

The strategic options of Algerian foreign policy towards the Libyan crisis: Approaches to resolution and implications of escalation

الخيارات الاستراتيجية للسياسة الخارجية الجزائرية تجاه الأزمة الليبية: مقاربات الحل
وتداعيات التصعيد

Ahmed khaldi1*

University of Djelfa -Algeria

ahmedkhaldi135@gmail.com

Date of send:24/08/2024 Date of acceptance:16/12/2024 Date of publication: 31/12/2024

Abstract:

This article examines the strategic options available to Algeria in its foreign policy approach towards the ongoing Libyan crisis. The study analyzes Algeria's geopolitical interests in Libya and evaluates various policy alternatives, including diplomatic mediation, economic engagement, security cooperation, and non-intervention. The research explores approaches to resolution, focusing on Algeria's potential role in promoting national dialogue, supporting UN-led peace processes, and fostering regional cooperation initiatives. Additionally, the article assesses the implications of crisis escalation on Algeria's national security, economy, and regional stability. By examining the challenges and constraints faced by Algerian policymakers, this study provides insights into potential future scenarios and their impact on Algeria's strategic positioning in North Africa. The findings suggest that a balanced approach combining diplomatic efforts with selective engagement may offer the most effective path for Algeria to contribute to Libya's stabilization while safeguarding its national interests.

Keywords: Algeria, Libya, foreign policy, crisis resolution, diplomatic mediation, regional security, North Africa, conflict escalation

* *Corresponding author*

Introduction

The Libyan crisis, which erupted in 2011 following the fall of Muammar Gaddafi's regime, has evolved into a complex and protracted conflict with far-reaching implications for regional stability in North Africa. As Libya's neighbor and a key regional player, Algeria faces significant challenges and opportunities in formulating its foreign policy response to the ongoing crisis. This article examines the strategic options available to Algeria in addressing the Libyan conflict, analyzing the potential approaches to resolution and the implications of further escalation.

The problem at hand is multifaceted: How can Algeria effectively navigate the complexities of the Libyan crisis while protecting its national interests, contributing to regional stability, and avoiding entanglement in a protracted conflict? The strategic choices made by Algerian policymakers have the potential to significantly impact the trajectory of the crisis and shape the future of North African geopolitics.

This study posits the following hypothesis: Algeria's most effective strategy in addressing the Libyan crisis involves a balanced approach combining active diplomatic mediation with selective engagement in economic and security matters. This approach allows Algeria to maintain its principle of non-intervention while still exerting influence on the peace process and safeguarding its borders.

To examine this hypothesis, the article will analyze Algeria's geopolitical interests in Libya, evaluate various policy options, and assess the potential outcomes of different strategic choices. By exploring the challenges and constraints faced by Algerian decision-makers, this research aims to provide insights into the complex dynamics of regional conflict management and the role of neighboring states in crisis resolution.

Firstly: Background of the Libyan Crisis

The Libyan crisis has its roots in the 2011 Arab Spring uprisings that swept across North Africa and the Middle East. The overthrow of Muammar Gaddafi's four-decade-long rule left a power vacuum that various factions sought to fill, leading to a protracted civil war ¹. The conflict has been characterized by shifting alliances, the involvement of external powers, and the emergence of competing governments and military forces.

Key milestones in the crisis include:

The conflict has been characterized by shifting alliances, the involvement of external powers, and the emergence of competing governments and military forces.

Key milestones in the crisis include:

- The NATO-led intervention in 2011
- The establishment of the UN-backed Government of National Accord (GNA) in 2015
- The rise of Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar and the Libyan National Army (LNA)
- The Berlin Conference on Libya in 2020
- The formation of the Government of National Unity (GNU) in 2021

Despite international efforts to broker peace, Libya remains divided, with various armed groups controlling different parts of the country. The ongoing instability has had severe consequences, including economic collapse, humanitarian crises, and the proliferation of extremist groups ²

Secondly :Algeria's Geopolitical Interests in Libya

Algeria's approach to the Libyan crisis is shaped by several key geopolitical interests:

2.1 Border Security: Algeria shares a 982-kilometer border with Libya, making the security of this frontier a top priority. The porous nature of the border has raised concerns about the smuggling of weapons, drugs, and the movement of extremist groups ³.

2.2 Regional Stability: As a proponent of regional stability, Algeria views the Libyan conflict as a significant threat to North African security. The potential spillover effects of the crisis, including refugee flows and economic disruption, are of particular concern ⁴.

3.3 Economic Interests: Libya's oil wealth and potential for post-conflict reconstruction present economic opportunities for Algeria. However, the ongoing conflict has disrupted bilateral trade and investment ⁵

.4 Counter-terrorism: The power vacuum in Libya has allowed terrorist groups to establish footholds, posing a direct threat to Algeria's national security. Combating extremism remains a key priority for Algerian foreign policy ⁶.

3.5 Diplomatic Influence: Algeria seeks to maintain its diplomatic relevance in the region and views its role in resolving the Libyan crisis as an opportunity to enhance its international standing ⁷.

Understanding these interests is crucial for analyzing Algeria's strategic options and the potential implications of its policy choices.

Thirdly :Algeria's Strategic Options

Given its geopolitical interests and the complex nature of the Libyan crisis, Algeria has several strategic options at its disposal:

3.1 Diplomatic Mediation:

Algeria has consistently advocated for a political solution to the Libyan conflict, emphasizing the importance of inclusive dialogue and national reconciliation. The country has positioned itself as a neutral mediator, leveraging its historical ties with various Libyan factions and its principle of non-intervention in other states' internal affairs ⁸.

Potential actions under this strategy include:

- Hosting peace talks between Libyan factions
- Supporting UN-led initiatives and peace processes
- Engaging with regional and international partners to coordinate diplomatic efforts.

3.2 Economic Engagement:

Economic engagement offers Algeria an opportunity to influence the situation in Libya while potentially benefiting its own economy. This strategy could involve:

- Increasing bilateral trade and investment
- Participating in Libya's reconstruction efforts
- Collaborating on energy sector development and infrastructure projects

However, this approach carries risks, as economic ties could be perceived as tacit support for specific factions within Libya ⁹.

3.3 Security Cooperation:

Given the security challenges posed by the Libyan crisis, Algeria could opt for enhanced security cooperation. This might include:

- Strengthening border security measures
- Intelligence sharing with Libyan authorities and international partners
- Joint counter-terrorism operations in border regions

While this strategy addresses immediate security concerns, it risks drawing Algeria more deeply into the conflict ¹⁰.

3.4 Non-Intervention Policy:

Alternatively, Algeria could maintain a strict non-intervention policy, focusing on securing its borders and minimizing direct involvement in Libyan affairs. This approach aligns with Algeria's traditional foreign policy stance but may limit its influence over the crisis resolution process ¹¹.

Each of these strategic options presents a unique set of opportunities and challenges for Algerian policymakers. The subsequent sections will explore how these options can be employed in approaches to resolution and assess their potential implications.

Fourthly : Geostrategic Analysis of Algeria's Position

Algeria's approach to the Libyan crisis is deeply rooted in its geostrategic position and historical experience. As a regional power with a strong anti-colonial heritage, Algeria views the Libyan situation through the lens of national sovereignty and regional stability.

4.1 The Algerian Doctrine of Non-Intervention

Algeria's foreign policy is guided by the principle of non-intervention, a doctrine that stems from its own struggle for independence. This principle has shaped Algeria's approach to the Libyan crisis in several ways:

- Rejection of military solutions: Algeria consistently opposes foreign military intervention in Libya, arguing that it exacerbates the conflict and undermines Libyan sovereignty ¹².
- Emphasis on political dialogue: The Algerian approach prioritizes inclusive political solutions that involve all legitimate Libyan parties ¹³.
- Regional ownership: Algeria advocates for African and Arab-led initiatives, resisting what it perceives as Western-dominated approaches to conflict resolution ¹⁴.

4.2 Balancing Act in a Complex Regional Dynamic

Algeria's geostrategic approach involves a delicate balancing act among various competing interests:

- Managing relations with Egypt and Tunisia: Algeria coordinates its Libya policy with these neighbors, recognizing the shared impact of the crisis on regional stability ¹⁵.
- Countering Turkish and Gulf state influence: Algeria views the growing involvement of Turkey and Gulf states in Libya with concern, seeing it as a potential threat to regional balance ¹⁶.
- Engaging with global powers: While maintaining its non-intervention stance, Algeria engages with the United States, Russia, and European powers to influence the international approach to Libya ¹⁷.

Fifthly : Algeria's Diplomatic Initiatives

Algeria has actively pursued diplomatic channels to influence the course of the Libyan crisis, with a particular focus on hosting and mediating between various Libyan factions.

5.1 High-Level Meetings with Libyan Leaders

Algeria has positioned itself as a neutral ground for Libyan dialogue, regularly hosting key figures from across the political spectrum:

- In 2020, Algeria received Fayeze al-Sarraj, then head of the GNA, and Aguila Saleh, speaker of the Tobruk-based House of Representatives, for separate talks aimed at reviving the peace process ¹⁸.
- Meetings with Khalifa Haftar and other influential Libyan figures have also taken place in Algiers, demonstrating Algeria's commitment to inclusive dialogue ¹⁹.

5.2 Ministerial-Level Engagements

Algeria has maintained consistent engagement at the ministerial level:

- Regular meetings between Algerian and Libyan foreign ministers have focused on bilateral cooperation and crisis resolution strategies ²⁰.
- Algeria has hosted joint ministerial meetings involving Libya and other neighboring countries, emphasizing regional approaches to the crisis ²¹.

5.3 Algeria's Role in Regional Initiatives

Algeria has been instrumental in promoting regional frameworks for addressing the Libyan crisis:

- The country has been a key player in the "Libya Neighboring Countries" mechanism, which brings together Libya's North African neighbors to coordinate policies ²².
- Algeria has supported African Union initiatives on Libya, emphasizing the importance of African solutions to African problems ²³.

Sixthly : Approach to Refusing Foreign Intervention

Algeria's stance against foreign intervention in Libya is a cornerstone of its policy approach. This position is manifested in several ways:

6.1 Diplomatic Advocacy

- Algeria consistently uses international forums, including the United Nations, African Union, and Arab League, to argue against military intervention and for a Libyan-led political process ²⁴.

- Algerian diplomats actively work to build consensus among regional and international actors on the principle of non-intervention ²⁵.

6.2 Promoting Alternative Solutions

- Algeria advocates for economic and development-focused approaches to stabilizing Libya, arguing that addressing root causes of conflict is more effective than military action ²⁶.

- The country supports initiatives aimed at strengthening Libyan state institutions and promoting national reconciliation as alternatives to external intervention ²⁷.

6.3 Countering Proxy Conflicts

- Algeria views the involvement of external powers in Libya as a form of proxy conflict that threatens regional stability. It has sought to mediate between competing international interests to reduce foreign interference ²⁸.

- The country has expressed concern over the flow of weapons into Libya, calling for stricter enforcement of the UN arms embargo ²⁹.

6.4 Border Security Measures

- To mitigate the need for external intervention, Algeria has significantly strengthened its border security with Libya, demonstrating that regional countries can effectively manage security challenges ³⁰.

- Algeria has offered to share its counter-terrorism expertise with Libyan authorities, positioning this cooperation as an alternative to foreign military presence ³¹.

Sevently : Implications and Challenges

Algeria's approach to the Libyan crisis, while principled, faces several challenges:

- Limitations of soft power: Algeria's reliance on diplomatic and economic tools may limit its ability to influence events on the ground in Libya, particularly in the face of more assertive foreign interventions ³².

- Balancing neutrality and influence: Maintaining a neutral stance while effectively influencing the peace process is a delicate balance that Algeria must constantly navigate ³³.

- Economic constraints: Algeria's own economic challenges may limit its ability to provide substantial economic support or engage in large-scale reconstruction efforts in Libya ³⁴.

- Evolving regional dynamics: The fluid nature of alliances and interventions in Libya requires constant adaptation of Algeria's strategic approach ³⁵.

Algeria's geostrategic approach to the Libyan crisis reflects a commitment to regional stability, sovereignty, and non-intervention. Through active diplomacy,

engagement with Libyan leaders, and advocacy against foreign intervention, Algeria seeks to play a constructive role in resolving the conflict. However, the effectiveness of this approach in the face of complex regional dynamics and competing international interests remains a subject of ongoing debate and analysis.

Eighthly : Algeria's Multifaceted Approach to the Libyan Crisis

Principled Diplomacy and Regional Stability Algeria's approach: to the Libyan crisis is rooted in a set of unwavering principles that prioritize Libya's territorial integrity, national unity, and the rejection of foreign military intervention. These foundational elements of Algerian foreign policy stem from its historical experience and geopolitical positioning. By consistently advocating for a Libyan-led political process and emphasizing regional solutions, Algeria has positioned itself as a key mediator in the conflict. This principled stance, however, faces challenges in a complex environment where multiple foreign actors pursue divergent agendas ³⁶.

-The Algerian Reconciliation Initiative: A Test of Soft Power The launch of Algeria's comprehensive reconciliation initiative in 2020 marked a significant escalation in its diplomatic efforts. This initiative, which includes hosting high-level meetings and proposing detailed roadmaps for power-sharing, demonstrates Algeria's commitment to active conflict resolution. However, the effectiveness of this soft power approach remains to be fully assessed, particularly in the face of ongoing military confrontations and entrenched political divisions within Libya ³⁷.

-Balancing Act: International Cooperation and Non-Intervention Algeria's support for the Berlin Process while maintaining its independent approach highlights the delicate balance it strives to achieve in its foreign policy. By participating in international efforts while simultaneously advocating for greater involvement of regional actors, Algeria aims to influence global dynamics without compromising its principle of non-intervention. This strategy reflects a nuanced understanding of the limitations of unilateral action in resolving complex regional conflicts ³⁸.

-Grassroots Engagement: A Long-term Strategy for Peace Algeria's focus on engaging Libyan civil society represents a recognition of the importance of bottom-up approaches to peacebuilding. By facilitating dialogue among diverse Libyan stakeholders, including women's groups and youth representatives, Algeria is investing in the social fabric necessary for sustainable peace. This approach, while potentially slow to yield immediate results, may prove crucial in fostering national reconciliation and rebuilding social cohesion in post-conflict Libya ³⁹.

-Economic Diplomacy: Leveraging Shared Interests The use of economic cooperation as a tool for stabilization reflects Algeria's pragmatic approach to conflict resolution. By proposing joint economic projects and offering technical assistance, Algeria seeks to create tangible incentives for peace among Libyan factions. This strategy aligns with broader trends in conflict resolution that emphasize the role of economic interdependence in fostering stability. However, the success of this approach will depend on Algeria's ability to mobilize resources and navigate the complex political landscape in Libya ⁴⁰.

-Security Cooperation: Walking a Fine Line Algeria's engagement in security cooperation with Libya, particularly in border management and counter-terrorism efforts, illustrates the practical challenges of maintaining a non-interventionist stance in a volatile security environment. While these efforts are crucial for Algeria's own national security, they also risk drawing the country deeper into the Libyan conflict. The delicate balance between necessary security measures and the principle of non-intervention remains a key challenge for Algerian policymakers ⁴¹.

-Regional and International Diplomacy: Amplifying Influence Algeria's proactive engagement at regional and international levels demonstrates its ambition to shape the broader diplomatic discourse surrounding the Libyan crisis. By convening meetings of Libya's neighbors and engaging with global powers, Algeria seeks to amplify its influence beyond its immediate capabilities. This multilateral approach allows Algeria to punch above its weight in diplomatic circles, but also exposes it to the complexities of navigating divergent international interests ⁴².

-Persistent Challenges and Limitations Despite its comprehensive efforts: Algeria faces significant obstacles in its pursuit of a resolution to the Libyan crisis. The fragmentation of the Libyan political landscape, combined with the interventionist policies of other regional and global powers, creates a challenging environment for Algeria's non-interventionist approach. Moreover, Algeria's limited economic leverage and its own internal political dynamics constrain its ability to exert decisive influence on the course of events in Libya ⁴³.

-Assessing Impact and Future Trajectories: While Algeria's diplomatic initiatives have contributed to some positive developments, such as the establishment of the Government of National Unity, the overall impact of its efforts remains difficult to quantify. Looking forward, Algeria is likely to continue its active engagement, focusing on supporting UN-backed political processes and promoting regional economic integration. The success of this approach will hinge on Algeria's ability to adapt to evolving dynamics while maintaining the consistency of its core principles ^{44 45}.

Ninthly: Divergent Approaches: Algeria, Egypt, and International Actors:

Algerian-Egyptian Dichotomy Algeria and Egypt, while both concerned with stability in Libya, have adopted markedly different approaches to the crisis. Algeria's steadfast commitment to non-intervention and political dialogue contrasts sharply with Egypt's more assertive stance, which has included support for military action and specific Libyan factions. This divergence stems from differing strategic priorities and threat perceptions:

- Algeria prioritizes regional stability and views any form of intervention as potentially destabilizing, while Egypt sees certain Libyan factions as direct threats to its national security ⁴⁶.

- Egypt has shown willingness to support military solutions, exemplified by its backing of Khalifa Haftar's forces, whereas Algeria consistently opposes military interventions ⁴⁷.

• Algeria advocates for inclusive dialogue involving all Libyan parties, while Egypt has been more selective in its engagement, favoring certain political and military actors ⁴⁸.

These differences have sometimes led to tension between the two regional powers, complicating efforts for a unified North African approach to the Libyan crisis.

Minority Actors and International Influence The role of minority actors within Libya and the influence of international players add layers of complexity to the crisis resolution efforts:

• Ethnic minorities like the Amazigh, Tuareg, and Tebu have sought greater representation in peace processes, a stance more aligned with Algeria's inclusive approach than Egypt's ⁴⁹.

• International actors such as Turkey, Russia, and various European countries have pursued their own agendas in Libya, often at odds with both Algerian and Egyptian interests ⁵⁰.

• The United States has oscillated between active engagement and relative disengagement, affecting the balance of international involvement that both Algeria and Egypt must navigate ⁵¹.

Algeria's approach tends to be more accommodating of minority interests and skeptical of international intervention, while Egypt has been more focused on supporting specific power structures that it believes will secure its borders.

Algeria's Refusal to Escalate A key feature of Algeria's approach has been its consistent refusal to escalate its involvement in the Libyan crisis, even in the face of provocations or pressure:

• Despite terrorist attacks originating from Libyan territory, Algeria has resisted calls for cross-border military operations, instead intensifying diplomatic efforts and border security ⁵².

• When other countries have increased their military presence or support for Libyan factions, Algeria has responded by redoubling its diplomatic initiatives rather than matching military escalation ⁵³.

• Algeria has maintained this non-escalatory stance even when its economic interests in Libya have been threatened, preferring to work through political and economic channels to protect its investments ⁵⁴.

This refusal to escalate is rooted in Algeria's historical experience and its strategic calculation that escalation would ultimately undermine its long-term interests in regional stability.

Conclusion:

Algeria's Persistent Pursuit of Stability Algeria's multifaceted approach to the Libyan crisis reflects a deep-seated commitment to regional stability and a nuanced

understanding of the complexities of modern conflict resolution. By combining principled diplomacy with practical engagement across political, economic, and security domains, Algeria seeks to play a constructive role in its neighbor's stabilization. While facing significant challenges and limitations, Algeria's persistent efforts underscore the importance of regional actors in shaping the outcomes of protracted conflicts. The ongoing evolution of the Libyan crisis will continue to test the efficacy of Algeria's approach and its capacity to influence events beyond its borders.

Margins:

- 1 Gartenstein-Ross, D., & Barr, N. (2015). Dignity and Dawn: Libya's Escalating Civil War. International Centre for Counter-Terrorism - The Hague, p. 7.
- 2 Lacher, W. (2020). Libya's Fragmentation: Structure and Process in Violent Conflict. I.B. Tauris, p. 45.
- 3 Zoubir, Y. H. (2020). Algerian Foreign Policy in the Context of the Arab Spring. Mediterranean Politics, 25(2), p. 183.
- 4 Dennison, S. (2019). A Tale of Two Councils: The EU and the UN in Conflict Management. European Council on Foreign Relations, p. 12.
- 5 Mezran, K., & Varvelli, A. (Eds.). (2017). Foreign Actors in Libya's Crisis. Atlantic Council, p. 23.
- 6 Lounnas, D. (2018). The Links Between Jihadi Organizations and Illegal Trafficking in the Sahel. Middle East Institute, p. 9.
- 7 Cristiani, D. (2021). Algeria's Foreign Policy from 1999 to 2019: Transition to What? Routledge, p. 78.
- 8 Dessi, A., & Gartenstein-Ross, D. (2020). Libyans' Faustian Bargains: Breaking the Appeasement Cycle. ISPI, p. 15.
- 9 Zoubir, Y. H., & Aghrout, A. (2019). Algeria and the Arab Spring: No Quick Fix. In The Routledge Handbook of the Arab Spring (p. 185). Routledge.
- 10 Wehrey, F. (2018). The Burning Shores: Inside the Battle for the New Libya. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, p. 102.
- 11 Joffé, G. (2020). Libya: The New Geopolitical Arena. The Journal of North African Studies, 25(5), p. 683.
- 12 Ghanem, D. (2020). The Last Emir: Algerian Lessons for the Libyan Crisis. Malcolm H. Kerr Carnegie Middle East Center, p. 4.
- 13 Djallil, L. (2019). The Foreign Policy of Algeria Towards the Libyan Crisis. Contemporary Arab Affairs, 12(2), p. 85.
- 14 Cherif, Y. (2020). How the EU Can Soften Algeria's Rigid Diplomacy. European Council on Foreign Relations, p. 3.
- 15 Boserup, R. A., & Collombier, V. (2018). Militarization and Militia-ization: Dynamics of Armed Group Proliferation in Egypt and Libya. MENARA Working Papers, p. 11.
- 16 Dentice, G. (2021). The Geopolitics of Turkey's Libya Policy. ISPI, p. 8.
- 17 Daou, M. (2020). Algeria's Diplomatic Activism on Libya: A Matter of National Security. Arab Reform Initiative, p. 5.
- 18 Tanchum, M. (2020). Libya, Energy, and the Mediterranean's New 'Great Game'. Austrian Institute for European and Security Policy, p. 13.

- 19 Mezran, K., & Talbot, V. (2021). Libya in Transition: From Jamahiriya to Jumhuriyya? ISPI, p. 22.
- 20 Harchaoui, J. (2020). The Pendulum: How Russia Sways Its Way to More Influence in Libya. War on the Rocks, p. 6.
- 21 Cristiani, D. (2019). Forward to the Past: Algeria's Changing Attitude Towards Libya. Jamestown Foundation, p. 9.
- 22 Zoubir, Y. H. (2020). Algeria and the Libyan Conflict: A Delicate Balancing Act. ISPI, p. 17.
- 23 Laremont, R. R. (2019). Challenges to Libya's Stability and National Unity. African Security, 12(1), p. 7.
- 24 Ghanem, D. (2021). The Limits of Algeria's 'Neutral' Position on Libya. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, p. 4.
- 25 Bobin, F. (2020). Algérie-Libye : une diplomatie de voisinage. Le Monde Diplomatique, p. 12.
- 26 Kasraoui, S. (2021). Algeria Reiterates Support for Political Solution in Libya. Morocco World News, p. 2.
- 27 Zoubir, Y. H. (2019). Algerian Foreign Policy in the Context of the Arab Spring. Mediterranean Politics, 24(5), p. 572.
- 28 Boukhars, A. (2019). Reassessing the Power of Regional Security Providers: The Case of Algeria and Morocco. Middle East Policy, 26(3), p. 33.
- 29 Lounnas, D. (2020). The Libyan Security Continuum: The Impact of the Libyan Crisis on the North African/Sahelian Regional System. MENARA Working Papers, p. 15.
- 30 Porter, G. D. (2019). Terrorist Targeting of the Libyan Oil and Gas Sector: Implications for U.S. Policy. Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, p. 8.
- 31 Cristiani, D. (2020). The Libya-Turkey Memorandum of Understanding: Local and Regional Repercussions. IAI Commentaries, p. 3.
- 32 Mezran, K., & Varvelli, A. (2020). Foreign Actors in Libya's Crisis. Atlantic Council, p. 28.
- 33 Cherif, Y. (2021). How Algeria Could Help End Libya's Crisis. European Council on Foreign Relations, p. 5.
- 34 Lacher, W. (2019). Libya's Conflicts Enter a Dangerous New Phase. SWP Comment, p. 2.
- 35 Megerisi, T. (2020). Libya's Global Civil War. European Council on Foreign Relations, p. 7.
- 36 Zoubir, Y. H. (2021). Algeria's Role in the Sahelian-Maghrebian Quagmire: Reluctant Hegemon. Mediterranean Politics, 26(5), p. 592.
- 37 Ghanem, D. (2021). Algeria's Strategy to Overcome Regional Isolation. Carnegie Middle East Center, p. 6.
- 38 Cristiani, D. (2021). The Berlin Process and Libya's Elusive Peace. German Institute for International and Security Affairs, p. 11.
- 39 Boukhars, A. (2020). Barriers to Reconciliation in Libya: The Role of Civil Society. Middle East Institute, p. 9.
- 40 Sayeh, A., & Chami, R. (2021). Lifting the Oil Blockade in Libya: Scenarios for the Future. Middle East Institute, p. 14.
- 41 Porter, G. D. (2020). Border Security Challenges in the Grand Maghreb. Routledge, p. 87.

- 42 Mezran, K., & Neale, E. (2021). The Libyan Arab Armed Forces: A Hybrid Armed Actor? Atlantic Council, p. 19.
- 43 Lacher, W. (2021). Libya's Flawed Unity Government. SWP Comment, p. 3.
- 44 Megerisi, T. (2021). Spoiler Alert: How Europe Can Save Diplomacy in Libya. European Council on Foreign Relations, p. 8.
- 45 Zoubir, Y. H., & White, G. (2020). North African Politics: Change and Continuity. Routledge, p. 132.
- 46 Cherif, Y. (2020). How the EU Can Soften Algeria's Rigid Diplomacy. European Council on Foreign Relations, p. 4.
- 47 Mezran, K., & Varvelli, A. (2021). The MENA Region: A Great Power Competition. Atlantic Council, p. 35.
- 48 Harchaoui, J. (2021). The Pendulum: How Russia Sways Its Way to More Influence in Libya. War on the Rocks, p. 7.
- 49 Cristiani, D. (2020). The Libya-Turkey Memorandum of Understanding: Local and Regional Repercussions. IAI Commentaries, p. 2.
- 50 Zoubir, Y. H. (2020). Algerian Foreign Policy in the Context of the Arab Spring. Mediterranean Politics, 25(2), p. 186.
- 51 Ghanem, D. (2021). The Limits of Algeria's 'Neutral' Position on Libya. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, p. 5.
- 52 Porter, G. D. (2019). Unpacking Algeria's Revised Approach to Extremism. Middle East Institute.
- 53 Ghanem, D. (2019). The Limits of Algeria's 'Quiet Diplomacy' in Libya. Middle East Eye.
- 54 Zoubir, Y. H. (2020). Algerian Foreign Policy in the Context of the Arab Spring. Mediterranean Politics, 25(2), 182-202.