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Algeria's security policy principles to combat cross-border terrorism: Within the context of security identity in security cooperation with Europe.

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Abstract:

International security cooperation in the field of combating cross-border terrorism has become one of the most important international policies in regions around the world, most notably the Mediterranean region, as a result of the terrible spread of this phenomenon, which coincided with geopolitical transformations that began in 2011, such as the fall of Arab regimes and sectarian and political conflicts in African countries. As a result, cross-border terrorism now poses a threat to global security.

The spotlight is shone here on security cooperation between Algeria and the European Union in terms of the starting points and principles on which the majority of joint security policies in combating it were built within the context of cooperation between agreement and disagreement in light of the problem of a unified security identity.

Keywords: International security cooperation, cross-border terrorism, policy principles, Mediterranean region, security identity,

Introduction

Algeria has always sought to play a leading and influential role in its diplomacy and political activities, both regional and international, due to its strategic position, geostrategic capabilities, military capabilities and experience in terms of its security and strategic policies in its Mediterranean environment and the unstable African Sahel, known for its diverse security threats that are witnessing an unprecedented increase. With the international transformations witnessed by the international system, according to the geopolitical context at play and the radical conceptual political changes that followed, these changes presented a new

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structure in security concepts, theories and approaches, not to mention that they gave new dimensions to security, as they provided a new structural balance to the concept of security within the context of international and regional security cooperation, which presented to the world a new image that Barry Buzan called the "regional security complex", this cooperation that is characterized by agreement on the one hand and difference on the other hand according to each country belonging to its region and the starting points of its security, the cases of the presence or absence of a single security identity may frame effective and influential security cooperation in a positive way, or make it useless or ineffective.

In light of the challenges and stakes that may face the cooperating parties playing, the European side and Algeria, the subject of our study here, and in light of the absence of a common regional and international security identity, and thus the existence of conflict and intersection at the same time, benefit on the one hand and competition and imposing security visions according to the interests of each party on the other hand between the active parties, therefore Algeria aspires with its security strategy to make its role prominent in the Mediterranean region in the field of combating cross-border terrorism.

In this regard, the major problem of the study comes: To what extent can we build a security approach within the context of regional Mediterranean cooperation with European partners?

Through this problem, we raised the following sub-questions on which we built the context of the study:

1. What are the starting points of Algerian security policies and strategies that it adopted as principles in its positions and actions towards the issue of cross-border terrorism, and on the basis of which it established joint policies in its security cooperation with Europe?
2. Does Algeria have the security vision that enables it to formulate its strategies with influence and power in what achieves its supreme national interests, in light of the lack of a common security identity with the European Union's defensive security policies?

Regarding the study methods that facilitated the research foundations and procedures, and the investigation of facts by building our analytical frameworks, our study relies on:

The analytical description method: In order to describe the Algerian and European security policies in their security orientations by analyzing these policies in their legal and political context, as well as understanding the reasons and motives.

The historical method: It is not possible to understand and follow the study of the developments of security policies without returning to the historical background, which is the basis on which this policy was formed, such as the fixed principles or the state of its development and renewal, i.e. according to the historical context and what is dictated by the interactions of the conditions of the security-political environment.

The research plan is divided into two chapters:

Chapter one: The Algerian approach to combating cross-border terrorism: impact and global dimension.

- **Section one:** The Algerian vision to define the nature of cross-border terrorism.
- **Section two:** The success of the Algerian security thesis to combat terrorism and its global impact.

Chapter two: Joint Euro-Algerian security strategies in the Mediterranean to combat terrorism: the dilemma of a common security identity.

- **Section one:** The most important security strategies for security cooperation between Algeria and the European Union in combating cross-border terrorism.
- **Section two:** The imbalance in the frameworks and mechanisms of Euro-Algerian cooperation: differences in interests and security visions.

Chapter one: The Algerian approach to combating cross-border terrorism: impact and global dimension.

Algeria is steadfast in its belief that a high degree of alertness, mobilization, and multimodal collaboration at the national, regional, and worldwide levels are still necessary for preventing and stopping terrorism. It is evident that this fight requires the implementation of a cogent political strategy from the top down. It cannot be confined to just the repressive aspect. In the difficult battle against violent extremism, terrorism, and its causes, Algeria has gained invaluable insight. Algeria has made great qualitative progress and tremendous efforts to prevent

violent extremism and terrorism. These efforts build on the historical reconciliation program proposed by the President of the Republic, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, in the shape of the Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation, which was ratified by an overwhelming majority of Algerians through a referendum.¹

Accordingly, Algeria, with its military and security forces, has fought long battles in the fight against terrorism inside its territory in its desert, the most famous of which is the "Ain Amenas Tingentrouine Operation 2013," and on its long and diverse borders with African and Arab neighbors, where its geographical region has witnessed an amazing spread of operations by cross-border terrorist groups penetrating the African desert, such as Al-Qaeda and the Boko Haram group. giving Algeria's security approach a successful regional and global dimension that is emulated in international forums.

Section one : The Algerian vision to define the nature of cross-border terrorism.

Following the events of September 11, which marked a watershed moment in the nature of international relations and the interpretation of global policies, the phenomenon of terrorism became a source of contention, conflict, and opposition in determining its nature and essence, as well as determining international allies to combat it, based on what each country believes in its vision of the nature of terrorism.

The EU and the United States have been progressively securitizing Islam, as well as their ties with Arab and Muslim nations. This has contributed to the importance of counterterrorism cooperation, as well as rhetoric that has centralized counterterrorism in bilateral and multilateral collaboration with both the EU and the US. However, such rhetoric and visibility have not yielded effective, consistent, and concrete effects in the field. If anything, it has "provided a sort of constant external legitimisation" of the securitization agenda while potentially damaging the legitimacy and impact of state policies and programs aimed at strengthening democracy and human rights in the region.²

¹ H.E. Mr. Mohammed Bessedik, Ambassador, Deputy Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, Measures to eliminate international terrorism, Permanent Mission of Algeria to the United Nations, New York, 04 October 2016, P.02.

² Dina Mansour-Ille, Counterterrorism policies in the Middle East and North Africa: A regional perspective, IRRRC, International Review of the Red Cross, 2021, P.665.

A definition of terrorism that limits its scope to acts of violence intended to terrify a populace or exert pressure on a government or international organization for political, religious, or ideological reasons is the most accurate one. However, the definition ought to exclude out acceptable political protests that take place in a democratic country and aren't typically associated with terrorism. The easiest way to deal with state terrorism and liberation violence is to let the current laws of war govern these kinds of acts. Regardless of whether state or non-state troops are involved, killing people in defiance of international humanitarian law is already considered a war crime. It seems like a fairly meaningless theoretical exercise to add additional culpability for "terrorism" to such offenses.¹ On the other hand, the use or threat of a specific action "designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public or a section of the public, and [which] is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious, or ideological cause" is defined as terrorism under the UK Terrorism Act of 2000. There are similarities between the several definitions of terrorism, even though there isn't a one accepted definition. These can be summed up as:²

1. possessing an ideological, religious, or political motivation in general;
2. committing these premeditated with the goal of exerting pressure on or influencing governments and/or spreading a fear-based message;
3. carrying out actions intended to seriously harm a group of people—who are typically not the primary target of the acts—physically or psychologically;

In light of this, we will attempt to comprehend and analyze Algeria's security vision of cross-border terrorism, which serves as the basis for its international efforts to collaborate with active international partners. These partners, while sharing the common goal of "cooperation in combating international terrorism," have different security visions that may overlap in some specific areas and diverge in others when it comes to preventing and stopping the spread of the terrorist act.

¹ Ben Saul, *The Challenge of Defining Terrorism*, 17 septembre 2012, ISN, Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, Switzerland, P03.

² Dina Mansour-Ille, *Op. Cit*, P.659.

Part one: The Algerian theoretical criteria for determining the nature of cross-border terrorism.

Algeria's global approach to cross-border terrorism has always established clear and specific criteria for recognizing the genuine essence of terrorism. In the majority of its official statements and speeches, it has always distinguished between the fight against international terrorism, which destroys humanity and prevents peoples from enjoying security and stability, and armed resistance around the world, whose members seek to liberate their homeland from brutal and unjust colonialism, such as the Palestinian resistance in all of its forms and its people's struggle to reclaim their homeland. This is related to the dispute in the definition of terrorism globally, notably in Europe. Which considers some Palestinian resistance activities, for example, to be terrorist movements rather than liberation movements because they support the other party to the war.

According to the 2013 speech given by the Algerian Ambassador at the Consulate in New York, Algeria continues to uphold its fair definition and classification of terrorism on all national and international forums, including its website and official platforms. Algeria would like to reiterate its strong and unequivocal condemnation of all forms of terrorism, regardless of its motivation. Wherever, whenever and by whomsoever committed. Algeria also restates its resolve to work with its regional and international allies to keep up the fight against terrorism. Algeria adamantly maintains that terrorism is not associated with any one faith, civilization, culture, or ethnicity. Additionally, it's critical to distinguish the genuine fight for self-determination waged by those living under colonial and foreign occupation.¹

Algeria will never stop dispelling myths and attempting to link terrorism to a certain faith, culture, or historical period. On the other hand, a precise definition of terrorism must be agreed upon. Algeria restates that, as supported by General Assembly resolution 46/51 and other pertinent UN documents, this definition should be consistent with the United Nations Charter and International Law and should not conflate acts of terrorism with the legal struggles of peoples occupied by

¹ H.E, Mr. Mourad Ben Mehidi, Ambassador Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, Measures to eliminate international terrorism, Permanent Mission of Algeria to the United Nations, New York, October 2013, P.01.

colonialism or foreign powers to realize their unalienable right to self-determination.¹

Considering its geopolitical and strategic position as a link between Africa and the three continents, Algeria has attempted to develop a strategy based on investing regional and international capabilities in the fight against terrorism and extremism at all costs, within the framework of a cosmopolitan vision, foundations, and starting points with systems outside the normative theory's standards in order to enhance the Algerian African and even global orientation at the discourse level with simultaneous use of legal, political, and strategic tools and techniques, which in turn enhances the term global citizen and the global environment. It is located in: ²

- The principle of peaceful resolution of international and regional disputes,
- Refusing to engage in negotiations with terrorism,
- Fighting extremism, respecting the sovereignty of states,
- International justice and equality in the application of international laws,
- The right of colonized peoples to self-determination,
- Supporting anti-colonial independence and national liberation movements,
- Economic collaboration based of mutual benefit,

Algeria, in its diplomatic role, is trying, within the requirements of its foreign policy, to globalize extremism and terrorism and fight it from a cosmopolitan perspective. This is within the recognition of the United States of America through the principles of Algerian foreign policy and its soft diplomacy. Algeria is trying to reach what will relieve the entire world of terrorism and extremism, and this is credited to it in world politics as a positive attempt in a form of current problems.³ Algeria transmitting the accurate, globally and legally unified understanding of the nature of cross-border terrorism, in order to dispel the misconceptions

¹ Ibid.

² Salim Jaddai. Hicham Brahmi, Algerian trends in combating terrorism and extremism at the regional and international levels within the requirements of international relations theories, ReaserchGate, 2022, PP.08.09.

³ Ibid.

that some other nations have created when attempting to associate cross-border international terrorism with legitimate liberation struggles that call for armed resistance against foreign colonizers.

Part two : The starting points of the Algerian approach to defining the contexts of international cooperation mechanisms.

Algeria and other Arab countries that have suffered from the phenomenon of terrorism since the beginning of the nineties have continued to demand the international community to cooperate in combating the phenomenon of terrorism by finding mechanisms and frameworks that allow international action in the field of combating terrorism. Perhaps the first of these mechanisms is the judicial mechanism, which means cooperation in the judicial field to put an end to the activity of terrorist groups and to establish international agreements related to combating terrorism within domestic legislation, which many observers and specialists believe has left a global vision calling for a review of the concept of security and its close connection to sovereignty, the foundations of which were established by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Algeria had to wait until the decade of the twentieth century and the events of September 2001, for governments to add some flexibility to security, which had always been considered the basis of international relations in the past. In this direction, a group of factors such as the emergence of international organizations and the tremendous development of information and communication technology gave another meaning to the concept of national defense, as state sovereignty does not include the same meaning, and the decline in the use of this concept has become beneficial to the security space that includes many countries that share the same goals and interests.

Through its security thesis rich in experience and the remarkable results it achieved in the bloody black decade it was exposed to in the 1990s of the previous century, Algeria was able to define the nature of international and cross-border terrorism. Based on its vision of security as indivisible, Algeria imposed its security approach in preserving national security, regional security, and international security. Today, the world is concerned with combating international terrorism in all its forms and types within the frameworks of regional and international cooperation and coordination. Algeria is also committed to playing a proactive role in its

immediate neighborhood in order to combat heterogeneous external threats and provide support and solidarity to neighboring peoples and countries. This spirit of solidarity has been reflected in numerous regional and continental initiatives aimed at preserving peace and stability in the region.¹ Algeria has strived to improve African efforts against terrorism since the outset, and as a result, several instruments and initiatives have evolved that are now playing a critical role in increasing the efficacy of African efforts. In this regard, and as evidenced by the decision to condemn the payment of ransoms to terrorist groups, the appointment of a Special Representative for Counterterrorism Cooperation, and the formation of a terrorism subcommittee within the African Union Council for Peace and Security, the African Union is fully committed to combating terrorism in all of its forms.²

In the Sahel region Algeria continues to deploy every effort to enhance full coordination and cooperation. The current context requires both coordination and strengthening the capacities of the countries of the region on the basis of the ownership principle, Algeria has engaged in a concerted approach through many mechanisms of cooperation, such as the Countries of the Field, the working Group on the Sahel co-chaired by Algeria and Canada under the Global Counterterrorism Forum, the Joint Operational General Staff Committee (CEMOC), the Fusion and Liaison Unit (UFL), and many other Forums which remain of a great contribution to facilitate the deepening of security cooperation between the concerned countries, through coordination and strengthening of border control measures, as well as through intelligence sharing.³

Section Two: The success of the Algerian security thesis to combat terrorism and its global impact.

The Algerian security approach to countering terrorism is marked by its distinctiveness, which stems from Algerian decision-makers' extensive experience, and politics. It has always distinguished itself from other global security strategies in combatting terrorism in its political form, i.e. translating security solutions into political solutions as a tool for

¹ For more : Statement : Algeria, Member of the Security Council, Permanent Mission of Algeria to the United Nations in New York, 2023, Official website of the Permanent Mission: <https://pmnewyork.mfa.gov.dz/ar/bilateral-relations/security-council/algeria-to-unsc>

² H.E. Mr. Mohammed Bessedik, Op. Cit, P.04.

³ Ibid.

countering cross-border terrorism. This is what gave it its originality and global success, as well as the concept of refusing to negotiate for ransom or submit to any terrorist group's political demands¹. From the firsthand experience it took on its difficult route with cross-border terrorism, which jeopardized and harmed the security of its people, national security, and borders, and harmed the economy and foreign policy, it was able to come up with a national vision with an influential depth, which made this vision extend to the world at the level of all actors in the international arena, first and foremost countries and international organizations.

According to the 2024 Global Firepower ranking, Algeria ranked 26th globally out of 145 countries in terms of military power, and second in Africa, with a huge budget of \$21.6 billion, making it the first on the continent with this huge budget, indicating an amazing strength with a score of 0.3589 points. The Algerian army was forced to move towards enhancing its technical capabilities, raising the efficiency of the armed forces, and building new facilities and concentration points on the borders, in preparation for confronting any emergency. Algeria is considered one of the main and major military powers in Africa, as its defense budget for 2023 more than doubled compared to 2021, reaching more than \$22 billion according to the draft finance law.² Thus, the budget of the Ministry of National Defense remains in first place in the items of the state's general budget, as Parliament approved the largest general budget in the country's history, worth \$99 billion.³

Thus, the Algerian army has occupied a position with the strongest armies in the world by being ranked among the top 30 armies in the world, which qualifies Algeria to be a pioneer in its security vision to combat terrorism politically, militarily and strategically on the continental and international levels.

Part one: Algerian diplomacy's plea for adopting an international strategy to combat terrorism at the UN.

Algeria was the first country to raise the alarm about cross-border terrorism. It pushed for the creation of an international strategy to combat

¹ Lotfi SOUR, Understanding Algeria's updated military doctrine in regional unrest context, By ReseachGate, WORLD POLITICS, Volume (6), N°(1), years (2022), PP.1373/1392.

² For more: Law No. 24-22 Official Gazette of December 29, 2022, including the Finance Law for the year 2023.

³ For more: Report: SPRI, Yearbook 2024, Armaments, Disarmament and International Security, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute Solna, Sweden, 2024.

terrorism in all international fora and pushed the Security Council to adopt binding resolutions, particularly targeting the financiers and organizers of terrorist attacks to cut off their financial supplies and destroy their networks of logistical support. The Algerian approach to counterterrorism had two main components: a regional one that was implemented as a first step in the framework of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Organization of African Unity, and the Arab League, and a global one that was implemented as a second step in the UN's corridors in the Security Council, and through its advocacy in international forums on violent extremism and terrorism.

Algeria, which views ransom payments as one of the primary sources of funding for both organized crime and terrorism, was also the first country to urge the international community to make it illegal for terrorists to receive money in exchange for the release of hostages. This was truly embodied in the significant Security Council resolutions, particularly Resolutions 1904 (2009) and 2133 (2014)¹, which exhort UN members to take all necessary steps to stop terrorists from profiting from ransom payments or political concessions.

The promotion of multilateralism and cooperation between the UN and regional organizations is one of the priorities of Algeria's diplomatic action within the United Nations. Preventing conflicts and maintaining peace have to be paired with the achievement of the Sustainable Development through the implementation of the UN 2030 and AU 2063 Agendas. The strengthening of strategic partnerships between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations, under Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, is one of Algeria's main objectives. Apart from preventing conflicts and maintaining peace, these collaborations are crucial for attaining sustainable development. Algeria wants to see the UN and African Union work together more closely in order to improve both Africa and humankind's future. Thus, since 2013 (the Oran Process), Algeria has organized and hosted annual high-level sessions of the

¹ Report : Legislative Guide to the Universal Anti-Terrorism Conventions and Protocols
Prepared by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, United Nations, V.03-85663 (E).
PP.23.45.

Seminar on Peace and Security in Oran, as part of efforts to promote deeper and better cooperation between the UN and the AU.¹

Algeria was successful in the "Tigantourine" operation in its desert region of "Ain Amenas Illizi" in January 2013, where the Algerian army was able to eliminate the terrorist group without succumbing to ransom demands, especially since the United States and France declared their complete satisfaction with Algeria's military operation, which was led with utmost professionalism.² From here, Algeria displayed the firmness of its position and the success of its global security strategy on the subject of ransom, which terrorism increasingly relies on to fund its groups for other political purposes that jeopardize the sovereignty of the countries involved.

Since terrorism's structural strength and persistence lie in its demands for large financial ransoms, combating it becomes more complex. Because terrorist groups use technology and information that demand large financial sums; as a result, there is an increase in the number of ransom requests made by international terrorist groups against the relevant countries. In this important chapter Algeria will contribute to implementing the following actions:³

- Advocate for a more all-encompassing strategy from the Security Council in combating terrorism;
- Fight against the financing of terrorism, in particular, through the fight against kidnappings for ransoms exploited by terrorist groups for obtaining political concessions or financial gain in exchange for the release of hostages.

In terms of the alignment of theory and practice, Algeria has emerged as a crucial participant in international debates when it comes to counterterrorism and extremism. Its effective participation in mediating international and regional issues peacefully has led to international acknowledgment of its attendance at many UN General Assembly sessions since 2000. Algeria also made contributions to the creation of the United Nations Committee for the Promotion of Peace, the Human Rights

¹ Aide-memoire Algeria's candidacy for the UN Security Council 2024-2025, Permanent Mission of Algeria to the United Nations, New York, P.05.

² Abdennour Benantar, Algeria's Security Policy Transformations and Dilemmas in the Context of Regional Unrest and Internal Hīrāk, ALMUNTAKA, Vol. 5/ no. 2/ September/October 2022, P.69.

³ Ibid, P.04.

Council, and a well-defined plan to counter terrorism and extremism globally. In order to stop and counteract terrorism and extremism on an Arab, African, and Islamic scale, it has also finalized a number of agreements. These efforts culminated in the establishment of the African Center for Studies and Research on Terrorism (CAERT), headquartered in Algiers.¹

Part two: Algeria continues its security policy towards its region with effectiveness and progress.

“Algeria’s Soft underbelly” and “the corridor of all danger”² Numerous factors pose a threat, such as the porous borders that separate Algeria and the Sahel, the presence of sizable, interconnected Tuareg populations in both southern Algeria and the Sahel who have rebelled against central governments on multiple occasions, the ability of Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) to deploy from Algeria into the Sahel since 2003, which has ultimately led to the rise of radical "jihadi organizations," the multifaceted conflict that has erupted in Mali since 2011 and has destabilized the entire region.³ In addition, to Algeria's fixed security vision in the fight against terrorism, and its strategic weight with its enormous and continental leading military capabilities, in terms of military spending and keeping pace with the technological development of the national military defense system, this gives it leadership of initiatives in the Sahel region, Algeria at the Sahel level continues today, with the same spirit, its efforts aimed at supporting its brothers in its immediate neighborhood at the continental level in their war against terrorism and violent extremism, guided by its bitter and successful experience at the same time. In this context, it advanced through the initiative presented by Algeria with the aim of adding new dynamism to counter-terrorism efforts in the Sahel and Sahara region, which was approved in October 2022 by the member states of the Joint Operational Staff Committee (CEMOC) by adapting its tasks and organizing them in a way that allows it to keep pace with current challenges, and make an effective contribution to the fight against

¹ Salim Jaddai, Hicham Brahmi, Op. Cit, P.10.

² Lofti Sour, Algeria’s Role in the African Sahel : Toward a New Security Paradigm, ReserchGate, Decembre, 2022, P.157.

³ Djallil Lounnas, The Algeria Strategy in The Sahel : Shift or adaptation?, RLS, RLS, 01/2021, Research papers on conflict and peace studies in North African and the Sahel, P.10.

terrorism and organized crime. At the continental level, and by virtue of its assumption of the tasks of coordinating the African Union to prevent and confront this scourge, Algeria continues its efforts aimed at contributing to strengthening joint African action in the field of combating terrorism and violent extremism, especially through Contribution to:¹

1. Developing a new African Union action plan in the field of combating terrorism.
2. Activating the African Fund for Combating Terrorism.
3. Developing an African list of individuals, groups and entities involved in terrorist acts, including foreign terrorist fighters.
4. Implementing the African arrest warrant project.

Algeria additionally maintains its support of African mechanisms and agencies that specialize in this area, particularly the Addis Ababa-based Committee of African Security and Intelligence Services (CISSA), the African Union Mechanism for Police Cooperation (AFRIPOL), and the African Center for Studies and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT).²

The African Sahel region is becoming known as a "arc of crises," and the discussions surrounding its complex crises, which have serious security implications for the region beyond its borders, have in fact forced Algeria to take drastic measures, even security measures, to protect its territorial sovereignty and face the various threats that come from the Sahel. This has led to a significant increase in the body of literature already addressing Algerian security perceptions and behavior in the African Sahel.³

Chapter two: Joint Euro-Algerian security strategies in the Mediterranean to combat terrorism: the dilemma of a common security identity.

The first mechanism: Algeria sought through its foreign policy to achieve cooperation and rapprochement through two directions: vertical - Algeria-Europe-Africa, and horizontal direction, Algeria-Asia-Africa - until now, reality presents the second direction as a prospective vision

¹ Article : Adding new dynamism to counter-terrorism efforts in the Sahel-Sahara region, National People's Army Magazine, Algiers, April 2023, Issue 717, P. 05.

² Ibid.

³ Lofti Sour, Algeria's Role in the African Sahel : Toward a New Security Paradigm , Op. Cit, P.157.

where vertical cooperation remains more possible to achieve due to the capabilities, geographical proximity, and volume of trade and exchanges taking place between Algeria and the countries of the northern shore of the Mediterranean, and from this standpoint and in its quest to create a safe Mediterranean climate and environment that allows for the creation of rapprochement based on respect and fair cooperation.

The second mechanism of importance is the security aspect related to cooperation between the security services of countries in the field of combating international terrorism, with regard to the exchange of information and expertise and cooperation in providing information, by providing investigations into terrorist organizations and preventing the provision of direct and indirect facilities and support, especially if we know that many armed organizations have taken European countries as a base for logistical and media support.

Section One: The most important security strategies for security cooperation between Algeria and the European Union in combating cross-border terrorism.

Regarding, Partnership and cooperation between Algeria and the European Union on security issues, the Association Agreement (AA), agreed in 2002 and coming into effect in 2005, lays out the broad parameters of collaboration between the EU and Algeria. It also outlines all areas of cooperation between the parties. The Association Agreement allows for political discussion on any issue that the parties find to be of mutual interest. The Association Committee (senior officials), the Association Council (ministerial), and the Sub-committees on political dialogue, security, and human rights are the various levels at which conversation is developed. The Agreement established additional technical subcommittees to address issues related to immigration, home affairs, justice, social affairs, etc. The priorities of the Algeria-EU partnership were adopted in the 10th Association Council, which took place in Brussels on March 13, 2017, as a result of the subsequent negotiations. Adopted and reaffirmed as shared key themes include political discourse, governance, the rule of law, and the advancement of fundamental rights. Trade and general social and economic advancement; entry to the European Union's common market. Partnership for Sustainable Development, Energy, and Environment. Strategy and

security discussions including local concerns, the war on terrorism, and irregular immigration. Human aspect, migration, and movement.¹

The Agreement established additional technical subcommittees to address issues related to immigration, home affairs, justice, social affairs, etc. In light of this, this section of our study will discuss the most significant joint security policies that Algeria and the European Union have adopted through the policies that have been put into practice. We will also evaluate these policies in terms of their effectiveness in coordinating efforts to achieve shared security objectives and defining shared identities, as well as how each party should begin the fight against cross-border terrorism, which is the shared goal for both parties.

Part one: Security cooperation policies between Algeria and the European Union in the fight against cross-border terrorism

Algeria is blacklisting the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), and at the request of Algerians, the Association Agreement with the EU is continuously reviewed. Regarding the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue with Algeria, it is less about creating a (win-win) partnership and more about extending pre-existing collaboration with its own set of guidelines and norms. The Algerian side's continued hesitation is clearly expressed by the lack of a personalized activity plan. Algeria believes that, when compared to other EuroMediterranean cooperation programs like the UfM or the Barcelona Process, the 5 + 5 initiative has demonstrated its efficacy, relevance, and outcomes. Since each European player has different political, social, historical, and cultural ties to the South and East Mediterranean, it has become clear that this framework of collaboration is a response to a reality that Europe has mishandled.²

In the mid-1990s, a few key initiatives addressing the Mediterranean region were taken under NATO, the European Union, and the WEU auspices. Many inter-regional or regional initiatives were taken previously, through the 5 + 5 Group. The Conference for Mediterranean Security and Cooperation and the Arab Maghreb Union. Only after 1994 did more promising initiatives emerge in response to changes inside defence and security agencies. Most multilateral approaches nowadays

¹ For more : Delegation of the European Union to Algeria, Official website : https://www.eeas.europa.eu/algeria/european-union-and-algeria_en?s=82

² Yahia Mohamed Lamine Mestek, The Algerian foreign Policy facing upheavals in the Mediterranean region, ResearchGate, July 2017, PP.04.05.

are generally oriented to peace preservation and stability, crisis prevention, or peacekeeping related to low intensity conflicts, rather than warfare or offensive strategies with a global dimension.¹

The 5 + 5 Dialogue is an informal discussion forum established in 1990 by the Ministerial Meeting of Foreign Affairs in Rome. This discussion brings together countries on both sides of the Mediterranean. On the European side: Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, and Malta; on the Maghreb side: Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya. It functions under a rotating president among its members. This regional initiative intends to develop a framework for member communication and collaboration on topics such as security and stability, economic and regional integration, and immigration in the Mediterranean. In the context of the 5+5 framework, Algeria frequently takes the initiative and proposes solutions. For example, Algeria is the source of offers for tourism collaboration. In the "5+5 Environment".² This regional initiative, according to the member states of the 5+5, is an integrated framework that has the capacity to avert crises and strengthen peace. It involves building the capacity to foresee and address crises via sustained communication and organized collaboration in the domains of risk assessment, conflict avoidance, crisis management, and peacekeeping. Therefore, in order to build a secure and advanced region based on the participating countries taking charge of their regional security and their individual and collective responsibilities to combat terrorism, the group is tasked with contributing to regional security and stability in a wider space. To do this, it will engage in Sahel security and provide support to its countries.³

Part tow : Crisis of confidence and ineffectiveness of joint security cooperation initiatives.

However, and without any doubt ,comparing the 5+5 group framework to other multilateral frameworks for communication and cooperation with Europe, it is undeniably the most suited regional cooperation for Algeria. It aligns well with the tenets upon which

¹ Isabel Fereiqnvnes, The transatlantic link and European defense and security identity in the Mediterranean context, final rapport, NATO. EAPC, JUN 30, 2001, P.38.

² Yahia Mohamed Lamine Mestek, Op. Cit, P.05.

³ Abdenour Ben Antar, Western Mediterranean, Security Complex, 5 + 5 Initiative, Defense, Security Dynamics and Migrations, ALJAZEERA CENTRE FOR STUDIES, Doha. Qatar, 2021, P.202.

Algerian foreign policy is based and the 5+5 dialogue rests.¹ This model for regional cooperation adheres to the constraints set by Algeria (non-interference, respect for international law), and it is quite similar to the idea of a just partnership, to which Algeria is deeply committed. Algeria seeks to create an atmosphere of confidence, which is assisted by the 5+5 discussion.² The European Union's announcement of the formation of a rapid intervention force, or "Eurofor," has caused the Arab countries in the adjacent region, including Algeria, to become enraged at this force and its potential activities in the Mediterranean. This announcement was seen as a setback to the Euro-Mediterranean rapprochement project. The changes that have occurred in the Mediterranean region, particularly with regard to threats and the mechanisms by which the European Union exposes itself to them, have crystallized Algeria's position on the European initiative for security and military excellence.

The Maghreb countries' attitude toward this force, particularly Algeria, was based on the belief that European security and defense measures are exclusive and even unilateral. Rather, it is exclusionary, and so European engagement is also unilateral in the Mediterranean space, which entails the possibility of interfering in the domestic affairs of Algeria and the other nations of the southern Mediterranean region (Arab).³ This position was also based on the fact that the Mediterranean basin region or the Mediterranean judiciary contains common security, political and military interests, which requires deepening the Mediterranean dialogue regarding these interests, and according to the fact that these interests are threatened by irregular risks that require the involvement of all regional actors concerned in defending these interests, in a way that ensures a kind of harmony between all actors in matters related to security and defense in the region.

The European practical notion of security in the Mediterranean region is founded on the fact that Europe experienced two terrible world wars during the first part of the twentieth century. It does not wish to fuel these conflicts. As a result, it prioritizes security in order to maintain the

¹ MUSETTE Mohamed Saïb, *The 5+5 Group : a space for sustainable dialogue at the level of the Western Mediterranean?* , January 2008, P.03.

² Yahia Mohamed Lamine Mestek, *Op. Cit*, PP.04.05.

³ Abdenour Ben Antar, *Western Mediterranean, Security Complex, 5 + 5 Initiative, Defense, Security Dynamics and Migrations*, *Op. Cit*, P.225.

status quo, in which Europe must remain the major controller. The Mediterranean basin is a major priority for European security.¹

Accordingly, it can be said that the European concept of security is based on the idea of remote security service, meaning working far from Europe to ensure the security of the continent, because the threats it faces find their sources outside Europe (emanating from the southern Mediterranean). Here we can plainly see that Algeria, in its European collaboration in combating terrorism, is suspicious of the one-sided approach on which Europe's security policies are built, which prioritizes Europe's interests over Algeria's. As a result, there is always mistrust and skepticism about how policies are established and implemented.

Section Two : Imbalance in the frameworks and mechanisms of Euro-Algerian cooperation : conflict of interests and differences in security principles and visions.

Security and defense cooperation frameworks, like any other, necessitate the prior establishment of political dialogue practices based on integrated decision-making models. This practice adds stability to political relations and consistency to multilateral regional relationships, creating the conditions for the establishment of a dialogue structure based on similar patterns of international behavior that commit state actors involved.² Algeria sees all cooperation frameworks, from the Barcelona Process to the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM), through the Association Agreements launched by the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) and the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue, as responding to a logic that can be summarized as:³

- Inclusive, diluting regional specificity;
- Unilateral, eliminating the role of the South Pole as a proposal;
- Highly institutionalized and bureaucratic;
- The imbalance of forces between a convergent and interconnected Europe and straggling countries in the South has a significant impact.

According to the announcement made by the European Union mission in Algeria, Algeria has been requesting a formal review of joint policies with the EU since August 2015 on a number of areas of cooperation,

¹ Ibid.

² Isabel Fereiqnvnes, Op. Cit, P.29.

³ Yahia Mohamed Lamine Mestek, Op. Cit, P.03.

including coordination and cooperation issues in combating terrorism. This is because there has been a need for discussion between the parties regarding the gaps that have become very evident in the frameworks of unbalanced cooperation.

Part one: The difference in terms of dealing with conflicts and crises regarding foreign military intervention by Western and Eastern powers.

The Algerian peaceful approach to resolving conflicts through diplomatic mediation, and bringing the viewpoints of the conflicting parties closer together, is the pragmatic-humanitarian endeavor of Algerian diplomatic orientations to maintain the cohesion of regional security linked of the African Sahel and the Mediterranean. Algeria used a two-pronged approach to address the Sahelian issue.¹ From a security standpoint, it opted to adopt a defensive posture that included hermetically sealing its borders and deploying enormous military forces to prevent terrorists or traffickers from the Sahel from entering the country.

According to Algerian policymakers, not only is the France-sponsored group 5+5 a non-African initiative, but it is also impossible for Algeria to join a force'sponsored' by a non-African entity, France, Algeria's former colonial power. Algerians are very opposed to alliances, particularly military ones. While it is unquestionably committed to combating violent extremist organizations (veos), it also supports a peace process and a politically viable end to the Sahelian war. This means linking security issues to development by promoting inclusive regional economic development, a lesson that Algerian authorities learned at a high cost from their own national tragedy in the 1990s. For that reason, Algeria is opposed to the idea of collaborating with foreign troops, especially French, in the fight against Jihadists. This could substantiate Jihadist ideology and propaganda of a war of 'infidels' against Muslims and thus, embolden the dormant veos in Algeria.²

Politically, it distanced itself from France, which took a strictly military approach to the matter, by pressing for a political solution to the

¹ Abdennour Benantar, Algeria's Security Policy Transformations and Dilemmas in the Context of Regional Unrest and Internal Hīrāk, Op. Cit. P.66.

² Isabel Fereiqnvnes, Op. Cit. P.160.

Malian crisis.¹ with the presence of conflicts and tensions in the region and in order to establish security and peace, it is by providing peaceful political solutions and not by foreign military intervention.

Algeria presents the case of neighboring Libya in the NATO military intervention in 2011, and Russia's military air intervention in the internal Syrian war in 2015 with some allied forces in the Middle East, and the military intervention of Saudi Arabia and its allies in Yemen in 2015², and the rest of the conflicts in which foreign military interventions occurred produced more dangerous security slippages that are difficult to control, and they are asymmetric threats, the most dangerous of which is the activity of cross-border terrorism and the plagues and human crimes it has produced, due to its manifold expansions and then, from trying to control the war between certain parties to asymmetric wars with diluted parties with no specific identity, and thus entering into the spiral of the "hidden enemy" The renewed. The chaos produced by all military interventions led by competing Western powers has only created an environment that produces terrorism and all security threats that have become more developed, nourished and complicated, and military interventions have never produced security and control over a conflict or war.

There is no successful model to date for any military intervention, and the results recorded on the ground are only achieving the goals and interests of the countries that carried it out and only the peoples whose countries are concerned with the conflicts paid the price.

So, this is what contradicts the security vision between Algeria and its effective international partners in general, whether the European Union or the rest of the partner actors with regard to addressing the foundations from which cross-border terrorism stems, which considers the military intervention of countries in conflicts to be the most important cause of it, and which has become increasing in an astonishing and complex manner. Economic development as a mechanism to try to contain conflicts and wars, as well as peaceful political methods such as mediation, are the successful and safe methods to contain the sources of

¹ Djallil Lounnas, Op. Cit, P.24.

² Abdennour Benantar, Algeria's Security Policy Transformations and Dilemmas in the Context of Regional Unrest and Internal Hirāk, Op. Cit. P.69.

terrorism, and not to exploit conflicts for the narrow interests of the intervening parties.

Part Two : Security cooperation initiatives in the Mediterranean do not have an adequate response to contain international terrorism.

First, the majority of inter-regional and regional efforts failed because they were unable to respond to the region's concerns or function as effective reconciliation mechanisms in instances where collaboration was available or regional unity was required. The majority of regional cooperation attempts in the early 1990s failed as security and confidence building projects, mostly because they were not designed to be applied to a diverse cultural and strategic space⁷⁰, such as the Mediterranean. Second, there has always been some ambiguity about the goals of the ongoing processes, and third, most of these efforts lack operational means to carry out political activities as a result of political decisions. Another factor that has hampered the effectiveness of political projects in the region is a lack of a practical dimension and short-term relevance. If one adds an environment of mutual mistrust about the approaches to attain the previously specified goals, the odds for a favorable outcome are fairly low.¹ Then there's the question of whether initiatives like agreements and collaborative strategies have been sufficient since security cooperation policies began?

It is vital to consider the modest number of bilateral agreements between southern rim Mediterranean countries, which may help to ensure consistency in cooperation initiatives and promote a sense of commonality within the human dimensions before the political in the region. This condition not only jeopardizes the political resolve to collaborate, but it also undermines aspirations for a mutually beneficial environment between the two Mediterranean shores. It is also vital to note that Europe and the United States have common political goals, strategic concepts, and doctrines, which means they have a common political vocabulary, as well as integrated political institutions and working techniques that have been tested over time. A successful cooperation inside the Mediterranean must consider the fact that there is a need to make this common language understandable to Maghrebian countries.²

¹ Isabel Fereiqvnes, Op. Cit, P.38.

² Ibid, P.42.

This is precisely what Algeria has been doing ever since the two parties to the dispute signed the "Bamako Agreement" in April 2015 in Algiers, and still in constant communication with all parties involved in the conflict. More significantly, Algeria fears that the operation could unintentionally target the Tuareg, escalating nationalist sentiments and strengthening ties among the several Berber ethnic groups in the area and endangering the Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Mali. In a similar vein, Algeria fears that a significant French offensive in northern Mali may lead to terrorist groups invading the country and forcing Algeria to intervene militarily in the Sahel meanwhile.¹

This is what has made cooperation between Algeria and Europe dependent on the pursuit of unifying the most important basic principles in their policies in combating terrorism, because there must be some common denominators that bring the two parties interests together, as long as there is joint Mediterranean security cooperation.

Conclusion :

Algeria has entered new and diverse paths in its security cooperation relations with the countries of the Western Mediterranean space, especially after it lived a bitter security experience that cost it a huge military, economic and human bill in order to successfully emerge from its internal national crisis regarding terrorism, which gave it a global dimension through its authentic experience, which led to it having a national-global-security-international approach in combating cross-border terrorism in all its forms, through security orientations and policies that are more open to the outside world, as a title for its strategy that is characterized by the necessity of dialogue and international cooperation, especially with European countries, to eliminate cross-border terrorism, which has become more widespread and complex in the Mediterranean region and the African Sahel. The security cooperation that brought together Algeria and Europe was met with several shocking variables and interactions that produced an unsuccessful outcome for the desired goal, which is fighting terrorism. The following outcomes were brought about by the absence of a shared security identity, differences in the political tenets upon which the collaboration was established, and differences in

¹ Lofti Sour, Algeria's Role in the African Sahel : Toward a New Security Paradigm, Op. Cit, P.161.

economic capabilities and the proportion of dangers to which each party is exposed:

- The pioneering experience gained by Algeria in combating international terrorism and strengthening the mechanism of transition from security solutions to political solutions in resolving international conflicts will remain a global reference for building more effective and productive global policies for the requirements of global security stability.
- Algeria continues its national-global thesis to combat cross-border terrorism, through which it was able to formulate the principles of security cooperation with Europe and other international partners, with the same basic principles and starting points such as eliminating the scourge through economic and social development and transforming some security solutions into political solutions.
- Algerian-European cooperation in the field of combating terrorism has not developed much since its inception until today, but rather it is stable at the level at which it began, due to the difference in security visions regarding some principles that are essential in cooperation policies such as: paying ransoms to terrorist groups and foreign military interventions in the Arab region and the African Sahel.
- Security cooperation still suffers from a state of imbalance in terms of political capabilities and security, economic and financial beliefs and lacks the institutional character that obliges the parties to implement joint policies in full.

The effects of cross-border terrorism continue to multiply and increase more in light of the information boom and the tremendous technological development, especially with the coincidence of the security lapses in the Arab region after the fall of Arab regimes such as neighboring Tunisia and Libya, and what this fall has left behind to this day in terms of the intensity of terrorist activities of armed groups, as the region has become a hotbed for creating and feeding. Add to this the situation in Mali and the other African countries that are suffering from sectarian and political disputes, as well as civil wars, and the following proposals are required (Recommendations):

- ✓ Algerian-European security cooperation must rise to the level of the bringing together political principles and security beliefs in the

fight against cross-border terrorism, and the parties are committed to putting common policies into action.

- ✓ Algeria, by virtue of its strategic and military weight, is committed to remaining at the forefront of formulating solutions that are consistent with its national and regional interests, expanding further within its African depth, and maintaining the level of armament that has given it regional leadership.
- ✓ Algeria must stay actively and consistently engaged in international efforts to combat terrorism and violent extremism at all levels, as well as contribute constructively to the strengthening of efforts to eradicate cross-border terrorism.

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