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Determinants of Algerian Foreign Policy

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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 [Dalia 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 Industry	Health	tillage crafts	Services	National Education
Percentage	58.9 %	1.6 %	12.5 %	16.5 %	0.9 % 4.9 % 0.7 %

The table is prepared by the professor and the figures are sourced from the National Bureau of Statistics (previous reference).

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 maronian 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.elmouradia.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..

C- 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 .

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
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Ahmed Ben Bella	1962-1965	-Ideological blur
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-Authoritarianism

-Accommodation and adventurous spirit

-Ethics

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