

*Algeria as Peacemaker in Africa a Bercovitch and Galtungs Evidence Based Models
Analysis*

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Abstract: Mediation, particularly in Africa – a continent known for its complex and multifaceted conflicts – has become a major aspect of the foreign policy of powerful states. Algeria has emerged as a leading regional actor in peacemaking through its foreign policy, which is based on non-interference, dialogue, and peaceful means of resolving differences. This study uses an analytical framework that combines Jacob Bercovitch's mediation approach and Johan Galtung's peace approach, with the aim of assessing Algeria's peacemaking performance in Africa in terms of offering mediation and managing conflicts, the quality of peace achieved, and success in addressing the structural causes of conflict. This provides deeper insight, allowing for an understanding of what Algeria is, what it is not capable of being, and how feasible its role can be.

Keywords: Algeria, peacemaking efforts, conflict, Africa, peace, mediation.

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الجزائر كصانعة سلام في إفريقيا: تحليل نماذج قائمة على الأدلة *Bercovitch and Galtung* زليخة عليان

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ملخص: تعد الوساطة في النزاعات الدولية والإقليمية جانبا بارزا في السياسة الخارجية للدول التي لها وزن إقليمي خاصة في إفريقيا التي تتميز بنزاعات معقدة ومتعددة الأوجه. وفي هذا السياق برزت الجزائر كفاعل إقليمي مهم في صناعة السلام، استنادا على سياستها الخارجية التي تقوم على الحوار، عدم التدخل في الشؤون الداخلية للدول وكذا الحل السلمي للنزاعات. تتبنى هذه الدراسة إطارا تحليليا يجمع بين منهج جاكوب بيركوفيتش في الوساطة ومنهج يوهان غالتونج للسلام بهدف تقييم دور الجزائر في صنع السلام في إفريقيا من حيث قدرتها على الوساطة وإدارة النزاعات الإفريقية وكذا فعاليتها في معالجة الأسباب الهيكلية للنزاعات ومعالجة الأسباب الهيكلية للنزاعات وهذا مايتيح فهما اعمق لطبيعة دور الجائر وحدوده وإمكاناته.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الجزائر، صناعة السلام، النزاع، إفريقيا، السلام، الوساطة..

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Introduction:

Although Algeria is not directly involved in African crisis management and stabilisation, it has played an important political and historical role as a revolutionary country with extensive experience of colonial rule on the continent. Consequently, Algeria has historically enjoyed a prominent political and diplomatic position, employing its diplomatic expertise and a balanced approach towards the positions of progressive actors and conflicting parties, with the aim of mediating conflicts between Africans. The Algerian state has laid the foundations for de-escalating conflicts across Africa, seeking to prevent the recurrence of violence on its borders. African states also turn to Algeria for mediation in political and diplomatic solutions, as well as for its efforts to resolve conflicts on the continent, which align with its ambitions for regional influence. This has made Algeria an important political and multi-dimensional security hub, providing it with strategic relations with neighbouring states and enabling it to act as an effective player in resolving various conflicts within the continent. Therefore, this article examines Algeria's peacemaking strategy in Africa and its regional neighbourhood at the start of the twenty-first century, as well as the challenges it faces in making peace. The present study employs an analytical framework derived from Jacob Bercovitch (mediation approach) and Johan Galtung (peace approach) to analyse Algeria's contributions as a peacemaking country in Africa, assessing its capacity to mediate and negotiate conflicts, the nature of the peace it helps to shape, and its approaches to resolving the structural causes of conflicts.

1. Theoretical framework:

The study examines Algeria's initiatives in peacemaking in Africa and uses theoretical models to analyse the various forms and levels of Algeria's peacemaking efforts on the continent. This will be achieved by using two main theoretical models: the Bercovitch model of mediation and the Galtung model. The Bercovitch model of international mediation enables the classification of mediation, identification of intervention type, and definition of tools used in the mediation process. In contrast, the Galtung model of peacemaking provides analytical tools for evaluating

the success of mediation by addressing root causes and building a peace that extends beyond mere passive peace. These two models were chosen for their capacity to offer a systematic framework linking the classification of mediation with the evaluation of its impact on achieving sustainable peace.

Bercovitch's model is considered one of the fundamental frameworks in the study of mediation and the theoretical development of this field, although it has faced criticism (Bercovitch's model, 2011). It offers a clear structure for categorising mediation and understanding the actions of mediators and the means by which they operate. The three levels of mediation focus on the extent of a mediator's involvement during negotiations (Bercovitch & Lee, 2003). The first is facilitative mediation, in which the mediator provides venues for discussion and facilitates communication among conflicting parties without imposing solutions or making direct proposals (Bercovitch, 2009). This approach aims to build trust and encourage parties to exchange views, creating an environment conducive to bridging positions and restoring lost channels of communication (Bercovitch & Houston, 1993). The second is procedural mediation, where the mediator proposes action-oriented solutions and actively participates in crafting those solutions while maintaining neutrality (Bercovitch, 1992). Here, the mediator not only facilitates communication but also manages the negotiation process and guides parties towards feasible settlements (Elliott, 1999). The third is coercive mediation, in which the mediator exerts direct pressure (Hedeen, 2005) on both sides to adopt a specific resolution (Lui, Ngo & Hon, 2006). This type of mediation is generally reserved for cases where conflicts are chronically escalated or where traditional mediation techniques have failed to achieve progress (Touval, 1996). Coercive mediation enables analysis of the strategic rationale behind Algeria's involvement in conflict, particularly in situations where local and global interests clash. In summary, Bercovitch's model provides a methodological framework for addressing the question of mediation: where different types and levels of Algerian intervention can be located; at which level such interventions might or might not impact any given party to the conflict; and how the

characterisation of mediation is inseparable from its potential practical outcomes. This lays the groundwork for later examining mediation through Galtung's peacemaking model, and how the two models may interrelate to shed light on Algeria's broader regional role.

The leading framework in peace studies and sustainable conflict resolution is the Galtung model (Galtung, 2010). It draws a clear distinction between negative peace and positive peace. Negative peace is the absence of direct violence (Galtung, 1969), while positive peace involves addressing the structural causes of conflict – economic, political, and social inequities – and establishing robust, resilient structures to sustain peaceful coexistence and provide solutions to intractable problems for years to come (Grewal, 2003). This model allows for the measurement of mediation effectiveness not only in terms of reducing conflict but also in addressing root causes and ensuring durable solutions for the parties. Key elements of sustainable peacebuilding under the Galtung model include addressing trust between conflicting parties (Cravo, 2018), justice and accountability, inclusion of civil society, and the establishment of institutions of good governance. Additionally, the model approaches conflict analysis as a multifaceted process that incorporates cultural, societal, and political factors affecting the durability of solutions (Warnecke & Franke, 2010). This is especially relevant in the context of the complex sectarian, ethnic, and political tensions affecting many Middle Eastern conflicts, where these factors are central to either the continuation of conflict or the success of mediation.

However, combining the Bercovitch and Galtung models offers a robust methodological tool for researching Algerian mediation on the African continent. It integrates mediation typology – combining degree of intervention and techniques – with the evaluation of effective peace and root causes analysis (RCA). In the Bercovitch model, mediation may be facilitative, directive, or coercive, and in the Galtung model, mediation outcomes are evaluated according to whether they lead to structural change and potentially sustainable peace. This integration allows researchers to move beyond simply documenting Algerian mediation; they can examine how the form of mediation correlates with its success

rate, both in addressing the causes of conflict and in terms of its durability.

The study recognises that Algerian diplomacy is one case of mediation – the one used as mediator in the cases studied – and examines its identity aspects according to the theoretical assumptions presented by Bercovitch and Galtung, to understand the role mediation power can play. Thus, understanding the essence of this diplomacy along political and historical lines, and in terms of its external action mechanisms, forms an essential basis for analysing Algeria's approach to regional and international conflicts through mediation tools, as well as assessing whether these practices are consistent with the theoretical framework established for this study.

2. The normative foundations of Algerian diplomacy

Algeria's significant regional position (Boukhars, 2019) arises from a range of geopolitical and strategic factors that have enabled it to exert considerable influence within its African and Mediterranean context (Brown, 2022). Its status as the largest nation in Africa (Himri, 2022) provides a structural foundation for what may be termed geopolitical capital (Bourzak, 2025), particularly as it links sub-Saharan Africa to the Mediterranean basin and the Arab world. Historically, this position has placed Algeria at the centre of regional security dynamics, as it shares borders with both Maghreb and southern countries, making it a key actor in maintaining regional stability. This is reinforced by the country's strong economic and energy base. Algeria is a major oil and gas producer and exporter, which grants it significant leverage in regional and global energy markets and strengthens its negotiating position in international relations, where energy and geopolitical security are increasingly interdependent. Thus, this economic dimension cannot be separated from its diplomatic function, as it serves as a source of both soft and hard power.

Algeria's regional role is shaped by its history, deriving political legitimacy from national liberation (Mortimer, 1968), rooted in the lessons of the November Revolution. These principles underpin an anti-

colonial foreign policy and support for national liberation movements. This symbolic legacy has established Algeria's image as a champion of self-determination and opposition to hegemony, as demonstrated by the support for various liberation movements in Africa and globally (Kat, 2017).

Algerian foreign policy is based on firm principles: respect for national sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of states, peaceful conflict resolution, support for the right to self-determination, and support for all peoples engaged in anti-colonial struggle, while upholding the principle of non-alignment (Bouzidi, 2021). These principles are not viewed as merely abstract norms but as practical guides for Algerian diplomacy in its regional context, particularly through strengthening dialogue and cooperation mechanisms with neighbouring countries to reduce regional tensions (Maddy-Weitzman, 1991).

Algeria has prioritised peaceful conflict resolution, especially in Africa and the Sahel, through mediation and preventive diplomacy, while rejecting military solutions (Ait Abdelmalek, 2025). It has also upheld the principle of respecting colonial-era borders as a cornerstone of continental stability in Africa (Mujahedi, 2017). Therefore, this set of norms and practices should be seen not only as a normative order but also as an explanatory framework for Algeria's approach to regional conflicts. In this research, a case study of selected mediation initiatives will be used to test and empirically analyse this framework.

Thus, establishing the foundations of Algerian foreign policy and its geopolitical and historical determinants, particularly regarding its water channels, is a distinctive feature of Algeria's diplomatic activity at both regional and international levels, with mediation being one of the most prominent expressions. Accordingly, Algeria's mediation efforts can be understood as concrete manifestations of these principles, rooted in the peaceful resolution of conflicts and the promotion of stability in its neighbouring environment, with particular significance for their explicit application within Africa.

3. Analytical Section: Algerian Mediation considering the Bercovitch and Galtung Approaches

Following an assessment of the geopolitical, historical, and institutional factors influencing Algerian foreign policymaking, this study deconstructs the Algerian mediation model through the perspectives of both Bercovitch and Galtung. This approach is based on the idea that mediation is a complex process, contingent on regional environmental determinants, the characteristics of mediators, types of conflicts, and interaction patterns between conflicting parties. This allows an analysis that not only moves beyond the procedural level but also examines the logic of diplomatic action and its (im)potency.

The Bercovitch model serves as an analytical tool applicable to mediation as a mechanism for conflict resolution, guided by the diplomatic and political resources of the mediator, through which the mediator seeks to alter the decision-making processes of conflict parties and establish conditions for negotiation. In contrast, Galtung's model provides a means to move beyond procedure, focusing on the structural aspects that generate conflict. This involves reflecting on the type of peace mediation delivers and the extent to which it shifts from managing direct violence to addressing the underlying causes of conflict and establishing the potential for sustained stability.

3.1. Algerian mediation in the Ethiopian Eritrean conflict:

Algeria also played a leading role in several protracted humanitarian and territorial disputes, such as the Ethiopian-Eritrean conflict, which erupted in 1998 when fighting resumed over an area within the border region of Badme (Al Jazeera, 13 March 2025). Within a multilateral diplomatic framework, the UN Secretary-General appointed Mohamed Sahnoun as his envoy to support African mediation efforts to contain the crisis and initiate new negotiations between the two sides (Al-Safir, 26 April 1999).

This initiative reflected the multiple militarised tensions in the region, as well as Algeria's efforts to create conditions for de-escalation and confidence-building between countries. In 1999, at an OAU summit

held in Algiers, a new agreement was proposed to withdraw forces from disputed areas (Strategic Thinking Group, 2011). When fighting resumed in 2000, multilateral diplomatic engagement expanded further, with Algeria again seeking to bridge the gap between the parties. This led to the signing of a ceasefire and peace agreement on 18 June 2000, with the assistance of the African Union, United States, and European Union (Al Jazeera, 12 December 2000). The peace accord formally ended the war over the border and provided a crucial basis for peaceful relations between Eritrea and Ethiopia. With international support, mechanisms for demarcating their common border were prioritised, while reiterating points regarding sovereignty and territorial integrity for both states (UN 2025).

Such mediation confirmed Algeria's image as an essential, neutral, and reliable diplomatic actor in addressing African conflicts in a multilateral context, aligning with its international ambitions based on the peaceful settlement of disputes and prioritising political solutions over military ones. Mediation, as Berkowitz notes, is an interactive process whose success depends on the characteristics of the conflict and the mediator, as well as both regional and international contexts. Algeria's role as mediator in the Ethiopian-Eritrean case exemplifies this; the conflict environment was marked by military escalation and regional and international interference in crisis management.

In this context, the appointment of Algerian ambassador Mohamed Sahnoun as Special Envoy in the UN-led process reflects "mediator acceptability", one of the core elements of the Berkowitz model. Algeria also drew upon its earlier diplomatic experience and its regional influence within the Organisation of African Unity to enhance the legitimacy of its mediation role. Additionally, the 1999 Summit in Algiers provided a diplomatic platform conducive to indirect political pressure on each party, particularly encouraging both sides to withdraw from the disputed territories. Berkowitz argued that the case also illustrates what he called a "multilateral mediation strategy." Algeria was not the only power involved; the process took place within a network involving the UN, African Union, and several international powers seeking to influence

negotiations. However, the renewed fighting in 2000 demonstrates the limitations of mediation, reinforcing one of diplomacy's most persistent axioms: the effectiveness of a mediator is dictated by the nature of the conflict and the balance of power.

As Galtung observed, to assess mediation, one must consider not only whether a ceasefire is achieved, but also whether the settlement addresses the structural roots of the conflict and generates "positive peace". In this context, Algerian mediation played a vital role in achieving a significant step towards "negative peace" through the 2000 ceasefire and the cessation of direct military clashes.

However, a deeper analysis of the situation, following Johan Galtung's conflict triangle, reveals that the settlement did not fully resolve the structural factors of the conflict, which relate to historical borders and political identities between the parties. While mediation contained the immediate violence, it did not establish processes or mechanisms to address the underlying causes of the conflict and ensure sustainable peace.

Thus, it is possible to argue that Algeria's role was more aligned with "conflict management" than "conflict transformation", highlighting a key limitation of traditional mediation within complex regional frameworks.

The case demonstrates that Algerian mediation was highly effective in de-escalating and managing multilateral negotiations, confirming Berkowitz's interpretation of "the role of the regionally acceptable mediator". On the other hand, Galtung would argue that the mediation resulted in procedural peace rather than sustainable structural peace, suggesting that mediation is potentially limited as a conflict resolution tool in Africa due to the complex nature of many conflicts.

3.2. Algerian Mediation in Mali Conflict:

Mali has been embroiled in a conflict with political, security and social cross-currents. Maryamsh & Kashouat (2022) This conflict is rooted in the early years of independence from 1960 when a new state struggled to

develop central institutions that could handle these geographical and ethnic challenges. Since then there has been a growing developmental and political imbalance in northern and southern Mali with the north lagging behind on development and struggling to integrate into the national state project.

Armed revolts began in 1963–1964 and were followed by ongoing *à la terre des vagues de révolte de l'autonomie et secouer* 免责声明 between 1990 and 1996, driven by l'obedeur de plus en plus croissante du nord Mali pour l'autonomie et des conditions de vie. Even if a set of peace agreements were signed during this time, they did not resolve the underlying causes of tension in the conflict (Kountaw, 2017). In the second decade of the millennium, around 2012, when a large-scale armed insurgency in northern Mali started at the same time as state institutions have been disrupted from Bamako onwards, I began to define how complex this crisis has become. This was followed by the local conflict being embroiled in proliferation of armed groups and extremist organisations, as they turned the regional threat that had taken place in the Sahel (Amine, M. (2023)).

After 2012, the crisis rose dramatically to include a multilateral armed rebellion in the north and relative collapse of state institutions (and thus internal stability) alongside an expanding geography and generalised increase in violence. With the military solutions proving to be ineffective and the existence of many armed groups, a political process became inescapable for managing this crisis (Benmelouka & Taibi, 2021). Within this framework, Algeria intervenes as an active regional mediator according to a foreign policy promoting the peaceful settlement of conflicts and decrying military solutions. It has acted as a key facilitator in bringing together representatives of the conflicting parties and fostering dialogue through hosting different negotiating rounds as co-organizer, while coordinating positions of the Malian government with armed groups. This helped narrow divides and set the stage for political consensus. This mediation process led, according to Bougaada and Tawfiq (2023), to the 2015 Algiers Agreement DNA, which offered a political

pathway addressing a large part of the conflict. It provided a framework for the inclusion of certain elements, reinforcing decentralization mechanisms and the strengthening of the national dialogue process.

In this way, Algerian mediation moved the conflict from military confrontation to negotiation and cemented Algeria's status as a regional crisis management actor in Africa's Sahel region.

Jacob Bercovitch's approach treats mediation as a process that is time dependent, process dependent and contextually bound (PC). Algeria's mediation in perhaps the world's most complex and protracted conflict in Mali, where one single regional mediator alone simply cannot tackle such a multi-actor challenge, does provide for another example of balance management on political and security fronts.

This framework demonstrates that Algeria was a highly suitable mediator due to its geographic proximity to the Sahel region, previous experience in resolving certain African conflicts, and diplomatic leverage within the AU. This hosting process also illustrates the ability of mediators to transition from a facilitating role to, as in the case of the Algiers Agreement process, a leading negotiating role described by Bercovitch (1996) as particularly well-suited for complex multi-party conflicts.

The best example in this context is that Algerian mediation adopted a strategy that opened both direct and multilateral negotiations, carefully balancing between the Malian executive and the armed groups in conflict, which enabled the continuation of negotiations in a fragile security context.

In comparison, Johan Galtung's model allows for a deeper evaluation of Algerian mediation based on the substantive nature of any peace achieved. In this sense, successful mediation is not marked solely by the cessation of violence, but by the transition from negative peace to positive peace after addressing the systematic drivers of conflict.

Algerian mediation made significant progress in controlling direct violence in Mali through the 2015 Algiers Agreement and initiating a

political process between the conflicting parties. However, analysing the outcome in terms of Galtung shows that structural issues such as state weakness, north-south developmental imbalances, and the proliferation of armed actors prevented this mediation from fundamentally restructuring the conflict. Thus, it could be argued that Algerian mediation achieved negative peace by halting further escalation and establishing channels of dialogue, but did not fully achieve positive peace, which requires reconstructing political and social relations on a firmer foundation.

The case of Mali illustrates that Algerian mediation demonstrated procedural effectiveness in negotiation management and political consensus building, consistent with Bercovitch's framework for analysing the mediator and the negotiation process. In contrast, Galtung's approach shows that this mediation was only able to contain violence, not address the underlying structural causes of the conflict, highlighting the gap between success as a political process and the achievement of sustainable peace through long-term structural transformation.

3.3. Algerian Mediation in Libyan crisis:

Amid the ongoing political crisis in Libya, several Libyan parties have called for Algeria to play a mediating role and contribute its considerable diplomatic capabilities. Since early March 2022, Algeria has hosted numerous delegations, including members of parliament and political leaders from various regions of Libya, representing different political and ideological currents (Maimoun, A. A. (2024)). In this context, Algeria's approach was based on the broad principle of including all Libyan parties in dialogue, except those identified as terrorist organisations by the UN (Abdelaziz, L. (2019)).

The dialogue process benefited from Algerian mediation efforts, which were welcomed by some international parties, particularly the USA and the EU. However, political realities on the ground in Libya once again undermined any chance for this dialogue option, as they proved more intractable than discriminatory mediation measures (Dalae W. 2015). The Libyan arena has been marked by a deep institutional schism between the Presidential Council, the House of Representatives, and the

State Council, as well as their respective relationships with the Government. This is compounded by extreme social fragmentation, a lack of common vision for the future state, and disputes over the distribution of sovereign positions. These factors have undermined prospects for achieving broad political consensus.

The proliferation of armed militias, terrorist groups, and organised crime networks has further challenged the mediation process. These entities lack specific legal status within the state, creating additional obstacles for negotiations. Moreover, national reconciliation is influenced by foreign interventions, with some internal actors aligned with external parties, while many local and international powers prefer to maintain instability for their own interests.

A core prerequisite for successful mediation is also missing: the maturity of the conflict and the realisation by at least one party of the confounding dilemma it faces and the inevitability of compromise if a stable political settlement is to be achieved.

Jacob Bercovitch's approach views mediation as an interactive process whose effectiveness depends on the type of conflict, the disposition and behavioural characteristics of mediators, the level of acceptability of mediators to both parties, and acceptance of the geographical and political environments in which the crisis exists. In the Libyan case, it is clear that Algerian mediation was initiated from a regional position of broad acceptance among many Libyan parties, using an inclusive approach by receiving all parties as representatives of the various political, military, and social components.

Algeria accepted the mediation role due to these factors, but results have been limited, partly because "conflict maturity" was lacking in this context. There was insufficient common ground among the Libyan parties regarding how to define the political impasse, let alone enough for meaningful compromise. Furthermore, the institutional fragmentation of political actors, multiple decision-making centres, and hybrid connections between internal and external loyalties made it impossible to strengthen

the mediator's position and turn this dialogue into a sustainable settlement.

By contrast, Johan Galtung's model allows for a more in-depth analysis of mediation, not merely stopping direct violence but also addressing the underlying structures that produce conflict. From this perspective, the Libyan crisis is not simply a political stalemate or security instability but a complete structural collapse of state institutions and functions, alongside the absence of a broad social contract and a plurality of legitimacy and power.

In this context, Algerian mediation is limited to combating direct violence and bringing together the parties involved – political, military, or territorial representatives. However, Galtung's analysis shows that the legacy of state disintegration, armed militias, and foreign interference has made a transition to negative peace impossible.

Thus, while Algerian mediation may have contributed to reducing polarisation and opening channels of dialogue, analysis shows it remained closer to conflict management outcomes than to a deep structural transformation of the underlying logics of the conflict.

The Libyan case demonstrates the positive mutual correlation between regional acceptance of Algerian mediation and Algeria's dialogue approach, in line with Bercovitch's logic for interpreting mediator effectiveness. However, the short duration of the conflict, the multiplicity of actors, and the overlap of external interventions have undermined its effectiveness as a mediation effort. Finally, Galtung's analysis shows that the outcomes remained at the level of negative peace and did not lead to a genuine transformation towards sustainable positive peace, as the structural roots of the crisis persisted.

Findings:

The conclusions of this article show that the Algerian mediation in the three conflicts (Ethiopia-Eritrea, Mali and Libya) represents a consistent diplomatic approach based on a three-dimensional interaction: the geopolitical dimension connected to Algeria's position in the region

namely the Sahel or Mediterranean; historical dimensions rooted from its post-colonial state legitimacy; and normative dimensions based on peaceful resolution or non-intervention principles. The overlap has allowed for the emergence of what might be called "mediation capital": Algeria's proactive participation in mediating complicated conflicts in tumultuous regional contexts.

As Jacob Bercovitch says in his approach, Algerian mediation has a high-MAC (Multi-Actor Conflict) that endorses one of the components for fruitful public peace as this multi-phased view to get an acceptable general mediation of every party. But acceptance of mediation, they argue, does not always generate a sustainable settlement because the potential success of mediation is interrelated with structural variables like conflict type and level of maturity (low vs. high) as well as the balance of power between parties. In this sense, Algeria has fared well in situations where the negotiating space was relatively clear (Mali), while it has come under greater constraints when dealing with fragmented power structures and an absence of a convergent decision-making process (Libya).

Evaluation of Algerian mediation based on Johan Galtung: "Conflict management" – not "conflict transformation". Though this mediation has helped in reducing direct violence and created openings for political negotiations, structural violence rooted in state dysfunction, weak development, the rise of informal power centres and external intervention remains unaddressed. Therefore, most countries that have experienced mediation now exist in a state of "negative peace" —that is, de-escalation without rebuilding the social and political structures that created the conflict.

From the comparative study of the three cases, one may conclude that Algerian mediation sits now under the umbrella of "extended preventive diplomacy", implying that it should not only be charged primarily with conflict-settlement but also essentially with conflict-containment and limitation of regional spillovers. But that role, while strategically important is also limited by the complex multi-leveled

conflicts in which Algeria is involved. And that, in turn, transforms a final settlement into something literally beyond the grasp of any one mediator.

This, therefore, makes the added value of the Algerian mediation not only in the immediate results of its agreements but also through maintaining a relative authorized stability in an unstable environment and at least giving spaces for negotiation amidst escalation. However, lasting peace as envisaged by Galtung depends on genuine structural changes in the concerned countries and an alteration of the political, economic and social balances that lead to conflict. This positions Algerian mediation as a necessary but insufficient pillar of regional peace.

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