## The Role of Algerian Think Tanks in Warning the Danger of the Abraham Accords between Morocco and Israel on National Security

دور مراكز الفكر الجزائرية في التنبيه لخطر اتفاقيات أبراهام بين المغرب وإسرائيل على الأمن الجزائري

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### Abstract :

Only 37% of Algeria's total think tanks are primarily focused on issues related to defense and security, despite the fact that most of them are governmental or affiliated with official sectors and are subject to a number of government regulations regarding funding, appointment, etc. Most of these organizations place more of an emphasis on Lower Politics (Culture, Society, and Economy) than Higher Politics. However, several of these institutions were crucial in the internal and external rationalization of Algerian policy. For instance, within the framework of what is known as the Third Abraham Accords, the National Institute for Global Strategy Studies played a significant role in guiding Algerian foreign policy and standing in the face of Normalization and its impacts on National Security. Despite the fact that Algerian think tanks have little influence on political decisions. Finally, we concluded that Algerian think tanks focused on High Politics face a number of challenges that limit their ability to perform in comparison to Western think tanks.

Keywords : Algerian Think Tanks; Abraham Accords; INEGS; Algeria; Morocco.

ملخص:

حاولنا في هذه الدراسة تقييم الدور الذي يمكن أن تقدمه المراكز البحثية الجزائرية في مجالات الأمن والدفاع بالأخص باعتبارها صمام الأمان الذي يمكن أن يزود صانع القرار الجزائري بالحلول والبدائل والخيارات لمواجهة مخاطر التطبيع، وتوصلنا إلى أن هذه المراكز وعلى رأسها المعهد الوطني للدراسات الاستراتيجية الشاملة قد لعبت دورا بارزا في التصدي لتداعيات التطبيع من خلال تعزيز الجبهة الداخلية لمواجهة التحديات الخارجية، رغم ذلك يبقى هذا الدور محدودا مقارنة بمراكز الفكر الغربية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: مراكز الفكر الجزائرية، اتفاقيات ابراهام، المعهد الوطني للدراسات الاستراتيجية الشاملة، التطبيع.

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### Introduction:

In today's complex world, think tanks play a significant role in guiding and rationalizing public policies and decision-making. They are also seen as key players in managing defense-security programs. These institutions stand for soft power and a strategic tool of influence that can be relied upon to address security challenges in an international system that is in a state of anarchy, especially during times of crisis.

We looked into the potential contribution that Algerian think tanks could make to security and national defense concerns because of the significant influence that think tanks have on decision-making. Although numerous studies on the significance of think tanks in influencing defense policies have been conducted, the most of them only explored a portion of those issues.

Even though numerous studies have been conducted on the role of think tanks as a crucial component in defining defense policies, the majority of them only covered specific aspects of those policies, and other studies only covered particular states. However, little research has been done on the role of Algerian think tanks in developing and implementing defense strategies

The study will rely on theoretically significant resources and cover scholarly publications, past and present magazines in both English and French. Interviews with people who were close to Algerian decision-makers and with others thought to be interested in the subject of Algerian think tanks will also be used to obtain evidence. We will rely on multidisciplinary cognitive approaches to cover the research from various political, security, and defense fields, using the descriptive analytical method to analyze the function of Algerian think tanks in warning of the threat of Moroccan-Israeli normalization, the statistical method by using quantitative data released by official and non-official departments, as well as the Karl Deutsch-founded decision-making approach, which is one of the most popular methodologies in political studies.

The political system is viewed as a mechanism for decision-making because the decisionmaking approach stresses the strong role performed by the head of state and the group collaborating with him within the political system. This method aids us in analyzing the part played by Algerian think tanks in the formulation of public and foreign policy, thereby decreasing the risk of error or failure.

### **Research problem:**

## What role can Algerian Think tanks play to confront the security threat of the Abraham accords between Morocco and the Zionist entity?

In order to achieve the aim of the research, an answer to several specific questions should be found:

\_What is the nature of Algerian think tanks?

\_What is the role of Algerian think tanks

in defining and applying defense strategies?

\_ to what extent are the Outputs used by the political, military, environment and do such entities have a real influence on the decision-making process in the state and the shaping of Algerian security and defense policy?

### Significance of study:

This study provides an important view of the nature and role of Algerian think tanks in defining and applying defense and security strategies, in particular warning political elites through analyses, conferences and paper policies about the danger of the Abraham accords between the Zionist entity and Morocco on the Algerian security.

The study also constitutes an important paper for decision-makers in Algeria to consider the need for strengthening the role of Algerian think tanks to face the security threats.

### **Research objectives:**

### A/General objectives:

The great influence of think tanks on decision-making prompted us to explore the role that Algerian think tanks can play in confronting external security challenges; our study aims to present a specific vision to emphasize Algerian think tanks to play a positive role in security and national defense issues.

### **B/Specific Objectives:**

This article aims to analyze the specific role of Algerian think tanks in the field of defense and security. We will seek to present a clear vision of the nature of think tanks in Algeria in terms of their types and fields of interest, then we will examine their role in the security and defense strategies, we will try to find out how these centers, especially the National Institute for Global Strategy Studies, interacts with the security threats emerged from Abraham accords and their impact on national and regional security, in the end, we will try to give future forward-looking vision to strengthen the performance of Algerian think tanks to play a prominent role in this context.

### Methodology:

We will rely on multidisciplinary cognitive approaches to cover the research from different political, security and defense fields, using the **Descriptive Analytical Method** to analyze the role of Algerian think tanks in alerting the danger of Moroccan-Zionist normalization, as well as the **Statistical Method** through the use of quantitative data issued by official and non-official departments, in addition to the **Decision-Making Method**, founded by Karl Deutsch ,Which is considered as one of the most popular approaches in political studies.

The decision-making approach emphasizes the strong role played by the head of state and the group working with him within the political system, so the political system is considered as a mechanism for decision-making. This approach helps us in our analysis of the role of Algerian think tanks in political decision-making in time of crises, to reduce the possibility of error or failure in making and drawing public and foreign policy.

### **Definitions and Concepts:**

**Think tanks:** The term "Think Tank" literally means "thought reservoir" – a place where analyzes and ideas are created that are used by decision-makers and are the subject of public debates. In practice, it is a term for an independent research center that conducts analytical and design activities, which, by supporting politicians, administration and the public with knowledge, ideas and scenarios for solutions, and shaping the debate between the society and decision-makers, aims to exert influence on the decision-making process in the public sphere by using the knowledge of experts. Therefore, it is an independent research institution whose aim is to shape political processes by providing analyzes

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and reports, including critical ones, which are to help make an objective and best decision from the point of view of the interests of the state. (Olszyk 2022, 1-2).

It should be noted also that experts themselves are unable to agree on a definition as there are differences from country to country. Think tanks vary enormously in size; in the resources they have available to them, in their areas of research, in their legal structure and in their management models. Many works defining think tanks were published in the 90s; among them, works by certain North American pioneers such as James McGann, Ken Weaver and Donald Abelson. These authors identified the following criteria for the definition of a Think Tank:

An independent organization ; the level of independence is determined by its statutes and financing sources (private or public/private and mixed) or its direct links with state powers -active politicians who occupy a position in the organization- (Urrutia 2013, 23); dedication to general interest; a permanent work team focusing on research; the production of innovative proposals and prospective public policies, with the aim of participating in the debate; a non-profit organization.; an organization that has its own freely-accessible communication resources (website, blogs, publications, conferences etc.) in order to disseminate information to as broad an audience as possible (Urrutia 2013,24).

**Abraham Accords:** On 15 September 2020, Israel and the UAE, as well as Bahrain, agreed to normalize their relations by signing the so-called Abraham Accords. Israel also concluded agreements with Morocco and Sudan on 22 December 2020 and 6 January 2021, respectively. All four agreements stipulate mutual recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations (Asseburg, Henkel 2021,1).

Morocco signed a normalization agreement with Israel, becoming the second North African country—after Egypt in 1978 with the Camp David Accords—to recognize the Jewish State. While the Abraham Accords brought some Arab countries closer to the West and Israel, it undoubtedly created chasms with others. The agreement between Israel and Morocco sparked a series of chain events in neighboring North African countries that will likely have lasting consequences on the economic, security, and socio-political relations in the region (Mezran and Pavia 2020).

**Soft Power:** a concept first used by "Joseph Nye" which describes methods of influence developed by a state that opts for cultural and ideological methods of influence, leaving aside all recourse to violence. Credibility and legitimacy are indispensable for soft power to be effective. International institutions, NGOs, lobby groups and think tanks are both players and resources for its development and for the implementation of positive perceptions.

### 1 - The Nature of Algerian thinks tanks: efficacy and impact

Although most Algerian think tanks are primarily governmental or associated with official sectors and are constrained by a number of governmental procedures regarding funding, appointment, etc., most of these centers focus on Low politics (culture, technology, economics), rather than High politics (defense, security), despite the fact that many of these centers played a crucial role in guiding and rationalizing Algerian policies at the internal and external levels. For instance, the National Institute for Global Strategic Studies, one of the most significant think tanks that have been concerned with sensitive security issues that affect the unity and independence of the country, has played a significant role in shaping Algerian defense policies. Among these issues is confronting the Moroccan normalization with Israel as a major threat to the Algerian national security, within the framework of what is known as the Third Abraham accords.

# Table 1: A list of some important Algerian think tanks concerned with security, defense, society and public policies issues

Think Tank	Affiliation	Creation year	Thematic profile
National Institute for Global Strategy Studies.	Presidency	1984	State Security Defense
The Military Institute for Documentation, Evaluation and Foresight.	Ministry of Defense.	-	State Security Defense
Institute of Diplomacy and International Relations	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	2002	International Relations Diplomacy and Foreign Policy
National center of studies and research on the national movement and 1 <sup>st</sup> Nov.1954 revolution	Ministry of Moudjahidine and Right Holders	1994	Algerian History, National Interests, Democracy Colonialism
National Center for Research in Islamic Sciences and Civilization	Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research	2015	Social Policy
The National Research Institute In Education	Ministry of National Education	1991	Education Social Policy
Legal and Judicial Research Center	Ministry of Justice	2006	Law, Justice, Public Policy

**Source:** Prepared by the researcher through the data available on the official websites of the Algerian think tanks

According to the above chart, there are two categories of think tanks in Algeria: those connected with the Ministry of Higher Education, where they have the most centers, and those affiliated with the other ministries, such as the Ministry of Defense or the Ministry of Justice, etc. They are all considered to be government think tanks.

According to information provided by the General Directorate for Scientific Research and Technological Development (DGRSDT), there are currently about 29 think tanks and 12 research and development centers, in addition to 26 research units affiliated with universities and research centers in Algeria. These organizations engage in activities related to law, technical sciences, health, public policies, social policy, environment, energy and renewable energy policy, international relations, foreign affairs, defense, and more, these centers are best equipped to handle activities related to defense diplomacy.

### Table 2: Think tanks affiliated to the Ministry of Higher Education

Renewable Energy Development Center		
Research center on Scientific and Technical Information		
Advanced technologies development center		
Industrial Technology Research Center		
Scientific and technical research center for the development of Arabic language		
Research Center in Applied Economics for Development		
Research Center in Semiconductor Technology for Energy		
Research Center in Social and Cultural Anthropology		
Scientific and Technical Research Center on Arid Regions		

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Biotechnologie Research Center

Physico-Chemical Analysis Research Center

National Research Center in Islamic Sciences and Civilization

**Source** : The General Directorate for Scientific Research and Technological Development (DGRSDT) . (2020). http://atrst.dz/etablissements-de-recherche/ , accessed:24/10/2022.

### Table 3: Think tanks not affiliated to the Ministry of Higher Education

National Center for Prehistoric, Anthropological and Historical Research – Ministry of Culture

National Research Center in Archeology

National Institute of Forestry Research

National Institute of Agronomic Research of Algeria

National Center for Applied Research in Earthquake Engineering

National Center for Integrated Building Studies and Research

Research Center in Astronomy, Astrophysics and Geophysics

National Center for Fisheries and Aquaculture Research and Development

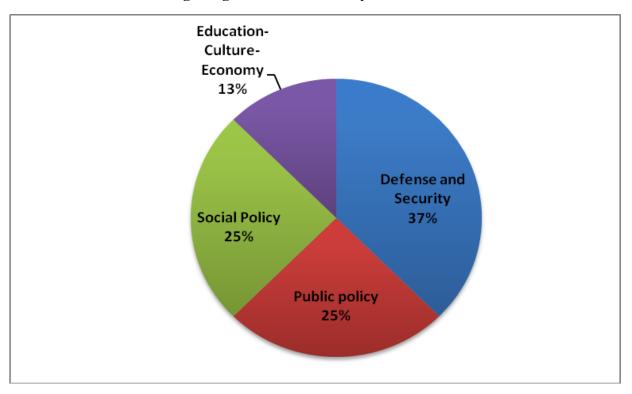
National Institute for Research in Education

Center for Studies and Research in Information and Communication Technologies

National Center for Studies and Research on the National Movement and 1st, November 1954 Revolution

<u>Source</u> : The General Directorate for Scientific Research and Technological Development (DGRSDT) . 2020. http://atrst.dz/etablissements-de-recherche/ , accessed:24/10/2022. In terms of how research centers are organized in Algeria, they are all connected to governmental entities like Ministries and specialized institutes; on the other hand, we observe the absence of private sector participation in the establishment of research centers.

Despite this, it is possible to mention some independent research centers in Algeria, Such as the Al-Chourouk Center for Strategic Studies and Research, The Center for Maghrib Studies CEMA, which is affiliated to The American Institute for Maghrib Studies AIMS, and NABNI center which is an Algerian citizen think tank founded in April 2011 and whose specificity consists in a participative approach. It describes itself as apolitical and seeks to generate specific suggestions and ideas to address the problems Algeria is currently facing and to enhance Algerians' quality of life (For more information, please visit the websites of these centers).





**Source:** Prepared by the researcher through the data available on the official websites of the Algerian think tanks

We can say that Algerian think tanks specializing in security and defense policies are very limited, and carry out defense /security tasks mainly in the field of training and education, and information, as well as advisory and consulting activities, for example The Military Institute for Documentation, Evaluation and Foresight uses experts and researchers specialized in the field to present their recommendations and analyses through meetings and seminars, in addition to publications such as Strategia magazine, which constitutes an important reference in national security and defense issues.

The issue is that while these think tanks target their activities at all political, military, and social groups, only the scientific community use their outputs.

### 2 - The Role of Algerian Think Tanks in defining and applying Defense-Security strategies.

As pointed out by Donald Abelson, think tanks develop their activities and exercise their influence either directly – through the revolving door mechanism and through connections with important political movers and shakers – or indirectly – through publications, meetings and seminars.

In the war of ideas – allegory of physical confrontation -, think tanks are the intellectual army of a state, defending their ideological model – product of the framework of references composed of beliefs, values, culture and history. The information revolution has created an ever-increasingly connected world; a world in which the public perception of values and motivations of a state can create an environment, and activate or deactivate the search for international support for its policies (Urrutia 2013, 6).

The benefit that the existence of a think tank can bring to a state, company or army lays in the possibility of obtaining supplies of information, knowledge and innovation. Research work is focused on three time dimensions: past, present and future; "knowledge to foresee in order to be able". Knowledge is not required to be true, fair or attractive, but to be effective. The triptych vigilance, research and formulation in the strategic intelligence process allows for adjustments of the present to the future, based on the knowledge of past events. Think tanks, due to their very nature, are oriented towards the future. Their research activities are firmly placed between foresight and strategy. The relevance, both of their analyses and their proposals, can be seen as lying in their ability to understand the present from the perspective of the past, in order to produce foresight:

"Proactive intelligence aims to act in, or model, reality to avoid risks and threats from arising" (Urrutia 2013, 7).

Think tanks that work with defense focused exclusively on regional and functional topics, "but these organizations are now also being called upon to help the military address the new challenge of terrorism and homeland security", says: RAND executive vice president Michael D.Rich (Rich 2003. 22).

Given the importance of think tanks in strategic planning for defense and security policies, it is important for countries to have think tanks that contribute significantly in providing advice to decision makers in times of crisis.

In the United States of America, think tanks form the cornerstone in formulating and defining security and defense policies. For example, we find the RAND Corporation, which is one of the most important think tanks, which deals with military issues and American defense affairs, and play the most prominent role in providing American decision-makers with options and alternatives and the analyzes needed to guide vital US interests abroad.

Due to numerous historical reasons that shaped the political climate of the newly independent States, we observe that this role is still quite limited in Algeria. Leaders and decision-makers in Algeria typically rely on cumulative experience and performance rather than the political culture of using think tanks to offer political counsel.

Relatively little interest in political and military circles in cooperation with think tanks is caused by the nature of these circles in many countries like Algeria and the lack of habit of the political class to use the knowledge of experts; as a result, Algerian think tanks have insignificant influence on political decisions and the development of security policy, they rather perform functions supporting these activities by popularizing knowledge in the field of defense diplomacy and initiating discussions in society (Olszyk 2022, 2).

## **3** - National Institute for Global Strategy Studies and its role in warning the danger of the Abraham agreements on Algerian security

The National Institute of Global Strategy Studies (INESG) is an Algerian organization that is supervised by the Republic Presidency. It was founded by Decree No. 84-398 of December 24, 1984.

INESG, which enjoys financial and administrative independence, focuses on conducting activities of analysis and future research regarding strategic issues of the national and international landscapes in collaboration with the relevant sectors and organizations. These research and analyses aim to identify, comprehend, and explain the links and elements that have a significant impact on the geostrategic plan's political, economic, social, and cultural action (INESG. 2020). Through publishing initiatives, expert opinions and analyses, as well as the organization of conferences and meetings on a national and regional level, this center has played an important role in giving advice to decision-makers.

Regarding Moroccan-Israeli normalization the General Director of the National Institute for Global Strategic Studies Abdelaziz Medjahed (Oubellil. ABDELAZIZ MEDJAHED, DG DE L'INESG : Le Makhzen, un supplétif des puissances étrangères 2021) estimated :"that the official normalization of Morocco with Israel only confirms the submission of the Mekhzen, as an auxiliary, to foreign powers". Considering that Israel and Morocco are two elements that play the same strategy and execute the same program that dates back a century. This plan, which was developed through various imperialism plans (Sykes-Picot, Balfour, etc.), was emerged at the end of the 20th century by the Bush Greater Middle East project, with the support of their auxiliary organizations. It is affirmed that this is the same plan that is currently being carried out, with particular reference to the destabilization of the entire region, which stretches from the Atlantic to Afghanistan.We were conscious of what had transpired in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran from the moment when regimes had changed and republics had been established. and Western imperialism targets nations like Syria, Yemen, Sudan, Libya, and Algeria that opposed the Zionist agenda.

The Makhzen and the Israel are two hegemonic factors that carry out a plan to destabilize the Arab republic countries for the advantage of the monarchies in a region extending from the eastern Atlantic to Afghanistan(Oubellil. ABDELAZIZ MEDJAHED, DG DE L'INESG : Le Makhzen, un supplétif des puissances étrangères 2021).

According to other analyses published by INESG. The Sykes-Picot agreements between France and the United Kingdom for the division of the Middle East in 1916 and the Balfour declaration, which promised the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine in 1917, are the sources of this strategy. A revised strategy that takes the American Greater Middle East project into account project (ALGERIA PRESS SERVICE, 2020).

In addition, Mr. Medjahed project (ALGERIA PRESS SERVICE, 2020) noted that:"Israel has always had relations with the Kingdom of Morocco", and that the recent announcement of the normalization of their ties served to formally establish ties that had existed for a considerable amount of time. According to the preceding, the INESG's assessment of the impact of the Abraham peace accords between Morocco and Israel on Algerian security can be summarized as follows:

1- Because Israel perceives Morocco as a gateway to North African countries, its presence on Algerian borders opens up many opportunities for it to exist in the region, which will have

security and economic ramifications on the security and stability of the region as a whole, not just Algeria.

- 2- Undermining Algeria's regional role in the region, given its positions on the issue of Jerusalem, especially after Algeria's efforts to reject Israel's membership as an observer member in the African Union and its unwavering support for the Palestinian case.
- 3- The signing of the Moroccan-Israeli memorandum of understanding is, in fact, the result of American-Zionist common interests, with the ultimate goal of dismantling and weakening Arab countries and allowing Israel to freely penetrate the region politically, economically, and militarily.
- 4- Morocco's attempt to obtain military, financial, and diplomatic support from Algeria's number one enemy, represented by the Zionist entity, due to Algeria's position in supporting just issues in the world and peoples' self-determination, such as the Sahrawi and Palestinian issues.
- 5- Algeria is being targeted by the Zionist entity in order to weaken it on two levels. The first level is represented by attempts to militarily exhaust Algeria by creating border conflicts that may lead to military confrontation with Morocco (the militarization of the Algerian-Moroccan conflict), in addition to feeding regional security threats in the African Sahel region, which makes Algeria a major factor in the security chaos, while the second level is represented by attempts to penetrate Algeria from inside, creating internal crises targeting the unity and stability of society.
- 6- Algeria, represented by its people and constitutional institutions, is the target of a real and systematic war waged by a number of parties, the most prominent of which is the Moroccan-Zionist alliance.

### 4 - An internal front to resist external threats:

Algerian Foreign Minister Ramtane Lamamra, (Chaabane. Morocco-Israel Alliance Sparks Rapprochement between Algeria and Iran 2021) declared: "Never before has an Israeli official accused and threatened an Arab country from another Arab country". "Algeria was the subject of a real and systematic war from several parties, the foremost of which is the Moroccan-Israeli alliance," said former Algerian Communication Minister Ammar Belhimer (WEINTHAL 2022.6).

For Algeria, which has no relationship with Israel, Morocco normalizing relations with Israel, which is attempting to reclaim its observer seat in the African Union, is a threat to its national security.

Algeria is concerned about the rapid expansion of bilateral ties between Morocco and Israel. For Algerian officials, Rabat's growing relationship with Israel raises many questions about Israel's regional interests (Cafiero. How the Abraham Accords reignited Algeria and Morocco's cold war 2021).

According to INESG, "the arrival of Israel at Algerian borders represents a continuous threat to Algeria" (Boutaiba. Abdelaziz Medjahed on Moroccan normalization: A Threat to Algeria in 2020).

Mr. Medjahed recalled the many defeats of imperialism throughout history, citing in particular the cases of Vietnam and Algeria, but also referring to current failures such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, and Algeria with the export of terrorism during the 1990s. In the case of Algeria, now that Israel has arrived at our borders as a result of recent developments in the region, NIGSS has pleaded for the formation of a national consensus, which he sees as the only bulwark against all these

unhealthy inclinations that are brewing just beyond our borders. While calling on the elites to put the general interest before that of their parties (Oubellil. ABDELAZIZ MEDJAHED, DG DE L'INESG : Le Makhzen, un supplétif des puissances étrangères 2021).

According to the NIGSS, this is "a psychological warfare to which certain parties resort because it is not expensive, accessible to all, and knows no borders," (AIMEUR. Le Maroc mène une guerre contre l'Algérie 2021).

Mr. Medjahed's appeal to the Algerian media to sensitize public opinion to the danger that awaits the country as a result of the new developments in the region, while reiterating the need to consolidate ties between Algerians in order to preserve national security from these threats (Oubellil. ABDELAZIZ MEDJAHED, DG DE L'INESG: Le Makhzen, un supplétif des puissances étrangères 2021).

INESG seeks to develop an integrated strategy to confront these dangerous security ramifications, which are embodied in three main axes:

- Organizing conferences, meetings, and papers aimed at policymakers, academic and scientific communities, and the general public to raise awareness of the dangers of this normalization.

- Calling for national unity to stand up to any violations that may endanger Algerian unity.

-Through the statement of the institute's director, "I call on the Algerian media to raise public awareness of the danger that awaits us," the institute invites the public and private media to participate in raising awareness of the security risks resulting from Moroccan-Israeli normalization.

INESG, on the other hand, deplored the lack of a strong mobilization among Algeria's elite. "This holds true for Arab and Muslim elites as well. The elites are divided, and their divisions are reflected in the societies in which they live " (ALGERIA PRESS SERVICE, 2020).

According to the preceding, INESG presented a clear vision of the Zionist threat to Algeria's security and used a clear strategy to counter this threat. Despite this, its role in guiding Algerian decision-makers remains very limited due to the lack of a culture of advice and guidance among elites in general.

### **Conclusion:**

Despite the significant challenges we faced while preparing this study, we were able to achieve many significant results due to the lack of previous studies on the topic, which is new and has not been addressed previously. We hope that our findings will help us gain a better understanding of the nature of Algerian think tanks and their role in defense and security issues.

-There are numerous obstacles that influence the roles of think tanks in Algeria, including organizational, legal, and financial challenges. However, many governmental and independent think tanks and centers play an important role in rationalizing government policies across the board.

-We have noticed a significant lack of Algerian governmental and independent think tanks specializing in defense, security, and foreign policy.

-We also concluded that Algerian leaders and decision-makers lack the political culture to rely on think-tank outputs to guide the state's high politics.

-Ministries; In particular, sovereign ministries such as defense and foreign affairs require the services of real think tanks that participate in developing defense and security policy in response to crises.

- We focused on INESG as a governmental think tank and its role in developing a defense strategy to warn of the dangers of the Abraham agreements between Morocco and Israel, and we concluded that the institute could provide recommendations and outputs to official and academic bodies aimed at strengthening internal ties in the face of external challenges, albeit in a limited way.

- In conclusion, Algerian think tanks continue to play important roles in domestic and foreign policy, as they are a source of influential soft power. However, this role is still very limited due to a number of factors, the most important of which is the lack of political culture in decision-making circles, as well as the nature of political systems, which play a significant role in defining the roles and functions of these centers.

### Notes:

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