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**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](http://www.elhiwardz.com/p33389) on 30 November 2015 at 14.30

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The end

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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