

The orientations and nature of Algerian foreign policy in international and regional organizations Algerian diplomacy in the Arab League as a model



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Abstract:

Foreign policy toward international organizations depends on a number of factors that are important to realize, and this is what the Algerian diplomacy has undertaken. Accordingly, the following question was raised: What is the role played by Algerian foreign policy within international and regional organizations, including the League of Arab States, especially in The period between 2011 and 2021? To verify the validity of this, and to answer the question posed, we relied on the analytical and descriptive approaches to test the validity of the three hypotheses that we set, as well as a plan of four sections was adopted. The study concluded that the Algerian foreign policy did not always support the visions of the League of Arab States.

key words: foreign policy. Diplomacy. international organizations. League of Arab States.. Cooperation

ملخص: السياسة الخارجية ازاء المنظمات الدولية تعتمد على عدد من العوامل التي من المهم ادراكها، وهذا ما اضطلعت به الدبلوماسية الجزائرية. وعليه تم طرح التساؤل التالي: ما هو الدور الذي لعبته السياسة الخارجية الجزائرية داخل المنظمات الدولية والإقليمية، بما في ذلك جامعة الدول العربية، خاصة في الفترة ما بين 2011 و 2021؟ وللتحقق من مدى صحة ذلك، والإجابة على التساؤل المطروح اعتمدنا على المنهجين التحليلي و الوصفي لإختبار صحة الفرضيات الثلاث التي قمنا بوضعها، وكذلك تم تبني خطة من أربع مباحث. لتتوصل الدراسة إلى انه لم تكن السياسة الخارجية الجزائرية لتدعم دائماً رؤى جامعة الدول العربية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: السياسة الخارجية. الدبلوماسية. المنظمات الدولية. جامعة الدول العربية. التعاون

Introduction:

Undoubtedly, international and regional organizations have become a privileged place for diplomatic action by States, which take advantage of these bodies not only to defend their interests, but also to try to make their conception of international life prevail, formulate goals, develop global and regional strategies or tactics. It is therefore no longer possible to study the action of a State as Algeria and its attitude towards international law, without including its action and attitude towards international and regional organizations. Where we must not forget foreign policy often depends on a number of factors, among which the geographical location, economic and social conditions, external circumstances play a primordial role.

The objectives of the study and its importance are: Usually, international organizations have member states from all over the world, but in some cases organizations have countries from one geographic region, such as the League of Arab States, in order to effectively achieve its stated goals, it must include many states that respect international law and accept the resolution of disputes that may arise with other states, and respect for the basic legal principles of all countries must be ensured. The main goal of the Association is to strengthen relations between member states and coordinate cooperation between them, to preserve their independence and sovereignty, and to consider in a general way the affairs and interests of the Arab countries. It should also work in order to achieve the desired Arab unity. This already shows the interest of an examination of the position of Algeria whose activity within international or regional organizations like the Arab League has often attracted attention in recent years. Accordingly, it is possible to present the following problematic: What is the role that Algerian foreign policy plays within international and regional organizations, including the League of Arab States, especially in the period between 2011 and 2021? In order to answer this problem, it may be important to put forward the following hypotheses. The first hypothesis The Algerian foreign policy stances towards international organizations, especially the Arab League, in the period between 2011 and 2020, were characterized by consistency and intense cooperation.

As for the second hypothesis: Algerian foreign policy stances vis-à-vis international organizations, especially the League of Arab States, in the period between 2011 and 2020 were characterized by inconsistency and lack of cooperation. As for the third and final hypothesis: Algerian foreign policy stances towards international organizations, especially the Arab League, in the period between 2011 and 2020 were characterized by consistency and cooperation in some cases only, depending on local and regional circumstances.

In order to answer the problem and test the validity of the hypotheses, we have relied on the analytical and descriptive methods, as the analytical approach is based To divide research phenomena or problems into the elementary elements that compose them; To facilitate the study process, and to reach the reasons that led to its creation This approach is widely used in data analysis processes, and its aim is to reach the best possible solutions to the problem related to the research topic. As for the descriptive approach, it helps to identify this phenomenon that is under study, put it in its correct framework, and explain all the surrounding circumstances, and this is the beginning of reaching the results related to the research, and crystallizing solutions that are represented in the recommendations and proposals

In this study, we will try to know the orientations of Algerian foreign policy in international organizations, in particular with regard to the League of Arab States. especially after the events of the Arab Spring and this in the following four chapters: the first chapter deals with the principles and definitions and the second chapter serves as the prerequisites for an active and militant diplomacy within international organizations, and in the third chapter we will try to know whether Algeria really advocates democratic and negotiated solutions within the Arab League. And the last chapter will be devoted to the Algerian position towards the Arab League in the shadow of the political changes in the Arab world: and what are the prospects and the challenges.

1 / Principles and definitions :

This is not the place to develop a presentation that is not at all original. But it was necessary to recall what politics is to justify a definition of foreign policy. This would therefore be the set of activities tending to ensure the cohesion of the nation within the larger framework constituted by a world external to it; these activities are normally carried out by the holders of ., guardians and guarantors of national cohesion. In other words, all the activities of foreign policy, whether they tend to affirm the position of the nation within the outside world or to organize its relations with this world, have a primary function of integration, because the interest of cohesion national is essential; the search for advantages or the defense of partial interests is only second. (Meyriat, 11, p. 145) Foreign policy is general objectives that guide the activities and relationships of one state in its interactions with other states. The development of foreign policy is influenced by domestic considerations, the policies or behaviour of other states, or plans to advance specific geopolitical designs .

For others, a foreign policy is not the action itself, but the underlying vision, that is to say the particular conception that a state has about its place in international relations. ., its national interests and the main principles that allow them to be defende (Morin, 2013, p. 13) Foreign policy scholars focus their studies on the determinants of a state's foreign policy. They are usually experts on a country or group of countries and examine the elements that influence foreign policy, such as opinion polls, decision-making processes, the psychology of decision-makers, the role of bureaucracies in decision-making, ideologies or even the difficulties of implementing decisions (Paquin, 2012, p. 2)

Indeed, it may conflict with these features which define the international organization in a negative way. Interest in this negative definition stems from the fact that an organization has been subjugated to play a role in a society, or system, that is mainly made up of states, and that it itself is an association of states. (Virally, 41, p. 533) Positively, the international organization can be considered as an association of States, formed by its members with a view to pursuing by institutional means defined objectives, responding to interests that

they consider to have in common and continue more effectively through organized cooperation between them (Virally, 41, p. 533) There are four elements each necessary to have an organization, they are four cumulative elements : 1/The international organization is always based on a treaty. 2/The international organization is an association of States.3/ The international organization has its own organizational structure.4/ the legal personality.

This definition underlines the fact that the international organization is a superstructure, in the sense that it materializes essentially in an apparatus of organs composed, at least in part, by representatives of States, that is to say of state bodies, and thus superimposing on state structures. (Virally, 41, p. 533) Among those organizations, which Algeria joined the League of Arab States The League's main goal is to draw closer the relations between member states and co-ordinate collaboration between them, to safeguard their independence and sovereignty, and to consider in a general way the affairs and interests of the Arab countries (2, 1945, p. 2)

The ruling in the Arab League was based on the duplication of supranational institutions and the sovereignty of member states in making decisions (2, 1945, p. 2) Unanimous decisions of the Council shall be binding upon all member-states of the League; majority decisions shall be binding only upon those states which have accepted them. In either case the decisions of the Council shall be enforced in each member-state according to its respective laws (2, 1945, p. 7)

In this context, it is important to refer to the Arab Spring, by which it is intended a series of pro-democracy uprisings that enveloped several largely arab countries, including Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain. Yemen and Syria. The events in these nations generally began in the spring of 2011, which led to the name. However, the political and social impact of these popular uprisings remains significant today, the uprisings also led to armed conflict in some countries, including civil war in Syria, Iraq, Libya, and Yemen.

2/ The prerequisites for active and militant diplomacy within international organizations:

The plan of action of the Algerian government gives a privileged place to the foreign policy of Algeria within international organizations, centered on the "pursuit of a dynamic diplomacy", emphasizing on the "assertion of sovereignty of the country, the contribution to peace, the defense of just causes, the promotion of fraternity and the development of cooperative relations .The promotion of the place and the role of Algeria in the world, will remain a permanent mission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with as constant: the assertion of the sovereignty of the country, the contribution to peace and to international security, the defense of the just causes of the peoples who fight and militate for the recovery of their fundamental rights (add, 2017)

Born of a cruel war imposed on it by the French State, independent Algeria has never since 1962 deviated from the general orientation of its foreign policy of Peace and Solidarity with the peoples who act to free themselves from a foreign domination¹¹ For this reason, the fundamental principles of Algerian foreign policy were determined at the eve of independence by the Tripoli Program.

The struggle against colonialism: imperialism and support for liberation movements were fundamental and constant values of Algerian diplomacy. After independence (1962), the Algiers Charter adopted at the FLN congress in 1964 reaffirmed the values of the Tripoli program. As for the Charter adopted by referendum in 1976, it strengthens the doctrinal body of Algerian diplomacy by integrating the principle of non-alignment and the need for peaceful coexistence between nations. The Algerian doctrine of international relations has been glossed over and analyzed. in other documents with an essentially international scope (Deschamps, 2015)

Diplomatic action will adopt positions of principle within the UN in dealing with its problem of access to independence and certain problems specific to Africa. The OAU has also served as a preferential framework for resolving conflicts between neighboring countries. In this continuity, Algeria is participating in the creation of new organizations to defend and mobilize resources, particularly within the framework of Arab-African cooperation (Bekkouche, 2000, p. 28)

The famous speech made by Boumediene before the extraordinary session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in April 1974 thirty five years after this speech, the temptation would be great to reduce the words of the man who was then the strong man of the Algeria to a simple anecdote or to one of the last of the major twists and turns of the non-aligned movements (Belkaid, 2009, p. 339) .Yet by defending the concept "The New International Order" thematic taken up less than 20 years later by the United States of George Bush in order to legitimize the Second Gulf War in 1991. Houari Boumediene had just endowed his country with a demand for the height of its third-world ambitions. A solid credo to Algerian diplomacy which now had in terms of message and substance much more material than what previously allowed it the usual refrain proclaiming the solidarity of their country with all struggling movements at its head is the popular movement for the Liberation of Western Sahara (Belkaid, 2009, pp. 339-340)

In the same vein, Algeria analyzes the case of the Organization for Islamic Cooperation (OIC) to identify a strategy for integration. Globally, there is no other religious organization whose members signatories are States. The aims of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, defined by a charter drawn up in Jeddah in March 1972 (coopérationislamique, 2020) . But it is not a strictly religious organization, as its goals are political, economic, social and cultural. It also brings together secular or secular multi-religious states (coopérationislamique, 2020).

3 / Algeria still advocates democratic and negotiated solutions within the Arab League.

Algeria shares a cultural identity with the Arab nations but is separated by its distance from the rest of the Middle East. The nature of the regime that governed Algeria for most of its independent history has precluded the development of mass enthusiasm for, or awareness of, external causes and conflicts .In its relations with the Arab League from which it received decisive support during the liberation struggle, Algeria was able to appreciate the unanimity made around its cause which blurred the divisions between the various Arab countries. It measured, therefore, how much the unanimist theme of Arab unity

covered with divergent conceptions and camouflaged deep contradictions behind an incantatory unitary discourse, without any real hold on the concrete ways and means of achieving unity. The F.L.N. for a long time avoided taking sides between the line of progressive countries in the Egyptian movement and the league of conservative countries in the Saudi movement (Mahiou, 1982, p. 135).

Union that must be maintained and strengthened. to establish a united front against imperialism and for progress ". While acknowledging the differences in regimes and political options, the F.L.N. is situated, in this chessboard, in the camp of the "Arab revolution", of which socialism is one of the weapons. However, it reaffirms, on the one hand, the specificity of the Algerian revolution due to the particular conditions of the colonial occupation, on the other hand, the priority of Maghreb unity which is its prerequisite. This double precaution is, in fact, only the testimony, if not of a certain reserve, at least of a vigilance with regard to the process of unity and the underlying ulterior motives of the rival protagonists of the 'arab unit (Mahiou, 1982, p. 135).

Once again, Algerian diplomacy had to note, to its chagrin, the gulf that separates its concerns from those of other Arab countries. The League summits have confirmed what everyone thinks: this league is no longer a framework for settling conflicts, much less an instrument of pressure. The goodwill and the main principles that drive Algerian diplomacy can do nothing in the face of such a pathetic spectacle. (Benabi, 2017, p. 1). and a triple record of failure:

01- failure in the search for a common position in the face of a worrying situation of destabilization in the Middle East region, Inability to foreign, defence or economic policies, rendering core league documents such as the Treaty of Joint Defence and Economic Cooperation and key bodies such as the Joint Defence Council completely ineffectual.

02- failure to develop realistic proposals to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Where members do agree on a common position, such as support for the Palestinians under Israeli occupation, this rarely if ever goes beyond the issuing of declarations. Perhaps the sole exception has been the economic boycott of Israel.

03- failure in a reform of the Arab League likely to endow this body with a unitary facade capable of making it taken seriously (Jean-Claude, 2010)

Algeria's historical and ideological commitment to national revolution and self-determination has resulted in a strong affinity for the Palestinians in Israel, one of the Arab League's most compelling causes Algeria has consistently supported the Palestinians and the Palestine Liberation Organization and spurned the idea of diplomatic resolution with Israel. (Metz, 1994) Changing state-society relations a more active civil society and a more informed public have meant new foreign policy directions characteristic of a government more responsive to its public. At the beginning of the millennium, Algeria's foreign policy toward the arabe league , however, had not changed significantly. Its relations with the West, had changed markedly since the immediate post-independence period (Metz, 1994).

4/ Algerian position towards the Arab League in the shadow of political changes in the Arab world: perspectives and challenges.

From the beginning of 2011 until 2021, some of the countries of the Arab League have been the scene of revolts and revolutionary phenomena. These events surprised the majority of political experts and specialists of the Revolution. Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain or Syria and Sudan are experiencing massive protest movements from populations demanding democratic changes and economic reforms. the Arab League has not hesitated to condemn the bloody of the population by the Libyan regime. This exceptional situation may be the historic opportunity for the Arab League to include the defense of democratic values and human rights in its charter and to demand their respect by member countries (Bayramzadeh:, 2020)

Regionally, the two Tunisian and Egyptian upheavals also came at a time of Arab political stalemate, in the face of, among other things, the stagnation of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, Lebanese government blockages, and the aging of several political regimes. In this configuration, the initiative in terms of foreign policy, for several years, seemed to come much more to non-Arab actors (Iran, Turkey, Israel) than to actors who had once been the pillars or keys of the

equilibrium system. regional, such as Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, or Algeria. Endowed with few national political or diplomatic engines, the Arab political scene was still weakly structured in terms of collective institutions, with an inactive Arab League (Charilie, 2013)

Regarding Libya the Algerian government, which feared the deterioration of the civil war in Libya and the dissemination of Islamist fighters and weapons in its Saharan regions, where terrorist networks are already active, observed a kind of benevolent neutrality towards - vis of the arab league (Kéfi, 2013), At the same time, Algeria had rejected in October 2016, the Arab League's request calling on it to participate in the mission of the peacekeeping forces in this country which devastated by war (Menacer, 5/12/2017). Algeria also adopts in novembre 2020 the same position as the Arab League he military option will not achieve victory for any side and the military action will not bring peace or establish stability on the Libyan soil and the political solution is the only way to settle the Libyan crisis.for that algerian diplomacy called for the withdrawal of foreign forces in Libya and urged for talks on ending the conflict.

In Syria, the reality of a civil war is escalating. It evokes more what Algeria or Lebanon experienced than the Arab revolutions in Tunisia or Egypt. Syria has become a field open to all interference. A Syrian national compact must be built that involves bringing communities together and first of all the truce that the Arab League deserves. What the "after Assad" may be is not clear More recently the League has shown a greater sense of purpose since the Arab spring uprisings in early of nationwide protests, but its monitoring mission to Damascus fell apart over divisions between member-states who support a UN resolution against the Assad government and those that shy away from internationalising an Arab matter (Chevènement, 2020).

Furthermore, with its support for non-intervention in the internal affairs of countries, Algeria has consistently opposed NATO powers intervention in Syria and other Arab states too, which Algiers views as a violation of a fellow Arab country's sovereign rights (Cafiero, 2020) When the Syrian crisis was in its earliest stage and numerous Arab and Western states, along with Turkey, were seeking to topple Assad's government, Algeria stood against such agendas. The Algerian

leadership opposed all Arab League resolutions against Damascus, as well as decrees proposed before the UN, that would have violated Syrian sovereignty and independence from Algiers perspective (Cafiero, 2020) Algeria also has reservations about the Arab League's decision to expel the representative of Syria in the League. It also strongly opposed the attempt to grant this seat to the opposition, defending the Algerian position, saying: "The same principles that govern Algerian foreign policy are what made Algeria not participate in the joint Arab powers and the Islamic alliance. And it prevented its participation in Decisive Storm in Yemen.

The conflict in Yemen has its roots in the failure of a political transition supposed to bring stability to Yemen following an Arab Spring uprising that forced its longtime president, Ali Abdullah Saleh, to hand over power to his deputy, Abdrabbuh Mansour Hadi, in 2011 (Serebrov, 2015, p. 4). Disillusioned with the transition, many ordinary Yemenis - including Sunnis - supported the Houthis, and in late 2014 and early 2015 the rebels gradually took over the capital Sanaa (Serebrov, 2015, p. 4) A coalition of several countries, led by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, intervened against the Houthis on 25/03/2015 in a so-called Decisive Storm, at the request of President Hadi, with the aim of returning the internationally recognized government to power²⁸. This sparked an all-out armed conflict, as the coalition launched an aerial bombing campaign against Houthi forces. Over the following years, the conflict spread to include the entire country and witnessed the proliferation of parties to the conflict, including a number of armed groups supported by the coalition (Sharp, 2020, p. 3).

In Yemen crisis carries threats that have already started to affect its neighbours in the Arabian Peninsula and which might affect the interests of global actors in the future. The situation in Yemen has already been identified as one of the world's largest humanitarian catastrophes of the 21st century, causing concerns for the Arab League the international community. If urgent measures are not taken to resolve the political crisis in the country, the situation could present greater challenges³⁴ in addition to COVID-19, cholera continues to threaten the

lives of Yemenis, with 110,000 people contracting it so far this year, according to the arab league (Serebrov, 2015, p. 3).

Yemen's relationship to the Arab League and other intergovernmental bodies is in limbo. The internationally recognized government of President Abdrabbuh Mansour Hadi enjoys diplomatic relations abroad but is based in Riyadh and does not truly govern in the domestic Yemeni arena, where the Ansar Allah Party (also known as the Houthis) is effectively in charge in the capital Sanaa. Social services are a shambles. The value of the Yemeni riyal has collapsed. Destruction is widespread. Commodities including food and medicine are in short supply (huaxia, 2020).

Most Arab League member states support the Saudi-backed Hadi administration although Algeria does not show enthusiasm for it, few Yemeni citizens inside the country do. Hadi's term in office has long since expired, and he was never particularly popular. Therefore, there is a pronounced disconnect between legitimacy in foreign or pan-Arab circles and domestic legitimacy; the administration headed by Hadi does not credibly represent indigenous opinions or interests either in the Arab League or elsewhere (Carapico, 2020) This is due to the fact that Algeria, in addition to its position on participation, emphasized that the Houthis an essential party in the Yemeni political equation.

Algeria itself has known peaceful protests that resulted in the emergence of a new Algeria in 2020, blessed by the Arab League, as it did with Sudan The Arab League did not intervene in the protests in Sudan When the situation was turbulent and often deteriorating for many years in the Arab world, The pro-democracy revolution of 2019 in Sudan is considered one of the glorious Arab popular uprisings. One of the world's most brutal dictatorships was overthrown in a massive nonviolent civil insurrection involving millions of Sudanese and the establishment of a liberal technocratic civil administration. It remains to be seen whether democratic civilian rule will survive the great challenges and obstacles that the country may face.

conclusion:

We have seen that Algeria's analyzes and judgments on international organizations vary, ranging from relative confidence to conservative support. However, as severe as it is, there is never an invitation to break up because she believes that any system is susceptible of amendment, of reform if one acts from the inside. Having benefited from a period of attentive observation and vigilant participation which enabled her to better understand the field, to assess the balance of power, she considers the time has come to campaign, under the banner of the new international order, either for a reform of existing international organizations in order in particular to democratize them, that is to say for the promotion of new international organizations under the sign of a better management of development problems.

We have also seen that after decades of stability in many Arab League countries, a wave of revolutions and developments has shaken a geopolitical and cultural entity that seemed immutable. The magnitude of these changes surprised all analysts. This is the confirmation of a reality that is no longer in doubt: the Arab world as a single political space does exist.

If we look at the core issue of various international organizations, including the League of Arab States, it is always searching for the general interest of the states affiliated with it, which may clash with the narrow interests of states that are concerned only with imposing their point of view and defending what it truly deems for them. The Arab League has a flag, but it has been placed, it makes decisions on majority basis but there is no mechanism to compel members to comply with resolutions. It has been criticized for its internal conflicts and collective inaction on important international issues.

In fact, the occasions have been rare when the Arab League succeeded in resolving a crisis. It presently exhibits a complete inability to deal with active civil wars such as those in Yemen, Syria, or Libya or with simmering disputes such as the Gulf Cooperation Council Crisis of 2017. It cannot be counted on to represent the wishes of millions of Arabs in necessary and serious political and economic reforms in their countries. Finally, the Arab League's record indicates that it is

incapable of persuading some Arab governments to end their normalization with Israel.

Algeria's foreign policy views the lack of pan-Arab unity and the high-level of division among Arab states as problematic. Algeria is seeking to reassert its diplomatic influence in the Arab region. To do so, Algiers sees restoring the Arab League's political relevance to the region as necessary. Also, Algerian foreign policy did not always support the stances of the League of Arab States. Rather, its positions were characterized by variation according to circumstances and positions. This proves the validity of the third hypothesis that we tested, which is that the positions of Algerian foreign policy towards international organizations, especially the League of Arab States, in the period between 2011 and 2021, were characterized by consistency and cooperation in some cases only, depending on local transformations and international circumstances.

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