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**From A Liability To An Asset:  
The American Changing Perspectives  
About The Role of Algeria In The  
Region From 1990s To 2021**

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## **Declaration**

We declare that the work in this dissertation titled (From A Liability To An Asset: The American Changing Perspectives About The Role Of Algeria In The Region From 1990s To 2021) has been carried out by us. And the information derived has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of this dissertation was previously presented for another degree or diploma at this or any other institution.

**Date:** June 09<sup>th</sup>, 2022

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## Dedication

- To all the victims of the black curtain in Algerian history.
- To all those who were injured, tortured, killed, kidnapped and displaced in the bloodiest decade that the Algerian people have ever experienced.
- To everyone who doubted the humanity of Algeria and accused it of supporting terrorism.
- To everyone who thought that Algerian Muslims were extremists and supported radical fundamentalism.
  - To everyone who tied the beard and veil to the explosive belt.
  - To everyone who linked the Islamic world with the term terrorism.

I dedicate this work

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## **Abstract**

The new global mission of the United States of America after its victory in the Cold War is fighting terrorism - which became more important after the events of September 11, 2001- which made USA constantly doubt about any Islamic country that could be considered a source of radical Islamic fundamentalism that could turn into terrorist groups, as what happened towards Algeria, American policy is based on this misunderstanding with all Islamic countries. This thesis shows how the American perspective on Algeria changed from a source of a terrorist threat in the 1990s to an expert ally assisting in its global mission after 2001. This research also aims to reveal the reasons for this change and the extent of Algeria's contribution to this war. This study deals with an overview of the history of the American-Algerian relationship since the first contact until this sensitive period. It also follows the course of Islamic radicalism from its emergence in Algeria to its hegemony in the Algerian political arena, and what happened after the abolition of democracy in Algeria at the time, and the violent incidents and bloody massacres that followed it against the people. This letter also deals with the Algerian-American relationship after 9/11 and how these terrorist attacks changed the relationship between the two countries from a misunderstanding to political and military cooperation.

**KEY WORD:** Algeria, American, Cooperation, Perspective, Islamic Country, Radicalism.

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## **General Introduction**

The foreign policy of the United States of America is characterized by a long history of conflicts, events and various political trends, despite its short period since its establishment in 1789 after the declaration of the independence of the United States of America (1776) until the present. From this standpoint, the foreign policy of the United States of America must be able to face all new diplomatic challenges, so diplomats chose the idea of the United States' political isolation from all European powers during times of peace and to maintain strict neutrality during times of war, and this was during the first fifty years of the country's life until its accession to World War II 1941, when the situation required the intervention of a pro-Allied front against the Axis Powers.

But after the first world wars (1914-1918) and the second (1939-1945), global responsibilities and new challenges emerged to hinder the United States of America, so it resorted to changing the principles of its foreign policy and sought to consolidate its relationship with the countries of the world, especially in its competition against the Soviet Union during the Cold War (1947–1991). After the end of the Cold War, the foreign policy team of President Bush at the time faced global, decisive and radical changes, thus increasing its responsibilities more, especially after the fall of its only global competitor (the Soviet Union) ,and then it became a prominent power capable of confronting the new global problems after 1991 by supporting human rights, religious freedom, the promotion of democracy, intervention in local and regional conflicts, newly independent states and the development of the Third World, the realization of the American presence abroad and expansion across the continent, and the strengthening of the global economy by supporting free trade and markets with all countries of the world in the public interest. And the foreign

policy efforts of the United States of America increased through political interventions and cooperation in reducing the risks of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in addition to combating the threat of international terrorism, especially that which is characterized by a religious nature or the so-called Islamic political terrorism.

Furthermore, Terrorism as a modern term in the American political dictionary appeared in the Central Asia and Middle East and North Africa in the twentieth century, in particular, from the Palestinian secular movements to liberate Palestine as an indirect means of struggle against the establishment of the State of Israel in the occupied territories, to the Afghan jihadist groups. In short, terrorism in the American perspective included everything related to the Islamic and Arab world. As a result, the concept of Islamic political terrorism emerged, for example, the possession of fundamentalist religious ideology by some of the most extremist and destructive organizations (such as Hamas and Al-Qaeda).

At the end of the twentieth century, extremist Islamic movements appeared in every region that it differed from others in several aspects, such as language, race and religious sect. For example, in Central Asia and Middle East, such as Afghanistan, Iran, Palestine, Iraq and the Levant, where armed groups are inside such as the Taliban, Hamas and ISIS .While in Africa, the presence of these groups was limited in North Africa and the Sahara and the Sahel region , such as Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Morocco, Mali, Niger, Mauritania and Somalia, where the Islamic Salvation Front and Armed Islamic Groups in Algeria, and Al-Mourabitoun, Ansar al-Sharia (Tunisia) (Libya) (Derna), the the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt.

## **Statement of the Problem**

The concentration of these extremist groups in the Central Asia Middle East and North Africa made the foreign policy of the United States of America declare the war against terrorism with more efforts, because the principles of these fanatical fundamentalist Islamic groups contradict all the American ideological imperial principles that call for the spread of democracy and liberalism and capitalism to impose its hegemony, in addition to Achieving peace in the world.

And by evaluating the most important and most dangerous regions in terms of the presence of these groups and their danger to American hegemony and interests, Algeria appears in particular among the list of regions endangered world peace according to the American opinion, as a result of its strategic location, where Algeria is in the middle of North African countries and overlooks Europe, as it is considered the gateway to Africa. As a result of this feature, extremist groups were established in Algeria by radical Islamists with their alleged aim of jihad, so they destabilized the country's peace and security, and expanded in the Sahel and Sahara region with the aim of transferring Al-Qaeda to the Islamic Maghreb. This is what threatened the hegemony of the United States of America in the region, and turned Algeria into a source of concern for its foreign policy.

But after Algeria's success in overcoming radical Islamic terrorism, it also became the largest ally of the United States of America in its war against global terrorism, especially after the attacks of September 11, 2001, when the United States benefited from the Algerian experiences in its struggle against terrorism, which strengthened the American-Algerian relations after that.

## **Aims Of The Research**

This research aims to shed light on a form of radical Islamic terrorism that was established in Algeria and the reaction of world public opinion and the change in the foreign policy view of the United States of America for Algeria since its emergence and its success in resisting it. Because Algeria has suffered many crimes of terrorism, such as the massacres of murder, arson, abuse and other inhumane images on the population by radical Islamists under the argument of religion, from 1989 to 2000.

This study also attempts to assess the reasons that contributed to changing the American perspective on Algeria, which was a source of concern and threat and became an experienced and expert ally in its war against terrorism.

## **The Research Questions**

The most important question that the research answers are:

- To what extent has the perspective of the United States of America changed about Algeria's status?
- Why was Algeria suffering from a misunderstanding of the United States of America, which considered it a source of threat in the 1990s?
- How did Algeria become active in Africa as an asset of the United States of America in its war against terrorism?
- And how did this change affect the Algerian-American relationship in the future?

## **Methodology**

The methodology used in this study is based on a historical method because the research is putting the focus on the development of the relationship between the United states of America and Algeria over last three centuries and how will it be in the future . And the analytical approach is used to helps in identifying and collecting data and information from political and historical sources , reports, articles , in order to answer the research questions and to achieve the objectives of the study.

## **Research Plan**

This research is organized as follows: Chapter One: The historical and political path of the American-Algerian relationship, and how did radicalism in Algeria attain power in the Algerian political arena, and how Algeria was able to get out of its crisis, and what was the American reaction to what happened in Algeria

As for the second chapter: the manifestations of the change in the Algerian-American relationship since September 11, 2001, and how the two countries were able to cooperate in security issues in Africa, especially the Sahel region, and what are the manifestations of Algerian-American cooperation outside the scope of the global war against terrorism.

**Chapter One:**  
**Historical Context Of United States of**  
**America And Algeria Before 1990s**

## **The History Of US-Algerian Ties**

The United States of America did not have any foreign relations prior to its independence from Great Britain. While after the revolution, it struggled to establish and develop its foreign relations with the countries of the world, especially Europe and Africa - of course without getting involved in any conflicts -, for example the United States of America's first contact with Algeria (as a start), was after independence, and the nature of this relationship changed over times as a result of many events that affected both countries until this day. This period can be divided into three phases according to the changes that occurred in each country

### **The First Phase From 1783 to 1830**

This phase links between the actual independence of USA in 1783 and the French colonization of Algeria 1830. When the relationship began with problems and obstacles to the American economy in the Mediterranean, because Algeria was the strongest among the North African and the European countries, which was forced to make treaties of friendship and peace in order to protect its interests in the Mediterranean.(Haddou&Bellil,2020)

Algeria, at that time, was a subsidiary of the Ottoman Empire and its huge naval fleet dominated the western part of the Mediterranean in addition to the entrance to the Strait of Gibraltar. So it imposed taxes on all European ships to cross the strait or to move freely at sea under peace treaties with Algeria.(Ross,1991)

As for USA , it was colonies under the control of the British crown, and most of them were agricultural plantations , in addition to its interest in industrial activity, so its commercial importance emerged for the benefit of economic of the colonies for the survival

and growth, and this is also what Mrs. Fatima Maamari supported in her PhD paper “ Commerce was an important feature in American colonial life; it was as Important as self-government, elective institutions, or westward expansion.” (Maamari2008 p.158)

The commercial importance of the colonies' economic was so great even that the quality of its commercial products exceeded those of England, such as: the textile industry. At first, before independence, Britain prevented any ships belonging to the American colonies from approaching any European countries or even North Africa, but then allowed them under its guardianship and conditions, which were in all cases in favor of the American colonies. By time, and due to the intensity of competition, some commercial rebellion appeared, and wanted to expand their markets in the Mediterranean basin. This illegal American trade became a necessary in the American economy, even though they are illegal for the British Crown.(Maamari,2008)

The American ships continued to trade and cross the strait under British tutelage, flying the flag of the United Kingdom and carrying British identification documents. Until USA independence in 1983, when things have changed after Britain withdrew its guardianship from all American merchant ships. So it became unknown to the Algerian fleets that controlled the Mediterranean, especially after raising the new flag of USA, Therefore, it was considered as a strange danger source and became vulnerable to attack and piracy constantly. This is due to the fact that European ships signed peace treaties and pay annual taxes to Algeria in order to protect it within the Mediterranean Sea, While the USA did not.(Haddou&Bellil,2020)

Because the United States of America was still newly independent and was not able to pay the taxes that Algeria would impose, also it considered them pirates that must be

deterred, USA tried to unite with European countries such as France, Spain, Holland, Denmark, and Russia, against Algeria, so the American President George Washington sent His representatives to Louis XVI, King of France and to the second Russian Tsar, to wage war and destroy the Algerian fleet. Among the Americans was Thomas Jefferson, who was a diplomatic minister plenipotentiary in France, who also supported war instead of peace agreements with pirates. He demanded his country establish a naval fleet to protect American interests in the Mediterranean. But this alliance failed and USA was also forced to resort to negotiations for the sake of the Peace and Friendship Agreement. Especially after Algerian reaction by launching war on the United States of America, and sending its warships to the Atlantic Ocean to seizing many of its ships, and capturing many American subjects. Because the Algerian diplomacy on which the Algerian fleet depends, is based on two principles:

- Every nation is considered an enemy unless it signs a treaty of peace and friendship.
- Any treaty that does not recognize the Algerian naval superiority and attempts to eliminate it is void.

Because of this first impression of hostility on both sides, Algeria subsequently rejected any American attempts to negotiate the treaty. Despite this, the consuls and delegates, tried again and again to negotiate treaties with Algeria. (Haddou&Bellil,2020)

### **Treaty Negotiations and Implementation: 1785-1795:**

After 1785, and due to previous problems faced the American ships and their trade in the Mediterranean since independence. Congress was forced to appoint several consuls to conduct negotiations in order to reach an agreement on the protection of its ships and the

release of all American prisoners. Because Algeria seized 15 American ships at least in the post-independence period until the first official treaty with the USA, and many captives fell under the grip of Algerian sailors. This period coincided with The Dey Muhammad bin Othman (1785-1793), who declared war on all countries that did not pay the customary fees for freedom of navigation in the Mediterranean.(Ross,1991)

During the negotiations period, because the protection treaty was not a popular option for American policy, but rather was just a last solution. the Congress held several discussions about finding the best way to deal with the barbarian pirates. But then the USA was forced to accept the treaty after it took more than ten years and three successive negotiators, and the first of them was Captain John Lamb from Connecticut, whom Thomas Jefferson sent to Algeria,- on the recommendation of the Continental Conference- with the aim of Negotiation of a treaty of protection and friendship with Algeria. (Ross,1991)

Lamb was the captain of a merchant ship and was active in North Africa, then he came to Algeria in 1786 in order to negotiate the protection of American ships, but the Dey "Mohammed Othman" refused to receive hem and Prevented any discussion with him also demanded a ransom for the American hostages. (Haddou&Bellil,2020)

After the Dey Muhammad bin Othman, the Dey hassen pasha also continued to refuse the Negotiations until 1793, during this period David Humphreys, who was Minister of Portugal, came with the aim of negotiating with Algeria, but he was also rejected, And The United States of America had to pay \$40,000 to release American prisoners at the time (Haddou,Bellil,2020).

The last commissioner assigned to negotiate the treaty was Joel Barlow, a Connecticut graduate of Yale University, who was instrumental in making the financial arrangements required by the 1795 treaty for the release of the captives. (Ross,1991)

### **The Treaty of 1795**

It is the first treaty of friendship and peace between the United States of America and Algeria, which was signed on September 5, 1795, corresponding to Safar 2, 1210 AH. Between Dey Hassen Pasha and Consul Joseph Donaldson on behalf of President George Washington, the assurance of safe passage for American ships in return for annual payments of \$21,600 worth of silver at the time. (Haddou,Bellil,2020)

The treaty was supervised by David Humphreys and Richard O'Brien. It was written in both Turkish and was subsequently translated into Arabic and English. It consisted of 22 articles in which seven essential topics were discussed:

- Treatment of US ships and citizens at sea or in Algiers.
- Algeria's neutrality in the face of wars in which the United States and other countries have been involved.
- Regulating trade exchanges between Algeria and the United States.
- Christian slaves in Algiers.
- Lawsuits.
- Consulate of the United States in Algiers
- The annual tribute paid by the United States of America to Algeria.(Benguetaf,2011)

## **After The First Treaty**

“It is a principle incorporated into the settled policy of America,  
that as peace is better than war, war is better than tribute.”

James Madison

In the beginning, the horizon of the 1795 treaty seemed beneficial to the Algerian-American relationship in its infancy, but when looking at the conditions that must be implemented, it was seen by Congress as just a transitional stage because they were forced to sign it, and as a result of that many deception and fraud attempts and Duplicity and many false promises, because the Americans neglected the terms of the annual tribute and did not respect the specified periods of payment, in addition to poor discipline in terms of following the laws of navigation in the Mediterranean, where the annual cash payments were delayed for a period of up to three years since the signing of the treaty, that is, until 1789. (Maameri,2008)

As for the American-Mediterranean trade, it was expanding and making more profits, without paying their trade taxes to Algeria. This caused the resentment of the Dey , who constantly warned and threatened them, but the greed of the Americans was difficult to satisfy, as they wanted to expand their influence in the Mediterranean without any financial losses, and because the Americans were treacherous by their nature - as they did with the Red Indians - the problems aggravated between them and the Dey and It affected the Algerian-American relationship because of their insults to him , such as concealing a lot of commercial information from him, for example, about ships entering through the Strait of Gibraltar, disguised under the Algerian flag. All these frauds turned the course of relations into a state of

unease, as in addition to the above, other problems appeared that threatened the peaceful relations between the two countries. (Maameri,2008)

Some consuls, including Richard O'Brien, sought, at the beginning of the crisis in relations, to try to save the treaty, because he believed that the United States of America was not an equal to Algeria at that time, at least, but the American Congress and the State Department did not respect the treaty or even did not respect Dey Ahmed Khoja, nor the prestige of Algeria, and they kept tampering with the implementation of the terms of the treaty and delaying the financial payments until 1802. (Maameri,2008)

Certainly, after all these insults to the dey of Algeria and the violation of the terms of the treaty, relations worsened, and they faced two crises that were about to ignite the war between the two countries, such as the crisis of 1807 and the crisis of 1812 when the annual tribute was delayed again, so enough was enough with the dey, who took measures called piracy diplomacy to enforce respect for treaties: Including confiscation of ships. Where in late August 1812, an Algerian pirate seized an American ship and imprisoned its crew to pressure the American government, and the forcible deportation of the American consul from Algiers in 1812(Maameri,2008)

The forced deportation of the American ambassador was a declaration of war by Algeria from the point of view of the Americans, so that they began to prepare by collecting reports on the military weaknesses in Algiers and the possibilities of achieving American victory, especially after the weakness of the Algerian fleet in its war against Britain. Taking advantage of these circumstances, the United States of America sent its warships to fight against Algeria, and they fought the war with it over two years, 1815 and 1816 - as happened in 1801-1805 when the United States of America ignited the war Tripoli, which was called the

First Barbary War - as for the one that it fought Against Algeria, it was called the Second Barbary War of 1815, in which the power turned in favor of the United States of America. (Maameri,2008)

When the American warships were able to besiege Algiers, the two sides began negotiations on June 29, 1815 for the second treaty between Algeria and the USA, and it became the one that imposed its terms . (Maameri,2008)

### **The Treaty Of 1915**

It is the second treaty signed between my father Omar Agha - on behalf of Algeria and between the United States of America in 1815 - and it came as an attempt to end the second barbarian war after the victory of the United States of America, so most of the articles were for its benefit, for example: The first clause stipulated the abolition of the annual tribute and Presenting commercial gifts every two years only, and the second item also requires the release of prisoners who are in the possession of both parties without paying a ransom. And other items that were never in favor of Algeria. (Maameri,2008)

Despite Algeria's objection to the 1815 treaty, it was also forced to conclude the Affirmative Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1816, which also provided for the non-payment of any tribute. This was the beginning of the weakness of Algeria at the time, when after the Americans, the British followed their lead in the same year and they besieged and bombarded Algiers, with the aim of getting rid of them from paying the annual tribute as well. (Ross,1991)

## **After The Treaty of 1915**

After that, most of the European countries began violating their treaties with Algeria, not only that, but the weakness of the Ottoman Empire also made these countries persist in seizing and controlling the North African countries and the former Eilat that were under the control of the Ottoman Empire, such as Sham and Palestine.

Among these countries, or it can be considered the second in the colonial countries after Britain, is France, as they were the first and most to seize most of the countries, and this is due to their exploitation of several factors such as the weakness that was on the part of the Ottoman Empire and Algeria, which was matched by the development that Western Europe witnessed Through the Industrial Revolution in the 18th century.

From here, France began planning to control Algeria, where it found a valuable opportunity when the Algerian fleet was destroyed, along with the Ottoman fleet, in the Battle of Navarrein in Greece in 1827, so it proceeded to occupy Algeria after only three years in 1830.

## **The Second Phase From 1830 To 1962**

It is well known in the imperialist ideology that any colonial country cannot establish any diplomatic foreign relations with other countries, so it is possible to reduce a whole century of the history of Algeria's foreign relations from colonialism to the forties of the twentieth century. The relationship between the United States of America and Algeria was cut off after the French occupation of Algeria, but not completely. There were some few contacts. From 1830 to 1924, a series of consuls performed consular, commercial and political functions under the French administration. In the year 1893, their number began to decrease

until they were no longer there. There was not a single American resident in Algeria, not even a visitor who came across the Atlantic Ocean. As for the American trade in North Africa, there was no evidence of American ships docking in the ports in the records. However, some temptations in Algeria brought some American subjects, who did not have well-known positions in the government, but came with the aim of tourism, even with the American Orientalist movement, in which the literary and artistic character emerged through painting the picturesque scenery in Algeria. (Ross,1991)

On the opposite side of the Atlantic, the United States of America pursued a policy of isolation from all conflicts and events that occur in Europe and Africa until its entry into World War II in 1941. The United States of America returned strongly to the global political arena, and as it joined with France in the Allied countries At that time, many American envoys and ambassadors came to Algeria and North African countries - which were French colonies - to make several trade agreements in order to narrow the trade area for the Axis countries, in addition to some strategic military landings in North Africa related to the war. (Ross,1991)

At the same time, these American envoys met with leaders of the national political movements of that period, for example: In November 1942, Robert Murphy - who was appointed in Algeria as President Roosevelt's personal representative to the Vichy French authorities in North Africa - received Farhat Abbas, the head of the provisional government The Algerian Republic later, in Algiers, with the aim of knowing the American viewpoint on the Algerian struggle for independence, and the result was to gain American sympathy for the Algerian cause at that time, but their first focus was winning the Second World War. (Ross,1991)

Since that time and especially after the end of the World War and the victory of the Allies, the meetings - which used to take place in a calm manner - increased between the American representatives and the Algerian national leaders to consult on the national political track that aims for independence, which annoyed the French administration? But after the beginning of the Algerian liberation war on November 1, 1954, the attention of the world and world public opinion turned to Algeria, where in 1957, Algerian questions entered American politics for the first time, and Senator John F. Kennedy gave a speech in the Senate on “imperialism - the enemy of freedom” and presented a resolution in support of Algeria's independence. Because of this statement, President Kennedy was always warmly celebrated in Algeria, and the main square in El Biar was named by his name. (Ross,1991)

But this support did not come from completely good intentions, but was part of the American ideology by spreading its influence in the North African region through a policy of containment after its participation in the Cold War, and with Algeria approaching the achievement of its independence, the support of the United States of America increased, and the meetings between officials led The Americans and the Algerians, in October 1961, the Assistant Secretary of State J. Minin Williams in Tunisia with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Information in the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, Saad Dalib and Mohamed Yazid. (Ross,1991)

And when it ensures that Algeria obtained its independence, the United States of America was among the first to recognize it, as the United States opened two consulates in Constantine on June 7, 1962 and in Oran on June 11, 1962. On September 29, 1962, the United States officially recognized Algeria, and the Consulate General was upgraded to the

rank of embassy from 1962 to the present, this embassy was responsible for managing relations with independent Algeria. (Ross,1991)

### **The Third Phase From 1962 To 1988**

Since Algeria became an independent country with self-governance, diplomatic relations between it and the United States of America turned into an official form. President Kennedy received President Ben Bella at the White House in October 1962. The United States of America also provided Algeria with food from 1962 to 1967 where the total aid in this period was large, amounting to 180 million dollars alone. (Ross,1991)

However, some differences emerged that strained relations between them, such as Algeria's strong relationship with Cuba and its support for it, especially during the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, and also the nationalization of American properties inside Algeria by the Algerian government in 1963 without paying compensation to their owners. (Ross,1991)

As for what completely cut off diplomatic relations again, it is the direct support of the United States of America to the Israeli attack in the June 1967 war. (Ross,1991)

However, the Algerian diplomacy was escalating by hosting a series of conferences of third world organizations, including:

- Conference of the Group of 77 of Developing Countries (1967)
- OAU Summit (1968)
- 1st African Cultural Festival (1973)
- The Sixth Arab Summit (1973)
- The OPEC Summit (1975)

As for its relationship with the United States of America, it was decreasing over the years, and all Americans were evacuated from diplomatic institutions in Algeria. The Algerian government also suspended the sale of oil to the United States and placed American oil companies under state control. (Ross,1991)

It also announced at the Khartoum Summit in 1967, the nationalization of five American companies that distribute oil products in Algeria. (Ross,1991)

After the October 1973 war, which coincided with the embargo on oil exports to the United States of America, which ended with the resumption of meetings between the two parties, where the US Secretary of State visited Algeria twice in 1973 and 1974. The Algerian President Boumediene also visited the American president in the same period of the meeting of the Commission United Nations in April 1974. (Ross,1991)

Because of these meetings, relations between the two countries improved, but not to a large extent, and this is due to the preoccupation of the United States of America with the Cold War, in addition to the friendly relations between Algeria and the Soviet Union. Despite this, that period was not without trade agreements between Algeria and the United States of America, especially in the field of hydrocarbons, as well as student missions between the two countries. (Ross,1991)

After the death of President Boumediene in December 1978 after a long struggle with illness, he was succeeded by President Chadli Bendjedid in early 1979, who consolidated the Algerian-American relationship as he contributed in the military field through arms purchase agreements and transport planes during the years 1980 and 1981, and those were the first sales

for Algeria's military equipment since independence. Algeria also mediated in the hostage crisis of the US Embassy in Tehran in late 1980 and early 1981. (Ross,1991)

Over the course of the eighties of the twentieth century, visits between the two countries increased significantly, and several agreements were signed in many fields, the most important of which is the economic and agricultural field. In February 1984, a five-year memorandum of understanding was signed on cooperation and trade in agriculture. (Ross,1991)

These relations continued in this state until 1988, when Algeria began to face internal turmoil. (Ross,1991)

## **The General US Interests In Algeria**

For a country whose foreign policy focuses only on the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia, Algeria has not had an important place in US foreign policy. Nevertheless, it had some elements that made it a country that should not be marginalized from the regional and global political arena. As the largest and most prominent African country in trying to solve problems in the African continent, such as maintaining security in the region, in addition to its close relations with Arab countries, and its economic importance as a This took the oil-exporting countries, without ignoring the importance of their strategic location, the United States of America could not help but pay more attention and try to improve its relations with them despite the previous differences between the two countries in order to secure their interests in the region especially after September 11, 2001 . And this is due to the previous factors that will be explained next.

### **The Factors That Explain U.S. Interests In Algeria:**

#### **1) Geography:**

Algeria's regional position lies in its strategic geographical location, which makes it the most important and largest Maghreb and African country, with an area of approximately 2.4 square kilometers. It also mediates the countries of North Africa and the Arab Maghreb countries. In the northeast and east, it is bordered by Tunisia, Libya, Morocco, Western Sahara and Mauritania to the west, Mali and Niger to the south, and from the north it is bordered by the Mediterranean Sea on a coast of 1,200 km in length which is immediately near to the European coasts after the sea. Also, 80 percent of its area is desert, and it is within the Great Sahara region, which is in the middle of the African continent. (fanack.com, 2020)

All these facts give Algeria specific issues such as :

- Its direct border of the Mediterranean Sea with a long coast makes it the gateway to Africa for Europe through the large number of commercial and military ports, on the other hand, during illegal migrations from the African countries take the Algerian coasts to across to Europe.
- In the middle of it are the North African countries with vast borders that give them a political position, considering how much these countries have almost no borders except with Algeria. So if those borders are closed, it will be a political crisis in the region, for example in what happened with Morocco;. In addition to that these borders make Algeria a responsible neighbor to help the rest of its neighbors, such as the issue of Western Sahara and its solidarity with it, for example.
- Four-fifths of Algeria is a desert, so it is not easy to guard it, which provides opportunities for smuggling and illegal immigration from the most dangerous areas.

## **2) Economy:**

Hydrocarbons is the most prominent economic sector for Algeria according to trade and global market data, as Algeria is a country rich in extractive resources of gas and oil, thus Algeria occupies the sixteenth place in oil reserves with about 12.2 billion barrels of proven, and a production rate of 1.1 million barrels per day, which makes it an important member in the OPEC. As for gas, Algeria is the tenth largest reserves of natural gas in the world and the third largest reserves of shale gas. It is highly dependent on the energy sector of its economy. (Achab,)

Algeria benefited from hydrocarbon revenues estimated at \$75 billion, which reduced the country's external debt. This is without ignoring the two-thirds of Algerian lands that have not been explored or explored to date, with about 20 wells per 10,000 square miles. Thus, Algeria is considered a magnet for foreign investment, such as international oil companies (IOCs). As the largest oil company in Algeria, SONATRACH, is following new economic policies through agreements with international oil companies to develop extractive technology. Especially with regard to shale gas that is technically recoverable, as Algeria has about 20 trillion cubic meters that are not exploited so far.(Achab,)

All these resources, which give great economic opportunities to international investment companies, could not but attract the United States of America to try to invest also in Algeria.

### **3) Policy:**

#### **Domestic Policy**

Political stability in Algeria since 2000, after the phase of the dark decade, has attracted the United States of America to more political openness in the North African region and Algeria in particular, and the American-Algerian relationship has gained more balance, especially during the Arab Spring 2011 and the regional turmoil and political transformations that occurred In the region, while the political situation in Algeria continued to remain unchanged, this is the result of political awareness of the fear of a repetition of the 1990s crisis, in addition to the focus of its political leaders on the internal situation of the country and their efforts to try to maintain security on the borders, especially in the south due to its lack in neighboring countries such as Libya and Tunisia and Egypt. (Arieff,2013)

## **Foreign Policy:**

As mentioned previously, Algeria's geostrategic position gave it regional responsibilities towards its neighbors and even towards the Middle East and the Arab world as well, despite its internal preoccupation in the 1990s. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, it has always sought, because of its regional role, to further strengthen its relations with the United States of America. US foreign policy tends to try to find a solution to the political and security crises of countries, for example in Libya, NATO demanded not to interfere in the change of the Libyan regime, as in Syria, and with the help of the Arab League, it urged non-interference from any external parties. (Arieff,2013)

It also supported the Western Sahara issue against Moroccan colonialism, as it was in special contact with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia El Hamra and Rio de Oro (the Polisario) and its self-proclaimed government, the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, and tried to help it by asking the United Nations to find a solution in this conflict by It is a colonial issue that is rejected according to the principles of the United Nations. (Arieff,2013)

Algeria also plays a prominent role in the African Union, which the United States of America seeks to assist in regional development, in addition to bilateral assistance between the two countries in the security crisis in Mali. (Arieff,2013)

## **4) Military:**

With an army - (National People's Army) of 147,000 personnel, including 80,000 enlisted personnel who perform military service for 18 months - 6 months of basic training, and an estimated reserve of 150,000 until age 50. (Ammour,2013)

In addition to the Air Force: 14,000 (with 15 bases) And the navy about 6000, and the paramilitary forces: 1200 from the Republican Guard, 20,000 from the National Gendarmerie, and 16,000 from the National Security Forces. (Ammour,2013)

Algeria occupies the forefront among the Arab Maghreb countries and is considered the most powerful military country in terms of equipment, forces and capabilities.

(Ammour,2013)

Therefore, US policy believes that mutual cooperation with Algeria is necessary in the issue of combating cross-border terrorism in the region such as the Sahel and the Sahara, as US General David Rodriguez praised this in a statement during his nomination to lead the US Africa Command (AFRICOM) as well as the Algerian military and intelligence prowess it uses weakening terrorist capabilities internally and on its borders.(Sakthivel,2016)

## **The Roots of Radicalism in Algeria:**

Radical Islam has never existed in the political arena in Algeria before its independence. According to most of the research based on that period, the seed of political Islam appeared since the founding of the Association of Muslim Scholars and then it was strengthened by the Association of Islamic Values and then by the jihadists who came after their participation in the fighting with Afghanistan. But before getting to know more about these two groups, it is necessary to know the conditions that preceded and helped to strengthen the presence of extremist political Islam in the country and that the radicals exploited to gather more populist support for their thoughts.

## **The Prevailing Conditions That Helped The Emergence Of Radicalism In 1962 To The 1990s:**

There is nothing develops overnight from itself, and the Extremist political thoughts have been affected by internal and external developments, but it was not strong until the nineties when its results appeared. The increase of support for the radical thoughts was due to several factors that have emerged since independence, which Islamists have benefited from to strengthen their logic and strengthen their ranks. The background of these factors goes back to several political, social, economic and cultural fields:

### **1) Political Side:**

**Unilateralism :** Contrary to what was stated in the “November,1st statement” about the establishment of a democratic, sovereign Algerian state within the framework of Islamic principles, the post-independence authority or government continued to adopt the one-party system summarized under the National Liberation Front, regardless of all other political

trends that contributed to the establishment revolution under the same party. Thus, the voice of the young generation was marginalized from participating in building their country, or even trying to participate in the political developments of that period. Even after President Boumediene took office, most of his interest was in the military aspect, with the government remaining under the control of the single party.(Botha,2008)

It was difficult to challenge FLN before, but with time it was characterized by bias because it was based on the thoughts of the group which controlled the system. Consequently, there was no democracy in the country, which caused the general resentment of the people and upset the balance of society. In the early seventies, the so-called rich class, nepotism and corruption emerged through the exploitation of resources such as fuel at the expense of the rest of the people. (Zoubir, 2019)

Perhaps the other political trends were not ready to oppose the regime at the time because the country was a new era of self-rule. As for the Islamic trend, it boldly and directly objected to the system at the time, because it did not accept the establishment of a state without the Islamic religion being one of its foundations. They categorically rejected the elite of the secular intellectuals that govern the system through the National Liberation Front party. They also rejected the monopoly of the interpretation of Islam by the state. This is what I was asking for the Islamic Qiyam Association, which was founded in 1963 (Botha,2008)

**The impact of international developments on the domestic political scene,** such as the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979, which influenced the ideological thoughts of the Islamic movements in Algeria, and they used the Iranian revolution as a model to follow in their struggle. (Botha,2008)

## 1) Economic side:

### **The Only Oil Economy:**

The only party government after independence was accompanied by the only element economy, because the economic activity of state was completely dependent on the export of one commodity, which is oil and fuel, and its revenue was the only financial source, as oil and gas exports constitute 95 percent of total exports and 60 percent cent of revenue. (Collier&Sambanis,2008)

Also, the Algerian economy marked serious repercussions in other economic fields after independence, the agricultural and industrial sectors. (Collier&Sambanis,2008)

Agriculture has shrunk after independence - as a result of the destruction of equipment and agricultural lands by foreign settlers before independence - and because of rural displacement as a result of the fragility of living conditions in rural areas, agriculture has been neglected more over the years. It was unable to achieve food sufficiency for its people, so it was forced to import. (Collier&Sambanis,2008)

As for the industrial sector, it was less noticeable, as the Algerian industry was not competitive at the international level and was not even export-oriented. (Collier&Sambanis,2008)

This resulted in a lack of job opportunities for young people, in addition to the aggravation of unemployment. (Collier&Sambanis,2008)

All of the above changed with Boumediene's economic policies, where the development strategy was in the Soviet communist style, so he paid more attention to the

agricultural revolution and heavy industries financed from oil revenues. As a result, in the early seventies and until the early eighties, the economic growth index rose impressively, as it was almost on average 7.5 percent between 1965 and 1980, and it was the highest among developing oil-exporting countries. However, investing up to four-fifths of the oil earnings in industrial projects was causing negative effects and marginalization of other fields such as education and infrastructure, and the government resorted to foreign borrowing, which it thought that it could pay off with oil revenues afterwards. But with the global recession in the early 1980s and the decline in oil prices in 1982, its prices fell to 40 percent in 1985-1986. Algeria fell into indebtedness, and the debt service percentage increased from 33% in 1982 to 68% in 1986 and reached 86% in 1988. Instead of implementing economic reforms to get out of this crisis, the government continued its economic policy, but it reduced the proportion of imports and impeded the return of the country distribution so there was a large shortage of basic commodities. The result of all these repercussions is the collapse of growth, unemployment and debt, which clearly affected the social conditions and political stability in the country. (Collier&Sambanis,2008)

### **Social Side:**

#### **The Unemployment:**

Because of the lack of job opportunities, unemployment began to grow dramatically, especially in the late seventies, and most of them were young people. In 1985, 72 percent of the unemployed were under the age of 25, an age group estimated to constitute 65 percent of the population. And this void in the youth was easy to fill with new thoughts , even if extremist(Botha,2008)

**Arabization:**

After the independence of Algeria, several foundations were enacted in the national constitution, the most important of which is that the Arabic language is the official language of the nation. Which people are supposed to use in conversation or in administrative institutions. Therefore, since independence, many intensive Arabization campaigns have appeared with the aim of strengthening the status of the classical Arabic language and giving Algeria its Arab and Islamic identity. These campaigns spread to all areas of public life, especially administrative centers that have used the French language since colonialism. Of course, at first, it faced opposition reactions from several sides, such as the Amazigh movements and the Francophone elite. (Hind, 2004)

Perhaps the Arabization process was a good initiative at first to rid Algeria of French colonial influence, but after Algeria imported Muslim teachers who spoke classical Arabic from Syria and Egypt, to teach the people who had become accustomed to the French language. The problem arose when learning the Arabic language and Islamization were mixed, because some of the Egyptian scholars who were imported to Algeria were followers of the Muslim Brotherhood. Thus, they spread their thoughts in addition to teaching them the Arabic language.(Botha,2008)

**a) Association of Algerian Muslim Ulemas (Scholars) (AAMU):**

The first emergence of radical thoughts was through a series of developments starting with the French colonialism which followed methods and procedures aimed at erasing everything that is Arab and Islamic in the life of the Algerian people.

And as a reaction the Islamic reform movements emerged that try to preserve the authentic Islamic values in the Algerian people, such as: Association of Algerian Muslim Ulemas (Scholars) (AAMU), which was founded during The first half of the twentieth century in 1931, and was formally organized by Abdel Hamid Ben Badis on May 5, 1935, who strongly influenced by the thoughts of the Egyptian Muslim jurist and reformer Muhammad Abdo (1949-1905), as the latter believes that Islam is a flexible religion capable of adapting to the modern world if it is freed from its non-Islamic and vulgar excess, i.e. contemporary, in a conservative manner. (Britannica,2008).

The AAMU had several goals for the Algerian people under French colonialism, such as educating the people and purifying Islam of heresies and superstitions, preserving the Algerian personality and Arab culture, and igniting the flame of the Algerian resistance for the independence. (Ghanem,2019)

Like other first reform movements that appeared in the 1920s until the 1930s, some of the ideological principles of AAMU crystallized into what is called sectarian partisanship as the beginning of extremism. And Because of its strong dominance over popular support, the Association tried to gather all the Islamic reform movements under its banner and thoughts after 1931, and it began to play its reformist role in an official way through the spread of mosques and schools independent of the French administration. In addition to its interest in the cultural aspect through the press, including newspapers and printed articles, and

holding cultural seminars. In this way, the association became increasingly influential, and thus its leading figures - such as Ibn Badis and Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi - emerged as a magnet for more popular support, as they are a shorthand for everything Islamic in the country. ( James,2017)

In the year 1940, they were interested in integrating into the political trend because they saw themselves as being superior to all political movements at the time, because they were playing the role of defending the rights of Algerians against the French administration despite the excessive restrictions on all their reform work, such as closing mosques in 1933 and prosecuting teachers in unlicensed independent schools from The French administration in 1938, for example, was arrested and exiled Bashir Ibrahimi in 1940. (James,2017)

In the mid-1940s, the association turned into a political movement to improve and liberate society and shape its future away from colonialism, benefiting from the deep loyalty to the community distinguished by its Muslim personality, to become the most popular and radical political force in Algeria. (James,2017)

It may not have been a prominent force in the political arena, but it influenced some organizations that had an important role in the political struggle at the time, for example the People's Party and its iconic leader Messali Hajj, who was influenced by the radical populist political thoughts of the association despite its different approach, because its thoughts were not reformist It was purely revolutionary, social and political in a contemporary way, focusing more on the complete independence of Algeria.( James,2017)

It also supported the National Liberation Front through the representation of Algerian Muslims in the liberation revolution of 1954 and 1962, when it tempted other reformist movements to join the national struggle.(Sour,2016)

**b) The Association Of El Qiyam El Islamiyah (Islamic Values):**

After independence in 1962, the political focus of the Algerians was shifted from the liberation of the homeland from the colonialist to the advancement of the country to achieve its stability in all fields. Therefore, all political trends that entered under the banner of the Liberation Front began their endeavors differently from the other, except for the Islamic movement which included in the Association of Muslim Scholars. Therefore, the successors of this association had to impose their position in the political arena, so they established the Islamic Qiyam Association in the 1960s (Sour,2016)

AAMU may have been the first appearance of political Islam in Algeria, but the Association of el Qiyam el islamiyah (Islamic Values), was the seed of radical Islam in Algeria, which rejects any authority or system that does not depend on Islamic law (Sharia). (Ghanem,2019)

The association was founded in February 1963 by Malik Bennabi and other scholars, and it was headed by Al-Hashemi Tijani, Abdul Latif Soltani, Ahmed Sahnoun and Hodeek Mesbah. Most of its goals were under an educational, cultural and religious cover, such as reviving Islamic values. The Qiyam criticized the Westernization of Algeria, as it opposed all political parties that have values other than Muslims, such as communism, nationalism or secularism, and rejected the socialist policy of President Ben Bella, The Qiyam was strongly influenced by the thoughts of many reformists and supporters of political Islam, such as Jamal

al-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis, and Sayyid Qutb. (Halayli,2005)

This association succeeded in pressuring Ahmed Ben Bella to impose Islamic religious education in public schools, and the association stood firmly against the rising tide of secularism. (Sour,2016)

But because of its extremist activity, the association was banned on September 22, 1966, after it sent a telegram to Egyptian President DJamal Abdel Nasser asking him to release Sayyid Qutb and all the imprisoned leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, because the Algerian authority considered this act an explicit interference in the internal affairs of a country that supported the revolution. Algerian during the struggle phase and was dissolved in 1970. (Marani,2016)

Although El Qiyam was banned by the government in 1966, but in 1970s and 1980s its members and everyone who supported its thoughts became active in the call and popular and student mobilization that was concentrated in mosques and universities, despite the state's implementation of strict and lenient measures in an effort to curb increasing their power. (Ghanem,2019) .

### **c) The Algerian Mujahideen in Afghanistan (the Algerian Afghans):**

The Algerian Mujahideen in Afghanistan or the Algerian Afghans were the first to take a step in armed action to defend and spread their extremist thoughts. Despite the great distance between the two countries and the difference in the personality of the two peoples and the absence of previous relations between them, the jealousy of religion brought them together, so the Afghan issue became a pivotal and ideological issue for Muslims in Algeria,

where it was deliberated on the tongues and discussed in lectures, as Afghanistan was the subject of all the preachers and episodes The mosque. And it became necessary to defend it, so the Afghan jihad ignites faith in the souls, so many young people went to the Afghan jihad. (Halayli,2005)

And the Algerians began to go to Afghanistan via Pakistan and some European countries such as France and Spain. Some of them left Algeria for Saudi Arabia. Their destination was the Peshawar region, and from there they entered Afghan territory. (Halayli,2005)

This tendency of Algerian youth towards Afghanistan to wage jihad against the Soviet invasion in the early eighties was magnified due to several circumstances, including:

- The difficult economic conditions that Algeria was experiencing
- The unemployment rate is rising
- Several organizations provide young people with the opportunity to migrate to Afghanistan.
- Organization of Da`wah and Tabligh (Headquarters Central Pakistan).

(Halayli,2005)

In defense of their religion, many young Algerians traveled to Afghanistan to participate in the war against the Soviet Union as a result of the collapse of physical and ideological boundaries between extremist Islamic organizations around the world. (Botha,2008)

And they benefited from training camps in Pakistan and Afghanistan, where they exchanged knowledge and military policies with the al-Qaeda Mujahideen. Bin Laden also

opened training camps for Algerians, including those wishing to participate in the conflict in Algeria. (Botha,2008)

Upon their return to Algeria, they were influenced by Afghan life, such as clothing, behavior, and most importantly, jihadist and extremist thoughts that seek to replace the Algerian government with a real Islamic government in their view, and they became known as the Afghans . (Botha,2008)

A number of Algerian Afghans began organizing for what they saw as an inevitable conflict with the government. Like Sharif Qawasmi, a veteran of the Afghan war who largely shaped the GIA's philosophy and tactics. (Botha,2008)

This is due to the availability of internal and external conditions suitable for the flourishing and support of radical extremist thoughts, such as the presence of large segments of the socially deprived and marginalized youth. From their solution, the Mujahideen were able to establish some extremist Islamic groups and became effective in running them, thus forming the basis of the armed army at the time, such as the Armed Islamic Group (GIA). (Botha,2008)

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The rebellious spirit of the Algerian Afghans was linked to the FIS. Led by hard-line religious scholars and paramilitary activists, this extremist group launched its first open confrontation with the government in June 1991 as it was ready to impose its rule through its paramilitary groups a massive campaign of terror, killing thousands of people, including foreigners, journalists and women, Burning schools and industrial facilities and blowing up bridges, railways and power lines. (Botha,2008)

And then there was the beginning of terrorism, which was motivated by Islam, since the elections stopped in January 1992 and the ban of the Islamic Salvation Front, where the campaign of terrorism and armed sabotage started immediately after the cancellation of the elections. (Botha,2008)

## **The Start Of The 1990s Crisis**

### **The Beginning of The 1988 October Rebellion**

As mentioned previously, at the outbreak of the revolution, all political trends joined the national struggle under the banner of the National Liberation Front, and after independence, the party seized control of the regime, ignoring the demands of all other political trends and as a result of economic fluctuations and dire social conditions. The anger of the people increased, and the extremist fundamentalist Islamic groups were formed as part of the political opposition forces that appeared in the eighties, especially during the era of President Chadli Bendjedid. (Botha,2008)

The expression of the anger of the people exposed to the political situation was riots and attacks on government symbols, including government offices and the headquarters of the National Liberation Front, and the most important of these events was the bread riots on October 4-10, 1988, which was a turning point in the Algerian political development, where he called The protesters called for an end to the one-party political system as well as broader democratic freedoms. The state acquiesced to their demands when President Bendjedid declared a referendum to review the "1976 constitution" on October 10, 1988, and followed this up on October 23 with the introduction of political reforms. These reforms focused on three points:

- Separation between the state and the National Liberation Front.
- Free participation in municipal and legislative elections.
- The independence of mass movements.

(Botha,2008)

## **The Path Of The Islamists:**

Because its roots go back to before the revolution, the Islamic political movement has had a long road spanning years in order to obtain the support it needs to reach power. As the ideas of the advocates of the political movement appeared since independence when they rejected the policy of the secular state, which according to them was a continuation of the policy of the West and colonialism, but with that they did not take any direct steps until after the late seventies. When he began to defend Sharia (Islamic law) and demand its application in Algerian society - for example in cases related to changing family and women's law - they succeeded, and this encouraged them to demand more. And in order for them to achieve these demands, it was necessary to gain popular support. This was done through some university seminars and inside mosques. Their biggest gains were when they exploited the popular anger against the regime after the October 1988 crisis, which was a sensitive turning point in the Algerian political history, when hundreds of thousands of demonstrators moved to the main urban centers of the country, especially in Algiers. Because the state was not able more to hide its accumulated social, economic and political failure for years, and when the people discovered this, they demanded an immediate change to the state. ( D.Le Sueur,2010)

Because of this overwhelming anger that pervaded the country, the state that was new to these problems found nothing but the use of army force to restore the country's order. Unfortunately, this decision was the end of the political legitimacy of the National Liberation Front party. Two weeks after the start of the riots and strikes, the army killed 500 people and wounded thousands of civilians. (D.Le Sueur,2010)

In the Islamic Front, too, there was a lot of casualties when the Islamists organized a peaceful march starting on October 7 that reached 6000 supporters in central Algeria, led by

political activists such as Ahmed Sahnoun - who is one of the most respected Islamists in Algeria, and was connected to Abdelhamid Ben Badis When he was also a member of the Association of Algerian Scholars - and Abbassi Madani - who was active in the National Liberation Front during decolonization and remained a staunch opponent of secularism after independence - . (D.Le Sueur,2010)

The army confronted them and resulted in the killing of 50 unarmed demonstrators, most of them Islamists. As a result, he gained sympathy from the angry masses at the state's excessive use of force. This was an opportunity that would not be repeated for the political Islamist movements. After the popular opposition sided with them against the old regime, all conditions were ripe for the political Islamists to move quickly to mobilize more of the Algerian masses. (D.Le Sueur,2010)

After the killing of the Islamist demonstrators by the army, their efforts intensified further and this helped form them into a united front, although it is more aggressive. For example, Ali Belhaj al-Asghar, a former Arabic teacher and imam known for his Islamic activism in the Bab al-Wad Mosque in the Kasbah, succeeded in organizing a larger Supporters gathered an estimated 20,000 men who marched with him on October 10th in the streets of Algiers. But Belhadj led his followers directly to a confrontation in which 30 other Islamists were killed by the men of General Nazar (the Minister of Defense and a veteran of the war of liberation). (D.Le Sueur,2010)

The use of army force made matters worse, and further fueled the people's anger, and as an attempt to calm the current situation and resolve the strikes, President Chadli Bendjedid sought to establish a dialogue with the prominent Islamists in the political Islamic movements to listen to their demands, and this decision in itself was a political risk, as it shed

Light on their presence in the political arena, and raise their standing with the people as the only platform that can achieve their demands - at the same time the national liberation love began to sink . (D.Le Sueur,2010)

After that, on October 10, 1988, Chadli announced plans to hold a referendum on the 1976 constitution, in order to give the country a stamp of political freedoms, in addition to political reforms, but it was too late, the people had lost hope in the government and its system and demanded a liberal, democratic, multi-party rule. A new constitution was adopted on February 23, 1989, opening the door to a multi-party system. This gave the Islamists a golden opportunity to use democracy in the application of political Islam. Thus, the Islamic Salvation Front party emerged, which brought together all the strains of Algerian political Islam under one coordinated umbrella.(D.Le Sueur,2010)

### **The Birth of The Islamic Salvation Front (FIS):**

It is the first Islamic political party in Algeria that was established after the promulgation of the multi-party law in Algeria. It was officially registered on September 16, 1989, led by Abbasi Madani - who represents the moderate side of the party's ideas - and Ali Belhaj - who represents the most radical side in the front where he was influenced by scholars Salafis such as Ibn Taymiyyah and Hassan al-Banna. It was the first opposition party to call for a return to the equal opportunity values of justice and accountability. He called for the establishment of a free and independent Algerian state on the basis of Islamic principles by introducing several reforms to face local challenges. (Botha,2008)

Since its inception, the front has provided social and religious services through mosques, which were rarely provided by the state. This strengthened the popular support for it

until it won the local elections in 1990 and the first round of the general elections in 1991. But in 1992 the second round of elections was canceled and the army launched a crackdown on all supporters of the Front and the party was banned on March 4, 1992. (Botha,2008)

### **The Local Elections 1990:**

The first democratic opening in the country - since its independence - allowed the establishment of many new parties with the National Liberation Front - such as the Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD) and the Socialist Communist Party (PAGS), while the Islamic Salvation Front was formed on February 18 in a mosque The Sunnis in Algiers - who began their journey in developing their political program until the first free multi-party elections, the local elections on June 12, 1990, in which the Islamic Salvation Front won by an overwhelming majority, by taking 853 municipal assemblies (APC, Assemblée populaire communale) against 487 to the FLN, and 48 departmental assemblées (APW, Assemblée populaire de wilaya) against 14 to the FLN. Although it joined the elections only one month ago, it did not receive the necessary preparations. However, her election campaign was distinguished by the presence of a special platform which is the mosques. (Rahal,2017)

After winning the elections, the party began to implement its reform plans, which the people seemed to be satisfied with. They based their policy on religious morals, stopping music festivals and imposing new dress codes on the beaches. In addition to their interest in the religious aspect of citizens, they were able to gain political influence, especially in the city of Algiers. (Rahal,2017)

### **To The General Elections In December 1991:**

This superiority of the Islamic Salvation Front worried many political parties at the time, and they sensed the coming danger that could occur with the victory of the Islamic Salvation Front in the upcoming legislative elections. There were widespread doubts that Islamism in the country could use democracy to reach power, but it would not be part of it. (Rahal,2017)

Therefore, the period before the December 1991 elections was characterized by fear and confusion on the part of the government, to the extent that the polling date was postponed several times and the use of places of worship in electoral campaigns was prohibited. for the elections. (Rahal,2017)

The position of the party leadership became more severe in opposing the regime and their insistence on winning increased, so the leaders of the FIS organized rallies and rallies in several squares in the capital, and because their angry style began to take on a military character, they entered into several confrontations with the police that resulted in many deaths. The government declared a state of emergency and a siege on them, but the leaders' threats to declare jihad made the government again submit to their demands and opened a dialogue with all political parties and a review of the electoral campaign laws, and set December 26, 1991 as a new date for the elections. (Rahal,2017)

### **The General Elections in 1991:**

The first round of the elections ended with the expected result, with the Islamic Salvation Front winning 3 million votes, almost a quarter of the total votes, which was 3 times

higher than the votes of the National Liberation Front. After the first round, 3 parties qualified for the second round

- Islamic Salvation Front
- the National Liberation Front
- the Socialist Forces Front (FFS). , founded by Hussein Ait Ahmed. (Rahal,2017).

All political parties in Algeria at that time were sure of the victory of the Islamic Salvation Front in the second round of parliamentary elections. But the government and the army had a different opinion. Fearing losing its power to the Islamic Salvation Front, the army canceled the January 11 parliamentary elections, a day before the polling date, and forced Chazli Bendjedid to resign from the post of President of the Republic and dissolve Parliament. (K. Bonner,2010)

With this, the army organized a coup by creating a temporary "High State Committee" (HCE) to "Protection of the Republic". It was led by 5 military men. On February 9, 1992, HCE declared a state of emergency and on March 4, 1992 banned the FIS. Which reacted violently when it decided to switch to armed struggle at the end of the summer of 1992, thus igniting a violent civil war that ended in the early twenty-first century.(K. Bonner,2010)

### **The Beginning Of Violence :**

The continued ban that the FIS faced from the army, after the cancellation of the second round of the 1992 elections, especially in the municipal and regional councils that were run by the majority of FIS members, in addition to the arbitrary arrests of party members such as Abbasi Madani and Ali Belhaj prison For 12 years in court martial. All these

measures aroused the anger of all the party's followers who used violence as a way to express their anger, and the armed rebellion was their response. In the summer of 1992, the Armed Islamic Group Organization (GIA) emerged as an Islamic opposition movement led by military experts, and they were able to gather all the divided Islamic groups in the country under the name of the organization, and their number reached 2,000 fighters. (McDougall,2017)

It was also characterized by violent extremist military methods that derive from Afghan ideas, and it did not have any serious attempts to interfere politically, and because of its multiplicity and spread, it was difficult to locate and stop it. In the beginning it was targeting the regime and its clashes were with soldiers and police only, but with the passage of time its violence affected the people as well. (McDougall,2017)

Life in Algeria after 1992 was a complete lack of security, and people needed to defend themselves because the people became in constant doubt about the state, for example, the subject of roadblocks, which was supposed to be affiliated with the army and security forces, but in fact Some armed men in military uniforms set up fake roadblocks, and they become their means of extortion and indiscriminate killing of travelers. In addition to the attacks that target the country's infrastructure such as schools, hospitals and police stations, and indiscriminate attacks on villages and countryside far from cities and security centers, the population is subjected to all kinds of torture, kidnapping, killing and even raping women as well. (McDougall,2017)

The period of the years 1992/1993/1994 was marked by the worst period of assassinations of cultural figures, journalists, artists and writers who were suffering from death threats. (McDougall,2017)

After the Armed Islamic Group stole the spotlight in the media arena due to its escalation of violence throughout the country, the response of the followers of the Islamic Salvation Front was the establishment of the Islamic Salvation Army in July 1994, whose loyalty was to the former imprisoned leaders of the Front. It was also more extreme and violent. (McDougall,2017)

In 1995 and 1996, violence and terror reached its climax with bloody massacres that claimed thousands of lives and destroyed villages to the fullest, coinciding with the election of Liamine Zeroual as president on November 16, 1995. After the political stalemate that Algeria faced after the cancellation of the elections and the dissolution of the government and parliament in 1992. The Algerian regime had to try to control the situation and project its image to the world as stable, especially after the violence in Algeria. Zeroual's political strategy was to institutionalize the political opposition, rehabilitate the state, and establish a democratic system through an attempt to engage in dialogue with the perpetrators of violence, in addition to economic and political reforms. He also entered into discussions with the leaders of the Islamic Front, including Ali Belhaj and Abbasi Madani, in order to find a solution Political status quo, but despite their release, these leaders have not been able to control the extremist groups that they have been able to communicate with for years. But by the summer of 1996, after President Zeroual held political consultations with most of the political parties in the country, he excluded the Islamic Salvation Front or any other extremist Islamic political grouping. (Zoubir,1998)

This increased the anger of the Islamist groups, especially the Armed Islamic Group - which was claiming to be the only legitimate Islamic movement in the country - and they intensified violence and bloody attacks as a response to its disregard. Zeroual's strategy was

an attempt to enact new laws that would allow a solution to be reached with the political opposition under the authority of the regime, especially for the next parliamentary and local elections in 1997. He set certain conditions for political parties so that they could participate in the political process and elections in order to avoid the chaos that occurred in 1991 and 1992. (Zoubir,1998)

The legislative elections that took place in June 1997 led to the birth of a truly pluralist parliament. The municipal elections scheduled for October 23, 1997 and the formation of the National Assembly in December 1997, were the biggest success in the institutional body. (Zoubir,1998)

But all this was not lost on the minds of politicians that the strategies carried out by President Zeroual and the regime were not democratic, although they sought to achieve it in the political arena in Algeria . And in the absence of real democracy, many parties still reject this forged and alleged political stability. (Zoubir,1998)

The important reason for this rejection was that this democracy was under the authority of the army and (HCE), as the National Rally Party, to which President Zeroual belongs, which won the 1997 legislative elections, registering 156 out of 380 seats, received 32 percent of the votes, was considered the party of order. (D.Le Sueur,2010)

Despite that, Zeroual's government continued to reform the political process and try to reach a ceasefire with the Islamic Salvation Army, as it is the armed wing of the Islamic Salvation Front. A cease-fire was agreed upon on September 21, 1997, and this decision angered the rival groups, led by the Armed Islamic Group Which escalated violence in Algeria at the end of 1997 and the beginning of 1998, where the most terrible massacres

occurred in the 1990s, and terrorist attacks were concentrated in the northwest, especially in the state of Guelizan, killing 1,000 people and destroying entire villages in just one month. (D.Le Sueur,2010)

### **The Beginning Of Bouteflika Era:**

All these years of killing and destruction, required a final solution for the nation to get out of this crisis despite the opposition, despite the Islamist groups, despite the army's domination of the regime and its violent and apolitical transgressions as its generals were constantly refusing to dialogue with the extremist Islamists who became Some of them are willing to lay down their arms on the condition that they are allowed to return to civil society without punishment. This stage requires a new political leader after Zeroual relinquished his post in 1998 due to his failure to resolve the crisis. This came with the beginning of the period of political reforms with the support of the people, who could not tolerate violence more and wanted to contain and suppress terrorism once and for all. (D.Le Sueur,2010)

During his first term of five years, which began on April 15, 1999, President Abdelaziz Bouteflika adopted a policy of solving the problem from its roots between the two parties (the army, the opposition and armed groups). The first two years of Bouteflika's rule were very difficult because of the pressure he faces from the army to continue suppressing the Islamists. Many of the military leaders who fought for years against Islamist terrorists opposed Bouteflika's merciful approach, even considering it an unrealizable approach. Beginning to take measures to immunize the government against excessive military control by dismissing key military leaders as defense minister, he instituted drastic changes within the army's power structure, in order to revive civilian leadership away from the absolute power of the army. (D.Le Sueur,2010)

Because he was an advocate of national reconciliation, Bouteflika's policy of harmony depended on the baptism of the law of *concorde civile*, which guarantees the Islamists immunity on the condition that they lay down their arms and renounce terrorism. And he sought to consult with former officials of the Islamic Salvation Front in an attempt to investigate their reaction to stopping the violence. He announced that he would appeal to the public through a national referendum, because he believed that the only force that could stop the army was the will of the people. According to Bouteflika, the referendum was necessary and required the approval of the public because it was the Algerian people who had suffered the most during the past seven years. (D.Le Sueur,2010)

No one would have believed it. After long negotiations with AIS fighters, the AIS announced that it would dissolve itself and accept Bouteflika's proposals. The amnesty law has been palatable in part as a first step towards ending the violence because it grants impunity to between 5,000 and 6,000 fighters (mainly members of the Salvation Army only because the GIA would largely be excluded from the amnesty). While the law made important concessions to violent Islamists and allowed them to return to civil society unmolested, it said nothing about the FIS itself, which remained outlawed. Bouteflika stressed that the Islamic Salvation Front will not be given the opportunity to enter the political process again. (D.Le Sueur,2010)

Bouteflika also promised to use "all means" and any form of violence to be used by the security forces whose goal would be to eliminate any remaining resistance, to eliminate the rebels who refused to accept the amnesty agreement. In the end, more than 5,000 Algerians were pardoned and about 5,000 convicted prisoners were released by the deadline for submissions, which was set to expire on January 13, 2000. As Bouteflika warned that he

would be relentless in the pursuit of terrorists who refuse to accept the olive branch, Bouteflika gave the green light to the army to destroy all remaining Islamist militants. (D.Le Sueur,2010)

The amnesty law was rejected by the most ferocious terrorists, along with some leaders of the Islamic Salvation Front. All those who rejected the offer of the Algerian government, continued to strengthen the resistance to the regime as the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat, which had split from the Armed Islamic Group, waged a war against the national government. In response to the amnesty law, the number of terrorism-related deaths in 2000 rose to 5,000. (D.Le Sueur,2010)

This is what made President Abdelaziz Bouteflika order a crackdown on the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat and the Armed Islamic Group in September 2002, after the violent and dangerous abuses it had carried out during the last two years. It is the largest Algerian operation against armed Islamists in five years, to start a new stage in Confronting terrorism coincided with the beginning of the global war on terrorism. (D.Le Sueur,2010)

## **The Role Of US in 1990s in Algeria:**

The American point of view on what happened in Algeria in the 1990s was affected by the nature of the Algerian-American relationship in the past and during that period. In addition to its good ties with Algeria, Cuba and the Soviet Union, and its foreign policy through its participation in many regional and international organizations, for example, the Non-Aligned Movement during the Cold War period. Even with all these differences, some American politicians believe that foreign policy should be pragmatic in its dealings with Algeria in order to protect the beneficial economic relations of the two countries, especially with regard to the energy sector. Therefore, in the late eighties, the Reagan and Bush administrations sought to improve the nature of Algerian-American relations, however there was no clear US political influence in Algeria, not even in the democratic transition that took place in 1991-1989. (H.Zoubir&Bouandel,1998)

But in that period, the American interaction with what is happening in Algeria changed through 3 contradictory phases and led to the return of various divisions expressing the viewpoint of American politicians about Islamism in Algeria:

**First, US played the role of the silent observer;** The reaction of the United States of America to the emergence of political Islam in the Algerian political arena, until the cancellation of the second round of legislative elections, was concern about the recurrence of the Iranian revolution in 1979 or that the Islamic advance would extend to threaten American interests in the region, but all this was without any official statements. About what happened because the US foreign policy focused on the events in Eastern Europe and the Middle East, and the Algerian and American relations did not include cooperation in the political and

military aspects, although some politicians believe that it is necessary to verify the actuality of what the Islamists are planning in the region. (H.Zoubir&Bouandel,1998)

**As for the second phase; there were attempts to calm the situation between the regime and the Islamic movements** After the importance of Algeria in US foreign policy increased due to the rise of political Islam. The possibility of Islamists coming to power before the 1992 elections were canceled was almost certain, according to American political views. Therefore, some US officials were in constant contact with the leaders of the Islamic Salvation Front. Because they believe that the rise of Islam in Islamic societies is an inevitable fact, and since it is a moderate Islam and not extremist, they do not see that it constitutes any clear threat to the West or democracy. At the same time, the American politician rejected the cancellation of the elections in 1992 and opposed the so-called “eradication” policy pursued by the regime by banning the Islamic Salvation Front, and explicitly urged the regime to try to contact moderate Islamists. Because American politicians thought that the Islamic Salvation Army was pursuing a more liberal economic program than the regime's, but in fact both programs were almost similar. (H.Zoubi& Bouandel,1998)

Because the United States of America did not see any clear danger, so it followed a peaceful policy. Robert H. Pelletreau - Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs in his speech at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York on May 8, 1996 - explained that when he referred to the policy followed by the United States of America in dealing with any political Islamic activity: “Our approach has two major principles:

- First, we have no one-size-fits-all policy toward Islam. In fact, we don't even have a policy pigeonhole called "political Islam."

- Second, Islamic political activism becomes a factor for us only when it impinges on a specific U.S. foreign policy goal or interest.” (Pelletreau, 1996)

**The third phase was marked by a clear change in the policy of the United States of America towards Algeria**, as a result of the growing concern on the part of America and even its allies in Europe, as well as NATO, when the former head of NATO, Willie Claes, declared in early 1995 that “Islamic fundamentalism” represented As great a threat to the West as communism was in the past.” This concern is caused by the increase in violence in Algeria after the disintegration of the Islamic movement and the emergence of extremist armed Islamic groups, or in another term, "terrorism", which began after the assassination of President Mohamed Boudiaf in June 1992. Because they do not agree and differ in their opinions. (H.Zoubir&Bouandel,1998)

What made matters worse was the increase in bloody conflicts and daily clashes between the Algerian army and the armed rebels, among whom were members of the Islamic Salvation Front. Because of this, US officials were concerned about the idea of a domino cut that begins in Algeria through the control of extremist Islam on the country, and may affect US allies in the Middle East such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Morocco and in North Africa such as Morocco and Tunisia. This will threaten its interests in the region, for example: Egypt could follow Algeria in a fundamentalist revolution or coup, and thus the Arab-Israeli peace process would be canceled. (G.Shirley,1995)

The situation continued until the mid-nineties after the Sant'Egidio platform was held on January 13, 1995 in Rome, by seven Algerian opposition parties, including the Islamic Salvation Front, in order to discuss a plan to end the civil war and contribute to national reconciliation, and after the people elected Amin Zeroual as president. For the country in

November 1995, the American policy expressed these elections as a successful step for the regime in providing the legitimacy that it had previously been convicted of violating, and President Zeroual by developing a new policy for the prevailing situation at that time was able to convince the United States of America to continue the regime firmly, this is what made the United States of America resort To the policy of 'positive conditionality' by supporting the regime as long as it also contributes to the path of national reconciliation and expands political reforms. It also supported the political parties with the regime to hold a second Sant'Egidio platform to confirm attempts to reach a peaceful solution away from violence. (Darbouche&H. Zoubir,2009)

As for the economic aspect of supporting US policy, the United States of America helped Algeria carry out economic reforms and also helped reschedule Algeria's public debt, considering it a party to international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. (Darbouche&H. Zoubir,2009)

From the mid-nineties until the new millennium, several factors contributed to changing the American perspective on Algeria, despite the violent events inside it, but some reassurance prevailed in the American-Algerian relationship after ensuring that extremist Islam did not reach power, for example, the pragmatic moderation in Algerian foreign policy, especially in Its participation in the Islamic Makers Summit in 1996 in Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt, and its international cooperation against terrorism, in addition to economic cooperation in oil projects. (Darbouche&H. Zoubir,2009)

After the election of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika in April 1999, who introduced a system that encourages market reforms, freedom of the press, and the integration of moderate Islamists into the political process, and launched a national reconciliation plan in addition to

the Civil Harmony Law, Algeria became internationally credible in the global war against terrorism alongside the United States of America. (Darbouche&H.Zoubir,2009)

**Chapter two:**  
**The Algerian American Cooperation In The  
Global War Of Terrorism**

## **The 9/11 And The Global War On Terrorism**

### **Introduction**

After a long conflict in the Cold War against the Soviet Union, in which foreign relations became active to destroy communism and spread its capitalist ideology and impose the American presence in the world by interfering in local and regional conflicts, preparing to reduce risks that threaten international peace such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the increasing threat of terrorism in the world Especially in Islamic countries. What made matters worse were the political crises faced by some Islamic countries, such as Iran, Afghanistan, Iraq and Algeria. Where did the United States of America take upon itself the responsibility of maintaining peace by fighting terrorism and fanatical political fundamentalism, yet it did not take any official step until the beginning of the twenty-first century, specifically after the attacks of September 11, 2001

### **The Events of 9/11**

The events of September 11, 2001 are the deadliest series of suicide operations on American soil, carried out by armed men who hijacked planes and changed their course to crash into the World Trade Center and Pentagon in New York and Washington, DC. Bin Laden claimed full responsibility for the attacks. Thus, Al-Qaeda became known to the world after it was an unknown organization. (Peter,2022)

Although the organization was involved in many terrorist operations against America in the past, the atrocity of these attacks inflamed American anger to an extreme degree, so the United States of America began its global war, not only against Al-Qaeda, but against

international terrorism and the extremist fundamentalist policy around the world with the help of its allies, especially the group NATO. (Peter,2022)

### **The Global War On Terrorism**

The September 11 attacks had caused so many human and material losses that the United States of America had never faced a more violent one. However, it benefited greatly from it to gain international support in its war against terrorism. Moreover, it has become the center of the fight against international terrorism. Its foreign policy methods have changed after these attacks to suit its new role in this war, as the Bush administration has confronted the terrorist threat by adopting new strategies to help it in its mission, such as: combating terrorism from its roots from By focusing on every terrorist group with a global reach, especially al-Qaeda and its supporters, people, states and governments, where according to US policy they are accused of providing aid and a safe haven for terrorism. Even if no country supported them, but also did not help in eliminating them, the United States of America considered it an enemy as well, such as the Taliban, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, or even Pakistan, which in the beginning supported the Taliban regime, which helps al-Qaeda, and according to the policy of "with us or Against us" approved by President Bush in his speech before a joint session of Congress on September 20, 2001. Pakistan had to take the decision to cooperate with the United States of America against the Taliban or consider a country hostile to it, and by choosing the first option, Pakistan became the most important ally of the United States of America in its campaign Against terrorism, especially in the war against Afghanistan.(Hastings Dunn,2005)

Among the most important diplomatic, financial and military measures and means taken by the United States of America to achieve its goal of eliminating international terrorism and establishing democracy:

Traditional law enforcement agencies on an international scale and US intelligence agencies such as the FBI and CSI have been developed and reoriented worldwide toward the priority of a new threat. Because the intelligence work is the most important means in the war, the United States of America resorted to intelligence cooperation with the intelligence of countries of the world such as the Russian intelligence and ISI. (Hastings Dunn,2005)

Re-evaluate its relations with many countries according to what helps them in this battle, so that some of their relations have turned from enmity to an alliance according to the principle of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend", most notably Russia and China, despite what happened between them in the Cold War. As for the Islamic Arab countries in the Middle East and North Africa, they have tried to strengthen their relations a lot to gain their support in their war against terrorism and the governments that support them, for example: Iraq, because it is one of the rogue countries that sought to acquire weapons of mass destruction only from the American perspective, as it falls under the concept of Terrorism, especially after (Saddam Hussein) launched ballistic missiles against Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Israel and Iran. This is in addition to his support for what al-Qaeda has done. Therefore, according to United Nations Resolution No. 1441, the Americans created the diplomatic argument to eliminate Saddam Hussein's regime in the spring of 2003. (Hastings Dunn,2005)

Dismantling the financial aspect of al-Qaeda's terrorist operations by freezing the assets of groups and individuals suspected of involvement. And ban any companies or charities controlled by or linked to the Bin Laden Organization. (Hastings Dunn,2005)

The United States also announced the signing of two international agreements, one of which is designed to set international standards for freezing financial assets. also the US Senate discussed the United Nations Convention on the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. (M.Cutler,2001)

Militarily: Washington decided to prepare for the first continuous military campaign against terrorism after only 24 hours of the attacks, so all the forces owned by the United States of America were recruited from the Army and Army Rangers, Delta Commandos, and Navy Seals, in addition to the war mechanisms through the Army and Navy. ground units, Navy carriers and cruisers, Air Force bombers, . For example, the Ministry of Defense ordered warships and combat aircraft to penetrate into the Persian Gulf region, and the plan was focused on Afghanistan as a first target, and then spread to other regions that, according to its information, have a relationship with al-Qaeda and bin Laden, such as Iraq, Lebanon, Sudan and the Central Asian countries of the former Soviet Union. (Klare,2001)

So the military offensive was carried out in three stages:

- First, by conducting focused raids by helicopter-mounted commandos on terrorist facilities and suspected camps in Afghanistan believed to house associates of Osama bin Laden, and air and missile attacks on Taliban political and military infrastructure such as communications equipment and weapons caches. (Klare,2001)
- Secondly, The geographic scope of attacks outside Afghanistan has shifted, focusing on facilities used by paramilitary groups linked to bin Laden in other countries. Commando raids and missile strikes have attacked suspected terrorist camps such as Wadi al-Baka in Lebanon, Sudan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. (Klare,2001)

- Third, other attacks have been carried out on Iraq and other countries that harbor or support terrorists. The conflict is very similar to previous competitions, such as the Persian Gulf War of 1990-1991. It was continuous air and missile attacks on Iraqi military facilities, Saddam Hussein's residences and offices, and any facilities believed to be used to manufacture chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons. In addition to attacks on other governments that refuse to cooperate with the United States in eliminating suspected terrorist camps located in their territories. Such as the Islamic government of Sudan, which in the past was associated with bin Laden's organization. (Klare,2001)

### **The US an Algerian Cooperation in The global War on Terrorism:**

As mentioned previously, after the events of September 2001, the United States of America changed the nature of its relations with many countries in order to achieve its goal of deterring global terrorism. Algeria was among these countries, as relations between them improved after Algeria joined the global coalition against terrorism led by the United States of America. This is due to the experiences that Algeria had in combating terrorism in the 1990s and without any outside interference to help it. Therefore, the United States of America relies on Algeria in its war against terrorism as a strategic partner in the North African region. In addition to the responsibilities carried out by Algeria in maintaining security on its borders with the countries of the Arab Maghreb, as well as securing vital areas such as the Sahel and the Sahara. (ZOUBIR,2011)

All these advantages have earned Algeria the confidence of the United States of America. According to Algeria's policy in the fight against terrorism, its proposal was implemented through the United Nations Anti-Terrorism Resolution in the United Nations

Security Council on December 17, 2009, which criminalizes paying ransoms to hostage-takers who use ransoms to finance terrorist activities (which was previously pursued by Algeria). The United States has expressed its great support for this initiative. (ZOUBIR,2011)

The multiplicity of forms of cooperation between the two countries in this war, where the Algerian security services and the Algerian Central Intelligence Agency cooperated with American intelligence agencies such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency, in information exchange programs where a list of hundreds of wanted persons was presented to Washington They fled to Europe and the United States of America via the "Coalition Base", which aims to identify and eliminate terrorists. (ZOUBIR,2011)

US President George W. Bush invited Bouteflika to come to Washington again on November 5, 2001. In order to strengthen his international alliance by involving the largest possible number of Arab and Islamic countries, the visit to Washington is a golden opportunity for the Algerian regime to improve its image and seek commercial investment. The United States also tried to assisting Algeria economically, and perhaps converting its debts into investments to restore stability and mitigate one of the sources of political extremism as part of the strategies of the war against terrorism. In addition, the United States will provide Algeria with certain types of weapons to combat terrorism as a reward for Algeria's cooperation with the United States in the war on terrorism. ( Zoubir,2004)

On the military side, the US Special Forces supported the anti-terror operations carried out by the Algerian National Army in the Sahel region in May and June 2009, by stopping drug and weapons smuggling networks in southern Algeria, because the Sahel region, according to the American opinion, is considered the center of international danger

because it contains about 600 local and international terrorists, including the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat, the most active of these groups, which took the name Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) in early 2007. (ZOUBIR,2011)

Therefore, due to the severity of the region's danger, the United States of America focused on establishing more security partnerships with African countries and tried to establish a special military base in Africa (although this proposal was rejected by the African countries). (ZOUBIR,2011)

## **Approaches Of US-Algerian Cooperation In The Region:**

### **Introduction**

With American support, Algeria assumed a great responsibility in maintaining security in the African Sahel region, because it shares with it long borders that threaten Algeria's security if breached. In addition, the United States is concerned with its economic interests, such as the recently discovered energy resources in the Sahel countries, as is the case with Algeria. In order to know the security issues of the Sahel region, a geographical definition of the region must first be established.

### **The Sahel Region:**

#### **The geographical background of Sahel:**

The Sahel is a transitional geographical area in North Africa located between the Sahara and the savannah region, extending from the Atlantic coast of Mauritania in the west to the Eritrean Red Sea and Senegal in the east, across an area of 3670 miles or 3053200 square kilometers. This area includes: Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria, Chad, a small part of southern Algeria, Sudan, and Eritrea. It is a semi-arid and sparsely populated steppe region due to the hot and harsh climate that ranges between 65-94 degrees Fahrenheit, and the sparse rainfall is about 6-20 inches of rain per year. (Ferguson&Helmer,2022)

## **The Causes of Security Instability In The Sahel :**

### **Environmentally:**

The harsh climate due to the high temperatures and the scarcity of rain, which resulted in the drying out and the waste of arable land to become barren. And the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations reported that nearly 80% of the area's land has been degraded. Which results in the spread of poverty in the countries located in the Sahel region and their inability to achieve food for the nation, and it may reach a mass famine. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

### **Economically**

As a result of the unfavorable environment and climate, the countries of the region were characterized by the prevailing poverty and fragility of the economy in addition to the lack of economic development. According to the statistics of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development for the year 2009, the GDP of Chad was estimated at 8.914 million dollars, Sudan at 68.530 million dollars, and Mali at about \$8.273 million, Niger about \$4.905 million, Mauritania about \$3.201 million, Senegal about \$13.333 million, and Burkina Faso with about \$8.431 million. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

The agricultural sector in the Sahel is also largely underdeveloped and is characterized by low use of external inputs such as seeds and fertilizers, almost total dependence on a few months of rainfall annually, lack of good mechanization and poor relations with international markets. Which caused huge losses in livestock, loss of human lives due to hunger, as well as the shattered economies of the countries of the region have

been severely affected by the drought that the region witnessed for years. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

### **Politically:**

The deteriorating economic aspect of any country negatively affects the political aspect. Likewise, the Sahel countries, due to their poor economic conditions, suffer from poor governance, where corruption and nepotism are prevalent and undermine public confidence in state institutions and raise fundamental concerns about the issue of legitimacy. While the functions of government departments are performed by non-governmental figures such as local chiefs, tribal leaders, traditional tribal organizations and even international aid groups, they fulfill the roles that governments should normally play. (Çonkar,2020)

In addition to ethnic conflicts, violent electoral processes and frequent unconstitutional changes of government, they are direct results of weak parliaments, lack of institutional political dialogue, and fragility of judicial systems. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

The negative colonial legacy is also not insignificant. The colonial movements that all countries suffered are the specific reasons behind weak governance and political instability. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

### **Socially:**

The high demographics compared to what the economic aspect can provide to the peoples in the Sahel, where the population of the five Sahel countries (Chad, Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso and Mauritania) increased from 135 million in 2015. The average fertility rate is 5 children per woman, and this ratio rises to 7 children in Niger. The average age in the Sahel region is 16 years in 2020. (Çonkar,2020)

With such a large population, it is difficult to find work for them. Young people, who represent the largest segment of the population in all countries of the Sahel, resort to finding informal work in urban areas, engaging in subsistence farming or emigrating. (Çonkar,2020)

This is without forgetting that most of the population lacks proper education and good health care. All this makes them marginalized in their countries and vulnerable to the temptations of violent extremist groups. (Çonkar,2020)

### **The Unstable Security Situation in the Sahel Region:**

As a result of all the despicable conditions in all fields in the Sahel region, it is difficult to stabilize the security of the region due to the increase in terrorist activities, which are considered serious challenges in attempts to maintain security in the region. It is a source of security threats that must be suppressed. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

These threats are represented by the proliferation of transnational armed extremist terrorist groups such as the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa, Boko Haram, Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb and organized crime including kidnappings for ransom and arms smuggling - according to UN reports, 30 to 40% of the world's drug smuggling through this region-, human and drug trafficking. Today, the Sahel is the second largest black market for the arms trade. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

All these organized crimes committed by terrorist groups represent Egypt for the illegal gain, which may help in providing attractive wages for young people who suffer from poverty, unemployment and political and social marginalization in their country, so violence in the name of jihad becomes an alternative to the work that young people and their families

need. This is in addition To the flourishing of these extremist groups will be countries in which the government is absent from meeting the interests of the people. (Çonkar,2020)

### **The US Presence On the Sahel:**

Because of its great responsibilities in its war against global terrorism after September 11, 2001, the United States of America has increased its security, diplomatic and intelligence measures in all parts of the world. In Africa and the Sahel in particular, the African Command AFRICOM was established in 2007 under the American administration in Camp Lemonnier in Djibouti, to fight armed groups. The American presence in AFRICOM reached about 7,200 personnel by the end of 2018, and 1,000 military personnel in Nigeria, Niger and Mali. (Çonkar,2020)

Using advanced technology against difficult desert terrain, the US Army began transferring its operation with drones from Niamey to Agadez (Niger) in 2019, where it built its so-called Air Base 201, which is the largest US Air Force body in the region. (Çonkar,2020)

### **The Most Important Terrorist Activities In The Sahel:**

The Sahel region is full of conflicts, disputes and terrorist attacks. For example, the Islamic State in the Greater Sahara (ISGS) has been active in western Niger since 2015. ISGS fighters have increasingly sought to seek refuge across the border to the south and began recruiting fighters in Benin, Ivory Coast and Togo. In 2017, four US Special Forces personnel and five Nigerian soldiers were killed in an ISGS ambush. (Çonkar,2020)

But the most important security issues that occurred in the Sahel is the crisis of Mali ,because it is a country full of conflicts from the armed Tuareg movements against the central

government . as result of the political and economic repercussions in the country. Especially after the 2012 crisis, when extremist armed groups merged with the separatist Tuareg movements in northern Mali. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

### **The Mali Crisis in 2012:**

This crisis has exacerbated due to several reasons, such as political turmoil and the low economic situation, as is the case with the rest of the Sahel countries that suffer from drought waves. This is in addition to the ethnic diversity that is characterized by the food group of each group towards the other, which also causes social disparities between them (the north is angry towards the central government in the south. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

That is why this crisis started from January 2012 when extremist armed groups linked to Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb with the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJWA) and Ansar Dine, spread in the main cities of northern Mali and attacked the strategic positions of the army. After the success of these attacks and the control of northern Mali, these armed groups began to infiltrate into central Mali at the beginning of 2013, and were also able to control the army's centers in Sevare, near the capital of Mali "Bamako", which foreshadowed the country's complete fall, and this will affect negatively. Like a domino effect on neighboring countries in the Sahel. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

### **French military intervention in Mali:**

In January 2013, with the support of the United States of America and the European Union, especially the United Kingdom, France launched air strikes and ground operations in northern Mali (Operation Serval 2013) against the rebels with the aim of dispersing and weakening them after they managed to penetrate south and defeat the Malian army in Kona.

And Paris confirmed the legitimacy of its attack that it was at the request of the state of Mali to help it provide protection and security and prevent the capital from falling into the hands of armed groups. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

France has had an important entity in the region for decades, because Africa has been a French area of influence for many years and still maintains stronger economic, political and military relations with the regimes of its former colonies, in order to protect its economic interests in the continent such as French economic investments, especially that the Nigerian uranium mines located Close to the Mali border provides the main needs of French nuclear power plants. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

Operation SERVAL officially ended on July 15, 2014, and was replaced by Operation BARKHANE, which Paris launched again on August 1, 2014 to fight extremist groups that have scattered and spread in the Sahel region. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

### **Algeria's Role in the Mali Crisis:**

The Mali crisis is a major challenge to the Algerian diplomacy and security, as it shares the same borders in the south. It is also considered the first regional mediator in any diplomatic issues in the continent of Africa as a result of its high military capabilities, as it has battle-tested security forces with combat experience in combating terrorism. Therefore, Algeria played an important role in the Mali crisis, as the Algerian state was the main mediator and guarantor of previous peace agreements in northern Mali, especially since 1991, when the Algerian mediation succeeded in convincing the opposition forces of the Popular Movement in Azawad and the Islamic Arab Front in Azawad (FIAA) to sign to an agreement in Tamanrasset with the Mali government. Also The Algerian diplomacy succeeded in

persuading all parties to the conflict to enter into negotiations that were held in the country's capital and ended with the signing of the Algiers Peace Agreement in 2006. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

After the 2012 crisis, Algiers succeeded in creating a framework of convergence of views between Ansar Dine and the Azawad Liberation Movement, the two main Tuareg parties in the north, who agreed to sign an agreement in Algiers on December 21, 2012. This is a very important step that will help find a comprehensive political solution between the Malian government and the rebel groups. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

In the first, all of Algeria's attempts were diplomatic only, according to the constitutional principles in Algeria, which stipulate the rejection of foreign armed intervention in the region, and the army is not allowed to participate in operations outside the country. Therefore, Algeria resisted all military interventions from countries that counted the internal situation of Mali. According to the Algerian perspective, the quick resort to the military operation and the exclusion of Paris (French intervention) only exacerbated the risks of terrorism expansion in the entire region. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

However, due to the escalation of terrorism in the region, Algeria finally agreed in 2013 to form international military forces that include Niger, Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso and Algeria, where they issued official orders for “hot pursuit of cross-border terrorist groups” led by France to intervene in Mali to confront armed groups Extremism that was controlling the northern part of the country. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

Algeria's diplomatic attempts to resolve the crisis continued until 2015, when it urged the conflicting parties such as the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad

(MNLA) and supporters of Ansar Dine, which will participate in negotiations with the central government to sign a peace agreement in Algeria in May and June 2015 after seven months of negotiations between the central government and between the various northern Tuareg movements. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

The peace process took place under the auspices of the mediation led by Algeria and with the support of a number of international partners. The Algiers Agreement addresses a number of issues that determine Mali's future. The agreement also commits signatories to the continuation of a united and secular Malian state, setting aside any previous demands for independence, autonomy, or federalism. In addition to establishing a common understanding of the term Azawad, the Tuareg name for the three northern regions of Mali. The Algiers Agreement also includes the agreement's monitoring system and covers substantive topics on which the principles and foundations of sustainable conflict resolution will be built, namely: political and institutional affairs; Defense and security. (TandoĜan&Bouacha,2017)

### **US's Role in the Mali Crisis:**

Algeria urged the international community to support Mali's cause in maintaining peace and security in the region. On the other hand, the US State Department supported the regional efforts led by Algeria, where the United States focuses on strengthening political reforms in Bamako first, before undertaking any military intervention in Mali. (Boukhars,2012)

But as the crisis dragged on, the United States became more concerned about the ability of al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb to influence northern Mali to destabilize its neighbors in the Sahel and the fragile new democracies of North Africa. Because Terrorism is

a global threat, not just a regional one, So, US intensified its counter-terrorism training and military assistance to the countries most threatened by chaos in Mali. For example, in July, Mauritania was given nearly \$7 million worth of military equipment (trucks, uniforms, and communications equipment), while Niger received two military transport aircraft to conduct surveillance operations worth \$11.6 million. This is in addition to "a series of secret intelligence missions that the United States is already conducting, including the use of aircraft to conduct reconnaissance flights and to monitor communications over the Sahara and the arid region in the south, known as the Sahel." (Boukhars,2012)

The United States of America also participated in France in military exercises in Mali with its allies in West Africa (Senegal, Burkina Faso, Guinea and Gambia). State Department spokeswoman Victoria Nuland said the United States is currently trying to work with ECOWAS "to develop a more robust peacekeeping plan with Mali's new interim government that will secure the capital and advance northward." (Boukhars,2012)

## **Aspects of American-Algerian Cooperation Out Of The War of Terrorism and Its Impact on The Future Relationship:**

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, a series of rapprochements began between the two countries, supported by the improvement of their relations within the war against terrorism, and the fields of cooperation have multiplied, such as the economy and education, although the relationship between them was almost cut previously until these rapprochements paved the way for a wide range of future agreements and treaties.

### **Economic Convergence from 2001 to 2021:**

With a well-thought-out policy that suits the new difficulties facing both economies in the new era, the two countries tended to sign several economic agreements that would facilitate the trade foundations for both the United States of America and Algeria, including The Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) in July 2001 aimed at consultative measures regarding bilateral investments between the two countries. It also aims to grant commercial advantages in the field of hydrocarbons, specifically by allowing American companies to obtain more pebbles from the Algerian oil market, so that the United States of America will be the largest investor in this field, as trade between Algeria and the United States amounted to 22 billion dollars in 2008. As Algeria is the third largest An oil producer in Africa after Libya and Nigeria with 12.2 billion barrels of proven oil reserves. It has easily lured American investors from the more concessions being offered to Algeria's economy.(Zoubir,2009)

American investments in Algeria did not focus only in the hydrocarbon sector, but also specialized in development sectors related to aviation, transportation, and public works,

such as the 1,200-kilometer-long highway between east and west, and the subway in Algiers, in addition to desalinating seawater and underground water resources. However, these investments faced many obstacles that limited the double capitalization of both countries, such as economic taxes and slow customs procedures, and concluded with the corruption that characterized Algerian politics during 20 years. Nevertheless, Algeria will remain for the foreseeable future a strategic market for the United States. (Zoubir,2011)

Until today, 190 American companies of different sizes are operating in Algeria, and the best example of this is the year 2014 at the Algiers International Fair, where the United States was the guest of honor, with the participation of 81 companies.

Then as new economic reforms Algeria and the United States signed the Foreign Account Tax Compliance Act (FATCA) in Algiers on October 19, 2015.

While the most important investments in the future are in the field of pharmaceuticals, as the "Algeria Vision 2020" project, which aims to innovate in the field of pharmaceutical products, is an important opportunity for partnership between the two countries in the field of biotechnologies that would cover Algeria's needs for medicines.(algerianembassy.com,)

## **Conclusion**

In the new era of combating terrorism, the US foreign policy has changed its principles in many of its international relations, especially the Islamic and Arab countries, which adopt a misunderstanding towards linking Islam with terrorism, resulting in ideas offensive to Islamists called Islamophobia, and given the presence of armed fundamentalist Islamic groups in abundance in Africa It changed its view of many countries, the first of which is Algeria, after it suffered from the scourge of the civil war in the 1990s, and at that time the United States of America was worried that Algeria would become the new home of transnational terrorism after Afghanistan and Al-Qaeda. This crisis and its application of democracy made the United States of America reconsider its relations with it, especially after its solidarity with it after what happened on September 11, 2001. The goal here is to note what has been learned about the extent to which the American-Algerian relationship has changed after Algeria's participation in the war against global terrorism.

This research at first, attempts to trace the Algerian-American relationship through history, from the first treaty between them in 1795 until the 1990s crisis, and the reasons that made fluctuations prevalent in the nature of this relationship. The first chapter also investigates the sources of American concerns about Algeria by tracing the roots of the radicalism that prevailed in the Algerian political arena after 1988, and how the Algerian civil war began and how it ended. As for the second chapter, it was shown how the relationship changed after September 11, 2001, and how cooperation between the two countries in the Sahel region was shown, as an example of the state of Mali.

The important result in this research is the extent to which this cooperation has reached, which has benefited the two countries, especially in the economic field.

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