## Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research University of Biskra

Faculty of Law and Political Science

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Lectures of

## Algerian foreign Policy

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7<sup>th</sup> lecture

**Principles of Algerian Foreign Policy** 

## 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/consultitution76 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 selfdetermination 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.