CHAPTER ONE
Chapter I

Introduction

Foreign policy is the pivot of international relations. Its concept and application define the extent of states’ mutual relations. In examining these relationships, the basic questions are why do states define their interests in relation to other states’ interests or seek to extend their influences, cooperation or alliances to other states or regions? At what levels and with what concerns and objectives do states mutually relate? These are the characteristic frameworks of foreign policy, which also define the very nature of the instruments of foreign policy.

Algeria as a sovereign state has a unique approach to formulating her foreign policy. It is therefore important to examine the historical development of Algerian foreign policy in order to decipher the implications and achievements of its foreign policy goals, and the impact on foreign relations.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The main purpose of this study is to examine the Algerian foreign policy from 1962 to 1992, in an attempt to determine the extent of Algerian influence in North Africa, and in the Arab World. This will be done through examining selected regional issues which have taken place in different regimes: (1) Ahmed Ben Bella (1962-1965), (2) Houari Boumedienne (1965-1978), and (3) Chadli Bendjedid (1979-1992). This is necessary to determine the features and changes in Algeria’s foreign affairs since independence until 1992.
Here, the study not only will explore or determine causes of regional disputes that were concerns to Algeria, but also examine whether Algeria was successful in dealing with those issues or not. Issues that are selected for the purpose of this examination are, the Congo Crisis during Ben Bella; Arab-Israeli Wars - the 1967 war and the 1973 war - during Boumedienne; and the American Hostages Crisis of 1980 in Iran during Chadli Bendjedid.

1.3 Research Questions

The review of the foreign policy of Algeria is very necessary due to the changing trends of international affairs replete with evolving problems of political terrorism, instability of both the United Nations and the nation-states, neo-colonialist tendencies, violations of sovereign and statutory rights, geo-strategic and physical revolutions inter alia. These are perceivable problems of internationalism and statutory cooperation and development of national interests which form the major issues in the aftermath of World War II. Some political scientists argue that these are intrinsic consequences of the instability of multi-polarity, and hence the need for the restricting of the framework of international affairs. This research is as such focused on how and to what extent can decision-makers; foreign policy analysts and implementers restructure, redefine and mutually cooperate to realize the seemingly conflicting interests of states, taking Algerian foreign policy as a case study. The research is an attempt to determine the depth and effects of the following issues of national interest:
1. How have the pillars of the Algerian foreign policy influenced the pursuit and achievement of Algerian national interest defined and codified in her foreign policy?

2. To what extent has the foreign policy of Algeria reflected her domestic interests?

3. How have the new trends and current issues of international affairs influenced the foreign policy of Algeria, and what are the prospective areas and plans for mutual adaptability and restructuring?

From the above research questions, the researcher intends to postulate and examine the nature of the instruments of the Algerian foreign policy in the post independent Algeria. Therefore, this thesis will attempt to identify and focus on the solvable problem issues as a contribution to national growth and development.

1.4 Scope of the Study

Since this study will examine Algerian foreign policy after independence, three periods will be covered: (1) 1962-1965, during the reign of Ahmed Ben Bella who was more concerned with the crises in Africa; (2) 1965-1978, Houari Boumedienne who shifted the direction of foreign policy towards the Arab World, especially to the Arab-Israel conflict; and 1979-1992, Chadli Bendjedid who was concerned more with diplomacy as a means of pursuing foreign policy.
1.5 Methodology of the Study

Methodology is the system or way of presenting theoretical variables for application to a given scenario or sample question. Methodology, as a theory for presentation, shall streamline or outline the approaches and arrange ideas employed in the research.

The theoretical framework in this research is systematic, dialectic and deductive. It shall differentiate between what is and what ought to be, and attempts systematically to impact a possible equilibrium. The goal of this work is to examine the different instruments and approaches used in the formulation and implementation of the foreign policy issues in Algeria, while the overall method shall effect a rational justification of data.

1.6 Literature Review

Review of relevant literature forms an intrinsic aspect of any scientific discourse. This is because no research can be effectively complete without reference to or taking cognizance of related literature sources or empirical data. As such, as knowledge is participation, a reasoned research work based on the acceptable data of previous resource materials intellectualizes perspectives. This means that there may not be understanding without models.
In the same vein, the analysis of the foreign policy of Algeria is based on the current strategic posture of international affairs. It is only vital that comparable texts be systematically arranged and analyzed as base resources for further understanding of the multivariant and multilateral character of foreign policy.

Algeria is a strategic actor in North Africa, wielding relative influence in Africa as a whole. Therefore, a review of the regional imperatives, which form the big issues of the Algerian foreign policy, is considered relevant by the researcher. In doing this, the work has carefully selected relevant literature that deals with different aspects of Algerian foreign policy objectives including,

1. The historical perspective of Algeria.
2. The current issues of Algeria international and regional relations.

The following literature reviewed in this research will discuss the central context of the research while many other texts shall be referred to or cited as secondary sources in the thesis.

The Reviews shall adopt the summary approach in the presentation and analysis of data.

Algeria: the politics of a Socialist, is a book traces and covers Algeria’s system politics, internally and externally in which the authors analyzed the political behavior of the two leaders of Algeria - President Ben Bella and president Houri Boumedienne from post-independence 1962 till early 1970s. The study focuses on the political regimes of Ben Bella (1962-1965.) and Boumedienne from1965 to 1971.
The authors examined the conduct of political affairs under Ben Bella as well as Boumedinne. However, in the beginning of the study, the author pointed out, that they were many observers in Algeria and abroad who believed in the Algerian “socialist revolution” after independence, and hoped that it would spread from its North Africa strong and over the entire continent. Under this view, Ben Bella’s doctrine tried to illustrate “socialist revolution” in Africa, and the authors attempted to trap the weak and freshly independent states in the web of neocolonialism. Furthermore he turned Algeria into a major training center for Africa revolutionaries and a haven for political exiles from all over the world. Ben Bella described Algeria as a country of “multiple vocations” meaning that it was a country destined to play its role in North Africa, Africa, and the Arab World. This study also emphasized how Algeria was being courted by the major powers of the world in 1960s.

On other hand, the authors underlined the influences of Boumedienne’s foreign policy on many states of the region. Since the coup d’etat of 1965, the authors noted the increased involvement of Boumedienne’s foreign policy on regional affairs from African political affairs to the Arab World. This further strengthened the political cause of the Palestinian Arabs. Thus restoring to the Algerian foreign policy some of the crusading spirit it lost with the ousting of Ben Bella.

However, the authors illustrated that Algeria’s foreign policy was beginning to bear the personal imprint of Boumedienne. His approach was not revolutionary or emotional, as Ben Bella’s maintained, but rather legalistic. Unlike Ben Bella who the authors observed had a personal approach to foreign policy issues and implementation,
Boumedienne largely relied upon the FLN Executive Secretariat to establish contacts and maintain ties with the Arab and Africa countries.

Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation. This book is a work of historical synthesis in which the author wrote the processes of Algerian history from a native tribal order through five generations of colonial rules to an eight-year war of liberation, and finally to independent nationhood.

However, From Chapters 1 through 5 of this book, the author analyzed the periods before 1954, not only historically, but also ethnologically, sociologically and anthropologically. He also examined the religious and linguistic implications, and influences of the period including the French autocracy.

Beginning with the war of independence, there is a noticeable change in the subject of discourse in the book. The author no longer gives a historical account of events but rather presents the conceptual views of social scientists on the existing phenomena. He also makes references to the works of journalists, some of which are rather descriptive than analytical.

Finally, the author in this book outlines basic problem issues that Algeria faced during the period of colonialism and post-independence. In a scholarly presentation, the author examines the political disparities between the reigns of presidents Boumedienne

---

and Bendjedid highlighting the contentious political issues that marked the three decades of Algerian independence. The book also can help to understand the influence of domestic issue on Algeria foreign policy.

Other mean sources which is very important is, Algeria: The Revolution Institutionallised\(^3\). According to the author, Algeria’s foreign policy is very prominent in the Arab World and when one wants to analyse Algeria’s foreign policy, it must be reviewed in the global context. In North Africa as in the eastern Arab World, Algeria is also considered as the most active state in the politics of the developing countries. The author mentioned: “Algeria has one of the more developed foreign policies in the Arab World in that its interests, -ideological posturing notwithstanding- are flexibly framed on operational case-by-case terms that are then backed up with sophisticated diplomatic and organizational skill.\(^4\)”

Algeria has successfully built a reputation for seriousness and neutrality in disputes among Arabs themselves, as well as between Arabs and Iranians.


**i) Identification:** the author outlines that Algeria’s support for liberation movement, and the right of people for national self-determination remains as much a

---

\(^3\) John P. Entelis; *Algeria, the Revolution Institutionalised*; Chapter 07: Worldview page (186.207)

\(^4\) John P. Entelis; *Algeria, the Revolution Institutionalised*; Chapter 07: Worldview page (186.207) p. 186
prominent foreign policy. However, Algeria's Constitution and National Charter both announced Algeria's "solidarity with the countries of the Third World in their struggle for political and economic liberation," the identification "with the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America constitutes an essential component of Algeria's foreign policy." The author characterised this feeling as "mythological proportions and constitutes one of the country's ideological pillars as it seeks to buttress its radical image in world affairs."

ii) Mediation: the author characterised that Algeria considers itself ideally suited for the role of mediation. This mediating role is consistent with Algeria's effort to forge and effective Third World coalition capable of challenging the economic and political might of global capitalist power.

However, Algeria became involved in several third mediation efforts, including; resolution of the 1977 border between Libya and Egypt, and the territorial dispute along the Shatt-al-Arab estuary between Iran and Iraq in 1975, and the successful negotiation for the release of fifty-two U.S. hostages from Iran in early 1981. These several mediation examples illustrate Algeria's continent commitment to a leading mediating role involving Third World states.

iii) Leadership: Algeria believes it is better qualified to presume leadership. Therefore Algeria's self-assigned role as the spearhead of the Third World assumes to inter-related political and economic components: nonalignment and new international economic order (N.I.E.O).
a. Nonalignment: According to the author, Nonalignment remains the pillar of Algeria's foreign policy orientation, and is guided by three principles:

   a) A vigilant anti-colonialism that finds unswerving Algeria support for movements of national liberation;

   b) The organization of the struggle against imperialism which assumes a simultaneous struggle for the creation of a new global of all exploited;

   c) Determined action in favor of maintaining world peace.

b New International Economic Order: The author also outlines that Algeria has been calling for confronting the exiting global system, and its call of a new international economic order are probably the most unique and striking attributes of its foreign policy orientation.

However, the author pointed out that Algeria has three methods designed to achieve a new global political economic order.

1. A North South dialogue principally within United Nations organizations;

2. Promoting and practicing a policy of "cartelization" or "indexation" among Third World raw materials producers that tie the prices of developing nations;

3. Utilizing an array of South-South exchanges and arrangement in the economic, political, diplomatic and cultural fields to confront the North more effectively.\(^{8}\)

Thus, this chapter traces Algeria's foreign policy under three presidents, from 1962 till 1986, in which the author characterized, analysed, and pointed out Algeria foreign

\(^{8}\) Ibid. P. 205.
affairs, and how it influenced the system politics of the Third World, and the north-south relations adopting a believe of revolutionary socialism, and giving moral and material support to the third world movement for self-determination.

Algeria: A Country Study⁹, is a book described by Louis Mortimer, the chief personnel in the Federal Research Division of Congress Library, the book attempts to synthesize the political, economic, social and security systems of Algeria; examines the interrelationship and interaction between and among these systems and institutions. The quest for the research is to assess and provide basic understanding for the observed society, to identify the socio-cultural imperatives and geostrategies, popular origins, cultural belief patterns, areas of common interests and common divide and in the main, assess and typify national response, to popular ideologies. The text is generally classified into five goal settings: 1. Historical setting, 2. People and society, 3. Politic and Regional Security, 4. Foreign Policy, and, 5. Security.

1. Historical Setting: The historical structure of the text x-rays the cultural historical antecedents to nationhood, from prehistoric advancements of political institutions of classical period to the period of decolonization processes and independence.

2. People and Society: In this section, Mary Jane Deeb extensively explored significantly the geostrategies of the simple Algerian Society. She identified among other factors the geographic strengths, climate and Hydrology, Ethnic groups et cetera.

3. **Political and Regional Security:** As overly stressed in this book, the current Algerian political culture reflects the impact of the state’s colonial history, the work of independence, the Arab and Islamic traditions, and national cultural identification. In pursuit of the revolutionary war of decolonization and/or independence, the advent of Islam and Arabization of Algeria society served a strategic unifying factor against French colonial forces.

4. **Foreign Policy:** The author insists that the tacit pursuit of self-determination and nationalism in the sub-region has historically characterized Algerian revolutionary tradition, in the advancement of her foreign policy.

As a prominent leader in the region, Algeria Foreign policy interests have been consistently defined to pursue and reflect her national and regional involvement. Thus, the pillars of Algeria foreign policy according to the author include Africa-Maghrib, Arab-Middle East Affairs, United State and Europe. It is remarkable to notice the historical and political transitions and admixture of ideological pursuits from socialism to moderate capitalism. This strategic shift has influenced the objective.

5. **Security:** The national and regional strategic interests of Algeria include what constitutes a treat “have historically been strongly influenced by ideology”\textsuperscript{10}. However, by the early 1990s, ideology was no longer the guiding principle of Algeria’s national security framework. The views shaped by the War of independence were tempered by more than two decades of experiences as sovereign states as well as by President Bendjedid’s more cautious, pragmatic style. Under him, Algeria adopted an active

\textsuperscript{10} Helen Chapin Metz, *Algeria A Country Study*, p. 175
posture as a mediator of disputes between western nations, and the more radical states of the Arab World. At the same time, Algerian external security objectives narrowed. "The goal of reducing differences with its neighbors, the Maghrib* countries of North Africa, and especially of setting political and economic disputes with the bordering states of Morocco and Libya predominated"\(^{11}\).

On the whole, the book is a historical resume of the pre-colonial, colonial and post-independence state of Algeria. The book is not only a detailed account of the political experiences of Algeria, but also serves a credible objective for the reference and overview survey of Algeria nation.

The book is due for reviews in order to update the multi-polar political issues that continually redefine and restructure the interest-perspective of Algeria national interests defined in terms of Algeria foreign policy.

In this thesis I chose two articles that I see more interesting in this work, the first article was written by John Damis and the title of the Article is 'The Maghrib Arab Union and Regional Revolution'\(^{12}\)

\(^{11}\) Ibid. p. 239
However, Professor John Damis is a member of the politics department of Oregon State University. His major interest in the Maghrib has been the Western Sahara issue and more recently, the regional integration.

The above article discusses the potential impact of the Maghrib Union (*Union du Maghreb Arab, UMA*) on the resolution of regional disputes within the sub-region of North Africa. To achieve this objective; the author divided the work into four major areas. In the first phase, the author discussed the genesis and foundations of the UMA stating how North Africa began to organize and lay the groundwork for Maghrib unity on 27 April 1958. The period from 1958 to 1983 was an adulating period of regional tensions and relative détente. The most important rivalry is between the two leading states in North Africa, Algeria and Morocco. This substantially militated against sustainable regional integration process\(^\text{13}\).

However the era was marked by multiple strategic regional alliances for greater African international relations. The most significant event for the enhancement of North African states international relations was the Maghrib Summit of 1983 to resolve the west Sahara conflicts. Despite the fact that the king of Morocco and Algeria’s president in that Summit did not achieve any breakthrough in resolving the Western Sahara conflict, it did break the ice in Morocco-Algeria relations.

In the second phase, the author attempted to review the raison d'être between the political hitches existing between Algerian and Morocco with a view to fostering better relations needed for building effective integration in North Africa. He discovered that the re-establishment of Morocco-Algeria relations founded in May 16, 1988, which ended a 12-year political impasse, constituted an apparent breakthrough in the stalled efforts to build the Greater Arab Maghrib. Consequently, in a joint communiqué issued at the time, the two countries reaffirmed all previous bilateral treaties, accords, and conventions, and called for a resolution of the Western Sahara conflict by means of a fair referendum.\textsuperscript{14}

They recognized that unresolved and difficult questions over the Western Sahara could delay the settlement of dispute for some time to come. Thus, in the weeks following May 16, 1988, ambassadors were exchanged, the common border was opened, and the two national airlines began regular service between the major cities of Algeria and Morocco, and the two governments coordinated their efforts to eradicate aching locust infestations.

In the third phase the author streamlined the treaty signed at Marrakech (Morocco) on February 17, 1989, which prioritized UMA economic policies.\textsuperscript{15} According to the author, since the creation of the UMA, Maghrib leaders have increased and bridged their communication links and relations with one another. He observed that the Maghrib states have also adopted unified positions at the United Nations. On the positive side, one

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid. P. 289
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid. P. 289
consequence of the first Maghrib summit, in Algiers in June 1988, was the recognition and enhancement of the somewhat strained Libya-Morocco relations\textsuperscript{16}.

The Algeria-Morocco agreement on the sub-Saharan crisis remains a necessary condition for the settlement of the dispute. According to the writer, the resolution of the dispute, if it occurs in the foreseeable future, may not be achieved by the UMA, rather, it may be the result of the improved Algerian-Moroccan relations.

The second article was written by Robert Mortimer and the title of the article is 'The Algerian Revolution in Search of the African Revolution'\textsuperscript{17} in this article, which is written, based on a research in Algeria in 1964-1965, highlights the stance that among the states of Africa, Algeria strives as one of the most active actors in international politics. To buttress this position, he argues: "Be aware that many Third-World states have not attributed the same importance to the international situation. Algerians have insisted that it is in the general interest of the Third World to increase its influence in world politics...Algeria has emphasized political consciousness as an instrument to defend the interest of the developing countries"\textsuperscript{18}

Referring to Algeria involvement in regional politics, the author avers that: "Algeria’s involvement in Africa clarifies several significant aspects of contemporary inter-African politics. He illustrates general the nature of relation between moderate and radical Africa, and between Arab and black Africa"\textsuperscript{19}.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid. p. 289.


\textsuperscript{19} Ibid p.363-364
He also identified the interest areas of Algeria’s policy objectives both in the sub-region and domestically as follows.

01. To provide insights into the fate of pan-African as a political idea;

02. To give substance to ideological ties;

03. To lead the postcolonial movement from economic and political exploitation to economic sufficiency and political dignity. This sense of political missions has largely influenced former Algerian’s president, Ahmed Ben Bella and Houri Boumedienne regime.

04. To identify and harness the Algerian special foreign policy concern: the Maghrib, the Arab world, and Africa.

Through these distinctive policy objectives, the author insists that “Algerian African policy particularly fruitful to our understanding not only of the inter-African sub-system but also of the potentialities and limitations of political ideology in influencing Africa’s place in the global international system”.

However, the author defies Algerian’s foreign policy objectives as an intrinsic part of the Third-World interest. He makes reference to that - “Algerian’s active involvement in African issues reveals an important function of foreign policy in the Algerian political system... The regime of both Ben Bella and Boumedienne has defined Algerian interest as an inextricable part of a larger system of Third-World interests. Coupled with this standard conception of the function of foreign policy, however, is a more original conception, which has been only partially articulated. Algeria’s African policy has been used in the continuing effort to define a post-colonial identity. This search for identity is at the very heart of the human experience, which the modernizing countries are living

---

20 Ibid., p. 383

17
through today. What and who am I? Is the basic question plaguing the former colonise, wherever colonialism has sown deep furrows of alienation."

On the whole, Robert Mortimer has demonstrated in this article a commendable knowledge of North Africa politics and Algeria, in particular. This however, has no claims to African political culture as a whole. But he maintains that Algeria’s contribution to inter-African politics is appreciable and should be developed in concert with other African States to enable the full emancipation of the African political sovereignty.

This article is precise and researchable but should be reviewed contextually in the current of multiple-political advancement of African international relations marching with the next of the World since the Post World II.

However, there are not too many works on Algeria’s Foreign Policy, but enough has been published and are good basis for analyses.

---

21 Ibid. p.p. 385-6
CHAPTERIZATION:

Chapter One:
In Chapter One of this research, the significance and objectives of the study will be dealt with. Three research questions throughout this research will be attempted. For the purpose of literature review, four books and two articles have been reviewed in this chapter.

Chapter Two:
In Chapter Two, the meaning and concept of foreign policy will be presented. Four theories of foreign policy will be analysed, namely studies realism, liberal theories, Behaviorism, and status quo theories.

Chapter Three:
Algeria’s historical development is presented in this chapter in order to give the reader an image about Algeria, geographically and historically.

Chapter Four:
Under this chapter, the researcher underlines Ahmed Ben Bella’ foreign policy, from 1962-1965 in three areas: Africa, Middle East and the Maghrib.

Chapter Five:
Algeria under Boumedinne’s regime had known several trends especially in the foreign policy. Thus, this chapter attempts to highlight the assumption that Boumedinne brought
in new trends and illustrated them in Algeria’s foreign policy, such as his policy over the Arab-Israel conflict, under the flag of Arab League, United Nations and Non-Alignment Movement throughout his fourteen years in office.

Chapter Six

Chadli Benjedid’s foreign policy in the 1980s will be reviewed in this Chapter. Three areas will also be covered: Middle East conflict, Maghrib Union, and the two powers block in the last Decade of the Cold War.

Chapter Seven

This chapter presents the conclusion of this study.