

UNDERSTANDING ALGERIA'S UPDATED MILITARY DOCTRINE IN REGIONAL UNREST CONTEXT



Lotfi SOUR
University of Mascara, Mustapha STAMBOULI (algeria)
l.sour@univ-mascara.dz

Submission date: 20/02/2022 Acceptance date: 26/05/2022 Publication date: 05/06/2022

Abstract: This study examines Algeria's military doctrines and its evolution after the last constitution amendments of 2020. Algerian military doctrines and organization have until recently remained largely focused on large-scale conventional operations. On the one hand, the continuous doctrinal transformation aims at seeking a more synchronized modernization of the military, given the deterioration of the regional security environment. While conflict in Libya and Mali became endemic after 2011, followed by foreign military interventions in the region, these increasing internal and external threats required the Algerian military substantially upgrade both its counterterrorism and border control capacities by adopting an updated doctrine that mirrors those new perspectives and attitudes.

key words: Algeria; Military doctrine; Strategy; Threats; Security.

ملخص: تبحث هذه الدراسة في العقيدة العسكرية الجزائرية وتطورها بعد التعديلات الأخيرة على الدستور لعام 2020. حيث ظلت حتى وقت قريب تركز بشكل كبير على العمليات التقليدية واسعة النطاق من منطلق عقيدتها الدفاعية. من ناحية أخرى، يهدف التحول العقائدي المستمر إلى السعي وراء تحديث أكثر تزامناً للجيش الشعبي الوطني، نظراً لتدهور البيئة الأمنية الإقليمية. في الوقت الذي أصبح فيه الصراع في ليبيا ومالي مستوطناً بعد عام 2011، وما تلاه من عسكرة أجنبية في المنطقة، تطلبت هذه التهديدات الداخلية والخارجية المتزايدة أن يقوم الجيش الجزائري بتحديث قدراته في مجال مكافحة الإرهاب والسيطرة على الحدود بشكل كبير من خلال تبني عقيدة محدثة تعكس تلك الرؤى الجديدة والتوجهات.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الجزائر؛ عقيدة عسكرية؛ استراتيجية؛ تهديدات؛ أمن.

Introduction:

This study elaborates on the evolution of Algerian military doctrine while detailing major military doctrines. In fact, military doctrines are significant for the quality of international political life since they provide some degree of information about intentions and capabilities of states in the system. If its current political and military rise continues, Algeria's strategic posture and approach to war will be one of the key variables of international politics. To make sense of Algeria's current foreign policy stance and potential future behavior regarding its military doctrine, the following question need to be answered:

how Algeria's leaders perceive threats and how Algerian military and security policymakers envision the future in the region in the light of the recent developments?

The evolution of Algeria's military doctrine proves that Algeria has adopted a more assertive and active stance on issues and regions. Algeria adopted defensive military doctrines that envisaged total war during the early years of independence to protect its mainland. This trend has significantly started to change as Algeria has become more threatened since the terrorism broke out in the 90's, where its military doctrine was designed to deal with local challenges. Since the beginning of the 2000s, Algeria has progressively abandoned its long decades-old total war doctrine by embracing a limited war doctrine, along with its own long-standing experience in terrorism fight. Afterwards, since the collapse of Libya (2011) and the outbreak of war in Mali (2012) Algeria has evolved an updated military doctrine which is more suitable for its new political aims, given the strategic environment and challenges to its national security over the last decade. The study proceeds as follows: The first section outlines the concept of military doctrine and its key features. The following section introduces some basics about the Algerian military and its organizational structure. The subsequent sections examine the evolution of Algeria's military doctrine from the independence onward. The concluding section summarizes the analysis.

I. The Conceptual framework of military doctrine

A military doctrine is a sub-component of grand strategy. A grand strategy is a state's theory about how it best ensures security for itself. (Posen, 1984) The development of military doctrine has been a fundamental element in military history. However, armed conflict and security threats have expanded and diversified, since the need to develop military doctrine has also increased. The term "military doctrine" is a complex and multidimensional concept that requires extensive knowledge of military literature. Military doctrine has been frequently mixed up with other doctrinal concepts such as political doctrine, religious doctrine, and intellectual doctrine. Military doctrine is also confused with other military concepts such as military strategy and defence policy.

Discussions of military doctrine always take place among the military elite and high-ranking commanders. Ordinary soldiers and even non-commissioned officers do not fully understand and comprehend the military doctrine of the army they belong to. Military doctrine practices, on the other hand, are primarily affected and influenced by the performance of the most ordinary soldier in both war and peacetime. It is precisely here that the importance of military doctrine for armies comes to the fore. (Art, 2003)

Aaron P. Jackson defines military doctrine: "Doctrine is a tangible representation of a military's institutional belief system regarding how that military understands, prepares for and (in theory at least) conducts military activities." First, doctrine differs from theory because it is institutional. Even if a significant minority of the institution's members disagree with doctrine, it nevertheless remains a representation of a military's institutional beliefs. The official endorsement and institutional attribution of doctrine manuals symbolize this. Second, contemporary doctrine takes the form of written manuals. This was not always the case, however when most people think of doctrine today, they think of written tomes. This is because written doctrine has become commonplace in Western militaries, and is the most visible type of doctrine. Finally, doctrine is cognitive in nature, since it is both part of and the result of a process of knowledge acquisition, assessment and distribution. Doctrine is inherently subjective because its content

reflects a belief system. By making this system, or at least parts of it, tangible, doctrine is by necessity simplified and can only ever present an incomplete representation of strategic, operational and tactical realities. (Jackson, 2013)

Written doctrine has not always existed within armed forces; however, the belief system underlying it has always been a part of military culture. This is due to the inclusion of the word 'tangible' in the above definition. Doctrine does not necessarily need to be written down, but it does need to be proclaimed in some way so as to be accessible by members of the institution. Non-written doctrine may therefore include pedagogical syllabi, acquisitions preferences, force structure development, or even stylistic penchants regarding military uniforms. Yet, today, written doctrine is the most accepted form of doctrine within Western militaries. This type of doctrine has a history of about four hundred years; its earliest predecessors being drill manuals. Over time, doctrine gradually expanded from drill to tactics, then to operational, and ultimately strategic matters. The expansion of written doctrine accompanied the progressive institutionalization, regulation, professionalization, and bureaucratization of Western militaries. The history of written doctrine is therefore reflective of the evolving relationships between militaries, states, and their populations, in addition to reflecting broader intellectual and scientific trends. (M.Collins, 2001)

In the US army, military doctrine is known as "the fundamental principles that guide the actions of military forces or elements in support of national goals." On the other hand, in the army of the Russian Federation, military doctrine is defined as "the officially approved vision of the state on the readiness of the armed defence and armed protection of the Russian Federation". In NATO, on the other hand, military doctrine is defined as "the fundamental principles that guide the actions of the armed forces in support of national goals. These principles are stable, but require uninterrupted judgment and evaluation in their application." (Jackson, 2013) That is, the aims of military doctrine are not theoretical from an intellectual perspective, but rather a guide to action aimed at guidance and consultation, making the best use of military capabilities on the basis of practical experience. In

rational armies, the formulation and development of military doctrine requires a continuous creative process that considers the experience of these armies, their needs in comparison to the security threats facing the country, their current and future capabilities, and technological developments in the military field. Military doctrine formation is a broad and comprehensive process that ranges from the policies and procedures applied by the main military branches of a given army to the tactics and techniques taught to new soldiers during their training. (Posen, 1984)

The military doctrine formation process is based on the levels of managing wars and armed conflicts. Because of this, military doctrine is constructed at three levels: the strategic level, the operational level, and the tactical level. At the strategic level, the formation of a military doctrine is based on the determination of the comprehensive doctrine of the state, which includes fixed orientations of national policy (domestic and foreign) and requires the identification of sources of danger to the national security of the country. At the operational level, the formation of a military doctrine is based on determining the basic principles that the main units of the armed forces must stick to in guiding all their various military activities in order to achieve predetermined goals at the strategic level. At the tactical level, the formation of a military doctrine is based on determining the basic principles that military formations and units attached to the main units of the army follow in order to fulfil their responsibilities as part of the armed forces and fulfil the tasks required of them. The military doctrine of an army should determine the performance and behaviour expected of that army during an armed conflict. This should be at the level of the army's main combat branches, combat units and individual combat performances of officers and soldiers on the battlefield. The moral function of military doctrine is clearly manifested at the level of individual behaviour in battles. In some military literature, the process of determining the combat performance and behaviour of armies is called by terms such as "war doctrine" or "military doctrine" and it is considered an important component of military doctrine. (Sloan, 2012)

The formulation of the military doctrine of an army should contain answers to the following questions: Who are we fighting (clear

identification of the enemy)? Why are we fighting (the goals of the armed conflict)? What are we fighting with (weapons and equipment)? How are we fighting (the structure of the command echelon and the control of forces, the order of the army, combat mobilization, rules of engagement, necessary training, military plans, support forces)? Where are we fighting (geographical boundaries of the actions of the armed forces in accordance with the national security interests of the country)? (Sloan, 2012)

While forming a military doctrine in the physical framework is based on the material, human, and technological capabilities of the state, it is based on the following elements in the theoretical framework:

1. Determining the national interests of the country.
2. Determining the sources of threats to the national security of the country.
3. Determining the nature of the relationship between the military institutions and the political management of the country.
4. Benefiting from the previous experience and practice of the military institution.
5. Benefiting from the previous literature of military thought on the subject of military doctrine.
6. Study and analysis of past armed conflicts.
7. Adoption of the principle of participation and consultation in the command, planning and implementation of military operations.

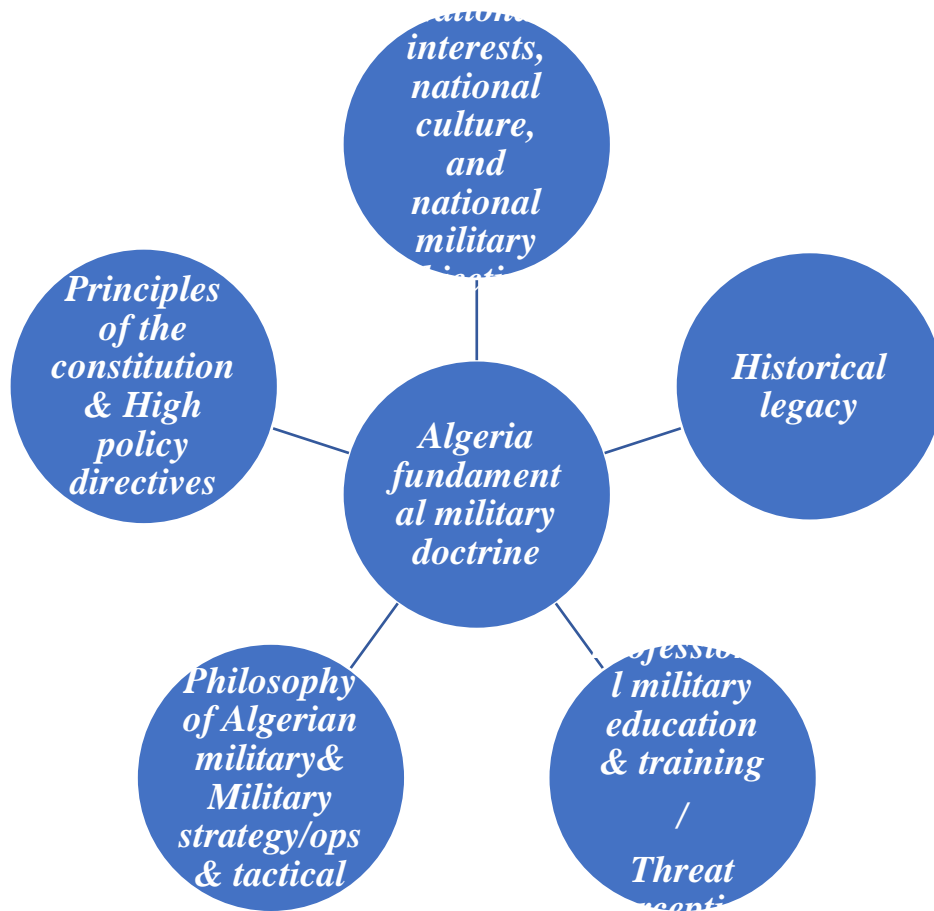
States may change their military doctrines. This is called military innovation. Although there are various, even contradictory, definitions of innovative military doctrines, Adam Grissom argues that there is a “tacit” consensus in the literature. (Grissom, 2006) Accordingly, this consensus has three dimensions. First, military innovations change the manner in which military organizations function in the field. Second, military innovations are significant in scope and impact. Third, military innovations are expected to increase military effectiveness. (Posen, 1984) As mentioned above, military doctrine may affect the stability of international politics as it provides information –if not perfect– about the intentions and, more importantly, the capabilities of states. Based on their natures (i.e. defensive, offensive, and deterrent), different types of military doctrines cause varying implications for international

politics. Offensive military doctrines may cause instability by evoking the fear of attack. (Kier, 1995) For example, before the First World War, the major European powers had adopted offensive military doctrines. (Evera, 1984) Defensive military doctrines, on the other hand, are thought to decrease the level of fear among powers since such doctrines have a placatory effect on security dilemma. (Jervis, 1978) Deterrent doctrines are designed to persuade an adversary not to dare to attack. Such doctrines are believed to contribute to international stability among great powers.

II. Fundamentals of Algeria's military doctrine

The fundamentals of Algerian military doctrine are based on the historical past; institutional belief systems and experience; ethos and principles of the military. Each successive generation of the military is not only taught these fundamental beliefs but is required to abide by them. The doctrine provides a philosophical foundation from which the thinking begins. This function is best represented in the diagram below:

Figure 01: fundamentals of Algerian military doctrine



Source: prepared by the author.

1. The Algerian Army in the constitutions:

Ever since Independence in 1962, the army has played a critical role in the political life of Algeria. (Addi, 2001) Among what are commonly known as 'political armies', Algeria is a case in point. As a country of the Third World where independence was obtained through a war of

national liberation, the army had acquired a considerable degree of historical legitimacy as a result of this experience. The army came to be identified as the main source of political power in the new state. (Addi, 2001)

Ever since its independence in 1962, Algeria has adhered to a foundational principle of non-interventionism. Article 26 of Algeria's 1989 and 1996 constitutions states: "Algeria does not resort to war in order to undermine the legitimate sovereignty and the freedom of other peoples. It puts forth its efforts to settle international disputes through peaceful means." While other aspects of the Algerian constitution have been flexibly implemented, Article 26 is almost never challenged or questioned. (Article 89 of the 1976 Constitution contains similar wording, although the original 1963 constitution did not.) Unlike other countries, which may or may not engage in cross-border or extraterritorial conflicts according to specific circumstances and in pursuit of specific interests, Algeria never does. This position has numerous advantages, but also significant disadvantages. The unprecedented worsening security situation surrounding Algeria in Libya, Mali, and Tunisia will put the country's commitment to its principles to its hardest test yet. The last time Algeria dispatched its military forces outside the country's border was in 1973 when it sent army units to Egypt in its military conflict with Israel. Constitutional amendments in 1976, however, prevented any Algerian military involvement in overseas operations and committed to a "purely defensive doctrine." (Collombier, 2012)

Algerian soldiers also intervened under the U.N. mission within the framework of peacekeeping operations, in particular within the MINUSMA in Mali. According to the (Army National Popular) ANP's El-Djeïch magazine, the first mission of the Algerian army, from January 1989 to January 1991, was an observation mission, watching the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Several other operations followed in Cambodia, Haiti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo. (El-Djeïch magazine, 2020)

2. Non-interventionism

Basically, the reasons for Algeria strict non-interventionism are complex. They are linked on the one hand to the historical experience of the country, and on the other to the way in which Algeria envisages its future. It is often said that politics arises from the meeting of memory and desire. When States define their policies, they base their decisions both on their experiences – or the memory of these experiences – and on their aspirations for the future. It is precisely in this conjunction that the Algerian doctrine of non-intervention is rooted. (Stora, 2004) Algeria's colonial heritage largely explains this choice of non-intervention. Algeria emerged from a long period of colonization with a feeling of frustration, anguish and anger. Algeria has so long endured foreign interference in its most heinous form that it has vowed never to inflict the same suffering on another country or another people. Algeria's commitment to non-interference is the inverse manifestation of how Algeria wants to be treated by others. Algeria is very protective of its own borders and is very sensitive to any perception of threats to its sovereignty. Algeria's strict adherence to its policy of non-interference provides clear boundaries for domestic policymakers and the Algerian military. Rather than open-ended, often unproductive, policy debates premised on "all options on the table," Algerian debates regarding its foreign policy begin from fixed understandings. (Porter, 2015)

3. Algeria's Strategic Thinking

Algeria has evolved different perceptions of the strategic environment and challenges to its national security over the years. Coupled with massive military modernization, the Algeria strategic outlook has undergone a rapid transformation. Algeria has gone through a significant doctrinal transformation in its strategic thinking. Consequently, the military doctrine framework translates the strategic understanding into tactical, operational, and theatrical domains. (Abascal, 2020) Accordingly, Algeria's military doctrine had been designed for countering a territorial occupation in which the PNA (The Algerian People's National Army) would exploit its numerical superiority in close combat over a foreign force invading the Algerian

mainland. After its domestic war on terror (1991-2001) Algeria started to devote - to certain extent- more resources in order to build a more professional, technologically well-equipped, and well-trained army. Another key development that pushed Algeria to modernize its military was the terrorism threats emanating from the region and intraregional rivalries.

Algeria was widely seen to be escalating efforts to modernize its defenses from the early 2010s largely due to the fate of its neighbor Libya. Thus, Algeria started a steady development of its navy and its air force; Also, Algeria is notably the only operator of the S-400 on the African continent, and also deploys the older S-300PMU-2 and multiple shorter ranged systems such as the Pantsir-SM and BuK-M2. Algeria is considered the leading military power on the African continent. Algeria's fleet of combat aircraft is also formidable, and is primarily built around the Su-30MKA heavyweight fighter - a heavily modernized derivative of the Su-27 which was the Soviet Union's top air superiority platform. The country had begun to phase out older MiG-29 squadrons for a squadron each of further Su-30MKA jets and new MiG-29Ms. Algeria operates to other classes of fixed wing combat jet, including Su-24M strike fighters and a single squadron of modernized MiG-25 interceptors - the fastest and highest-flying combat jets in the world. (Military watch magazine, 2021)

The tables below show the PNA's manpower and capabilities.

Table No. 01: the PNA's manpower

Ground Forces	110.000
Air Force	14.000
Navy	30.000
Paramilitary	200.000
Active-duty service members	130.000
Reserve	150.000

Source: Global firepower (2021) + SIPRI (2020)

Table No. 01: the PNA's capabilities

Ground Forces	110.000
Air Force	14.000
Navy	30.000
Paramilitary	200.000
Active-duty service members	130.000
Reserve	150.000

Source: World Bank data (2020) + Global firepower (2021) + SIPRI (2020)

III. ALGERIA'S EVOLVING CONVENTIONAL MILITARY DOCTRINE

From its independence in 1962 to 2020, Algeria adopted three military doctrines. The doctrines that were adopted before 2020 envisioned a “defensive doctrine” concept which can be describe it as “adherence to the principles of defence, and non-interventionism”. To put it differently, non-intervention was the sacred doctrine of the Algerian military during this era. However, the "new" doctrine adopted in 2020 emphasized strategic deterrence, this doctrine also was a message that Algeria can invoke military power with its neighbours in case of a crisis. Many analysts point that this doctrinal change, however, was not a radical departure from the predecessor doctrine. In that sense, the recent military doctrine was just an adjustment aimed at increasing the operational efficiency of the PNA, and was not a major change that required the abolition of existing organizational structures and forms of operations. Hence, this latest doctrine is designed to provide new improvements and adjustments to Algeria's predecessor doctrines.

1. Defending the Motherland

Since its independence Morocco has demonstrated expansion aspirations in its geopolitical space, within the framework of the desire of certain political movements of the creation of what they call, "The greater Morocco", (The Istiqlal or Independence Party in particular). So, the Moroccans refused the borders inherited from the colonial era, rather they submitted "fictitious" border claims including, all of Mauritania, and significant parts of Mali and Senegal, and some regions of the south-west of the 'Algeria. Thus, they dared to an unexpected

adventure, where they invaded "Tindouf" and some neighbouring regions. In the meantime, the Algerian army was weak, after a bloody war of liberation. This attack led to a short war between the two states in 1963, called the "sand war". However, it seems that the sand war was not the only factor through which the Algerians determined Morocco as a direct and main threat. (Zartman, 1965) Besides, there are other factors which increase the tensions in the relations between Algeria and Morocco, including, the desire for leadership in the region. While the objective truth confirms that Algeria is the largest state in the Maghreb and the Sahel, economically, militarily and diplomatically. This has given it the ability to lead the region and this the same role as Morocco aspires to play. (Benjamin, 2002)

However, the outbreak of the Western Sahara conflict in the year 1975. After the withdrawal of the Spanish forces' occupation from this territory, immediately, disagreements between Algeria and Morocco roared up about the future of this territory. Since Morocco would concede it as part of its territory, and is an internal national issue, can be resolved by offering the territory greater autonomy, within the framework of Moroccan sovereignty. On the other hand, Algeria adopted a position of principles based on international legality which is represented by the UN, in accordance with the provisions of Resolution 1514 (XV) on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The identification of Morocco as a threat to national security also affected Algeria's defensive doctrine and armament policy. So, with the increase in tensions between Algeria and Morocco, mainly about the cause Western Sahara since the seventies, the type of Algerian armed forces underwent changes. Whereas; six military zones concentrated in *Tindouf* near the Moroccan border on one side. On the other hand, military spending increased from \$285 million in 1975 to \$856.8 million in 1982. This means that the increase exceeded 400%. Against only 40% between 1965 and 1973. In parallel, the purchase of weapons has also increased, according to the centre for research on peace, in Stockholm, which confirmed that there are fifteen agreements between 1976-1989 in the matter, on the other hand, there are only five agreements, signed between 1970-1975. (Institute, 2005)

In addition, the Algerian Moroccan border conflict has resulted in an almost simplified perception of the threat. This means that the threat will only be terrestrial. This explains the concentration of the most developed national army units on the borders with Morocco. Thus, the priority given to the modernization of land forces at the expense of other forces. Despite these choices, (concentration on land forces), is not about Algerian army only, but also for all the defensive orientations of most Arab countries, including Morocco. By the end of the 80' witnessed significant changes in relations between Algeria and Morocco where two countries have attempted to reopen a new page in their relation based on high-level dialogue and mutual understanding between the two sides within the framework of the Arab Maghreb Union. Nonetheless, in this period, the Algerian-Moroccan disagreements over various geopolitical problems have known a remarkable decline specially after the founding treaty of the Arab Maghreb Union was signed by the five heads of state in Marrakech in 1989. Although some problems remained stuck between the two countries, namely the Western Sahara. (Belkaïd & Stora, 1999)

2. Fight against terrorism

Because of the internal security dilemma and political crisis, Algeria faced a moral and military embargo. While Algeria knew an almost total marginalisation at the world scene. On the one hand by the reduction of official visits by officials in the world, whether political or military, and on the other hand by the refusal of Western countries to sell arms to Algeria, under the pretext of the ambiguity of the security landscape. Domestic terrorism in Algeria has also had an impact on military doctrine. So, the Algerian military forces were not ready for this kind of wars (the guerrillas). Where the Algerian army was constituted by heavy units, equipped essentially for the defence against a state, external and classic threats. Until 1993 a special force for guerrilla warfare was created within the army forces in order to fight against terrorism. This force is made up of various security units. Its number was 20,000 in 1993, while it reached 60,000 security elements in 1996. At the same time, the Department of Intelligence and Security (Département du Renseignement et de la Sécurité, DRS), the military

intelligence service, was formed, as well as an interdepartmental special force that was tasked with the suppression of terrorism, headed by General Mohamed Lamari. The ultimate goal of the DGSN was to eradicate the armed groups by both infiltrating them and crushing them militarily. (lotfi, 2015) Also, the purchases of armaments that Algeria signed were influenced by the nature of the fight against terrorism, since it consisted the need to acquire new weapons for this purpose such as helicopters and night vision devices. (Denécé, 2013)

3. Defensive/deterrent doctrine:

Since the mid-2000s, Algeria has adopted a defensive/deterrent doctrine characterized by focal points: the development of Algerian strategic arsenal as a deterrent; In this, Algeria has drawn heavily on the lessons learned during its ten years long war with terrorism. Aside from classic security threats faced by Algeria, such as terrorist groups active in the Sahel region and the need to provide effective protection to its oil and gas fields and facilities, Algeria's continuing high investment in the military points to another factor: a noticeable change in the country's military doctrine, with a new focus on the capacity for pre-emptive action. This concern revolves around the shifting power dynamics in the region and the need to prevent any disruption to the balance of power which could advantage Algeria's rivals.

With the objective of upgrading the Algerian arsenal, the government signed multibillion-dollar purchases with Russia, China, Italy, Germany and the UK for military equipment. The country invested in developing its armament industry by building production plants for small arms and ammunition. (Ministère de la défense nationale, 2022) It engaged in joint ventures with firms from the UAE (Aabar Investments Fund), Germany (MTU Friedrichshafen and Deutsch AG) and Serbia (Yugoimport). (Gaub & Zoe Stanley-Lockman, 2017) In 2016, Algeria signed a joint venture with Italy to produce light and medium helicopters in Ain Arnat (West of Setif province). It is worth mentioning that the army revealed in 2015 the first locally assembled Mercedes Benz Actros four-wheel-drive trooper. (International Institute for Strategic Studies , 2017) In light of this, Algeria has succeeded, in recent years, in building up its arsenal of

submarines and aircraft, enhancing its naval and air force capabilities. It has also invested in modern missiles systems and upgraded the equipment of its ground forces in a drive to modernise. 2009 marked a pivotal year for the Algerian army in terms of its budget, which more than doubled that year, rising from \$2.5 billion in 2008 to \$6.5 billion. An upwards trend has continued, bolstered at first by increasing oil revenues which climbed in 2010 and the subsequent years, with military spending stabilising at between \$9 and \$10 billion since 2018, representing a significant portion of the country's public spending. (military watch magazine, 2018) To compensate for the limits of its non-interventionist policy, that is hardly viable in the face of profoundly changing and evolving regional threats, Algeria has been strengthening cooperation with its neighbours primarily with Mali, Libya, Niger and especially Tunisia. Helping Tunisia for its protection is helping Algeria itself. The two countries have been strengthening their cooperation by multiplying bilateral meetings between the structures in charge of border security, coordinating actions, exchanging information as well as experiences in border security and control of smuggling activities. The attack of In Amenas 2013 speeded up changes already afoot. Cooperation with Mali and Tunisia has moved into top gear as Algeria re-emerged as an important diplomatic player in regional affairs.

The focus of the Algerian army no longer is the boarder with Morocco but the country's long desert boarders with Tunisia, Libya, Niger and Mali. This is a complete turnaround from twenty years earlier. Today security cooperation with the US is discreet but good. Algeria's relations with Egypt are also better than they have been for decades. For Algeria, to foster cooperation with its neighbours is just not enough especially when partners (Mali, Libya) in particular are not able to protect their territory and their borders. Through the modernization and professionalization of its military, Algeria achieved vast military capabilities that remain underused. These military capabilities should be used to maintain regional stability: the protection of Algeria's security interests takes place within Algeria but also on the other side of the national borders.

Table No. 03: Evolution of the Algerian military expenditure

Years	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Million US dollars	5 060	5349	7655	8056	8701	10021
Years	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Million US dollars	10484	10515	9959	9551	10304	9958

Source: SIPRI Military expenditure by country (2021)

IV. THE IMPACT OF REGIONAL UNREST ON THE ALGERIAN MILITARY DOCTRINE

Constitutional changes in 2020 allow the military to carry out security missions outside national borders, but the military will not fight a major war in the region in order to avoid any direct military involvement and domestic opposition to Algerians fighting abroad. The military will carry out limited intelligence and combat missions, especially on the southern borders, such as monitoring and pursuing terrorist groups, smugglers, and international criminal groups. (Elguettaa, 2021)

The new constitutional changes represent a major shift in Algeria's policy, and will help the country reposition itself as a powerbroker and stabilizer in a tumultuous region, amid raging conflicts near its borders such as the war in Libya and the ongoing fight against terrorism in the Sahel and Sahara. The new constitutional changes represent a major shift in Algeria's policy, and will help the country reposition itself as a powerbroker and stabilizer in a tumultuous region, amid raging conflicts near its borders such as the war in Libya and the ongoing fight against terrorism in the Sahel and Sahara. Analysts point that Algeria's non-interference policy was seen as a reason that encouraged the NATO to stage a massive air campaign in Libya to depose Muammar Gaddafi in 2011, which eventually led to the removal of Gaddafi's regime and sent the country into a raging civil war. (Toumi, 2020)

Despite repeated demands for Algeria to play a role in Libya to help restore security to the oil-rich nation, Algeria refrained from

intervening, citing its non-interference doctrine. This Algerian position has encouraged foreign players such as Turkey to embark on military adventurism in Libya, sending troops to the conflict-ridden country to support the Tripoli-based Government of National Accord (GNA) against eastern Khalifa Haftar, who is backed by Egypt, the United Arab Emirates and France. The Algerian non-interference doctrine has caused the situation in Libya to escalate to the point of a military confrontation, when Egypt, another Libya's next-door neighbor, threatened to militarily intervene in Libya to stop the Turkish military advances in the oil-rich country. (Ghanem, 2019)

Now, the constitutional changes would give Algeria a tactical advantage to play a prominent role in its backyard and make the country to become more proactive if another conflict erupts in a neighboring state. Among the countries bordering Algeria are Mali, Niger and Mauritania, all considered to be fragile states, likely to erupt in conflict. With Algeria's long policy of non-interference is now lifted, its adversaries may now carefully weigh their options when it comes to intervention or interference either in its direct neighborhood, or whenever its allies are under threat.

Conclusion:

This study has shown that Algeria's military doctrine has evolved in line with the expansion of its political goals at international and regional levels. Accordingly, Algeria's military doctrine has evolved from a sheer defensive stance to a more offensive stance as response to the changing international environment and the PNA increasing power. Further, the recent worsening security situation and unprecedented external threats to Algeria's security and stability, Algeria sticking to its noninterventionist approach was under question. Yet, faced with new and crucial external threats, there are signs, though, that Algeria is softening its rigid non-interventionist stance, within the security environment marked by distrust, the interconnectivity of the security problems is bringing the deterrence threshold to a minimum level, is another indicator of such Algerian intentions. Hence, Algerian doctrinal shift in the strategic arena suggests that it considers itself capable enough of carrying a limited operation under the legitimate self-defense

threshold to preserve sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the motherland. Similarly, hybrid warfare is also part of the adjusted doctrine to deal with the hybrid warfare which now is an important component of Algerian strategic thought. Along with the conventional use of force.

Algeria's rising power suggests that it may pursue minor changes in its strategy as its interests expand. But for the short to medium term, the main issues over which Algeria would use force remain unpredictable. At last, though a review of the military doctrine has been done a number of times, the fundamentals have remained the same.

Bibliography

- Abascal, D. (2020, 05 10). *Constitutional amendments to allow the Algerian Army to intervene abroad*. Récupéré sur Atalayar: <https://atalayar.com/en/content/constitutional-amendments-allow-algerian-army-intervene-abroad>
- Addi, L. (2001). *Army, State and Nation in Algeria*. Dans K. D. Kooning, & Kruijt, *Political Armies: The Military and Nation Building in the Age of democracy* (pp. 159-178). New York: Zedbooks.
- Addi..*TheMilitaryandNationBuildingintheAgeof*, L. (s.d.). *Army, State and Nation in Algeria*.
- Art, R. J. (2003). *A Grand Strategy for America*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Belkaïd, A., & Stora, B. (1999). *Les 100 portes du Maghreb. L'Algérie, le Maroc, la Tunisie, trois voies singulières pour allier islam et modernité*. Paris: Les Éditions de l'Atelier/Éditions Ouvrières.
- Benjamin, S. (2002). *Algérie-Maroc: histoire parallèles destin croisés*. Alger: éd. Barzakh.
- Collombier, V. (2012). *The Military and the Constitution: The Cases of Algeria, Pakistan and Turkey*. *Arab reform initiative papers*, 2-5.
- Denécé, E. (2013). *Forces Spéciales et Groupes d'Intervention Antiterroristes algériens*. Paris: Centre Français de recherche sur le renseignement, CF2R.
- El-Djeïch magazine. (2020). *El-Djeïch magazine*.
- Elguettaa, B. (2021, 03 17). *The Military's Political Role in the New Algeria*. Récupéré sur Carnegie Middle East Centre: <https://carnegie-mec.org/2021/03/17/military-s-political-role-in-new-algeria-pub-84076>
- Evera, S. v. (1984). *The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War*. *International Security*, 09(01), 58-107.
- Gaub, F., & Zoe Stanley-Lockman. (2017). *Defence Industries in Arab States: Players and Strategies*". *Chaillot Papers*, 65.
- Ghanem, D. (2019). *Algeria's Crisis Outlook and Regional Implications*. *Med dialogue series*, 57.
- Grissom, A. (2006). *The Future of Military Innovation Studies*. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 29(05), 907.
- Institute, S. I. (2005). *SIPRI yearbook 2005 Armaments, Disarmament and International Security*. Stockholm : Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.
- International Institute for Strategic Studies . (2017). *Armed Conflict Survey* , 368.

- Jackson, A. P. (2013). *Doctrine, Strategy and Military Culture: military-strategic doctrine development in Australia, Canada and New Zealand, 1987-2007*. Ottawa - Ontario : Canadian Forces Aerospace Warfare Centre Production Section.
- Jackson, A. P. (2013). *The Roots of Military Doctrine: Change and Continuity in Understanding the Practice of Warfare*. Kansas: Combat Studies Institute.
- Jervis, R. (1978). Cooperation under the Security Dilemma. *World Politics*, 30(02), 167-214.
- Kier, E. (1995). Culture and Military Doctrine: France between the Wars. *International Security*, 19(04), 65-93.
- Sour, L. (2015). The Algerian domestic strategy of counter-terrorism from confrontation to national reconciliation. *Romanian review of political science and international relations*, 29.
- M.Collins, J. (2001). *Military Strategy: Principles, Practices, and Historical Perspectives*. Dulles: Potomac Books Inc.
- Military watch magazine. (2018). *Is the U.S. Training to Fight Algeria? Major Drills Simulate Attack on North African S-400 Air Defences*. Récupéré sur military watch magazine: <https://militarywatchmagazine.com/article/us-training-fight-algeria-drills-attack-s400>
- Military watch magazine. (2021, April 06). *Air Superiority in the Maghreb: How Algeria's Airspace Became the Best Defended in Africa*. Récupéré sur Military watch magazine: <https://militarywatchmagazine.com/article/air-superiority-in-the-maghreb-how-algeria-s-airspace-became-the-best-defended-in-africa-part-two>
- Ministère de la défense nationale. (2022, 02 18). *Histoire de l'Armée Nationale Populaire*. Récupéré sur Ministère de la défense nationale: https://www.mdn.dz/site_principal/sommaire/actualites/ar/2020/novembre/mdn21112020ar.php
- Porter, G. D. (2015). Questioning Algeria's Non-Interventionism. *Politique étrangère*, 49-52.
- Posen, B. (1984). *The Sources of Military Doctrine*. Ithaca: Cornell University press.
- Sloan, G. (2012). Military doctrine, command philosophy and the generation of fighting power: genesis and theory. *International Affairs*, 243-263.
- Stora, B. (2004). *Histoire de l'Algérie depuis l'indépendance*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Toumi, A. (2020). *Algeria's military changes and the new doctrine*. Ankara: Center for Middle Eastern Studies.
- Zartman, W. (1965). The Politics of Boundaries in North and West Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 163.