Algeria and the dialectic of military intervention between the moral/ normative imperative and the security imperative

الجزائر وجدلية التدخل العسكري بين المستلزم الأخلاقي/المعياري والمستلزم الأمني

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الملخص:

كتأصيل مفهومي–نظري–اجرائي، نعالج تقويميا ونفحص تجريديا الثابت والمتغير في العقيدة الأمنية والعسكرية الجزائرية في ظل مراجعة دور الدولة وصعود الجماعات الإرهابية المناوئة، فضلا عن ضبط الجوار الجغرافي المضطرب الذي تشهده منطقة الساحل الافريقي؛ من خلال استيعاب المضامين التحويلية التي تسوق السياسة الأمنية الجزائرية بين المستلزم الأخلاقي/المعياري، والمستلزم الأمني، عبر مواجهة أنماط سلوكية غير مألوفة تهدد وتزاحم الأمن القومي الجزائري. حيث قُدمت الدراسة في شكل خطة علمية منتظمة أمكن من خلاله اختبار الفروض الموضوعة والتي تبنت اعادة النظر في العقيدة الأمنية الجزائرية عموما، والعقيدة العسكرية خصوصا، ويجرى هذا الاختبار بطريقة نسقية استقرائية مختلفة تعين حالة وواقع الوضع الأمني المرتهل بمنطقة الساحل الافريقي وتبعاته على الجزائر. وختاما خلصت الدراسة إلى بعض النتائج التي كشفت لنا اعادة النظر في فعلّية الجزائر كقوة معيارية مساهمة أفرو–ساحليا، مع ضبط بعض المفارقات سيما المفارقة التنظيمية من أجل تضيق الفجوة على مأسسة وشرّعنة ضوابط أمنية تُشكل استجابة لمخرجات التنسيق بين الوحدات الفاعلة بمنطقة الساحل الافريقي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: المستلزم الأمني؛ المستلزم الأخلاقي؛ العقيدة الأمنية؛ الساحل الافريقي؛ الجزائر.

Abstract:

As a foundation for conceptual, theoretical, and procedural analysis, we systematically evaluate and explore Algeria's evolving security and military doctrine. This examination encompasses the state's role, the emergence of hostile terrorist groups, and the volatile geographic landscape of the Sahel region. Our focus lies in analysing the transformative elements that inform Algerian security policy, navigating the tension between moral/normative imperatives and security imperatives. We confront the unknown behavioural patterns that pose threats to national security. The research adheres to a structured scientific approach to test the hypotheses, revising the broader Algerian security doctrine as well as its military doctrine specifically. By employing

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an inductive methodology, we assess the state of lax security across the Sahel region of Africa and its implications for Algeria. The findings indicate a need to reassess Algeria's role as a normative force within the Afro-Sahelian region. Moreover, the study highlights the necessity of addressing certain paradoxes, particularly the organisational paradox, to bridge the gap between the institutionalisation and legitimization of security measures in response to the coordination efforts of active units across the Sahel region.

Keywords: Security imperative; Moral imperative; Security doctrine; African Sahel; Algeria..

Introduction:

In his famous article, Stephen Walt called for a "renaissance of security studies", as most security phenomenon studies focus on the threat, use and control of military forces, narrowing down the security template to the use of military force, which opened the field for critical epistemological Security Studies and its threats, and the arrangement of its levels in transnational spaces highlighted. This forced the security and defence system of Algeria to adopt a comprehensive approach to face those threats, including reconsidering the field of military intervention outside the border walls; therefore, the **problematic** is framed as follows:

To what extent does the justification of Algeria's military doctrine for military intervention reflect the achievement of ethical (normative) goals alongside its turbulent geographic context? We aim to explore the contradiction or tension between two seemingly opposing logics:

- The normative approach: relying on principles of non-intervention, international law, sovereignty, and regional diplomacy.
- The security approach: stemming from Algeria's need to ensure internal and regional stability, especially in the face of terrorism and external threats (for example, in Libya, Mali, and Niger).

To address the study's issue, we **hypothesise** that:

We assume : Despite Algeria's rhetorical commitment to ethical and normative principles represented by non-intervention and the preservation of sovereignty, its acknowledgment of the principle of military intervention within the framework of peacekeeping missions and its security policies are primarily driven by a realistic security necessity aimed at maintaining the states stability and its regional strategic depth.

Methodological and theoretical construction of the study:

The research utilises various methods to understand and integrate the semantic and contextual elements, along with the dynamics that contributed to the evolution of the Algerian military doctrine in the present context of the regional security crisis in the Sahel region of Africa.

-An Etymo-ontological/ontological-fundamental approach: within the conceptual foundation of the normative force, through semantic and discourse analysis, and the extent to which it can be integrated into academic spheres beyond European borders.

-A multi-level systemic approach: this perspective is valuable for understanding the Sahel region as a subsystem within the broader context of regional international relations. It also highlights the capacity of influential states in the region, such as Algeria, to embrace a non-traditional approach that encompasses all aspects of transformation in the concept of security.

-The neo-realistic approach: to understand and analyse the regionally unstable security and geographic landscape, as well as to grasp the dynamics that have plunged the area into a vortex of significant security challenges.

A historical-comparative method was adopted to track the chronological development of the Algerian military doctrine between the constant and the variable within the current regional and global transformations and the challenges of confrontation. Additionally, a statistical method was employed to analyse the obtained statistics, providing an accurate reading of the results.

-Rationale for the study plan:

To answer the problem and test the scientific hypothesis, a structured plan was adopted. First, the cognitive and theoretical foundations of the normative power concept were examined, and the extent to which its procedural footprint corresponds to the African specificity was considered. Then, the Afro- Sahelian role and location of Algeria, which is known for its critical geographical and security-troubled position, was analysed, focusing on the adaptation or transformation in the Algerian military doctrine to the transformations taking place in the region. The opportunities for Algeria to employ its civil and military power as an effective strategic partner in controlling the turbulent security scene in Sahel and Africa, were considered.

1- The evolution of the notion of normative Power in Algeria: A contemplative analysis of the epistemology of assimilation from various viewpoints.

In this context, the conceptual understanding of the term "normative force" is justified through the discussion surrounding what Hedley Paul viewed as a contradictory concept. This term emphasises and elevates the concept of military force, while also acknowledging a few reservations regarding its procedural disclosure. The goal is to generate a conceptual (normative) force that allows for a more thorough examination of political units beyond the borders of Europe.

1.1- Normative power is a study in existential and cognitive premises.

The concept of "normative power" is similar to several other terms, including civil power, moral power, and even "moderate" power. The development of this concept highlights the European Union (EU) as an unconventional international actor with a normative foreign policy. This value-oriented approach aims to export and promote the EU's norms of behaviour, standards, practices, and values beyond its borders. As a result, the EU seeks to

achieve its foreign policy goals through attraction and persuasion. These goals include promoting norms such as democracy, the rule of law, human rights, pluralism, sustainability, and supportive peace[1]Constructivism, in its approach to international policy, emphasises the importance of these norms as variables that help to understand and interpret the behaviour of international actors. It also underscores the significance of institutional arrangements that facilitate cooperation amidst the chaotic structure of the global system. These assertions are grounded in the constructivist interest in the social dimensions of international politics and how they reaffirm the roles of identity and discourse in international relations.

The exploration of normative issues in international relations enhances our understanding of the complementary insights offered by the constructivist approach, as well as its distinctions from neo-realism and neo-institutionalism. Realists argue that these norms lack the necessary explanatory power, whereas institutionalists maintain that while these norms can influence certain aspects of international politics, they do not operate as independent factors capable of controlling state behaviour or limiting their options. Moreover, states are viewed as self-interested rational actors with fixed and specific interests that drive them to seek the maximisation of their gains.

For rationalists, state actors are those who create structures, such as norms and institutions, whereas constructivists view norms as collective concepts shared among actors that have a much deeper influence. These norms not only shape the behaviour of states but also play a critical role in forming their identities and interests. Therefore, they are regarded as independent explanatory variables in constructivist norms, as the interaction between actors (States) and structures (norms, institutions) has its bearing on the mutual shaping of both.[2] In terms of the semantic and semiotic origin of civil power, the study adopts the term "The European Union as a civil power", which was coined by the Anglo-Swiss-French Francois Duchamp in 1972, during an era that Stephen Walt called the renaissance of security studies. To understand the origins of the concept of civil power, it is essential to discuss the assertion made by Hedley Paul (1982), which advocates that "Europe is not an actor in international affairs, and as it seems, there is no possibility of becoming one of the global actors[3]

1.2-An epistemological reading in Hedley Paul's analysis of the cognitive contradiction between "power and civility

The concept of the European Union as a civil power was first proposed by François Duchamp, who served as the director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies at the London School of Economics from 1969 to 1974. Duchamp argued that the EU's ability to exert significant influence over third parties is rooted in its use of economic, political, security, and stability measures. He highlighted the EU's role as a major player in international relations, emphasising its reliance on non-military methods and a flexible approach to threat management. Duchamp's perspective clearly illustrates that the European Union's foreign policy as a civil power is characterised by a dual economic and political strategy within the international arena. This framework reflects the cognitive debates that arose in the 1970s, during which Duchamp introduced the notion of civil power, linking it theoretically to the evolution of realistic security studies, particularly in the context of Europe’s role as a civil power.

It is important to note that the cognitive analysis of normative power is not solely attributed to Jan Manners's 2002 article on the subject, which was subsequently transformed into a 2006 academic textbook. It was also associated with Robert Rosankernis, who offered a perspective that viewed Europe as normative rather than experimental. For Rosankernis, normative power encompasses the idea of establishing universal standards, contrasting with empirical power, which is characterised by enforcing dominance through coercive means [4]. Manners initially posited that the EU's uniqueness is grounded in post-state criteria, reaffirming the need to rethink traditional notions of power that prioritise force as the primary means of domination. This perspective has been reconsidered in light of Europe's political integration since 1950, which has been driven by normative preferences that align with key principles such as peace, freedom, the protection of human rights, social solidarity, the rejection of discrimination, and ultimately striving for sustainable development.

Wheeler highlights that the normative foundations of Europe are preceded by manners and subsequently influenced by Christianity. This prompts an inquiry into how these values can be effectively applied in the external realm of the European Union and their impact on global policy processes beyond national boundaries. Essentially, the question raised by "manners" seeks to understand how post-Westphalian actors contribute to the dissemination of these norms. Manners aims to explore this through the example of the European Union's robust advocacy against the death penalty, which has become a broadly accepted global standard. Zaki Aidi's research supports this perspective, emphasising how Manners' approach reveals the inherent limitations of the issue by striving to balance the EU's normative activities with internationally established objectives.[5]

The discourse surrounding the European Union as a civil power has predominantly focused on cognitive, academic, and practical dimensions. This includes exploring the theoretical and practical contradictions inherent in the EU's external performance. In light of this, we aim to apply these criteria to Algeria, considering its position as a regional power in the Sahel and Africa. Our objective is to analyse Algeria's civilian performance in addressing the threats present in its regional neighbourhood while avoiding a rigid approach. However, before delving into this analysis, it is essential to understand the significance of the Sahel region for Algeria's strategic depth.

2- The Afro-coastal position of Algeria amidst the safety of the area and the evasion of the mindset regarding identity risk

This axis aims to assess the significance of the African Sahel region for Algeria's strategic depth, with a focus on key security perspectives that have led to a re-evaluation of the Algerian military doctrine in response to the evolving threats and changes in the regional landscape.

2.1-The significance of the Sahel area for Algeria's strategic depth:

"Sahel" morphologically refers to the beach or the southern edge of the Sahara Desert. Geographically, this region—often called the African coast—serves as a transitional zone separating North (White) Africa from sub-Saharan Africa, thus forming a distinct ecological corridor. The Sahel is considered a semi-arid belt stretching between the Sahara Desert to the

north and the Savannah to the south. It spans westward from Senegal through Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, northern Nigeria, Chad, Sudan, and reaches Ethiopia in the east. The label "African coast" is frequently used to describe these eight countries, collectively part of the "Interstate Committee to Combat Drought." However, for geo-economic reasons, region boundaries are sometimes expanded to include additional areas, such as the Cape Verde Islands and the far southern parts of Algeria. Notably, most Sahelian countries are landlocked, with the exceptions of Senegal and Mauritania, which have access to the Atlantic Ocean.[6]

From a geopolitical perspective, the arc encompassing Sudan, Mali, Niger, Chad, southern Algeria, and the far west Atlantic points highlights the Sahel region's strategic importance. This area serves as a key position within Africa and beyond. It is a vital bridge connecting the Americas and the Atlantic Ocean to regions such as the Horn of Africa, the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, and the Arabian Gulf. As such, Sahel serves as a crossroad for human civilisations' diverse ethnic and religious associations.[7]

The Sahel region is divided into three levels:

-**The first level**: the Central countries and the depth of the African coast represented by Mali, Niger, and Chad

-**The second level** embodies the edges of the African Sahel countries, Sudan and Mauritania.

-**The third level** represents secondary countries like Algeria, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Eritrea, Senegal, and the Cape Verde Islands.[8]

The African coast serves as a vital buffer zone and strategic depth within the framework of Algerian national security. This geopolitical region poses a variety of security threats to Algeria, arising from multiple factors and unique characteristics that require thorough examination.

- The natural geographical openness of Algeria on the African coast extends over 3819 km.

-The importance of the Algerian Touareg's social connections with their counterparts from other countries, making Algeria one of the nations forming a transnational space occupied by Touareg tribes in the African Sahel.[9]

-The increase in terrorist activity in the region, including the African Sahel, established a strategic setback with direct effects on Algerian national security.

- Exporting illegal immigration; Algeria's openness to the industrious African Sahel countries has rendered it a haven for many illegal immigrants.

- Foreign competition along the African coast has significantly contributed to its wealth, energy resources, and strategic importance as a connecting hub between key geopolitical regions, including North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Indian Ocean. This has drawn the attention of major global powers—primarily France, the United States, and China. France's historical colonial involvement in the region, the United States' focus on areas such as the Red Sea, Arabian Gulf, and Middle East, and China's expanding economic investments across Africa, particularly along the African coast,

exemplify this engagement. Additionally, European nations have shown growing interest in the Mediterranean basin as a security buffer for North Atlantic Europe after NATO identified the Mediterranean as a crucial zone for Euro-Atlantic security.

2.2-Representing the army outside the boundaries between continuity controls and the problem of conceptual review

The hypothesis examines the role of the military institution within the context of limited civilian engagement, highlighting a form of cognitive and methodological divergence among academic circles focused on civil-military relations at the international level. Specifically, it evaluates how the military fulfils its responsibilities within a civilian framework without adhering to a rigid approach. This perspective has spurred a reassessment of the military's role and performance beyond national borders, particularly in areas such as providing humanitarian aid, supporting peace-building efforts, managing communication networks, and delivering logistical support. The central argument suggests that these tasks are better suited for civilian organisations, proposing that the military may be incapable of executing them effectively and responsibly.

In the political literature, monitoring largely depends on the acceptance and support of one of the parties in the conflict. Military observers are often sent on purely observation tasks to the field without carrying weapons. This task is entrusted to civilians with technical and military knowledge. In addition to reintegration policies, disarmament, and demining efforts, the responsibilities are typically assigned to civilian agencies and non-governmental organisations. These groups play a crucial role in peacekeeping within buffer zones and in managing ceasefire civilian teams to create a safe environment. Regarding peacekeeping forces, they are permitted to use armed force solely for self-defence. Currently, the rules of engagement have evolved, and peacekeeping forces equipped with combat qualifications are now accepted. This qualification remains a prerequisite for all traditional and complex missions, granting them the authority to utilise military force when necessary to effectively fulfil their responsibilities.

The proposed theoretical framework facilitates a comprehensive analysis of the performance and operational role of the Algerian military in executing its missions beyond national borders. This examination is particularly pertinent in light of the recent transformations occurring within the structure of Algerian security and military doctrine. These developments reflect changing geopolitical dynamics and underscore the evolving nature of Algeria’s defence strategy in a regional context. As such, it becomes imperative to investigate how these shifts influence the military's engagement in international operations and their implications for national and regional security.

2.3-The interplay of the Algerian military involvement between the normative necessity and the need to establish a fresh security viewpoint

The theory of Algerian security is characterized by several principles that have turned into legal constants, namely: International legitimacy means that all actions must be with the approval of the United Nations, participation in all arms control and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of states, rejection of foreign international mechanisms of

intervention, non-interference of the Algerian army abroad, rejection of military options, preference for peaceful solutions, support for liberation movements, settlement of conflicts without resorting to force, not compromising the security of all countries, security systems are specific to each state, safe and independent of any external umbrella or foreign presence on its territory[10] - This is reflected in an article written in the newspaper "Al-Quds Al-Arabi" regarding Algeria's refusal to respond to Russia's request for a concession for a naval base. As the analysis pointed out, more than a decade ago, China requested fewer concessions, but Algeria responded by saying that Algeria is ready to cooperate within the framework of international law instead of threatening neighbouring countries. Algeria promised not to harm neighbouring maritime countries, especially France, Italy, Spain, and the U.S. Navy stationed in Spain, Italy does not pose any threat. Military reports indicate the extreme importance of the "great Marsa naval base" in Oran (400 km northwest Capital Algiers) for its ability to control the" Strait of Gibraltar "and a wide area of the" narrow western basin of the Mediterranean Sea. Algeria rejected a Russian request for concessions in naval bases in 2013.

The multinational terrorist attack on the natural gas production centre in "Teguenturine" is the first test for Algeria after the collapse of the Gaddafi regime in Libya. The spread of terrorist groups and separatist movements in Mali, and perhaps the French intervention in northern Mali, may turn into serious insecurity, besides Algeria's rejection of foreign intervention, especially in Mali, fearing insecurity and involvement in a war outside the borders.[11]

However, this does not diminish the significance of Algeria's military spending, as reported by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. According to their 2017 report, Algeria's military budget was estimated at $10.654 billion in 2016, following $10.413 billion in 2015 and $8.642 billion in 2014. Security expert and retired Colonel Omar Benjana justifies this expenditure by citing the security and geopolitical factors that necessitate increased military spending to address various threats facing the nation. [12] A recent report from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute revealed that Algeria's military spending in 2018 reached $9.6 billion, making it the largest military expenditure in Africa.

Security expert Professor "Nassim Bahloul" explains that the increase in Algerian military spending coincides with the growth of asymmetric and systemic threats in the region, requiring a reconsideration of the organisational structure of the Armed Forces.[13] The accuracy of the data in these reports has been denied by many experts, because Algeria spends according to need and the security threats. The latest report from the Stockholm Institute highlights a 34% decrease in Algeria's military spending, which amounted to $9.7 billion in 2020. This reduction is attributed to the economic repercussions of the coronavirus pandemic. Dr. Ben Antar Abdennour also emphasises the changing nature of non-state threats and the increasing prevalence of associated crises. This has resulted in contradictions within Algeria's stance, highlighting tensions between the fundamental principles of its security doctrine and the necessity to adapt certain principles flexibly to address emergencies. This is also evident in the evolution of Algeria's approach to the financial crisis. While its decision to open its airspace contradicts its stated principles and rhetoric against interference, it aligns with its security interests.

The crisis in Mali serves as a notable example of the significant tensions between moral obligations and subjective demands. This situation is acknowledged within the framework of the complementary track of the coordination ministerial seminar involving Sahelian African countries, exemplified by the establishment of the "Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee." This committee oversees operations along the African coast, based in Tamanrasset. In August 2009, the Sahel countries—Algeria, Libya, Mali, Niger, and Mauritania—held a security coordination meeting under the auspices of the "African Peace and Security Council." The goal was to prepare the military forces of these nations to combat organised crime and arms smuggling along their borders collaboratively. This initiative officially commenced in September 2009. The "African Peace and Security Council" subsequently formed a regular military force consisting of 25,000 soldiers, dedicated to fighting terrorism in cooperation with tribal militias in the Sahara.

This alliance and the shift in the trend of independence in the Algerian military doctrine after it was one of the constitutional constants, despite what the researcher "Hussein Belkhairet" points out about the geopolitical transformations surrounding the Algerian ocean to reshape the scene of the terrorist threat through the emergence of a new terrorist actor in the Sahel region of Africa, which is called the "Islamic State". Considering that the shift in the terrorist threat landscape in the Sahel region as an important axis in the ocean due to the rational assessment of the Algerian army of the sources of the danger of this organisation, which is based on the fluidity of borders and the difficulty of controlling without the skill and experience of the Algerian army.[14]

Dr Ben Antar Abdennour raises an important question regarding the security instability in the Maghreb region based on non-state challenges and the diminishing role of the state as a central authority. This shift has seemingly benefited Western powers and smaller regional players, particularly Gulf countries such as Saudi Arabia and the UAE. Additionally, internal political stagnation exacerbates these challenges, prompting speculation about whether Algeria will reconsider its security and military doctrine. This speculation unfolds through the recent constitutional amendment, outlining a readjustment of Algeria's military doctrine to account for emerging realities. However, the draft amendment imposes specific conditions framing the participation of Algerian armed forces in international operations. These conditions are set along the principles and objectives of the United Nations, the African Union, and the League of Arab States, particularly peacekeeping missions.

A closer examination of Article 91 within the constitutional amendment reveals that the president is granted direct authority to deploy troops. However, this authority is tethered to popular consent represented by parliament. The stipulation was elucidated by the chairman of the committee of experts responsible for amending the Constitution. He underscored the imperative that any decision to deploy military forces internationally must embody the collective will of the populace, necessitating prior parliamentary endorsement.

"Ahmed LARABAA" stressed that the possibility of deploying Algerian military forces outside national borders does not cause concern about Algeria's principles of non-interference in the foreign affairs of states, as well as that "Article 31" refers to the President's ability to send military forces in the framework of UN peacekeeping operations only.[15]

"Abdelkader Abderrahmane", a researcher in geopolitics and international adviser on peace and security issues in Africa, points out to the French newspaper "Le Figaro" that the adoption of new measures on the Algerian military intervention is an important change from a geographical point of view. This is reflected by the wide acceptance of Western powers, headed by France, which has always publicly called on Algeria for greater military participation outside its borders; thus, giving it more diplomatic weight, entailing negative arrangements in the regional policy of France and Morocco in the region**.** [16] This leads us to question the role of Algeria after the French withdrawal from Mali: will it constitute an effective diplomacy or a military intervention to control the troubled geographical neighbourhood?[17]

2.4-The Algerian military doctrine adapts or transforms between the requirements and the control of the troubled geographical neighbourhood.

Ben Antar questions the amendment of the Constitution at this particular time (November 2020), doubting its urgency especially that Algeria and international partners engage in peacekeeping operations, but have not responded to them. Several overlapping internal and external political goals were behind this amendment. Two main factors can be mentioned:

First, marketing the transformation within the country's democracies underscores the requirement for parliamentary ratification before the President of the Republic can deploy troops abroad for peacekeeping operations. This move reflects the authorities' intent to place the armed forces under civilian and legislative control gradually.

Second, to bolster its domestic legitimacy, the government emphasises that the evolving nature of security threats necessitates an amendment to the Constitution, which may involve a shift in Algeria's military doctrine. Several external factors can be observed in this context. Initially, the authorities justified their reluctance to amend the Constitution; however, they eventually recognised the need to do so to accommodate the army's potential participation in peacekeeping missions. Additionally, this change responds to the longstanding demands of Algeria's African and international partners, who seek its involvement in peace processes and regional security maintenance.

Third, this amendment serves as a means for Algeria to highlight its significant efforts in maintaining regional security, which often go unnoticed due to its absence from the peacekeeping operations undertaken by various African nations. These countries typically find themselves in a position of reliance on external actors for crisis management, using these operations as a platform to promote their roles as security providers.

Fourth, this amendment seeks to alleviate Algeria's structural dilemma by asserting that regional and continental security should be the responsibility of neighbouring countries. Simultaneously, Algeria has been resistant to contributing to peacekeeping missions or engaging in interventions beyond its borders, based on its constitutional stipulations. It calls on African nations to take charge of their security while refraining from joining the continental security force, thus limiting Algeria's influence within the continent.

Fifth, the higher command of the military may have recognized the necessity of establishing

an international presence for the Algerian army. Participation in international peacekeeping operations could facilitate military and defence diplomacy, allowing Algeria to engage in the security and economic benefits that come with such involvement.

Sixth, the competition with Morocco, which has reestablished a strong presence in Africa and actively participates in both continental and international peacekeeping operations, highlights its use of peacekeeping diplomacy as a key tool for increasing regional influence. Against this backdrop, the announcement of the conclusion of the French-led military operation in the Sahel, involving allied forces, marks the beginning of a strategic reassessment of Algeria's role. As the second-largest military power in Africa and a principal mediator of the Mali peace agreement, Algeria faces growing discussions regarding the potential deployment of its forces beyond its borders—a shift that would require constitutional adjustments.

Moreover, the French President Emmanuel Macron's statement that France will begin withdrawing troops from northern Mali by the end of the year, alongside his acknowledgement of France's interest in greater Algerian involvement in the region. Abdelaziz Moudjahid, director of the Algerian Institute for Strategic and Global Studies, remarked that France’s approach to Mali has failed, partly due to lingering perspectives rooted in its colonial past. In this context, Algeria seeks to solidify its position as a strategic actor with its southern neighbour, with whom it shares an extensive 1,400 km border. This ambition aligns with the declaration of Algerian President Abdelmadjid Tebboune, who stated, "the solution in Mali will be 90% Algerian".[18]

All these analyses related to the transformation in the Algerian security and military doctrine do not divert from its role in pushing the adoption of a civilian approach in the management of developmental and humanitarian threats and challenges in the Sahel region of Africa, which can be discerned as follows:

3-Algeria's development and diplomatic coordination to impose a civilian presence in the Sahel countries:

The present exploration seeks to critically assess Algeria's developmental and humanitarian contributions within the framework of the United Nations' strategic approach, positioning Algeria as a significant donor force in the Afro-Sahelian region. Through this axis, we aim to monitor and analyse Algeria's evolving role in addressing regional challenges and promoting sustainable development initiatives.

3.1-Algeria adopts the UN approach: testing the standard Hypothesis in the Sahel region:

The United Nations adopted a comprehensive strategy to deal with the multi-level challenges witnessed in the Sahel region, entitled "The United Nations integrated strategy in the Sahel", under Security Council Resolution No. 2056 in 2012, dealing with issues such as security, governance, and development. In its comprehensive analysis of the conditions prevailing in the Sahel region, the report is structured around several pivotal axes:

-The problem of security and governance:

Through civil and international wars, foreign interventions and the absence of mechanisms of good governance have been one of the most important reasons for the sagging functioning of national institutions

-A development problem and humanitarian difficulties:

The United Nations has worked to adopt effective and strong governance in the entire Sahel region by encouraging democratic practices, strengthening state justice to ensure equitable distribution of social and economic resources and services, assisting the Sahel countries in establishing regional institutes of economic governance, achieving group security and social cohesion, as well as assisting the Sahel countries in developing national early warning systems and working to support security institutions and transitional and responsible Justice.[19]

3.2-The European Union and the partnership initiative with the Sahel and Mediterranean nations to implement a recognised civic education

The strategic challenge of the European Neighbourhood Policy at the foreign policy level highlights the initiative to address threat management by fostering collaboration with Mediterranean countries through the institutionalisation of justice and internal affairs policies. This approach, which aligns with the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy, aims to mitigate threats in the southwestern Mediterranean region by supporting and incentivising reforms in neighbouring nations. Specifically, this principle is reflected in the implementation of justice and internal affairs initiatives in Tunisia and Morocco, focusing on border control, migrant flow management, and countering the financing of terrorism.

To achieve these objectives, the EU employs various mechanisms, such as "twinning projects with a regional dimension" and the establishment of memoranda of understanding among specialised offices from multiple countries. These agreements facilitate the exchange of information regarding money laundering and the fight against irregular migration. The overarching aim of this program is to institutionalise cooperation in the fields of policing and justice within the region, ultimately striving to realise the EU's normative ambition of establishing a regional security partnership with southern countries. The period between 2007 and 2013 was designated as a priority for creating a European cooperation area encompassing Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and Libya. During this time, the years 2003 to 2010 saw the adoption of criminal immigration laws and legislation that reflected both the horizontal convergence of Maghreb laws and the vertical transformation of European legal standards.[20]

3.3-A reading in the Algerian civil-development humanitarian diplomacy panel.

Algeria has adopted a multi-level approach, in line with its security and economic interests, including institutional arrangements, development projects, and partnerships with several African companies to avoid Western dependence and impose a new pattern in Africa as an important regional hub in the region. This can be observed through the role of Algeria in adopting the NEPAD initiative as a sustainable development project, through which it aims to dry up terrorist projects and control organised crime, especially in the Sahel region. It also

works to underline post-war goals by supporting the role of regional institutions, governing the peace-building process in the post-conflict phase, and strengthening governance as a fundamental pillar of security and peace[21]. The promotion of intra-state trade is also an important step towards securing the borders of countries by linking them with intra-state projects and investments, assisting local communities, actively involving them in managing their borders, training personnel and civilian use of modern technology.[22]

✓ **Algeria is adopting the trans-Saharan gas project**

The Trans- Saharan Road, as reported by Al Jazeera Centre for Studies, is considered the largest project with a strategic dimension. According to the data released, Algeria has spent 2.6 billion dollars on this project to connect a pipeline to export Nigerian gas through the ports of Algeria to Europe, besides constructing a fibre optic line to link Nigeria, gradually turning it into a road.

The chairman of the National Economic Social, and Environmental Council, "Reda Teer", explained the importance of this geostrategic project in making Algeria a northern gateway to the African market, especially after completing the giant Port project in Cherchell. He pointed out that the road will be connected to the Chinese Silk Road through the "Churchill port", which comes within the Belt initiative.

Mohamed HAMIDOUCHE, an expert at the World Bank, stressed that this road aims to break the isolation of the Sahel countries and promote trade between North and south of the Sahara, where these six countries represent 27% of the African continent's GDP and 25% of its population.

✓ **The strategic project of laying a trans-Saharan pipeline:**

This project was known ASNIGAL and aims to supply Europe with gas through building a pipeline that runs through Africa from Nigeria to Algeria, then passes through Niger to reach Europe; the length of the pipeline is 4128 km. It is expected that 20-30 billion cubic meters of gas will be transported annually. Despite the project's significance, it faced challenges following the signing of an agreement between Morocco and Nigeria on May 15, 2017, to explore the feasibility of a substantial gas pipeline that would connect the two nations along the Atlantic Ocean's Western European coast.

✓ **The debt survey for the Sahel African countries:**

Within the framework of Algeria's contribution to the development of Africa, it invested 200 million US dollars for the development of Niger and Mali, and cancelled the debts of some countries of the African Sahel. In 2013, the Algerian government decided to cancel debts of 902 million dollars to 14 member states of the African Union. Amongst which, Mauritania, the largest legatee, benefited from the cancellation of a debt of 250 million dollars. This step comes within the framework of strengthening relations between the Algerian government and these heavily indebted countries. [23]

✓ **The establishment of the coordinating body for humanitarian action in the Sahel region:**

Within the framework of the development of the Sahrawi space, Algeria and the affiliated societies of the Red Cross in the Sahrawi region have decided to establish a body to coordinate humanitarian action that undertakes the tasks of humanitarian diplomacy to ensure

harmonisation between the various organisations that are members of this body. The institutionalisation of this new humanitarian body has been signed between the "Red Cross" and the "Algerian Red Crescent, and the Red Crescent of other African countries to follow up on the humanitarian situation in the Sahrawi region. It has been institutionalised because many of these areas are known for crises that have exacerbated the situation, including food security, the spread of diseases within displaced affected people in border areas under compelling humanitarian conditions. Hence, concerted efforts and multilateral actions are needed.[24]

- ✓ **The scope of the fibre optic project:**

Algeria, Niger, and Nigeria signed the Algiers Declaration, which outlines the completion of a fibre optic cable extending along the Algeria axis. Notably, the decision to finalise this fibre optic cable was made during the inaugural session of the Bilateral High Committee between the two countries in January 2002. Niger joined the project in March 2003. In 2008, the countries involved in the fibre optic initiative adopted a special conditions document that detailed its operation and the framework for its modernisation. The primary objective of this project is to enhance regional connectivity, including neighbouring countries such as Mali, Chad, Benin, and Togo, directing it towards Europe through landing points for submarine fibre optic cables located either in Algeria or those currently under development.

Conclusion:

In complement to this research endeavour aimed at providing regular scientific data, the focus is on addressing the problematic dialectical transformation of the Algerian military doctrine concerning military intervention. This topic has ignited a systematic cognitive discussion about the implications of such interventions on the normative constitutional principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states, set against the backdrop of Algeria's security needs and geographical context. Consequently, the study successfully validated the tested hypothesis through a cognitive and theoretical framework designed to bridge the gap between these two perspectives. Therefore, the following conclusions can be drawn:

The investigation into the knowledge determinants that contribute to the emergence of normative power frameworks through the assimilation of solidarity standards in the Sahel region of Africa is essential. This understanding determines that security, as the most critical commodity to be provided, renders the Sahel region and its neighbouring countries susceptible to the institutionalisation of preferences for multi-level regional security governance. Such governance addresses threats that exceed the capacity of any single actor and operates within the framework of regional security initiatives, with Algeria playing a strategic role. It is crucial to recognise that the theory of practice concerning Algerian military intervention, as necessitated by the recent constitutional amendment, does not prioritise the comprehension of the regional rules needed to foster adherence to civilian standards. Instead, the text posits that a shared practical understanding may be less critical in the formation of a security group than the ability to enhance its performance. Furthermore, as the role of security groups becomes increasingly consolidated, the National Armed Forces may be called upon to undertake new responsibilities beyond mere territorial defence. It is essential, therefore, to consider the evolving national security policies of neighbouring countries.

Algeria is acutely aware of the dynamics within its complex geographical and security environment, particularly concerning Libya and Mali. This awareness has prompted the need to secure borders in a manner that is consistent with regional specifics, positioning Algeria as an active military and logistical force within the region. The suggestion to intervene beyond Algeria's borders signifies a significant geo-strategic shift in the pursuit of regional security. However, this shift does not diminish the challenge of finding a balanced approach between moral and security imperatives while carrying out its responsibilities. As threats and challenges are constantly evolving, addressing each issue requires a careful response to these changes, lest one fall into a strategic trap or risk of depleting state capabilities.

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