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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 Dagbar, 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:

- + Subdirectorates for Maghreb Countries
- + Subdirectorates 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:

- + Subdirectorates of the Arab Mashreq Countries
- + Subdirectorates 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 :

Subdirectorates 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 :

+Subdirectorate of the African Union

+ Subdirectorate 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 Dagbar, *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. Algeria 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 Mediène, 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.