

*Alternatives de la politique étrangère algérienne et visions futures**السياسة الخارجية الجزائرية بدائل ورؤى مستقبلية***boulal abdelkader**PhD student**University of Algeria 3 – Algeria**benguettafmohamed@yahoo.fr**Date of send:31/03/2020**date of acceptance: 30/05/2021**Date de publication:25/01/2022***Abstract:**

This study reviews the most important controlling variables in the process and roles of foreign policy towards the regional and international environment, as we seek through this article to how to activate an Algerian foreign policy that is active and purposeful, keeping pace with new transformations in the international environment, which resulted in changes, including the structure of the international system, including changes On the theoretical level in the field of international relations, my father is a part of foreign policy analysis

And as a future vision, I contribute in my turn to the development of Asian alternatives to Algerian foreign policy that may achieve the country's national interest and revive the economy, as I saw the Republic of China setting a model by virtue of the beginning of the emergence of relations between (China / Algeria).

Keywords: *Algerian foreign Policy; Chinese economic intelligence; Soft power; Structural theory.*

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ملخص:

تستعرض هذه الدراسة أهم المتغيرات المتحركة في عملية وأدوار السياسة الخارجية تجاه البيئة الإقليمية والدولية، كما نسعى من خلال هذا المقال الى كيفية تفعيل سياسة خارجية جزائرية تكون نشطة وهادفة، تواكب التحولات الجديدة في البيئة الدولية والتي نتج عنها تغيرات منها بنية النسق الدولي، ومنها تغيرات على مستوى التنظير في حقل العلاقات الدولية والذي يعتبر مجال تحليل السياسة الخارجية جزءا منه.

وكرؤية مستقبلية أساهم بدوري لوضع بدائل أسوية للسياسة الخارجية الجزائرية قد تحقق المصلحة الوطنية للبلاد وتنعش الاقتصاد، حيث ارتأيت إلى وضع جمهورية الصين نموذجا بحكم بداية ظهور علاقات بين (الصين / الجزائر).

الكلمات المفتاحية : السياسة الخارجية الجزائرية ؛ الذكاء الصيني الاقتصادي ؛ القوة الناعمة ؛ النظرية البنائية.

Introduction:

The African continent is geographically the most important strategic and vital location compared to other continents, due to the resources and wealth that its countries possess, and because Algeria is one of these countries and by virtue of its location in the north of the African continent and its gateway to the south and its affiliation to the countries of the Mediterranean basin, many scholars of political geography and security studies describe it as the state Regionalism is what imposes on it an active foreign policy, and one who traces in history finds that the end of the Cold War, the Algerian security crisis and the events of September 11th, and the war on Mali are all crucial moments in the course of Algerian foreign policy because it raises a group of Problems of regional and internal dimension that affect the ideological and ideological construction of Algerian foreign policy in a direction that imposes a policy of escaping forward and trying to confront the harbingers of these dates and events with a mentality, literature and political perceptions that grew up and saturated with periods of acute polarization within the framework of the Cold War, as the Algerian foreign policy must face in a

form is a very sensitive and important issue, it is a question of the modalities and logic of re

-establishing this foreign policy in a way that opens horizons for talking about a new foreign policy that improves the integration and employment of the concept of pragmatism and opportunities for final abandonment On the principle of non

-interference in the internal affairs of countries and the adoption of an interventionist policy that makes it the focus of its movement towards its external environment, especially the coastal neighborhood that carries many of the threats targeting the vital interests of the Algerian state, so we present in this article a set of issues mainly represented in:

- The future of the regional role in the light of the current changes (the Arab Spring revolutions, the war in Mali, the war in Libya, the popular movement and others). We also draw in the article the most important problems faced by Algerian foreign policy in the current and future stage (problems with a doctrinal and ideological dimension, and a set of principles that Governing and directing Algerian foreign policy)

- Prospects for relations between Algeria and the major powers (China) in light of the experience of cooperation in the event of war on Mali, for example, or Libya

The objectives of the paper: To shed light on the parameters of Algerian foreign policy in terms of its spatial contexts (the Maghreb, African framework) and temporality (the events of the Arab Spring, the development of the crisis in Mali, the events of Libya)

Analysis of the Algerian position on regional changes and their impact on Algeria's position in the international arena

-Trying to give a vision of the future of the independence and continuity of the Algerian decision in light of the international competition for the region

Themes:

The first axis:

foreign policy is a comprehensive concept, its developments and levels of analysis.

The second axis:

the theoretical framework and the interpretative approaches for Algerian foreign policy

- holistic theories: realism, constructivism. Partial Theories:

The Interdependence Approach, The Soft Power Approach

The third axis:

Algerian foreign policy, reconstruction and establishment, a new concept of politics for the national interest

External decision-making institutions

The new discourse of Algerian foreign policy (ideology and belief) political realism: the national interest is a major goal of Algerian foreign policy

Social constructivism: persistence in identity is a target of Algerian foreign policy

The doctrine of politics xc:

National and international identity of diplomacy c (its association with revolutionary reference)

The principle of non-interference as a translation of the political doctrine KH (Algerian position on the Arab Spring)

- (crisis of interest's vis-à-vis principles) (limited security interpretations of a deeper political crisis(

The fourth axis:

The political trends in the international community, the prospects for relations between Algeria and the major countries China as a model

Theoretical framework and the most important interpretative approaches to foreign policy

Classical Realism:

The Realism School arose after the Second World War as a reaction to the ideal trend that called for the creation of international relations by establishing a global government whose mission is to establish security and peace in the world from what it should be. The realists in their studies of political phenomena started from the international reality living to study what is really a objection, rejecting the existence of what the idealists claim by

harmony and harmony in interests between the political units of the international community, stressing that there are conflicts between these interests to the extent of wars.

Classical realism originated from fundamental postulates that make the state the basic unit of analysis as the only actor in the international arena and these assumptions lie

- Political theory is the product of historical experiences and for this reason history is the laboratory of studies of realism
- The separation between politics and ethics, so moral principles cannot be applied to political action
- Lack of harmony in interests, as individuals live in a world characterized by scarce resources, which makes the conflict between countries and groups an inherent nature of international relations.

The presence of constant and unchangeable factors that determine international behavior.

- The state works to preserve its survival, "If the individual has the moral right to sacrifice himself in defense of an ethical principle, then the state does not have the right to present an ethical position at the expense of successful political action, for example".

The international system is characterized by the chaos resulting from the absence of a central authority that monopolizes power. International laws do not affect the international system because the fundamental fact in the relations between countries is power. Countries always strive to increase their power, which enters them in competition with other countries. "The sovereign state, within the scope of its external relations, coexists with other countries within a chaotic system defined as the absence of a joint authority. In a state of chaos, states compete with other countries for security, markets, influence, and so forth, and the nature of this competition is the outcome of zero, and this means In other words, for a country to obtain an excess share requires another state to receive a lower share. "Even the friendship that arises between these units expresses a common interest between them, and in

this context, the British politician DizRtily says, “ There is neither a permanent interest nor permanent enmity but a lasting interest.”.

There are two realistic currents that explain the behavior of conflict states, as the first expresses the inherent instinct of power in the human nature, which they consider animal in the form of love for domination and domination, while the second trend negates the opinion of the first stream, given that the lack of security in the chaotic international system pushes countries to search for the greatest amount Of strength. In this context, Morgento believes that **the objectives of foreign policy cannot deviate from the following objectives:**

- Preserving strength, which means the policy of preserving the status quo. Increase in power, ie, an imperial expansionist policy.
- Demonstrating strength that is, achieving the policy of prestige.

The New Realist School:

The new realism emerged in the late seventies to reorganize classic realist thought, whereby the new adopts a set of assumptions, some of which are similar to those adopted by classical realism, while others are contrary to them, which are represented in:

- B- Consider the state a central actor and a fundamental unit of analysis for the international system.
- C - Countries strive to achieve maximum security.
- D - Countries try to increase their strength without putting security at risk.
- E - Basing any formation of the theory of international relations for structural analysis. And - radical changes occur at the level of the distribution of forces between political units in the international system
- G- The bipolar system is more stable than the multipolar system.
- J - Independence of the political field from the rest of the other fields.

The concept of power for new realists:

"Kent Waltz" is considered one of the most important theorems of the new realism so that his book "Theory of International Politics" in 1979 is considered a major contribution to the new realist theory, where his interest was to present a positive and not normative theory that is concerned with

proposing related, related and law-like statements from which hypotheses accepting testing and examination can be drawn. And therefore, "Waltz" touched upon the concept of power as a starting point from others, which is to consider states as aggressive entities that necessarily seek to expand. Waltz emphasizes that states have to preserve themselves, which makes them very interested in their security, and they are obliged not to For the purpose of glorification, but to gain independence in behavior, so long as survival in a stable world will not be achieved without it, it has a positive function and leads to balance.

The balance of power of new realists:

Waltz believes that the balance of power is what will happen if countries pay attention to what surrounds them and adjust their policies to the changes in the shape of power on a global scale, and this is a critical condition if the actual distribution of power is in a way that the balance can emerge On that, states, according to Waltz, are behaving in a rational, selfish way in order to face a certain set of circumstances, as they respond to changes that occur in the distribution of forces, which may negatively affect their ability to maintain themselves.

As for the thinker Hadley Pol, he asserts in his book 'Anarchy Society' that states are driven only by rational selfishness that will seize the first opportunity to disturb the balance, and that the balance of powers is a necessary thing associated with any type of international system, and that states will not have any freedom in the world except when they are Powers are balanced, and the balance of powers does not appear and last only when states realize this and when they are willing to act accordingly. Therefore, the distribution of forces between the political units in the international community is a major factor in determining whether or not stability criteria. In the view of structural realists, the international system is stable when it maintains chaos, and instability of the international system occurs when fundamental changes occur in the structure or structure of the international system. Accordingly, the balance of powers becomes an artificial thing made by the countries that have to continue adapting their position in the world

according to their reading of the strength and strength of other countries, and as a result of these moves the emergence of the balance of power.

We are inspired by the ideas of classical or structural realists, and we examine the assumptions of this theoretical field in our topic related to Sino-Algerian relations, as both sides in the relationship go towards its internal and external policy towards the other based on a pragmatic philosophy that cares for the goal without the means to which it is connected, and we seek this in the saying of the President of China Dong Ziobeng: The color of the cat is not important, if it is white or black, then the important thing is to catch a mouse, and this is what materialized on the ground, with China insisting on gaining more power and giving priority to the national interest over the ideology by dealing with the West, especially the United States. US, China is also seeking to restore the balance of power in the international arena and this was confirmed by Henry Kissinger in his lectures.

Structural theory:

After the publication of the book "Kent Waltz" entitled "Theory of International Politics" in 1979, the new realist school dominated almost complete domination of theoretical practices in the field of international relations, a situation that continued until the end of the nineties of the twentieth century, in 1999 the book "Alexander Went" was published Entitled "The Social Theory of International Politics, in which it introduces a new structural system in which it tries to remove the new realism from its dominant position in the specialty, where this new structural arrangement rejects the rational rules and premises of the new realism, and provides instead of This is a social viewpoint to understand foreign policy issues and to study their outputs. This structural pattern emphasizes the importance of the normative structure versus the physical structure, the role of identity in shaping and forming the interests and behavior of states, and the process of mutual formation between agents 'agents of action or states' and the structures that contain them, and what This assertion on the theoretical level results in a different proposition on the possibility of change in international politics, and on the meaning of international anarchy and its applications on

the behavior of states, and the constructivists have worked to present these postulates in the form of advanced theoretical proposals on international relations, supported by Amber research Valuable accelerated, as the impact of structural specialization in foreign policy has become a significant influence significant to the extent that made it one of the main themes of the academic debate is currently ongoing within the specialization, and in this regard is the book 'Wint' a clear example of the good thinking of constructivist currently prevailing in the theories of international relations.

First: the mutual formation of actors and structures (the relationship of the agent / structure):

/ 1 The new realism and the problem of the agent

Structure: Waltz proposes adopting a total 'systemic' or 'structural' theory to overcome the failure of shorthand approaches, instead of focusing on the characteristics and characteristics of units, this structural theory focuses on the role of the system's structure in shaping the behavior of these units (states.

- It is through the interaction of functionally similar units that show a structure that affects all of these units and restricts them, so once they are formed (the structure of the system) it becomes a force by itself, a force that the units formed for it cannot, either alone or all of them control, and of course in the causal idea explaining to Waltz 'The structure is seen as restricting and enabling the action of the state at the same time, and in this sense it can be said that how the arrangement leads to (restricting / forming / pushing) the action. The new realism views the structure as the unintended organization of units (yen In her identities and then in her behavior. Alexander Wint says that the deep structure of the international system is shaped and shaped by a common understanding that controls the process of organized violence, that is, anarchism is made by states.

Third: Identities and interests in foreign policy:

Here we ask the following question. Is it possible for the state to have more than one identity, and accordingly its interests and behaviors vary accordingly?

/ 1 Identity in the new realism and the constructive school:

- The new realism says with selfish identity, and this is a rational perspective, and the identities of states are functionally similar, so that states search for their own interests. Removal, Waltz believes that the structural mechanisms that he says are working to produce and reproduce this chaotic structure are mechanisms such as competition and social rehabilitation as two outcomes of anarchism. The result is that identity is a precondition.

/ 2 Identity in the building school-:

Constructivism, on the contrary, treats the concept of identity as an empirical question that can be theorized in a specific context.

- Emphasis on constructivism that the new realism excludes from theorizing process important elements of life in foreign policy, namely the nature of actors and their definition of themselves and others and the impact of this on their behaviors and mutual interactions. And cultural and historical specific and vary from time to time according to the difference in the prevailing anarchic culture.

-- Went criticizes the new realists for their mistake that the international field is a system inhabited by selfish countries that follow the behavior of self-help. The birth of their production in the continuous interaction between the units of the process of making one of the countries

-Thus, "Net" concludes that the identities of states and actors cannot be taken as a precondition, but rather (identities) are made by the active states.

Interests in New Realism and the Structural School:

Interests include options, where realists say that all countries have the same interests as those previously given, which is self

- Preservation. Constructivism holds that: - Interests are produced by daily social practices.

Identities are what constitute interests and actions (practices.)

Understanding how interests are formed is the key to understanding many international phenomena that realists ignore. For example, according to KLOTZ, it is not possible to explain how the international boycott against the apartheid regime in South Africa could be explained without referring to the fact that the interests of the state's leading this boycott, such as the United

States of America, were redefined and institutionalized during the 1980.

Fourth: The structural change in foreign and international policy:

In other words, to reproduce or transform the international architecture

/ 1 Realism and the possibility of structural change:

The new realism failed to predict the collapse of the Cold War architecture, and this, if only, indicates the inability of this theory to explain the change.

"-Busan Barry" says in this regard that the dominant theoretical approaches in the field exaggerated the focus on continuity at the expense of change.

The chaotic foreign policy structure has not changed and will not change, which is called the balance of powers. Structural change is not present in the realism model C of international and foreign policy, so how do you understand the new realism? The international system changed from multipolar to bipolar during World War II.

-Cox's criticism of positivist theories such as realism c, instead of which it is preferable to use extreme historical theories, arguing that positivist theories view the dominant power and social relations as fixed, and then try to discover specific laws within them, and in return for that historical theories focus on the origins Those relationships, their sources and transformations.

2 / Structuralism and the possibility of structural change:

The main variables that cause change are interdependence in his 1994 State of the Union address, President Bill Clinton referred to the absence of the war between democracies as a justification for American policies to promote the process of spreading democracy around the world. Support for this view can be seen in Western policy aimed at strengthening democracy in Eastern and Central Europe after the end of the Cold War and opening the door for these countries to join the European Union. This vision has been coupled with the writings of Michael Doyle and Bruce Russett. Doyle says that democratic representation and ideological commitment to human rights and transnational interdependence all explain the "tendency to peace" attitudes of democratic countries.

These arguments for democratic peace do not purport to reject realism entirely; rather, to suggest that the impact of liberal democracies on

international politics actually goes beyond what realist writers recognize, Bruce Rast argued that there is no need to put insight into realism aside, and it is these views that tell us that strength and considerations The strategy affects countries 'decisions to fight each other, but the limits of these insights must also not be denied and their inability to explain many cases in which liberal states choose to fight each other, or the threat thereof, Rast sees the dangers in seeing reality The "crude realism" of everyone's war against all "in which the threat posed by other countries is not affected by its internal standards and institutions."

The theory of interdependence belongs to Transnationalism, which is defined as: a system of interaction in special fields between societal actors involved in different positional systems, this current depends on the multiplicity of actors in the interpretation of global interactions, in contrast to the approaches known as "Stato-centré" The country is considered a central and unitary actor in international relations.

Transnationalism offers a less radical view of globalization, as it records the independence of civil society from the state, but it does not permanently abolish the role of the state, according to the global perception, where the actor is not limited to a specific temporal or spatial domain, and this vision was expressed by James Roseno in His book "The Vortex in World Politics" in 1990.

The idea of the vortex borrows from (Météologie) a vision about the irregular interactions of the world; Frosno imagines that the world has two readings: a world between "inter-étatique" governed by the logic of competition, and a multi-center world outside the sovereignty "Hors souveraineté".

But although the phenomenon of transcending national borders was an important addition to the vocabulary of theorists of international relations, it remained undeveloped as a theoretical concept. Perhaps the most important contribution to pluralism was the development of the concept of interdependence. In view of the capitalist expansion and the emergence of a global culture, pluralists realized that there is a mutual communication between countries that carries with it a shared responsibility for the

environment. The following text summarizes the above: "We are all stuck in a complex, comprehensive network of interactions so that changes in a part of the system have direct and indirect consequences with the rest of the system. It is clear that the absolute independence of a state deeply rooted in the minds of state leaders was being surrounded by interconnectedness. Moreover; this process is not reflected in the supporters of the liberal institutional doctrine. Unlike the realists, they believe that the demise of the independence of the state is not necessarily regrettable, but rather they see that crossing national borders and interdependence are two phenomena that must be managed.

In 1977, a book was published by theorists (Joseph Nye and Robert Keewhan.)

Entitled "Power and Mutual Dependence", in which we declared the gradual decline of the state's role as a unitary actor in the world stage. They also proposed the concept of (transnational politics) and complex interdependence, as a result of the transformations that the international system witnessed at the end of the seventies of the last century, especially in the economic field, by increasing trade and financial flows between countries. Transformations in the financial and monetary circles constitute a central feature for globalization; all these developments indicate a new expansion of the economic space.

Globalization has recorded an increasing speed of direct foreign investment flow and the capitalist system into permanent mobility thanks to the increasing international capital movement. Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane have provided an explanation to describe these phenomena, especially the erosion of state power, the transition of the economic field, the development of the world of networks, the increasing independence of non-State actors, Ecological crises, expanding the concept of security. This is despite their announcement that the state remains the central actor, but with a lack of its ability to control and administer, in contrast to the emergence of other actors that benefit from the growing emancipation towards power.

A complex interdependence model shares three basic assumptions in analyzing international phenomena:

**Increasing actors alongside the national state, plays an important role in international life, especially transnational institutions, international institutions, non-governmental organizations, pressure groups and world public opinion ... In this regard, "John porter" sees in his book "Society-Monde" that the state monopoly has been broken, as the state is no longer considered as a unitary actor and the most important in international life.*

If the state is a unitary actor, embodied in the executive branch, and the only player on the international stage, how do we explain the role of private institutions, in the various phenomena that previously heated US-Soviet relations, at that point?

** International events, which can be illustrated from this model, are multiple and start from economic phenomena. In addition to political relations centered on power, power and security, the multiplication and increase of economic, social and cultural interactions have made political power less central to international relations. After the Second World War, world trade increased by a high rate, which encouraged a constant and direct connection between the main centers of the world economy, especially the rich countries. Trade brings together private and public interests.*

** Defining the national interest, according to the theory of interdependence, raises problems, because the orientation of foreign policy has a conflictive appearance, from the logic of the simultaneous presence of groups with contradictory interests on a specific issue. The national interest of states transcends private interests to being internal (internal), bounded by the internal societal demands of the state, and not the external environmental data, and from here we conclude that it is not unitary but pluralistic in view of the pluralism of internal civil society.*

- In general, creating a network of mutual dependence restricts the behavior of the state in its external and internal activities, and thus affects that behavior, as countries are often forced to rely on these interactions as a result of the acquired benefits that they will obtain, and that sometimes cannot be achieved from Outside of these relationships.

Despite the price that the state has to pay, which may be in the form of certain political opportunities, or restricting its choices in many areas? Therefore, interdependence, as a conceptual content, aims to analyze the results of interdependence as a phenomenon in global politics, which is generally characterized by the lack of an equal and equitable sharing of benefits between the various actors. For this purpose, Robert Keuhan and Joseph Nye have developed two analytical methods, namely "Sensibility". And "Vulnerability", sensitivity refers to the depth of change that a country is causing in another country. Increasing the capabilities of some countries, and thus their ability to influence others. Some non-state actors may be subject, in one way or another, to the influence of a particular country for political, economic or other reasons. The state therefore uses these parties to exert its influence on other countries that interact with these parties through interactions. As for retrospection, it relates to the possibilities granted to the actor / state (b) to resist the influence of state (a).

The reason for our dependence on the approach of interdependence in the interpretation of (Chinese-African) relations is due to its focus on the economic dimension in international relations, as well as the growing role of non-state actors. The Chinese strategy in Africa is concerned primarily with the economic aspect, although it has other non-economic dimensions, Political and diplomatic.

Just as Beijing's presence on the continent is multifaceted. Besides the (state) government presence, Beijing is largely dependent on private, multinational companies that invest heavily in Africa.

The approach of mutual dependence, in addition to the approach of soft power, has benefited us in clarifying and interpreting the existing relations between China and African countries, which often depend on Chinese investments and the assistance provided by China to these countries, while China relies on the countries of the continent to supply it with energy (oil) and open new fields for marketing Various Chinese goods and products. The approach of soft power: the first to use this term and its foundations is the thinker Joseph Nye, and it may help us a lot in examining the Algerian-

Chinese relations that are often based on the economic determinant, where the concept of soft power is clear

From soft power to smart power:

A follower of Algerian foreign policy over the decades notes its tendency to use soft power, in line with the general principles of Algerian foreign policy that refuse to use rough (hard) force. If we exclude the War of the Sands in 1963, in which Algeria was forced to fight a war to stop the extension of the Kingdom of Morocco to Algerian sovereignty and Algeria's participation in the series of Arab-Israeli wars in order to raise the flag of Arab dignity).

From the magazine (such as the Six-Day War or the 1967 War and the October War of 1973, Algerian foreign policy is generally characterized by a peaceful nature, since Algeria has been able since the independence to influence other international units, whether in neighboring or remote regional areas through soft means linked to attraction and dialogue, such as intensive diplomacy, diplomacy of organizations, financial and commercial assistance, cooperation and cultural and academic exchange programs.

But the focus on soft power in Algerian foreign policy does not keep pace with the development of the concept of power in international relations, which has moved from rough or hard power to soft power, and then the concept of power has evolved until the emergence of a new pattern of influence, which is smart power that has emerged in international relations since 2004, a mix Between coarse and soft force

The third axis: Algerian foreign policy, reconstruction and establishment. Foreign policy theories regarding the fundamental goal of states in the international arena divide between the physical perception of the realistic theory and which assumes that states in their foreign policy seek to achieve their national interest (security - survival), and the social perception of the structural theory that sees That states as social actors seek through their foreign policies to assert their national identity so we see in the case of Algeria that they have been able to build their own identity where since independence they have what is known as the doctrine of Algerian foreign

policy, and This came as an inevitable result of Algeria adopting a set of values and standards of behavior and persistence in its international positions, and commitment to it in real terms in its external behavior - and this enabled ,,,, completed it from the Arab Politics Magazine Zoghouni Rabeh

Conclusion:

The future of the international system is determined by the actors in the international arena, and this scientific paper has demonstrated that efforts to revitalize Algerian foreign policy impose a change and reform of the traditional ideological pattern in terms of principles and foundations on which to adopt a new effective strategy that contemplates the changes that have occurred in the international environment. Whatever the case, the impact of Chinese policy in Africa cannot be seen as merely an economic phenomenon and enough. From the Chinese perspective, there are narrow economic considerations in addition to the long-term strategic goals of ensuring the provision of basic energy sources. From the Algerian perspective, there are direct economic interests represented in The returns on direct trade, in addition to political and strategic considerations, are represented by the call to go east to create new opportunities alternative to the Western imperialist powers.

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