

New security threats in the Maghreb: Building a unified regional security vision



Dr. Mourad HADJADJ

University of Boumerdes, (Algeria)

m.hadjadj@univ-boumerdes.dz

Submission date: 30/09/2022 Acceptance date: 29/12/2022 Publication date: 29/12/2022

Abstract: *considering the strategic importance of the Arab Maghreb, it has recently witnessed several threats that differ in nature from traditional threats, including terrorism, organized crime and drug trafficking, which prompted the Maghreb countries to review their security doctrine and vision, which requires these countries to coordinate and make joint efforts to confront These new security threats, as a harmonious regional space to avoid any external interference that threatens its stability.*

The problematic also aims to study the new security threats facing the Maghreb countries in light of the current and accelerating developments and security crises in the Maghreb regional system. A new structural, as a result of which it redraws a geopolitical map in the Maghreb region.

key words: *regional space; The Maghreb; security threat; security vision.*

ملخص: نظرا للأهمية الاستراتيجية للمغرب العربي فقد شهد في الآونة الأخيرة عدة تهديدات تختلف في طبيعتها عن التهديدات التقليدية، منها الارهاب والجريمة المنظمة وتجارة المخدرات، مما دفع بالدول المغاربية الى مراجعة عقيدتها ورؤيتها الأمنية، ما تطلب من هذه الدول التنسيق و بذل الجهود المشتركة لمواجهة هذه التهديدات الامنية الجديدة ، باعتبارها فضاء اقليمي منسجم لتجنب اي تدخلات خارجية تهدد استقراره. كما تعالج إشكالية هذه الدراسة التهديدات الأمنية الجديدة التي تواجه الدول المغاربية في ظل التطورات الراهنة والمتسارعة والازمات الأمنية التي يشهدها النظام الإقليمي المغاربي هذه التهديدات التي تعتبر كانعكاس مباشر لما يتعرض له النظام الدولي، من تغيرات هيكلية، ما يُعرض أمن المنطقة كليا، إلى اختلالات بنيوية جديدة، تعيد بسببها رسم الخريطة الجيوسياسية في منطقة المغرب العربي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: *فضاء إقليمي؛ المغرب العربي؛ تهديد أمني؛ الرؤية الامنية.*

-Introduction:

The Maghreb region faces complex security threats, mainly represented in terrorism, organized crime and arms trade, leading to the growing phenomenon of illegal immigration. And security mutual dependence between these countries, php bypass ha An area of six million square kilometers The Maghreb region constitutes a harmonious regional geographical unit that has made it a space Geopolitically and culturally, it is homogeneous and is not permeated by any borders and ethnic or civilizational barriers. This calls for the importance of building a common Maghreb regional security approach to confront various security threats, especially the new ones, which threaten the security of the region and thus the entity of states . It undermines state building and mortgages the stabilization process Regional in the region, Algeria is considered By virtue of its strategic geographical location, a focal point and an intersection in Any future Maghreb security approach, as it embodies the reality of the geographical strength and the entrenchment of the strategic logic, a point of intersection between the Maghreb countries on the one hand, and the Mediterranean Sea and the depth of the African continent on the other hand . The area of the Maghreb and the length of its land borders is (6343 km) By linking it to all Maghreb countries east, west and south..

Threats have been associated The new security is the transformation in the concept of security that has gone beyond the classical concept to other concepts with an economic, social, value and psychological dimension in accordance with the new circumstances, given that logic requires building new strategies if there are new transformations. These various threats that the region knows began in the Sahel region and It was affected by internal and external factors, which in turn affected the dialogue countries and extended them to the entire Maghreb region,

which became a center for the repercussions of events and their developments on the African coast . Faced with the procrastination of the countries of the region, it led to accelerated reactions at the level of organizations and at the level of Western countries, and eventually led to military intervention in the region, which will inevitably have

direct effects on security in the Maghreb region, whether in the short or long term .

The problematic of this study addresses the new security threats facing the Maghreb countries in light of the current and rapid developments and the security crises in the Maghreb regional system . which are trying to confront what the future holds in terms of reformulating the security map. What are the most important security challenges facing the Maghreb countries in light of the current and accelerating developments, specifically in the Sahel region ? And what are the repercussions and dimensions of the French military intervention on neighboring countries in general and on the Arab Maghreb countries in particular? And what are the repercussions of the various security threats in the region on security in the Maghreb in light of the current military intervention scenarios?

This problem can be based on the following hypotheses:

-The new generation of Euro - Maghreb agreements differs from the partnership agreements of the 1960s or the cooperation agreements of the 1970s, which were purely commercial agreements, as they include financial, economic and technical cooperation, a social and cultural axis, and political and security dialogue.

-Cooperation and mutual dependence of a common Maghreb regional security doctrine are an urgent necessity to confront non-traditional security threats. Threatened to one Maghreb space .

we will divide the study into four components:

I- the factors for the emergence of security threats in The Maghreb region

II- Maghreb security between European and American strategies

III- The Maghreb security approach to confront new security threats.

IV-Proposed solutions to activate the role of the Maghreb Union and joint action in confronting security threats.

I- the factors of the emergence of security threats in The Maghreb region

Before talking about the reflection of security threats on the Maghreb region, it must be noted that there are a group of factors in the Maghreb region and the Sahel, some external and the other internal, that have contributed greatly to the emergence of non-traditional security threats.

1- External factors :

There are a number of factors that affected the deterioration of conditions in the Sahel region, including the following in particular:

- The Libyan Crisis: - The flow of Tuareg arms.
- The Malian and Nigerien recruits who fled in October 2011 and were under the command of Khamis Gaddafi.
- European economic crisis
- Chinese-Western competition over the region, which led to the division of Sudan.

2- Internal factors:

linked to a number of factors, the most important of which are:

- The absence of equality and balance between regions, whether in terms of development or representation of the people of the region in various state institutions. (roche et david, 2011).
- The military coup and its impact on the aggravation of events: The beginning of the aggravation of matters was the overthrow of the elected president at the behest of France, which led to the beginning of the aggravation of matters, and the inability of the army to control the situation, which facilitated the various terrorist organizations from spreading rapidly in northern Mali and taking over it and imposing its logic and policy on Ground. (james n. rosenau, 1992)

That for these different threats Multiple reflections on Algeria and the Arab Maghreb countries:

A- Direct effects on Algeria :

These threats have a direct impact on the whole region, especially on Algeria. The most important of these effects are the following (roche et david, 2011).

- The potential flow of refugees, in addition to the 25,000 refugees currently in Algeria, is expected to reach 500,000 refugees in the event of opening the borders or yielding to humanitarian demands, which will constitute a source of weakness for Algeria.
- The possibility of some terrorist organizations penetrating the border, given the length of the Algerian border with Mali, which exceeds 1400 km.
- Planning terrorist operations inside neighboring countries, including Algeria in particular, and its first features began with an attempt to kidnap hostages working in the Qantourine base, and then attack the base after the failure of the kidnapping attempt.
- Centralization of Western intelligence in the region, which would lead to negative effects on our southern borders.
- The possibility of the spread of French military bases adjacent to our southern borders, with the pressure that this may pose on Algeria.
- The continued mobilization of the military force in Algeria along the southern border strip, which is approximately 6,000 km, which will raise the budget of the Ministry of Defense, knowing that the budget doubled in 2011, and the budget of 2012 and 2013 continues to rise. (james n. rosenau, 1992).

B - Effects on the Arab Maghreb countries:

The most important influences on the Maghreb countries can be summarized as follows:

- Exacerbation of illegal immigration for all countries in the region.
- The possibility of exacerbation of religious extremism, some of which seemed to be linked to organizations, the most important of which is the organization of Sharia.

-
- The various economic effects of lack of growth and risks associated with the exacerbation of crises
 - Difficulties and deficits at the levels of human development and democratic construction.
 - The continued weakness of inter-cooperation between the Maghreb countries.
 - Major crises on the borders of the Maghreb countries, which lead to an exchange of accusations, including the presence of Tunisian terrorists in the attack on Tiquantourine, accusing Algeria of the assassination of Chokri Belaid in Tunisia...
 - Expanding the expansionist economic fields of Western countries at the expense of the interests of the Maghreb countries.
 - The delay in correcting the imbalances associated with the Arab Maghreb Union due to the phenomenon of armaments between Algeria and Morocco, as well as to address the various security threats. (roche et david, 2011).

II- Maghreb security between European and American strategies .

France seeks, within the framework of the European Union, to confront the growing American role and influence in the region and America's control of the security file. Therefore, the "Strategy for the Coast" project is in fact a competing project for the American projects that were launched in the region and became threatening French and European interests. (tisseron, 2017) Since the end of the Cold War, America has taken the initiative to lay the foundations for its concentration in Africa and to intensify its presence at the economic and security level, especially. Its partners in the Middle East across North Africa and the sub-Saharan Africa region as allies in its back Among the most important American security projects that were directed to the coast, there are two important projects, namely: Project: Pan-sahel and was adopted in November 2002, and includes training national armies in Mali, Niger, Mauritania, Chad, as well as encouraging regional cooperation with the help of American

technology and information exchange. The US administration has allocated \$6,000,000 for this project in the first year and 7.75 million dollars in the second year, in addition to sending nearly 150 American soldiers in the form of missions to each of the countries (Mali, Chad, Niger, Mauritania), which form the heart of this strategy. . In the year 2005, this project (Pan-sahel) was replaced by the Sahrawi Partnership Program to Confront Terrorism (le Partenariat transsaharienne contre le terrorisme; TSCTP), which is a program It is supervised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the US Agency for International Aid (USAIA) and the Ministry of Defense: It is noticeable that this project has expanded the number of countries concerned with it. In addition to the four countries included in the Pan-Sahel project, namely: Mali, Niger, Chad and Mauritania, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Senegal and Libya were also integrated. In turn, the program includes work to improve the capabilities of the countries of the region against terrorist organizations and prevent these The latter aims to employ new elements in its ranks, in addition to preventing the region from becoming a haven for local and international terrorists. This project relies on two aspects of work: the first aspect depends on improving the effectiveness of local forces through sharing information, training and strengthening compatibility, and the second aspect relates to military cooperation in Africa. Through military exercises between American and African forces and some NATO countries (France, Spain). During the period 2005-2009, an amount of 490 million dollars was allocated to this partnership, most of which was directed to the four coastal countries (Niger, Chad, Mali and Mauritania). (tisseron, 2017)

- This attempt to extend American hegemony Américafrique contradicts Francafrique and pushes France, within the framework of the European Union, to confront every attempt that threatens its influence in its ancient colonies and its strategic areas of presence. This is what the Strategic Initiative for the Sahel implies
- Second: The content of the European strategy and its implementation mechanisms

-
- The crystallization of this strategy began in 2008 during the French presidency of the European Union, when European concern emerged from the worsening security situation in the Sahel region, and after many consultations and European missions that took place in Mali, Niger, Mauritania and Algeria. After the situation became more complicated due to the widespread spread of al-Qaeda's activities, eight European countries (France, Germany, Denmark, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Sweden and the Netherlands) submitted a letter to the European Commission, asking it to implement its commitments in the region. These efforts culminated in June 2011. By adopting the strategy for the coast. This strategy was based on the link between security and development in solving the problems of the region, and the strategy focused primarily on what it called the heart countries, namely Mali, Mauritania, Niger, and it is based on four main axes, namely: (assanvo , 2011)
 - The first axis: Encouraging development, good governance, and resolving conflicts. The aim of this field is to contribute to economic and social development in a way that allows improving the living conditions of the region's residents and giving them economic opportunities, and then preventing this region from turning into the activity of extremist groups and organized crime, working to strengthen state institutions, and supporting the mechanisms of national dialogue to resolve various conflicts. (gaub, 2017) .
 - The second axis: Encouraging regional cooperation: by integrating the countries of the region into an effective dialogue framework to effectively manage threats and challenges.
 - The third axis: strengthening national security capabilities and the rule of law. As the instability in the region is caused by the problem of development, the lack of state control, and the inability of the armed forces to ensure and impose their effective presence in these areas, due to the lack of equipment and training. Therefore, the European Union strategy for the Sahel region includes strengthening the capabilities of security and security institutions and the rule of law in order to confront terrorism and crime. transcontinental organization. (assanvo , 2011).

- The fourth axis: Improving the economic level: This axis focuses on combating the factors that lead to the development of violence by working to combat poverty and social marginalization that some social groups suffer from in the Sahel region. (l'union européenne, 2013)
- The European Union has allocated a financial envelope of about 650 million euros for the implementation of this strategy, of which: about 450 million has been allocated to the three countries that represent the heart of the strategy, namely: Mauritania, Mali and Niger, while the amount of 200 million euros has been directed to the rest of West Africa and the Arab Maghreb, in addition to an amount 150 million euros as an additional amount from the European Development Fund in addition to spending through the stabilization spending apparatus. The following table shows the assistance provided by the European Development Fund and the European Union Strategy for the Sahel. (l'union européenne, 2013)

European Development Fund

Box 10 European Union strategy for the coast

Financial	533 million euros	50 million euros
-----------	-------------------	------------------

Mauritania	156 million euros	8.4 million euros
------------	-------------------	-------------------

Niger	458 million euros	91.6 million euros
-------	-------------------	--------------------

- Several initiatives have been launched at the regional level, including the program to combat terrorism in the Sahel, which is funded at the long-term level by the Stabilization Service (6.7 million euros during the period 2012-2014) and aims to support local capabilities and improve regional cooperation in the field of combating terrorism and organized crime. A virtual college for security in the coast to form the forces of repression and share information and experience. The Stabilization Service also finances, with an amount of 2.2 million euros, the Police Information System Program for West Africa. (l'union européenne, 2013)

- (Le système d'information de la police d'Afrique de l'ouest.)

- It is a system that relies on creating a base for exchanging information between the police services between the five countries (Benin, Ghana, Mali, Mauritania, Niger), the Economic Community of West African States and Interpol. The European Development Fund also granted 41 million euros between 2012 and 2017 for a project Defense and security for the Economic Community of West African States in order to support the capabilities of the institutions, and the program to combat drug trafficking and crime in this economic group has been supported by an additional financial cover of 19.7 million euros from the European Development Fund. In addition to these funds, a joint security and defense policy mission named Mission PSDC SAHEL was launched in December 2011.

- And within the framework of the Security and Defense Policy Mission, Mission PSDC SAHEL, Niger benefited in July 2012 from a civilian mission called Eucapsahel, to combat terrorism and organized crime, a mission that extends over two years with an amount of money estimated at 7.8 million euros. (belkaïd, a., & stora, 2017)

- In addition to this aid and to confront the food crisis, the European Commission allocated 337 million euros as humanitarian aid to the Sahel region in 2012. This is in addition to development projects funded by the European Development Fund at a value of 2000 million euros directed to Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Mauritania and Chad. The European Union also approved the amount of 164.5 million euros from the additional fund, distributed to six African countries, namely: Mauritania with 13 million euros, Burkina Faso with 17 million euros, Mali with 15 million euros, Niger with 42.5 million euros, and Chad with 35. One million euros and Senegal with 5 million euros.

- What is noticeable about this strategy - even if it is modern, and judging its effectiveness is difficult, and despite the process of linking the security issue to the issue of development, it focuses the greatest effort on the security aspect, which appears in the intensity of special programs to strengthen the military forces compared to other aspects of development, which It remained confined to aid policy only without developing it to raise direct investment, and thus it does not bring anything new to stability in the

region. Because aid policy is not a new matter in European policy towards the Sahel and towards Africa as a whole.

- Within the framework of preserving the center's relations with the periphery and preserving colonial economic relations, African countries signed the Yaounde agreements (1964-1965 and 1971-1975), then the Lomé Agreement in 1975, with the European Union and about 46 countries in Africa and the Caribbean and Pacific regions. . The Lomé agreement grants African countries' exports to the European Union exemption from customs duties and protection restrictions, and also guarantees African countries the stability of their exports to Europe of basic products. In February 2000, the date of the end of the Lomé Agreement, and after difficult negotiations, the European Union and African countries were able to reach a new agreement on trade and aid between them, (Cotonou Agreement), for a period of 20 years. This new agreement is considered as a partnership agreement between the European Union and African countries. The new agreement aims to: (ghanem, 2019).

- - Bringing about a radical change in the organization of the relationship between Europe and Africa; The system that gives preferences to Africa unilaterally, as it was in the old Lomé agreement, has been abolished to be replaced by a regional free trade agreement between the two sides after an 8-year transitional period.

- - Eradicating poverty in Africa and helping it integrate into the global economy through the gradual liberalization of its trade with Europe, taking into account the economic conditions in these countries. Providing financial grants to Africa and the Caribbean and Pacific countries amounting to 13.5 billion during the period from 2000 to 2007, in addition to 9 billion grants. A precedent that these countries did not benefit from .. It was assumed that this partnership would lead to the recovery of the African economy and social development, but the opposite is what happened and most African countries entered into food and debt crises, which was behind the growth of violence, terrorism and crime the organization. Which prompts us to ask about the difference between the strategy for the coast and the economic partnership in the Cotonou Agreement

- The French haste with the military intervention in Mali expresses a blow to this strategy and demonstrates the European reliance on the purely military-security approach in managing crises in the Sahel region and preserving its strategic interests in the region, and then extending and expanding the concentrated French military presence in West Africa to the region. Sahel and North Africa. (belkaïd, a., & stora, 1999).

III- The Maghreb security approach to confront new security threats

The Maghreb region has witnessed new changes that require an in-depth diagnosis of challenges, as it faces a set of political, economic, social and cultural challenges that call for avoiding impasses and crises that hinder its reform and development projects.

In our attempt to identify the most important challenges facing the Maghreb countries, we found that they are concentrated in particular in: unemployment, poverty, migration, poor economic performance, limited sustainable human development, as well as the problem of the Western Sahara(collombier 2013).

In the face of these renewed and complex challenges, it was expected that the Maghreb countries would resort to activating the role of the Maghreb Union and its institutions to put an end to or overcome these risks that threaten the security and stability of the region. He was able to rearrange the priorities of the region, divided between security at all levels, development and democracy.

Thus, it seems clear today that it has become impossible for the Maghreb countries to deal meaningfully with the most important challenges by relying solely on national policies, in all economic, social, cultural and political fields, which requires them to intensify efforts in order to bring about a quantum leap in the Maghreb integration and integration work (collombier 2013) .

In spite of these institutions, organs, ruling objectives, and the summits held, the Maghreb countries did not achieve what they were aspiring for. (collombier 2013)

At the level of combating terrorism, for example, the Moroccan countries were unable to develop joint plans to reduce the dangers of this phenomenon, despite their joint exposure to sabotage acts by the al-Qaeda Organization in the Islamic Maghreb. Those exposed to the threat of terrorism are incapable of security cooperation and coordination among themselves, and have resorted to searching for alternatives, represented by the European Union and the United States of America. (ghanem, 2019)

Even on the economic level, which received great attention at the level of the summits held, and was considered a basis for activating integration. The overall scene of the reality of the economies of these countries in the region is far from being satisfactory, as the economies of Algeria and Libya depend on oil and gas exports, as does the economy of Morocco. To a large extent - on agricultural production and cash remittances from expatriates, while Tunisia depends on European consumer demand and on tourism. There is no doubt that the heterogeneity of economic legislation limits the strategic importance of the region, and it loses an average of 2.5% of the gross product due to the closure of the Algerian-Moroccan border and the weakness of intra-trade (collombier 2013) .

Inter-relationships remained weak in the field of trade and economic exchange. So that it did not exceed 1.5% as it was in the year 1985 of the total exports of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, and 1.2% of the volume of imports, and did not reach more than 5% of the total intra-trade exchanges despite the sectoral agreements concluded between the countries of the Union (el-djeïch magazine,2020) . Accordingly, the volume of intra-regional exchanges - despite the relative improvement - remains very weak and below the aspirations produced by the Maghreb summits, and far below the level when compared to the volume of trade exchanges with the European Union, which exceeds 50%. It can be said that the economic and commercial relations between the countries of the Arab Maghreb Union did not rise to the lowest level of regulations for the sake of integration and economic unity and did not even reach the level of the customs preference zone (el-djeïch magazine,2020) .

It is clear from the foregoing that the Arab Maghreb countries are still suffering from many problems at all levels, and despite the

availability of institutional jazz as a base for joint action, the Maghreb Union remains unable to implement what has been planned in the goals of this integration in bringing the interests of these countries closer together. This means that the countries of the Arab Maghreb, in their reliance on the union as a strategy to solve various problems, did not achieve anything behind it, and its institutions remained a hollow structure without a soul only, as Montesquieu called it the company of gatherings for acquaintance only, and one of the most important obstacles that prevented the success of the course of this complementary experiment, to become A successful mechanism in facing security challenges in the region includes the following: (ghanem, 2019).

The most important obstacles to real rapprochement and effective cooperation on the path to integration and the Maghreb union are represented by the problems of national sovereignty over some regions. These problems were the effects of the colonial phase that dominated the countries of the Maghreb during French, Italian and Spanish colonialism. The (Western Sahara file) since 1975, and the position of the Polisario Front, brought the countries of Morocco into the circle of declared and hidden conflicts for nearly a quarter of a century. And if the problems of national sovereignty have lessened their impact in one way or another, and even (the Sahara file) after it entered the corridors of the United Nations to hold the referendum, and the matter is still not resolved yet, then the issue of national sovereignty, and what was added to it of the emergence of fundamentalist movements in Algeria since 1992, and Algeria's accusation against Morocco With the support of some of its factions, rapprochement has been prevented since the end of 1994, and the relationship between the largest forces in the Arab Maghreb Union, Algeria and Morocco, has become strained. The siege of Libya since 1992, and the resulting Libyan position protesting against the Maghreb positions that supported the blockade and deviated from the Arab Maghreb Union Treaty (Articles 3 and 15), drove the wedge of divergence between the Maghreb countries and paralyzed the Arab Maghreb Union completely since the beginning of 1995. Until now. Accordingly, the political reality controlled the economic reality of the

Maghreb and left its deep effects on inter-economic exchanges (el-djeïch magazine, 2020) .

Add to this the separation between the thinking of the state and the needs of society, which is a feature available in all Maghreb countries that made the union between them only for the interests of the elite. In addition to that, the absence of a political will for serious work within the union (elguettaa, 2021) .

The existence of economic problems in terms of structure, organization and production, and there is a backwardness in the marketing and production structures and their inefficiency, in addition to the weakness of transport and communication facilities and their high costs, in addition to the lack of trade information, the different commercial systems and financial and monetary policies, the lack of coordination and unification of customs tariffs, and the inability to The currencies of the countries of the Maghreb cannot be exchanged with each other except through a foreign currency, in addition to that, the dominance of social / economic forces with national tendencies and trends that push - based on their narrow interests and selfishness - in the direction opposite to federal action. All of this constitutes effective internal obstacles to facilitating and developing trade exchange and inter-convergence on the path of true integration leading to the Union and consolidating its pillars (elguettaa, 2021) .

IV-Proposed solutions to activate the role of the Maghreb Union and joint action in confronting security threats.

Reaching a solution to all the obstacles presented is not an easy matter, but reaching any solution that guarantees the supreme interests of the Maghreb brings the solution closer to the other obstacles, because the Maghreb in particular, and the Arab world in general, has many, many unifying ingredients and elements that are lacking in contemporary regional groupings. There is geographical homogeneity and a single historical, civilizational and national reference, as well as the similarity of its economies and mineral wealth, along with the similarity of its internal and external crises. Realizing the aspirations of the people and guaranteeing their present and future interests within their national and civilized framework.

The most important factors paving the way for rapprochement and establishing solid foundations for federal action can be mentioned, namely:

First : Work on laying educational-cultural foundations to build the Maghreb/Arab personality, i.e. instilling a unified culture to produce a unified personality in order to accept and preserve the steps proposed in federal or unitary action (Sloan, 2012).

Second : Focusing on achieving economic integration, because economic relations and the intertwining of material interests between countries and peoples will lead to a decline in the role of political issues that are usually accompanied by great sensitivity. The truth is that the economic basis in any integration experiment will play a major and fundamental role in the success of the integration path, such as the European experience that resulted in the crystallization of the European Union. The disappearance of conflicts of interest between these countries or between different segments of the peoples of each country. Therefore, such successful experiences must be emulated. The experience of European unity has indicated that reaching the major goals will not be achieved without achieving the smaller goals, and that the network of horizontal interactions between peoples that achieves for them part of their economic interests and material aspirations, and allows for the independence and effectiveness of civil work,, such as building a pool for electricity lines, or for gas or even for the telephone. Then these gatherings become the nucleus of a larger network of economic interests, which in turn will eventually become the nucleus of the common economic market (Sloan, 2012) .

Third : Maghreb countries are required to face development challenges to reformulate the orientations and path of Maghreb development, in a way that helps them to mutually benefit from the capabilities and resources available to them as a regional bloc capable of continuing and communicating, developing technological education and narrowing the gap between education outputs and labor market needs in accordance with scientific development. And this requires the provision of an appropriate and stable political and security environment that protects the poor classes, preserves basic human rights, adheres to the values of justice and equality, preserves the

independence and security of the homeland, and secures its future and the future of its generations. It also requires coordination of financial and economic legislation, opening borders to intra-trade, and establishing a common consumer market that increases the attractiveness of the region in the field of attracting foreign investments, leading in the medium term to promoting real economic integration among the countries of the region, reducing their external dependence and providing them with greater liquidity to spend on development. Especially since the region has the conditions for integration between energy, agriculture, minerals, tourism, industry and services, which makes it benefit from the international situation because of its geographical location and cultural openness in the Euro-Mediterranean space (Junemann, 2012) .

Fourth : Undoubtedly, achieving this flexibility, on the economic level, is impossible without a pluralistic, democratic political framework that helps launch the initiatives of the Maghreb peoples to rebuild the Maghreb on modern foundations. And the issue that has a great impact in this context on the future of the Maghreb development is represented in the lack of arbitrary separation between politics and economics . Therefore, the countries of the Maghreb, if they wish and are determined, must change the status quo and lead the march towards achieving the desired goals by adopting good governance, fair reform policies in favor of the poor and the middle classes, active and effective resource management, setting clear and precise priorities for development, and adopting economic reform programs capable of creating Job opportunities absorb entrants to the labor market, attract increasing percentages of the ranks of the unemployed, and address the gaps between cities and rural areas . Therefore, the real start in this difficult confrontation begins with the establishment of a sound democratic pluralistic system that establishes the rule of law, places it under control, accountability, and accountability, and establishes the independence of The judiciary, the rotation of power, respect for multiple and different opinions, and freedom of the press, opinion and expression. This democratic system alone is capable of presenting a national political, economic, social, and national vision that adopts comprehensive development with the participation of the private sector, and the rehabilitation of the enormous human force, while

modernizing the well-known tripartite system, which is education, culture, and information (Junemann, 2012).

Fifth : Work to solve all existing internal problems, and adopt flexibility and non-extremism in reaching an agreement with a view based on unity to come. As for border problems, they can be solved according to the logic of mutual understanding, common trust, and supreme interests by the unified work of these countries (grissom, 2006) .

Sixth : In order to achieve guarantee, continuity and development in the federal action, it is necessary for the popular forces to effectively assume their position and role in building the Arab Maghreb, as interfaces for public opinion, the guarantor of any step that expresses its aspirations, aspirations and interests (grissom, 2006) . Here, efforts must focus on establishing expressive democratic systems of government. On the free will of the peoples of the Maghreb, keen on the rule of law and the provision of freedoms for citizens, respecting human rights and civil society institutions, and interacting with it as a true partner in managing the country's affairs and implementing development programs (grissom, 2006) .

In the context of all this, self-reliance in the Maghreb needs the free movement of the Maghreb production factors of capital, manpower, and products. It also needs to rationalize economic relations with the outside world and place them on an equal basis, so that collective advantages can be achieved for the countries of the Maghreb through:

1- Transferring and localizing technology and scientific knowledge under appropriate conditions.

2- Developing self-capabilities and expanding local manufacturing capabilities.

3- Developing diverse Maghreb exports, reducing imports from foreign countries to a minimum, and increasing the volume of intra-Maghreb trade and trade exchange with developing countries.

Today, sustainable development in Maghreb societies has become a long-term program for generations of Maghreb youth to stay on its lands and not migrate from it, and to build modern societies

capable of facing the challenges of globalization. Thus, Maghreb coordination and integration can create a real possibility of development that meets the basic needs of the Maghreb peoples, and guarantees the independence of the Maghreb will. As they imply: First, the possibility of applying the principle of comparative advantage in relation to the production of each of the Maghreb countries, and the consequent increase in production efficiency, by making each country specialize in the production of commodities in which it enjoys productive efficiency. Secondly, increasing opportunities for full employment, as some Maghreb countries suffer from widespread unemployment, while others suffer from a shortage of labor. And third, reducing the risks arising from competition in foreign trade between Maghreb countries with similar productivity, and the consequent increase in the bargaining power of these countries in order to obtain better prices and better terms in marketing their crops. (Junemann, 2012).

Conclusion:

In the end it can be said that Underline appropriate strategies to confront various new security threats The countries of the Maghreb depend on the seriousness of political will and their commitment to new policies, and that in the absence of sources of Maghreb rapprochement and coordination of joint action at all levels, and the continuation of divergence, these countries remain more vulnerable to the dangers that threaten them, or the forced tendency to search for another party. Or a partner to face these risks . And here we mean turning to the European side by virtue of the distinguished historical relations with the countries of the Arab Maghreb, as well as the factor of geographical proximity, or towards the M.A. by virtue of the capabilities it possesses in terms of combating these threats, in order to develop strategies against These common risks are after the absence of an effective strategy among the Arab Maghreb countries to confront the security challenges facing the region. This situation will inevitably have negative results that are much more than positive results, given that both the European Union and the United States of America were and still always prevail over their security interests in their conclusion of agreements. with the countries of the region.

Bibliography

- Annette JUNEMANN, Euro-Mediterranean relations after 11 September. Frank Cass, London, 2004. from: www.gigapedia.org.
- André Bourgeot . «Sahara de tous les enjeux», Hérodote n° 142, 2011.
- Antonin Tisseron. Quels enseignements de l'approche américaine au sahel.
- Belkaïd, A., & Stora, B. (1999). Les 100 portes du Maghreb. L'Algérie, le Maroc, la Tunisie, trois voies singulières pour allier islam et modernité. Paris: Les Éditions de l'Atelier/Éditions Ouvrières.
- Benjamin, S. (2002). Algérie-Maroc: histoire parallèles destin croisés. Alger: éd. Barzakh.
- Denécé, E. (2013). Forces Spéciales et Groupes d'Intervention Antiterroristes algériens. Paris: Centre Français de recherche sur le renseignement, CF2R.
- El-Djeïch magazine. (2020). El-Djeïch magazine.
- Elguettaa, B. (2021, 03 17). The Military's Political Role in the New Algeria. Récupéré sur Carnegie Middle East Centre: <https://carnegie-mec.org/2021/03/17/military-s-political-role-in-new-algeria-pub-84076>
- Evera, S. v. (1984). The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War. International Security, 09(01).
- James N. ROSENAU, The United Nations in a Turbulent World, London: Lynne Rienner publishers, 1992.
- Peter HOUGH. <http://www.concilium.europa.eu>.
- Jean jaque ROCHE et Charles Philippe DAVID, Theories de la Sécurité. Montchrestien, Paris, 2002.
- <http://www.gabrielperi.fr>
- William Assanvo «réflexion sur la stratégie européenne pour la sécurité et le développement dans le sahel In : : www.ouido-afrido.org)(Notes D'Analyse,, N° 05 octobre 2011.
- L'Union Européenne et le Sahel. Fiche d'information .Bruxelles. Le 16 janvier 2013 .
- Collombier, V. (2012). The Military and the Constitution: The Cases of Algeria, Pakistan and Turkey. Arab reform initiative papers.
- Gaub, F., & Zoe Stanley-Lockman. (2017). Defence Industries in Arab States: Players and Strategies". Chaillot Papers.
- Grissom, A. (2006). The Future of Military Innovation Studies. Journal of Strategic Studies, 29(05).
- Ghanem, D. (2019). Algeria's Crisis Outlook and Regional Implications. Med dialogue series.