEC to ensure price stability by activating diplomacy And bring the views closer with the parties and even with non-OPEC producing countries such as Russia.

It also makes it exposed to the effects of oil price fluctuations, such as the occurrence of economic crises, as happened in the global economic crisis in 1986, which led to a rise in Algeria's external debt rates to 26 billion dollars, and vice versa, where when global prices rose after 1999, it led to the recovery of the national economy and the organization of strong economic programs such as the construction of housing, highways and others, which made Algeria a station of international attention to benefit from these huge projects. [Ibid., p. 120]

We can also present economic indicators about Algeria, where Algeria is linked in its economic dealings with the European Union more than its neighboring countries, according to the National Bureau of Statistics, where Africa occupies less than 1 percent compared to the European Union, which accounts for 47 percent of economic transactions with Algeria, and this affects Algerian relations with its partners, and we can see this through the following chart on trade exchanges between Algeria and the countries of the world :

The relative circle of the professor's preparation and the figures are sourced from the National Office of Statistics, Algeria in numbers, bulletin 2016, Algeria: Directorate of Publications and Printing, 2016, p. 60

Thus, through these indicators, we find that the external decision-maker is aware of the volume of economic exchanges associated with Algeria with its counterparts, especially on the northern shore of the Mediterranean, despite China's control over the largest share of economic transactions, as it is considered the first financier of Algeria according to statistics from 2015 to 2018, where China accounted for 17.4 percent of Algerian imports, then France by 15.9 percent, in contrast, we find Spain representing Algeria's first customer by 17.2 percent. [National Office of Statistics, Algeria in Figures, Bulletin 2016, Algeria: Directorate of Publications and Printing, 2016, p. 62]

As for economic activity, we find it distributed as follows according to the following table according to the statistics of 2015 issued by the National Bureau of Statistics :

Nature of activity	Management	tillage	Services	National
Education Industry	Health	crafts		
Percentage	58.9 %	1.6 %	12.5 %	16.5 %
4.9 %	0.7 %			0.9 %

According to these indicators, the national economy is linked to non-productive sectors represented mainly by the administrative sector, which employs more than half of the labor force in addition to national education, while crafts, industry and agriculture do not attract more than 2 percent, which gives indications to the decision-maker of the need for economic balance, as well as facing the repercussions of this situation with unemployment rates and the increasing dilemma of illegal immigration. .

Despite the economic situation of external debt, which in 2015 amounted to about 3 billion dollars [National Office of Statistics, op. cit., p. 69] and the decline in oil prices since 2014, we find that the austerity policy has led to a decline in many programs that mainly affected the growth rate, the submission of international reports and the reassessment of relations between Algeria and its partners, especially the European Union..

We also find that the general economic situation of Algeria is linked to the price of oil in the world markets, with the decline in the price of oil in recent years, this affected the national economy, which also affected the general policies of the country, including foreign policy, which entered into international trips in order to coordinate between oil-producing countries inside and outside OPEC through the organization of the Algiers summit, which brought together the producing countries and come up with a preliminary agreement, which is to reduce production, especially in light of The conflict between Iran and Saudi Arabia, which Algeria intervened to mediate and resolve this dispute to preserve national interests, and therefore we find that the economic determinant is of great importance in Algerian foreign policy .

C- Geographical and human determinants :

There are three types of borders for countries in a geopolitical reading of the importance of any location for countries, there are regional borders that enter between the sovereign areas of each state and geopolitical borders, which extend beyond the borders and are security borders as what happens in the countries of geographical contact affects the internal conditions, which prompts countries to intervene directly to secure the external borders and the third type is the borders or borders that represent areas of influence and the extension of geographical influence [Abdelkader Abdelali, Algerian foreign policy towards neighboring countries between the requirements of the regional role and security challenges, Algerian Journal of Security Studies, University of Batna, issue 7 July 2017, p. 13], Algeria is

considered a pivotal country in the region and its geopolitical borders are not fixed, but change and expand according to its strength and the surrounding conditions, where we find that the strategic borders beyond the Mediterranean Sea in the north and to the African coast in the south. This is from On the other hand, we find that Algeria's neighboring countries do not know political and security stability, which makes Algeria's political borders in crisis, such as Western Sahara, Libya and Mali.

Algeria has a vital and strategic location, located in the middle of North Africa, the middle of the Maghreb countries, opposite the northern shore of the Mediterranean, and it has a strategic depth deep in the Sahara Desert, where its borders extend with Mali and Niger, in addition to Mauritania and Western Sahara. This is in addition to a long border strip with Libya, and therefore its location allows it to have a significant impact on its foreign policy. .

Algeria also ranks first in Africa in terms of area with an area of 2,381,741 square kilometers. [The area of Algeria, taken from the position of the Presidency of the Republic www.elmouradia.dz on 18/02/2017 at 11.00] This area is a positive thing for the strength of Algeria as it is considered a costly factor for the costs of security and development, security costs Algeria a huge budget exceeding \$ 10 billion to protect the country's borders from security threats that come from the African Sahel countries and Libya in particular, and this area and borders put great challenges in front of Algeria in drawing up foreign policy, especially with neighboring countries, which requires it to have clear and specific goals and maneuverability. And interference and self-imposition.

In terms of topography of the topography of Algeria, we find in the north, along the Mediterranean coast, the plains stretch the Algerian hill with varying width (from 80 to 190 km) containing most of the agricultural land.

Next comes a mountain belt that contains several mountain ranges (the Atlas Tali, the Saharan Atlas and the Aures Highlands), which in turn surrounds a vast high area known as the High Plateaus containing semi-arid lands and salt lakes (Shattout) that collect surface water (lowest point: Chott Mlagigh, -40 meters), not in human terms. The population reached 34.1 million people in June 2007, most of whom are concentrated in the north of the country along the coasts, and the demographic growth rate was one of the highest Globally, it decreased significantly to 1.78% in 2006. There has been a significant decline in the average age of marriage (29 years for females and 33 years for males), with a significant decrease in the fertility rate, i.e. 2.4 in 2005, and the average longevity of life is 75 years.[Demographics of Algeria from the position of the Presidency of the Republic <http://www.el-mouradia.dz/arabe/algerie/Economie/algeriear.htm>]

We can also provide a reading of the distribution of the population with the geographical regions in Algeria through the following chart according to the statistics of 2004.

Where do we find that the largest part of Algeria's area is a desert, i.e. what represents 80 percent and contains a smaller population that does not exceed 10 percent compared to the coastal strip in which more than half of Algeria's population is concentrated, and this indicates the geographical and human effects as a basic determinant in Algerian foreign policymaking if we take into account this human and geographical distribution in it.

According to the National Office of Statistics, the population in 2016 reached 39,963,000 people, or approximately 40 million people, and on 01/01/2018, the population in Algeria reached 42.2 million people, according to the statistics of the National Office of Statistics [Demography of Algeria, National Office of Statistics, Algeria: Directorate of Publications and Printing, 2018, p. 2], where the youth segment occupies the largest percentage from the year 10 years to 29 years with about 14 million people, and this represents strength and motivation For the economy and the country as a whole, and the

number of students in various educational phases according to the National Bureau of Statistics, we find that the stage of primary and intermediate education amounted to 6,695,939 students, in secondary education amounted to 1,378,860 students and in university education 1.315,704 students [National Bureau of Statistics, previous reference, p. 28] University where strong indicators show the quality of the qualitative community in terms of education and rehabilitation, but the problem of optimal exploitation of these capabilities and potentials remains as a strong motivation for the decision-maker External and internal.

In terms of demographics, Algeria has a mixture of different elements, where the Amazigh and the population of Algeria, where this ethnic group constitutes the largest percentage of the population, reaching 99% of the total population, and the Arab and Berber origins of the population are mixed, which makes it difficult to differentiate between the two groups, but 15% of the population identifies itself as indigenous Berbers, not of Arab origin[Ethnic Groups In Algeria, <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/ethnic-groups-in-algeria.html>] Where they are concentrated in the Kabylie and Aures region, called Kabylie, they are distributed in the region of the Great, Minor and Chaouia tribes in the Aures and the high plateaus, while the Arabs have the largest composition is the sons of Nile, stationed in central Algeria.

The Turks constitute a minority in Algeria, and their number is approximately two million people of the total population, and the origin of the Turks in the region dates back to the Ottoman Empire, which was established in the region in the sixteenth century AD, and these also do not differentiate between them with the components of Algerian society, but they are an element of it that has been melted for centuries, but what distinguishes them are their nicknames, which still have a Turkish character.

In addition to other elements of European descent, less than 1 percent represent those who remain after independence, mostly French,

Spaniards, Italians or those who have lived here at other stages of the current period.

In addition to the Tuareg in southern Algeria, they have a peculiarity in Algerian society, they speak Amazigh and are known as the Blue Man, they enter among the Amazigh, the main component of Algerian society, and they are Sunni Muslims who own the doctrine, as they number about 250 thousand people in the wilayas of Tamanrasset, Illizi and Adrar[Tuareg, Al Jazeera Net, <http://www.aljazeera.net/specialfiles/page>] Therefore, we find this variable and the human component plays an important role in influencing the decision-maker in the issue of consolidating peace in the African Sahel region because of its repercussions on the internal situation in Algeria.

On the other hand, these borders, especially the sea, are considered a port for clandestine immigration, which is considered a threat and an obstacle to the stability and security of Algeria, Algeria must face these challenges and put them in front of the need to draw clear and specific strategies in its international and regional environment..

D- Security and external determinant :

After the events of September 11, 2001, the security determinant in the foreign policies of the countries of the world has become a matter in which it is included, but it is directed to them in the first place, there is no country that does not take into account the security threats that it faces or may face but has drawn strategies to confront them in its foreign and defense policy in light of the increasing security threats in the world..

Where do we find, for example, France developed what is known as the White Paper during the era of President Francois Hollande, which was to draw strategies for dealing with France in the face of potential security threats to France and how to confront them through foreign policy and also defense, and the same thing for the

United States of America, which develops security strategies that it works to achieve in the world, especially its foreign policy..

Security has an impact on Algerian foreign policy on several levels :

·Regional level [Wahiba Dala, previous reference, p. 126]: The security concern was a key factor in Algeria's entry into and signing of various initiatives, especially those directed to combating terrorism, whether related to African, Arab or international organizations, especially since Algeria has been greatly affected by terrorism, including the Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism, which entered into force in May 1999.

African level: [Ibid., p. 128] The African continent recorded between 1990 to 2002 more than 296 terrorist operations and this crisis situation was reflected on Algeria, especially the African Sahel region, this space, which is a vital space for Algeria, and Algeria was subjected to many attacks from this region, such as the incident of Techntourine in Ain Amenas, and here Algeria entered into continuous coordination with international organizations and neighboring countries.

And Algeria, by virtue of the security crisis it went through, security has become an important determinant in the formulation of its public and foreign policy by virtue of the security threats faced by Algeria in its international and regional environment, whether the Mediterranean space, where it has known transformations with the threats in the Mediterranean region, such as clandestine immigration and organized crime, where Algeria has tended to regional cooperation with the 5 + 5 group to control security in the Mediterranean, and this is included in its foreign policy, where the security file occupies the largest share in its discussions and Its international and regional political meetings.

On the other hand, the threats coming from the eastern borders, especially after the Libyan crisis, made Algeria put in its foreign agenda the issue of protecting its security, and this prompted it to find

solutions to this crisis, and the same thing with the crisis in Mali, which resulted in complicated diplomatic relations with France following its military intervention in Mali .

In this context, we find that the security determinant in foreign policy is of great importance in drawing any foreign policy of any country, and Algeria has paid great attention to this aspect in its foreign policy by virtue of location, threats and the international environment..

In addition to the mutual fear between Algeria and Morocco, this variable affected the inter-relations and also affected the determinants of the external decisions of the decision-maker [Miloud Ben Gharbi, previous reference, p. 102] so that it knows the rise and fall of convergence sometimes and other times a decrease in the level of diplomatic interaction .

The issue of Western Sahara in its external context is an influential factor in Algerian foreign policy because it represents a vital depth of security for Algeria from its western side in light of Moroccan threats and ambitions..

D- Personal Determinant :

The personal determinant plays an important role in building the foreign policy of any country, and on the other hand, the Algerian foreign policy since independence to the present day, we find that the personal factor played a decisive role in its formulation and industry. Where do we find that the personality of President Houari Boumediene had an impact on shaping the contours of Algerian foreign policy with the Minister of Foreign Affairs at that stage, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, through the presence of an impact on the process of influencing personal and environmental belief on the decision-maker, especially The presidents of Algeria lived through the colonial phase and were mujahideen and militants in the stage of the liberation revolution, and this is what made the revolutionary

dimension in Algerian foreign policy clear in the framework of supporting liberation movements and supporting vulnerable peoples..

The Algerian personality has a role in the Algerian foreign policymaking since independence to the present day, although some scholars do not agree on the role of President Chadli Bendjedid and President Ali Kafi, but the Algerian personality enjoys a fundamental and major role in making Algerian foreign policy..

We find that the revolutionary factor and the suffering suffered by the Algerian people and participation in the revolutionary movement have a key role in making the Algerian personality and this is embodied in the laws so that among the conditions for candidacy for the post of President of the Republic we find the need for the candidate's participation in the Algerian revolution and not to practice any hostile action against the liberation revolution [Constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria of 1996, previous reference.] This is an important indicator of the characteristics of the Algerian leadership personality..

We can note the importance of the personality as a determinant in Algerian foreign policy through the role of Algerian presidents from the late President Ahmed Ben Bella to President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, President Ahmed Ben Bella had a distinct personality internally and externally and this was reflected in the image of Algeria externally despite the lack of a clear ideological orientation The impact of this on Algeria's foreign orientations between the eastern and western camps, and the same for President Houari Boumediene, who was He is considered a symbol in the countries of the Third World and enjoys great international respect, and it can also be cited as his famous saying, "We want to build a state that does not disappear with the demise of men", which is meant here to build stable and continuous institutions .

We can also cite the personal dimension as a determinant in Algerian foreign policy with President Houari Boumediene, who refused to

visit France and considered it a personal position, as well as his position with the American ambassador to Algeria when the ambassador expressed his position after Algeria provided warplanes to Egypt in the 1967 war, saying, "America does not look with satisfaction with your decision." Small obedience has ended" [Rabeh Adalah, Houari Boumediene, a man of struggle and attitudes, Algeria: Dar Al-Mojtahid, 2013, p. 65].

A similar position to this position was renewed with President Chadli Bendjedid with the beginning of the Gulf crisis, or what is known as the Second Gulf War, which came after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, as mentioned by Major Lakhdar Boureggaa in his memoirs, where he said, "With Algeria's refusal to support the decision of the Arab League to form an Arab force led by a West, Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid responded to the American ambassador in Cairo that he would not send any soldiers to Saudi Arabia, and the American ambassador responded that the American president He understands Algeria's conservative position "[This is what Chadli Bendjedid told the US ambassador in Cairo about the invasion of Iraq, taken from Al-Shorouk website www.echouroukonline.com on 11/04/2018], and therefore we find that President Chadli Bendjedid imposed the Algerian personality in decisive and sensitive positions despite the accusations against President Chadli Bendjedid that he is weak personality, but the reality in such sites showed the role of the personal determinant in Algerian foreign policymaking.

This indicates the personal characteristics enjoyed by the presidents of Algeria in general because they are affected by the social environment and the revolutionary dimension in their formation and their conviction in the fight against colonialism and non-submission .

We can summarize the personality traits of the presidents of Algeria according to the following table (at the disposal of the professor): [Bouزيد Aicha, The Engineering of Algerian Foreign Policy in the Light of the Sovereign Constants The Western Sahara

Issue as a Model, PhD Thesis in Political Science (Higher School of Political Science, Algeria), 2017, p. 80]

president Presidential term Personality traits

Ahmed Ben Bella 1962-1965 -Ideological blur

-Authoritarianism

-Accommodation and adventurous spirit

-Ethics

Hawari Boumediene 1965-1978 -Arab and Islamic cultural formation with openness to the West and its culture.

- Follow the steps of Gamal Abdel Nasser in reaching and maintaining power.

- Great nerve control.

- Patience in making decisions.

- Ability, rigor and methodology in organizing and employing competencies

Chadli Bendjedid 1979-1992 -Pragmatism

-Limited cultural formation

-Being influenced by those around him

-Love of well-being

Mohamed Boudiaf 1992 -Historical figure from the group of historical six

He has an ideology very close to Marxist currents hostile to religious currents.

-A patriotic man

Ali Kafi 1992-1994 -A Mujahid and patriotic man

- Rejection of the democratic openness initiated by Chadli Bendjedid

-His interest in the economy

Liamin Zeroual 1994-1999 -Military figure characterized by rigor

- The confidence he received among the leaders of the Islamic Salvation Front

-Not dominated by the tendency to rule

Abdelaziz Bouteflika Since 1999-Veteran and experienced personality.

-Rich diplomatic credit

-Wide culture

-Liberalism

Thus, we find that the personal determinant in Algerian foreign policy had a great impact in directing Algerian foreign policy according to his beliefs, as this is what he embodied in his relations with countries and the external environment..

Fourth Theme: Algerian Foreign Policy Making:

The Algerian foreign policy process is carried out according to frameworks controlled by a number of factors, including what is defined by the Algerian Constitution through the articles mentioned earlier, as well as other factors, including the personality of the president and the effectiveness of institutions in the Algerian foreign policy-making process .

A- The role of the President of the Republic :

The president is among the most important foreign policy makers in the presidential political systems in the world and Algeria by virtue of the fact that it adopts the presidential system, it has given the role and status of the president great importance in foreign policy-making, but it is noticeable in this aspect that the role of the president at the level of foreign policy since the independence of Algeria to this day is of great importance in directing it, in addition to the role of the president's personality in that.

All the constitutions that Algeria has known gave the executive authority a place in the making of Algerian foreign policy, starting with the 1963 Constitution in its article 58, where it gave the President of the Republic the right to determine the government's policy, direct and manage it and coordinate the internal and foreign policies of the country, and the same for the 1976 Constitution, under which the President decides the general policy of the nation, its leadership and implementation, while the 1989 Constitution stipulated Article 74 that the President of the Republic decides and directs the foreign policy of the nation. The same is true with the 1996 Constitution through Article 77, which contained the same content as the previous [Algerian Constitution, Constitutional Council website, op. cit.].

According to Article 91 of the 2016 Constitution, enumerating the powers and powers vested in the President of the Republic, he "decides and directs the foreign policy of the nation ... concludes and ratifies international treaties" [Daghbar Rida, The intervening organs

in the management of Algeria's foreign policy under the 2016 Constitution, Journal of Politics and Law Notebooks, No. 15, June 2016, Algeria], we find through this text that it gives powers to the president in the matter of deciding Algerian foreign policy, but does not give him the authority to practice, but many readings, including Professor Said Boushour, who believes that the only body qualified to decide foreign policy begins with preparation. The maintenance, follow-up, conclusion and ratification is the President of the Republic .

According to them, the president not only directs but also carries out all stages of Algerian foreign policy-making by virtue of his political position and also weighs the executive power at the expense of the legislative authority in all the systems of third world countries .

And if the position of the President of the Republic in the presidential periods preceding the advent of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika was mainly related to the role and weight of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the cadres that work in it, and who was the current President Minister of Foreign Affairs in the past period and therefore during the rule of President Bouteflika, he gave another dimension to his position as president and to foreign policy-making through his previous experience and the conditions of the country at that stage when he took power that he would not be three quarters of the president Rather, he is a full-fledged President.

Presidential Decree 02-403 specified the powers of the Minister of Foreign Affairs through Article 01 thereof: "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the supreme authority of the President of the Republic and in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution is charged with implementing the foreign policy of the nation" [ibid., p. 433], and here we find that the decree came to clarify the powers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the powers of the President in the matter of foreign policy-making, where the President officially limited the role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the implementation process, and for this we find that this ministry has lost important weight in The

process of making this policy in light of the current international transformations.

We also note through this decree that the implementation of foreign policy is under the supreme authority and not the direct authority and gives another dimension to constitutional law scholars that the president only directs and does not implement foreign policy, but the president in fact carries out the process of implementation, follow-up and all activities related to foreign policy.

Presidential Decree 02/403 also included Article 06 instructing the Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to "analyze the international situation and make expectations and forecasts" [Reda Dagbhar, op. cit., p. 434] and this article defines the tasks carried out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which he gave and limited to the issue of studying and analyzing the international situation by monitoring international data and submitting them to the President of the Republic to see what should be done and taken.

As for Article 03 of Presidential Decree 02/403, where it specifies the issue of authorizing his representative in the field of expressing the positions of the state or concluding international agreements .

All Algerian constitutions defined the functions of the President of the Republic and made him the guide and determinant Algerian foreign policy and also undertakes it alongside the Minister of Foreign Affairs, but this role knew the rise and descent according to the periods of rule of each president in the period of rule of President Ben Bella was the first foreign minister is Mohamed Khemisti and his successor Abdelaziz Bouteflika, who removed him from office and in the era of President Houari Boumediene was appointed Abdelaziz Bouteflika as Minister of Foreign Affairs, but the major positions The role of the President was of great importance as the decision to participate in the 1697 war, the 1973 war and the Non-Aligned Summit, and therefore the position of President of the Republic plays a key role in directing and making Algerian foreign policy.

B- The role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in making Algerian foreign policy :

The role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in matters related to the conduct of the international relations of the State was governed by the provisions of Presidential Decree No. 90/359 of 10/11/1990 until its abolition by the provisions of Presidential Decree 02/403 of 01/12/2002, which replaced it in the field of regulating the powers of this body in the field of international relations. [Ibid., p. 438]

What can be seen from the two decrees is that in the first defined the powers of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, while the second decree defined the powers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs has the powers to interpret international treaties to which Algeria is a party, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs manages all the affairs of his ministry and inspects diplomatic bodies and representations abroad.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also ratifies international treaties by submitting them to the General Secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic so that the President can see them, in addition to publishing the reservations made by Algeria when it signs its accession or ratification of international treaties [Reda Dagbhar, op. cit., p. 439].

We can note that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has known a major transformation after the appointment of two ministers at the head of this sector, the first is Ramtane Lamamra Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation and the second Abdelkader Messahel Minister of Maghreb, Arab and African Affairs after he was Minister Delegate for the same portfolio that he holds as a minister, and this reflects confusion in resolving matters at the head of the Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, especially since this ministry, which was in the hands of the President of the Republic in terms of managing files.

The first statement came as follows from the presidency of the republic, "Ramtane Lamamra appointed minister of foreign affairs",

while Abdelkader Messahel, former minister delegate to the minister of foreign affairs, was assigned "minister of Maghreb and African affairs and international cooperation". [Ministry of Foreign Affairs equally between Lamamra and Messahel, taken from Al-Shorouk news website

<https://www.echoroukonline.com>] The statement was then supplemented by another statement in accordance with the provisions of Article 79 of the Constitution, the President of the Republic issued a presidential decree regarding the following two appointments: "The appointment of Ramtane Lamamra as Minister of State and Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation. Abdelkader Messahel appointed Minister of Maghreb Affairs, the African Union and the Arab League", [Ministry of Foreign Affairs equally between Lamamra and Messahel, taken from Al-Shorouk News website, op. cit.] This means that the decision withdrew the mission of "international cooperation", which had not previously been employed in the foreign portfolio, from Messahel and handed it over to Lamamra, while compensating Minister Messahel by assigning him a new mission at the level of the Arab League.

This change, which was on 18/05/2015, surprised many, especially that the appointment was associated with a change on two occasions through the correction of the definition of tasks between the two ministers, and this division at the level of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ended with the dismissal of Ramtane Lamamra and the appointment of Abdelkader Messahel as Minister of Foreign Affairs, i.e. the return of this ministry to one portfolio, and this on May 20, 2017 .

Structuring the implementation of the Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs :

The structure of the implementation of Algerian foreign policy is mainly based on the following structures :

- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which previously existed the Delegate Ministry in charge of Maghreb and African Affairs, as well as the Delegate Ministry in charge of the Algerian community abroad, but the amendments that were made also created two ministries, one for international cooperation and the other for Maghreb and Arab affairs, until the stability of one ministry, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

- Embassies.

- Cultural centers abroad.

In addition to the establishment of other structures working to support foreign activity in the economic aspect, especially such as the National Agency for the Promotion of Foreign Trade, which was established through Executive Decree No. 04-174, whose role is as follows: [Presidency of the Republic, Presidential Decree No. 04-174 of 12/06/2004, establishing the National Agency for the Promotion of Foreign Trade, Official Gazette of the Republic of Algeria, No. 39, issued on 16/06/2004.]

- Participate in defining the strategy for the promotion of foreign trade.

- Analysis of global markets and conducting comprehensive and sectoral strategic studies on foreign markets.

- Preparing an annual evaluation report on export policies.

- Media and statistics.

We find that this agency was established to support foreign economic activity in light of the state's orientation to diversify its exports outside hydrocarbons, and this activity cannot exist without activating the economic dimension in foreign policy, where the mutual influence between foreign policy and the economy, employing diplomacy is necessary to support economic activity, and vice versa, whenever the foreign economic activity is strong, the more it is used as a variable in

diplomacy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is as follows: [Presidency of the Republic, Presidential Decree No. 08-162 of 02/06/2008, organizing the central administration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Official Gazette of the Algerian Republic, No. 29, issued on 04/06/2008, p. 2]

-Secretary General.

-Ambassadors Advisors

-Chief of Cabinet

-General Inspectorate

The functions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs only, defined by Presidential Decree No. 02-403 as follows: [Presidency of the Republic, Presidential Decree No. 02-403 of 26/10/2002, containing the powers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Official Gazette of the Republic of Algeria, No. 79, issued on 01/12/2002]

- Analysis of the international situation and, in particular, the elements that would prejudice Algeria's interests.

- Preparing analytical studies and proposing initiatives to manage foreign policy processes.

- Preparation of international agreements binding the Algerian state

- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the field of bilateral cooperation shall activate its role and tasks.

Thus, we find that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the framework in which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is implemented, in addition to the role of the President of the Republic of Algeria, who has the tasks to carry out this role as determined by the presidential decree.

This decree also states that the central administration is organized into directorates and sub-directorates specialized in geographical districts

instead of what was in the previous presidential decree 04-174, which divided them into districts where, according to the new publication, they became directorates as follows: [Presidency of the Republic, Presidential Decree No. 08-162 of 02/06/2008, previous reference, p. 5]

1. Directorate General of Arab Countries.
2. Second African and European relations
3. A special directorate for North and Latin America and a special directorate for Asia.

According to this presidential decree, it started in the Arab and Maghreb region in the first place and then the directorate.

Article 3 of Presidential Decree No. 08-162 is as follows: [Presidency of the Republic, Presidential Decree No. 08-162, op. cit., p. 5]

The Directorate General of Arab Countries is in charge of the following :

- Ensure the implementation of Algeria's policy with the Arab world and specialized Arab and Maghreb organizations.
- Proposing formulas for the development and promotion of cooperation between Algeria and the Arab world.

We note from the above that Algerian foreign policy focused on the importance of developing Algerian foreign policy with the Arab region because of its importance for Algeria within its principles that it set since the liberation revolution to the post-independence stage.

The same article stipulates that the Directorate General of Arab Countries shall be divided into two directorates :

- The Directorate of the Arab Maghreb and the Arab Maghreb Union, and this directorate includes two sub-directorates:

- + Subdirectorate for Maghreb Countries

- + Subdirectorate of the Arab Maghreb Union

This directorate's role is limited to implementing Algeria's policy with the countries of the Arab Maghreb and following up the activities of the Arab Maghreb Union.

· There is a second directorate, which is the Directorate of the Arab Mashreq and the League of Arab States, and it includes two sub-directorates:

- + Subdirectorate of the Arab Mashreq Countries

- + Subdirectorate of the League of Arab States

This directorate implements Algeria's policy towards Arab countries and coordinates activities with the League of Arab States.

Article 4 of the same decree, which is devoted to Africa, reads as follows: [Presidency of the Republic, Presidential Decree No. 08-162, p. 6]

The Directorate General for Africa is in charge of :

- Implementation of Algerian-African policy at the bilateral and multilateral levels.

- Promotion of cooperation activities.

This directorate was divided into two sub-directorates :

- + Directorate of Bilateral Relations includes 3 sub-directorates :

Subdirectorate of the African Sahel Countries We note the importance of the African Sahel region in Algerian foreign policy, where it has its own directorate to follow up on developments and events in this region and contribute to finding solutions and contributing to its development.

The second directorate is a sub-directorate for Eastern and Equatorial Africa and the third is a subdirectorates for West and Central Africa .

+ The Directorate of Multilateral African Relations, which monitors the activities of the African Union and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa and includes two sub-directorates :

+Subdirectorates of the African Union

+ Subdirectorates of Regional Organizations for the Follow-up of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa.

These directorates follow up on activities, prepare for meetings and evaluate policies where Algeria attaches great importance to this region within the Algerian foreign policy, where the administration is restructured in line with the data and priorities imposed by Algeria's foreign policy of regional and international transformations.

As for the role of Algerian embassies abroad, Presidential Decree No. 406-02 is defined as follows: [Presidency of the Republic, Presidential Decree No. 02-406 of 26/10/2002, defining the powers of ambassadors, Official Gazette of the Republic of Algeria, n° 79, issued on 01/12/2002.]

- Reporting on the situation prevailing in the country or the activities of international organizations accredited to it.

- Contribute to the preparation of Algeria's foreign policy and maintain its influence.

- Involve the ambassador in the preparation of each negotiation with the country or organization to which he is accredited.

Although the position of ambassador in Algeria is subject to professional progression and is considered a sovereign political position, it is subject to the appointment of competencies and the role that the ambassador provides to the country through his influence on

relations with the country to which he is accredited, which reflects positively on bilateral and multilateral relations..

As for the functions of the diplomatic and consular corps, it was also defined by Presidential Decree No. 09-221, which, according to Article 79, is as follows: [Presidency of the Republic, Presidential Decree No. 09-221 of 28/06/2009, containing the Organic Law on Diplomatic and Consular Agents, Official Journal of the Republic of Algeria, No. 38, issued on 28/06/2009, p. 16]

- Representing Algeria in countries and international organizations.
- Upgrading Algeria's reputation and image abroad.
- Contribute to the radiance of Algerian culture abroad.
- Participate in negotiations.
- Providing assistance and support to the Algerian community abroad.

But as for the activity of embassies and consulates abroad, we find that many of them have been criticized and negative remarks are directed to their activities, especially dealing with the problems of immigrants and the Algerian community abroad, in addition to that they do not provide what should be provided, especially in the economic part, compared to what is planned and what is on the ground..

C- The role of the parliament in making Algerian foreign policy :

As for the legislative authority in the Algerian foreign policy-making process, it has a key role in this process, and this role varies from one political system to another, but for Algeria, this role can be said to be limited because of the powers granted to the executive authority, mainly the President of the Republic and then the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

However, the Parliament participated in the management of international relations, especially by participating in the expression of the state's consent and its final commitment to the provisions of international treaties, especially since the issues are defined by the Constitution, especially Article 149 [Reda Dagbhar, op. cit., p. 436] This article, which provides for the approval and ratification of international treaties by Parliament so that the President can ratify them, also stipulated Article 130 of the Algerian Constitution of 1996, which states: "Opens a debate on politics. At the request of the President of the Republic or the President of one of the two chambers, this debate may culminate, if necessary, in the issuance of a list by the Parliament meeting in its two chambers to be communicated to the President of the Republic" [Constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria 1996, Constitutional Council website, op. cit.] It is clear from this article that foreign policy-making is possible by the parliament, but we do not find an impact in reality, despite the powers given to this authority in the process of contributing to foreign policymaking, but it is also noticeable that this initiative remains hostage to the approval of the President of the Republic as specified in the article, and therefore the issue of Algerian foreign policymaking by the parliament is limited and even if it exists, it is restricted by the approval of the President of the Republic.

On the other hand, the legislative authority can submit oral and written questions to the Minister of Foreign Affairs regarding issues and issues related to the Algerian community and national interests, especially since the parliament includes representatives of the Algerian community abroad in its formation, and this is what enhances the role of this authority and this device in drawing up Algerian foreign policy, and we find that the role of parliament in Algeria is based on final ratification and here we find that it does not participate in the manufacturing process and No implementation because it is the prerogative of the President of the Republic and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs respectively in terms of the practice of reality.

D- The Military Institution :

The military institution is among the most important institutions on which political systems are based, especially in developing countries, because of the weight and influence of this institution in policy-making processes as a whole and foreign policy in particular, this institution plays a role in the foreign policy industry by virtue of the historical position and the policy it occupies, which ensures the domination of some decisions in a direct way through its control of the presidency institution, with which it has had a close relationship since independence, so it is considered The army is an influential and decisive force in the political scene at the internal and external levels, as the experience of political Algeria has shown that the army has always been the one who settles the situation for this or that party, as the former president Ahmed Ben Bella was able to exploit the army and take refuge in it to seize power and remove its competitors as happened in 1963 [Wahiba Dala, "Algerian foreign policy towards the Sahel but Africa 1999-2014", PhD thesis, specializing in political science (University of Algiers 3, Department of Political Science and International Relations, 2014), p. 63].

President Ahmed Ben Bella was also overthrown by Houari Boumediene, who was the chief of staff of the People's National Army using the military institution and the army settled the dispute over who would assume the post of president after the death of President Houari Boumediene in 1978 and the same thing in the 1991 crisis [ibid., p. 64] Former President Liamine Zeroual was also appointed as a candidate for the presidency, and he is from the military establishment before he submitted the presidential elections.

We can observe the role of the military institution in making Algerian foreign policy, as happened during the stage of the national crisis and during the Second Gulf War, where the Ministry of National Defense submitted a detailed report on the situation of the Presidency of the Republic and at the request of President Chadli Bendjedid,

which came as follows: [Abdallah Belhabib, previous reference, p. 151]

- The possible dispatch of the People's National Army forces to Saudi Arabia in the current situation characterized by the deployment of American and Western forces in this country and the Gulf directed to carry out a destructive action on the military capabilities of an Arab country, and this contradicts the official position of Algeria expressed at the Arab Summit in Cairo and thus risks violating the future international obligations of our country.

Algeria's participation in this war contributes to the weakening of the Palestinian cause .

We can quote from the memoirs of former Defense Minister Khaled Nizar during the rule of President Chadli Bendjedid, who expressed the position of the military institution towards the Second Gulf War, which was represented in Algeria's refusal to participate in this war, as he stated, "In the name of the People's National Army, I opposed any support in any way, whatever this operation was" [Nizar accused, Memoirs of Khaled Nizar, taken from the news website, www.elkhaber.com/143305 dated 30/09/2018] We find that the decision of the Minister of Defense on behalf of the military institution is clear and explicit and was expressed, as we mentioned earlier, in a detailed report submitted to the president at that period.

Thus, we find that the army played a key role in directing Algeria's external decision towards the Gulf War through this report, which gave a dimension not to participate in this war, especially since Algeria began to live a security and political crisis at that stage.

Not only that, we find during the crisis experienced by Algeria that President Yamin Zeroual is originally from the military establishment and his advisers were General Mohamed Bechin, General Mohamed El Omari and General Abbas Ghezil, and this advisory body to the President had an active role in directing policy,

etc. Argia and the interior of Algeria. [Abdullah Belhabib, previous reference, p. 150]

Despite that, the Algerian constitution is clear in this matter by defining the role of the army, which is to defend national sovereignty and protect the country from internal and external risks and threats, but the differences that were between the President of the Republic and the army leadership on many occasions are due to the president's desire to limit their influence, but he cannot do without them in many decisions, and this is what is shown through the decisions and statements that Among them is the restructuring of some army institutions, such as the Directorate of Intelligence.

We find that the military institution participated in many stations, as we have already done, in the making of Algerian foreign policy, but the transformations that occurred with the advent of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika prompted the adoption of another approach based on restructuring the active organs in the military institution and thus the external decision-making process, especially the intelligence and security unit known as the DRS. Where the presidential decree issued on June 15, 2017 specified the termination of the functions of the Directorate of Information and Security and replaced it with the "Directorate of Army Security", which was dissolved in 2016 and the creation of boards of directors to run the industrial enterprises of the army according to Article 02 of the presidential decree and Article III replaced the Directorate of Information and Security with three directorates, namely the General Directorate of External Security and Documentation, the General Directorate of Intelligence and the Directorate of Organization, which is at the disposal of the Presidency of the Republic and At the head of it is Major General Bashir Tartag. [Presidency of the Republic, Presidential Decree No. 17-199 of June 15, 2017, containing the restructuring of the Directorate of Information and Security, Official Gazette of the Algerian Republic, n° 38, issued on 29/06/2017, p. 5]

Thus, we find that the army and its most important component, the intelligence service, has attached to the presidency of the republic, and here the foreign policy-making process by the army becomes part of the presidency institution, and the president of the republic dismissed the most important pillars in the army according to the presidential decree issued on July 23, 2015 through the dismissal of General Mohamed Majzoub from the presidential security command, as well as Major General Ahmed Moulay Meliani from the Republican Guard Command and Major General Ali Ben Dawad from the directorate Internal security with the promotion of 14 generals to the rank of lieutenant general and 47 colonels to the rank of general. [Presidency of the Republic, Presidential Decree dated 23 JanuaryNight 2015, including the termination of the duties of the Commander of the Republican Guard and the Commander of Presidential Security and Internal Security, Official Gazette of the Republic of Algeria, No. 41, issued on 29/07/2015, p. 18

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The restructuring of the military institution did not stop until the transfer of Lieutenant General Mohamed Mediene, called Tawfiq, from the head of the intelligence service, leaving the decision-making circle in the army, and thus in any of the basic issues, and appointing Othman Tartag as his successor at the head of the new service.

The process of foreign policy-making is subject to these institutions that work to make it, as it is based mainly on the centrality of the President of the Republic, who has the authority to make and direct Algerian foreign policy by virtue of the Algerian political experience since independence, as well as by virtue of the legal dimension set by the Constitution for this role, so the institution of the Presidency of the Republic, along with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the military institution, complete the process of making this foreign policy.

Fifth Theme: The roles of Algerian foreign policy - Africa as a model -

Africa has great importance in Algerian foreign policy for many reasons, the most important of which is the geostrategic depth, the political aspect, the common history, as well as the current data, especially with regard to the current security threats, and for this we find Africa an important place in its diplomacy that extended from the independence of Algeria to the present day.

President Abdelaziz Bouteflika stressed on many occasions the importance of Africa for Algeria, where he stated, "Algeria has always considered itself an African country in the first place without denying its belonging to the Arab and Mediterranean world, but we in Algeria think Africanly and raise our destiny with the fate of Africa.."

[Wahiba Dala, Algerian politics towards Africa 1999-2016, Algerian Journal of Public Policies, Issue VII, June 2015, University of Algiers 3, p. 7]

After independence, Algeria inherited the most important principle, which is to support peoples in liberation from colonialism and the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, Algeria's experience during the liberation revolution, which has come to be called this style of foreign policy African policy of Algeria [Moncef Bekay, Algeria's role in the liberation of Africa and the elements of its African diplomacy, Algeria: Dar al-Ummah, 2017, p. 35], which was evident in the various charters of the revolution, beginning with the statement of the first of November and then the conference Soummam and the Cairo Conference and the Tripoli Program approved by the revolutionary leadership in June 1962, then the Constitution of 1963 and then the National Charter of 1976 and the Constitution of 1976, which referred to Algeria's adoption of the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination. The framework issued on June 23, 1953 is Gaston Davier was Minister of Overseas Affairs in the government of Guy Moll, which was formed on January 2, 1956 after the victory of the Republican Front and refers to this law, which concerns the

countries of black Africa, where he took into account the Algerian revolution and its support over black Africa through the establishment of laws that prevent violent disputes within these countries (see Ahmed Benflis, *op. cit.*, p. 133).

and the referendum on what is known as the federal union in order to obstruct the political activity of the Algerian revolution in Africa.[Ahmed Benflis, *The Foreign Policy of the Algerian Revolution: Constants and Variables*, PhD thesis, University of Algiers, 2007, p. 129]

The basic principles of Algeria's foreign policy came from Africa, which revolved around the adoption of a policy of good neighborliness and the defense of the African continent from external influences, and in this context Algeria played a prominent role in the issue of consolidating the principle of solidarity between countries, especially third world countries, in the fateful issues, especially the issue of the right of peoples to self-determination.

The FLN gave a place to Frantz Fanon, where he was entrusted with the task of reconnaissance in northern Mali to link these countries to the Algerian revolution, where he noticed the possibility of linking this region to the establishment of a third base south of the Sahara through which the first, fifth and sixth states are supplied with weapons and equipment, by consolidating contacts with Mali [*ibid.*, p. 131], and here lies the importance of this region for Algeria as well as directing the effort to link these areas with the Algerian revolution and It then becomes a working area in Algerian foreign policy.

The National Liberation Front discovered during the liberation revolution the importance of Africa politically and its role in the decolonization and eradication of colonialism, especially the countries of sub-Saharan Africa and the Sahel because it is considered a vital extension of Algeria and a front to achieve victory in African issues, for example winning the support of the fighter Frantz Fanon and making him a representative of the interim government in Accra and

even the entire African continent [ibid., p. 131] The personality of Frantz Fanon has its weight and Algeria realized the importance of this fighter in Support emancipatory causes.

Algerian diplomacy also emphasizes in international forums the issue of human rights, especially in Africa, and this is what it sought in the issue of the elimination of racial discrimination in Africa, especially in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe [Moncef Bekay, previous reference, p. 38].

One of the foundations and principles of the African policy of Algeria is to respond to the objectives and principles of the Organization of African Unity, especially the historical goal related to the liberation of the African continent and the strengthening of the freedom of its peoples, and this is what was referred to in the first article of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, "The right of all people to control their destiny is an inalienable right." Moncef Bekay, op. cit., p. 39]

On this basis, Algerian diplomacy has built its strategy with regard to the fateful issues concerning the African continent, despite the difference in views among African leaders on some issues related to the conduct of the affairs of the Organization or the nature of its organs, but Algeria played a prominent role in bringing views closer.

This is evident in the Malian government's support for the Algerian revolution when its representative at the United Nations confirmed in September 1960 that "our position on the Algerian issue was a direct factor in the division of Mali that we support the independence of Algeria, this position is the position of all African countries" [Ahmed B.N. Fleiss, op. cit., p. 137]

Since the Algerian revolution, Algeria has focused on the African depth of the Algerian revolution, which later became the main guide of Algerian foreign policy to draw the movement of support for liberation movements in Africa, which necessarily reflect on Algeria and its security and stability.

From this standpoint, Algeria sought to make the Organization of African Unity a regional organization with weight in international relations and to solve internal issues and crises effectively, this diplomatic activity enabled Algeria to win the position of Deputy Secretary-General of the Organization when its structures were formed in 1964 until 1974 in addition to being the official spokesman of the Organization.

Algeria did not stop in its African policy on international forums and political platforms, but extended to the actual support for the liberation movements that were seeking independence, especially France, and here Algeria relied on the support of the most representative movements of the peoples of the region, such as the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde led by Amicar Cabral, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Angola, the African People's Union of Zimbabwe led by Joshua Nkomo and the People's Organization of Southwest Africa SWAPO. Founded in 1959 under the leadership of Sam Nujoma in addition to the African Conference in South Africa, and not only at this point, but also adopted permanent representations in Algeria in addition to financial support and the provision of training framework for fighters in these military groups where the FLN established a special apparatus headed by Jalloul Malaika [Ahmed Benflis, op. S. Ibiq, p. 46] who was entrusted with the task of coordinating with African liberation movements and was based in Villa. Boumaarouf, who was flocked by the leaders of the liberation movements to activate press and political conferences, described the leader Cabral Algeria as the Mecca of the free.

Algeria also played the role of the Organization of African Unity through the Committee for the Liberation of Africa, which worked to discuss all issues related to colonies in Africa and how to find solutions to them and provide material and military support to these liberation movements.

Algeria also focused in its African policy on the need for Africans to benefit from the resources and capabilities enjoyed by these countries and to exploit them better, where Algeria contributed to the issuance of a regulation by the United Nations General Assembly No. 1803 of December 14, 1962, which includes the right of permanent sovereignty of peoples and states over their natural resources, and thus freedom from the grip of colonialism and the achievement of economic independence. [Moncef Bekay, op. cit., p. 49]

Algeria did not stop there in the sixties and seventies of the last century, but maintained this policy in Africa for decades because of the importance of this region, which represents a strategic geographical depth for Algeria, and Algeria was and is still betting on the issue of achieving security and peace in Africa, where do you see that this peace, security and stability can only be through two basic strategies, namely sustainable development and political stability from During the new mechanisms represented in May known as good governance, where this proposal came in Algerian foreign policy with President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, where he developed a vision based on resolving international disputes peacefully, and this is what happened in the Algerian role of the Eritrean-Ethiopian conflict, as well as in the issue of what is known as the NEPAD initiative to achieve development and good governance in Africa.

1- Contribute to the peaceful resolution of African conflicts :

The issue of security and peace in Africa is among the most important issues and the main issues on which Algerian foreign policy depends to achieve it in light of the current international changes, because the issue of security and peace is mainly reflected on the stability of the continent and on Algeria by virtue of Algeria's direct contact with African countries, whether directly or indirectly.

On the other hand, Algeria, in its African dimension in the period in which President Abdelaziz Bouteflika took office, wants to restore Algeria's position, especially since this position witnessed a decline in

the eighties and then a retreat with the security crisis in the nineties, which affected the Algerian presence in the African continent, especially with the escalation of the Egyptian and Moroccan role in the region and the Sahel and Sahara region in particular, and this is considered a threat to the strategic interests of Algeria, especially the issue of security and Stability is the key to any development that is intended to succeed in the world, Africa and Algeria in particular.

In one of his speeches, President Abdelaziz Bouteflika stressed the importance of resolving conflicts peacefully in Africa through the African Union and before that the Organization of African Unity "... As a founding member of the Organization of African Unity after independence, Algeria still believes that the continental organization plays a fundamental role in affirming the political identity and achieving the economic unity of the continent..."[Wahiba Dala, op. cit., p. 13]

On the other hand, with the increasing security threats in the world and Africa in particular, Algeria began to give importance to this dimension in its foreign policy, especially Africa, in the context of increasing foreign interventions in the continent, which reflected on the issue of stability. Algeria rejects the foreign military presence specifically in the continent and the countries of Algeria because this presence for it is considered an actual threat to it as a magnet for terrorist groups that Western countries consider a target for, which is mainly reflected on security and development efforts in Africa.

Among the mechanisms adopted by Algeria in the issue of achieving security and peace in the African continent within its African policy is the establishment of what is known as the African Peace and Security Council within the institutions of the African Union, which gave it great importance in its African foreign policy, as evidenced by the appointment of Mr. Ramtane Lamamra as its president, instigated by Algeria to be in the highest position of this important institution within the African Union.

Algeria is working to bring aid and material and political support from international and regional organizations to promote work within the African continent for many reasons, including material reasons related to the cost required by the issue of maintaining peace and security in Africa, and the second issue is technical matters that also require strengthening the role of African organizations in this field, which is the peaceful resolution of international conflicts.

The issue of the establishment of the African Peace and Security Council dates back to the 35th summit held in Algiers, in which the issue of combating terrorism was agreed upon, where this was embodied in the 37th session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held in Lusaka, Zambia 9-11 July 2012, where it was decided to integrate the Central Organ of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention and Management within the structures of the African Union [Establishment of the African Union, Official website taken <https://au.int/ar/constitutive-act>] With the change of its name and the desire to establish a more effective body in the maintenance of peace and security in Africa, and as a result came the declaration on the establishment of the African Peace and Security Council at the first African Union Summit in Durban, South Africa in July 2002 and entered into force on December 26, 2003 and began the actual practice of its work on July 25, 2004.

We can present a vision about the objectives of this Council, through which the objectives of Algerian foreign policy appear, this Council aims to reduce international conflicts, maintain peace and security in Africa, promote good governance, protect human rights and develop a common defense policy for the African Union countries.

This Council came according to a set of principles, the most important of which are: [The structures of the African Union are taken from the official website <http://www.peaceau.org/fr/page/104-african-peace-and-security-architecture-apsa>]

- Peaceful settlement of African conflicts.
- Respect the inherited boundaries upon gaining independence.
- Respect for the sovereignty and unity of Member States

The right to intervene in only three situations: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity.

We can note that the issue of interference in the internal affairs of countries has changed with the political and security changes in the world and in the African continent in particular, and here we find that the field of intervention was determined in the issue of the results of conflicts related to war crimes and conflicts, and this matter is considered pivotal in the issue of intervention, which is a sacred principle in the foreign policy of African countries and one of the principles of the Organization of African Unity, which adapts to international transformations and then actual practice. As happened in Darfur and Somalia, despite Algeria's reservations about its participation in military operations outside the country.

Thus, we find that Algeria has played and continues to play an active role in supporting the issues of peace in the African continent and expressed this at the Algiers Summit in 1999 of the Organization of African Unity, where it called for making the year 2000 the year of peace and security in Africa, and Algeria strengthened its orientation at this point by creating a strong axis in its relations with African countries, especially Senegal, Nigeria and South Africa, these countries that are really considered countries. It has political and economic weight in the African continent and can play an effective role in resolving issues of security and peace in Africa through the overall framework, which is the African Union.

In addition to ending the Ethiopian-Eritrean conflict signed on December 12, 2002, Algeria was able to contribute to the ceasefire and the consolidation of peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo by urging the parties to implement the Lusaka ceasefire

agreement of July 10, 1999 and then Algeria's initiative to hold a mini-summit on April 30, 2000 devoted to the study of the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Thus, we find that Algeria plays an important and essential role in the African continent by contributing to the resolution of international conflicts, and the proof of this is not only participation as a mediator in international conflicts, it is the appointment of former Foreign Minister Ramtane Lamamra as President of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, and this does not show the importance of the Algerian role in resolving African conflicts peacefully.

2- Algerian foreign policy and development approach in Africa:

Among the goals that Algeria seeks at the level of the African continent, we find the issue of sustainable development in the African continent, development is a strategic goal of Algerian foreign policy in general and in Africa in particular, Algeria since the Non-Aligned Summit in 1974 in Algeria, and it calls for the reconstruction of a just international economic system that takes into account the rights of peoples to manage their natural resources and rebalance economic relations between third world countries and developed countries with the aim of establishing a fair system in the world.

Considering that Africa is the largest part of the countries of the South, it represents a third of the world's natural resources, Algeria has called many times to invest effectively in this area, where it began in the Cold War period through what is known as nationalization and now through development approaches that express one of the most important goals of Algerian foreign policy in the African continent.

The most important mechanism that Algeria contributed to finding with the advent of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika is NEPAD, or what is known as the Partnership for Development in Africa. This initiative presented by Algeria with its African partners in the framework of finding ways to achieve more stability in the continent and create a suitable environment for development and achieve development leaps

at various levels to confront poverty, migration and wars in light of the exacerbation of foreign debt and the exploitation of multinational companies of the capabilities of African countries found only This mechanism to activate it and through it fights the manifestations of corruption and achieves good governance with various major and rich countries in the world.

This initiative falls within the framework of what is known as development diplomacy [Wahiba Dala, previous reference, p. 11] within the framework of Algeria's quest to achieve development in the African continent, and for this the African circle in Algerian foreign policy is among the most important circles that have great importance and vitality, whether directly or through other circles such as the African Union or the United Nations, this initiative brought by South African President Thabo Mbeki and with the help of Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika and Elenigeri Oba Sanjo to prepare a development plan in the African continent known as the Millennium Development of Africa and came on the principle of participation by strengthening security and attracting investment and the private sector to various economic sectors in the African continent.

This initiative is based on following up and organizing the extent of compliance with the rules and standards directed to good governance through highly qualified and well-known African personalities in this field periodically and evaluatively for a group of some African countries.

The tasks were distributed as follows :

1. South Africa with the African Union: Peace and security issues for the resolution of African conflicts.
2. Algeria with the Economic Commission for Africa for good governance and enterprise.
3. Nigeria with the African Development Bank in the field of economic integration.

4. Egypt specializes in agriculture and access to international markets.

Algeria's diplomatic role can be summarized as follows [Ben Khalif Abdelwahab, Geopolitics of International Relations, Algeria: Dar Cordoba for Publishing and Distribution, 2016, p. 37]:

Regional mediator: This data applies to the Algerian role in the mediation it carried out during the successive financial crises between 2012-2015, where it achieved significant gains in bringing the financial parties closer together, which ended with the 2015 Algiers Agreement.

- Regional defender: Through this role, Algeria defends the gains of neighboring countries of independence and national sovereignty in various regional forums and international forums, whether at the level of the United Nations, the African Union, or in any regional and international organization.

Regional leader: This role applies to the country that has different and large capabilities and capabilities compared to the countries in its territory, which qualifies it to play an effective and influential role at the regional level.

Active independent: means the existence of a state characterized by neutrality and non-alignment with any party to the crisis, but this does not constitute an obstacle to its active and important role at the international and regional levels, especially since positive neutrality earns the state the confidence and satisfaction of the conflicting parties, which applies to Algeria in the financial and Libyan crises.

The sixth axis : Algerian foreign policy towards the Libyan crisis as a model

Libya is considered one of the crisis countries on the Algerian border, but Algeria's security perceptions in itself regarding the recent crisis in Libya do not give the impression that it acted as if the failure or

collapse of the state in its immediate neighborhood may pose a security threat to its southern borders.

The results of the collapse of the Libyan system: [Farouk Al-Arabi, The collapse of the sanctity of political borders and national sovereignty in the era of globalization - the Libyan crisis as a model, Amman: Dar Hamed, 2015, p. 510]

- The absence of authority and the spread of chaos and armed militias throughout the country.

Proliferation and cross-border crossing of weapons.

More than 3,000 ISIS fighters have joined Libya via Tunisia and the Sahel from Syria and Iraq, according to a US State Department report.

The length of Libya's border with its neighbors, which reaches its maximum with Algeria by 1,200 km, on desert spaces that are difficult to monitor.

With the collapse of the Gaddafi regime in Libya, the Tuareg returned from Libya to their countries of origin, where about 450 people entered Mali and 150 people to Niger and Chad carrying weapons [Fakiri Shahrazad, The Fluid Borders and the Problem of Arms Smuggling after the Fall of the Libyan Regime, Beirut: Dar Al-Rawafid Al-Thaqaf, 2018, p. 167] Where did the governments of Niger and Chad impose on returnees to surrender their weapons, and they had to do so, while Mali did not? This encouraged them to engage in movements in northern Mali, which further aggravated the situation.

Among the results of the Libyan regime is that it focused on the policy of weakening military institutions and strengthening the revolutionary brigades based on the principles of the Libyan revolution, which was based on the activity of the people and popular organizations and giving weapons to these battalions, and this for fear of a military coup against it, and with the fall of its regime, weapons

spread in the hands of various political currents in the country, and from it the terrorist act spread, which found a suitable medium for this activity in light of a collapsed security environment.

Eastern Libya has also turned into a place from which terrorist groups that have copied the ideology of al-Qaeda have emerged, the most prominent of which were the Abu Salim Martyrs Brigade, Ansar al-Sharia, Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman, and the Tawhid and Jihad Group.

Terrorist groups in Libya have also worked to consolidate their relations in Syria through ISIS, and this is what this organization stated on social networking sites on November 13, 2014 when he stated that he was responsible for the attacks of the Egyptian embassy and the UAE embassy in Libya [ibid., p. 169], and this was confirmed by the commander of AFRICOM David Rodriguez in a statement in December 2014 that ISIS has camps in Libya, which will make it an external camp. For this organization .

Libyan arms smuggling and its repercussions on Algerian regional security:

At the time of the overthrow of the Gaddafi regime, the United Nations estimated that there were between 250,000 and 700,000 weapons and nearly one million tons of weapons spread throughout the country, making them drowning in light, medium and heavy weapons, including man-portable air defense systems, anti-tank missiles and Grad missiles.[Kerry Scheherazade, op. cit., p. 172]

As for Algeria, the border site on the eastern front, i.e. the Algerian-Libyan border, where this site is characterized by great depth, which makes the deployment of forces along the border and make them on high alert, and the General Staff of the Algerian Armed Forces reassessed the results of the border post, taking into account that the war on terrorism as a whole has ended and only the pursuit of terrorist cells remains, [Bahloul Naseem, Theoretical approaches in the circulation of the concept of Algerian national security, Amman: Dar

Hamed 2015, p. 181] The main advantage of the Algerian positions was the use of mass aviation in order to disrupt the operational transport and kinetic deployment of terrorist groups and the use of light mechanized divisions to breach the defense of border assemblies and advance rapidly to the depth of the border geographical vacuum or what is known as the strategy of border conquest. Ibid., p. 182]

Indicators of the Algerian security operation: [Qawi Bouhenia, Algeria and the transition to the role of the active player in Africa between security diplomacy and internal security sufficiency, Amman: Dar Al-Hamid, 2015, p. 482]

1- Security diplomacy that has come to govern Algeria and which has become necessary to realize in dealing with the fragile and crisis African space, and therefore the Algerian move believes that the way to the Algerian-African partnership tactically and procedurally comes at the present moment and the foreseeable extent from the security approach as a priority over the economic approach, as statistics indicate the small and weak African-African and Algerian-African economic exchange.

2- In order to ensure the security of Algeria, Algeria has adopted an outdated approach based on securing security that deals with organized economic crime, especially after the fall of the Kadhafi regime and the spread of Muslim groups in northern Mali.

3- In this context, Algeria prefers actual diplomacy, especially with the neighborhood and African space, through the strengthening of international and regional cooperation. Adel Jarsh, The Impact of Security Threats in Neighboring Countries on Algerian Security, Cairo: Arab Knowledge Bureau, 2018, p. 149]

Algeria and Niger signed a joint security agreement to combat terrorism and organized crime in 2010, then Libya joined, and then Egypt, Tunisia, Chad, Nigeria and Burkina Faso joined this agreement with the aim of confronting security threats coming from the Libyan space.

Following this agreement, the initiative to establish AFRIPOL came on the sidelines of the 22nd African Regional Symposium held in Oran from 10-12 December 2013 in the presence of 41 African police chiefs who adopted this project.

As for the measures adopted by Algeria to confront the situation in Libya, Algeria closed the border with Libya, allowing Algerian families in Libya to enter Algeria, Libyan families with kinship relations with Algerian families to leave Algerian territory, allowing humanitarian cases to pass through the border, and intensifying surveillance operations across the Algerian-Libyan border by placing heavy weapons and reinforcing them with more than 50,000 soldiers and gendarmes on the border to prevent any infiltration of terrorist groups.

Professor Ben Antar Abdel Nour confirms that we can explain the Algerian position with reasons of four categories, the first lies in the regime's fear of copying the Libyan experience inside Algeria, where a peaceful uprising against the regime turns into an armed conflict if it is repelled, which leads to an international intervention similar to what happened in Libya, and the second category lies in Algeria's direct security concerns that may result from the Libyan crisis from arms smuggling, the expansion of terrorism and the transformation of Libya. In addition to the specter of illegal immigration through the arrival of Libyan refugees to Algerian territory and the economic and social consequences that Algeria may bear as a result of this phenomenon, while the third category revolves around fear of the repercussions of foreign intervention in Libya on Algeria, and the fourth category lies in the principles on which Algerian policy is based, such as non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for sovereignty and non-regime change by force. [Ben Antar Abdel Nour, Algerian-Libyan Relations after Kadhafi: Stability First, Reports, Al-Jazeera Network, p. 4.:

<http://studies.aljazeera.net/ResourceGallery/media/Documents/4algeria%20and%20libya.pdf>

The most important contents of the Algerian approach to dealing with the Libyan crisis, which is the basis for the formulation of Algeria's initiative to deal with the Libyan crisis, can be summarized in the following points:

1- Through its diplomacy, Algeria is trying to bring the conflicting Libyan parties together around a dialogue aimed at stopping the internal fighting and coming up with a new political equation in Libya based on a strategic security basis that prevents the flows of radical Islamist groups from other countries to Libya, and a less important political dimension in the Algerian equation that may lead to an agreement on the rules of rotation of Libyan power.

2- Algerian diplomacy rejects a military solution as part of the strategy of subjecting all parties to half-temporary solutions, a vision supported by the Egyptian-Emirati-Saudi alliance, by launching air strikes and creating buffer zones in Libya that may be entered by ground forces. Hicham Chalaoui, Algeria and the chances of resolving the Libyan crisis, quoting:

<http://www.noonpost.net/content/3848> Date browsed: 24/12/2014, Time: 13:25.]

3- The Algerian vision stems from the fact that one Libyan party cannot be seen as having full legitimacy and legitimacy, and the other lacks it, and Algeria's invitations to the participants in the dialogue came on this basis, based on the fact that everyone is part of the crisis and part of the solution, contrary to the conditions set and presented by other countries, led by the United States, and the UN special mission, as its general ceiling believes that the House of Representatives meeting in Tobruk and the government of Abdullah Al-Thinni are the sole legitimate representative of the Libyan people based on The elections of June 25, 2014, considering that the General Conference and the National Salvation Government headed by "Omar Al-Hassi" are lacking legitimacy or completely non-existent, and with the establishment of the Government of National Accord resulting

from the Constitutional Declaration and the Political Agreement signed on December 17, 2015, the meeting of the Presidential Council and other items, led by "Fayez Al-Sarraj" The visit of the Minister of Maghreb Affairs, the African Union and the Arab League, Abdelkader Messahel, came as Algeria's support for the ongoing efforts of the Libyan authorities aimed at establishing peace, security and stability in Libya. The Algeria, which has strongly called for the preservation of the sovereignty and national and territorial integrity of this country, has fully supported since the beginning of the crisis in Libya the UN-led process in the search for a political solution.

It encouraged all Libyans to engage in a frank dialogue without exclusion and supported the formation of the Government of National Accord in Tripoli (the Libyan capital) to address the institutional, political, security, economic and counter-terrorism challenges it faces, which require the cooperation of all its international and regional partners. [Abdelkader Messahel on a visit to Libya this Wednesday to renew Algeria's support for peace efforts there, 19/04/2016, quoted:

<http://www.radioalgerie.dz/news/ar/article/20160419/75141.html>

Date browsed: 20/04/2016. Time: 21:00.]

4- Algeria believes, according to observers, that these strict conditions lead to obstruction of dialogue and reaching a political solution, as the House of Representatives in Tobruk considered the forces of what is known as Libya Dawn in Tripoli, and the Benghazi Revolutionaries Shura Council as terrorist organizations, which prevents the possibility of understanding between two parties, one of which stops the other politically.[Ibid.]

5- With Algerian officials convinced of the need for a political solution and that comprehensive dialogue between the parties in the Libyan homeland is the way to end the cycle of violence and restore the state, Algeria began to gather Libyan political forces willing to dialogue. In an interview in December 2013, Ahmed M'zab, head of the Algerian-African Committee for Peace and Reconciliation,

revealed the contacts that the Algerian authorities began more than three months ago with prominent names of Libyan political forces, in preparation for the launch of Algeria used some "friendly countries" to arrange meetings with some conservative faces in the hope of the success of its initiative, which prompted it to maintain the secrecy of its efforts, as it did previously with the parties to the financial crisis.

6- On the content of the Algerian initiative, Ahmed M'zab stressed that it is based on «gathering the parties first, then finding a mechanism to collect weapons that pose a threat to the brothers in Libya on the one hand and on the borders of neighboring countries on the other hand, and preparing for the transitional phase that will establish a mechanism for the establishment of state institutions and activation, as the draft included defining responsibilities and priorities, fighting terrorism, and seeking construction in various fields, while the rest of the other demands are determined with what can result from the meetings». Amira Abdel Halim, Algeria's intervention in the Libyan crisis avoids military involvement, quoting:

<http://www.ahram.org.eg/News/51425/80/NewsPrint/353903.aspx>
Date browsed: 17/01/2015. Time: 20:00.]

Through it, Algeria seeks its initiative to bring the parties to the conflict in Libya to the table of dialogue in order to stop the fighting and reach a political solution to achieve a number of objectives, including:

Achieving consensus among Libyans through dialogue on a road map that includes a solution to the crisis, prevents the use of weapons to resolve differences, and withdraws the pretexts for regional and international military intervention in Libya.

Building state institutions and preventing the expansion and spread of the ideology of armed groups so that they do not leak across the border towards Algeria or towards the Sahel countries, and forming a system of communication and support that threatens their stability. Zwaq, Naseer, Algeria and the Libyan crisis, Al Jazeera Net, quoting:

<http://www.aljazeera.net/knowledgegate/opinions/2014/11/4> Date browsed: 14/12/2014. Time: 13:45.]

The establishment of a strong central authority that monopolizes the possession and use of weapons and prevents their flow to Algeria by cooperating in controlling the common border.

Reopening its closed land borders with Libya, even partially, to lift the siege on the population of the south to resume trade exchanges, albeit through smuggling, which is the first source of income in the south, to avoid the explosion of social conditions (Ghardaia as a model).

Easing the pressure on the Algerian army, which is mobilized and stationed along the border and lives on the highest levels of preparedness in the face of threats along the long borders, especially the tense ones, such as: Libya, Tunisia and Mali, while reducing the bill for its movement and deployment over the largest African country, which costs a huge budget.[Ibid.]

The most important levels of influence between security policy and Algerian foreign policy can be summarized as follows :

* Considering the geostrategic dimension of Algeria and its depth in the Sahel and the Maghreb region among the most important challenges that must be taken into account by the Algerian decision-maker at the level of foreign policy, represented in securing the borders in partnership with neighboring countries, and from here we find that the role played by Algeria in resolving the Libyan issue is based on Algerian security concerns about the expansion of security threats to Algeria directly or through threats coming from the African coast.

* Focusing on the causes of instability in the countries of the region, especially the African Sahel, in order to eliminate security threats from their roots, so we find that the decision-maker in Algerian foreign policy depends on a developmental approach in formulating the specific goals to achieve them in foreign policy, and this is what

Algeria has done through the engineering of the peace agreement in Mali.

* On the other hand, the Algerian decision-maker in providing logistical support to neighboring countries and security coordination through the revival of diplomatic movement in this part within the framework of either the African Union and what Algeria has done to embrace the African Center for Combating Terrorism or AFRIPOL, and this shows the extent of the impact of the security doctrine and security determinants in the formulation of Algerian foreign policy.

The process of building any security policy in any country is considered a set of rules that control this policy according to a set of variables that ultimately give the outcome of this security policy. Where do we find a process of mutual influence between security policy and foreign policy because they are two variables that work to influence each other and this is what we will address from the internal point of view, especially the role of the army in the construction process and the mechanisms to confront terrorism, and therefore it is considered as a determinant Essential in the Algerian foreign policymaking process.

And for legal and political considerations, the political dimension is formed for us in the formation of the security value in Algerian foreign policy, and this is reflected in maintaining the centrality of the state as an independent unit with full sovereignty over its territory as a supreme security value compared to the rest of the other values, and from here it is clear that the security dimension, whether in the form of a security doctrine or security policy, is a level of foreign policy, especially Algeria, which is considered a pivotal country in the region by virtue of the sprawling borders with Neighboring countries and the threats that come from these countries put in the mind of the decision-maker that the process of formulating Algerian foreign policy must take into account the security dimension, and this is what made Algeria subject to sharp criticism in the issue of intervention in Libya or Tunisia militarily, but the Algerian security doctrine requires the

decision-maker in Algerian foreign policy to respect the principle of non-foreign military intervention As a principle from which foreign policy is formulated, and vice versa, Algerian foreign policy includes among its principles non-interference in the internal affairs of states, and this pushes decision-makers in security policy not to participate in any military activity of any nature. [Mohamed Senussi, The Constant and Changing in Algerian Foreign Policy, article taken from the website, www.elhiwardz.com /p33389 on 30 November 2015 at 14.30

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The conclusion :

We conclude that the Algerian foreign policy has fixed principles acquired from the march of armed struggle during the liberation revolution to this day, where it remained fixed according to what was defined by the constitution, as well as diplomatic traditions and customs, where it earned it the confidence of countries and international organizations because of the positive characteristics of Algerian foreign policy that made it solve many crises such as the Eritrean-Ethiopian conflict and the financial crisis.

And if the Algerian foreign policy towards the African space is among the most important Algerian strategic circles, along with the Maghreb and Arab circles, where it gave it its priorities and attention through interaction within the framework of international and regional institutions such as the African Union, where it operates. Algeria effectively within the framework of international and regional organizations where they consider international law to be the framework for any external act of states.

Algeria's foreign policy continues to face major challenges, the most important of which are security threats in the African Sahel region and Libya, given that they are neighboring countries, and it must activate its foreign policy in line with the current international transformations.

They also called on our students to research more on Algerian foreign policy, especially in light of the current international transformations and international competition for Africa, as well as the rise of Morocco as a major competitor to Algeria in its strategic depth in Africa, especially as a forward-looking study of the future of Algerian foreign policy.

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