

Algerian Security and Development Mechanisms to Combat Terrorism in the African Sahel Region

Dr. Sahnine Hebri

University of Dr. Moulay Tahar – Saïda , Algeria

Email: Sahninehebri20@gmail.com

Received: 12/01/2025 ; Accepted: 20/05/2025 ; Published: 11/07/2025

ABSTRACT:

This study addresses an important issue related to cross-border security threats in the African Sahel region, represented by the spread of terrorist operations and the ways of combating them through the Algerian security strategy. It also examines the widespread proliferation of all activities parallel to terrorist acts, such as arms trafficking, drug trafficking, and illegal migration, which constitute interconnected networks combining radical fundamentalist orientations with local economic backgrounds and interests that have regional and international extensions, with repercussions on the international arena. Considering that Algeria represents a vast extension of the African continent through the Sahara Desert, any security threat in the African Sahel and the Sahara is regarded as a direct threat to Algerian national security. In this context, Algeria has sought to adopt a set of mechanisms and security, political, and diplomatic instruments within its security diplomacy and relations with African states.

Keywords: Mechanisms, Counter-terrorism, African Sahel Region, Algerian Security Diplomacy.

INTRODUCTION

The African Sahel region constitutes one of the geopolitical areas that attract the attention of regional and international actors as well as research centers, unlike its marginal political, economic, and strategic status before the Cold War. However, the changes witnessed by the international community in the early 1990s led to fundamental transformations regarding the sources of security threats and international risks, which began to take on a transnational rather than a purely national dimension. Most terrorist operations and their parallel forms escalated unexpectedly in the African Sahel region after the events of September 11, 2001.

The African Sahel region is considered a fertile ground for the growth of numerous security threats and the aggravation of internal crises, characterized by fragile states, deteriorating economies, and weak development rates. All these obstacles contributed to making the Sahel a safe haven for the spread of terrorist groups.

This dynamic within the Sahel and the Sahara Desert, in addition to external covetousness over the region's wealth, undoubtedly pushes regional regimes to search for suitable means to address this strategic vulnerability. It appears that these strategies have varied: some countries resort to foreign actors and imported solutions, while others, led by Algeria, bet on African initiatives based on the principle of "Africanization of solutions" and self-reliance in confronting common challenges despite the difficulty of the mission.

In this study, we will attempt to provide an overview of the concepts of terrorism, security, and development, as well as present a set of initiatives, conferences, and agreements undertaken by Algeria to strengthen security and strategic cooperation with neighboring countries in various fields to address terrorism and achieve security and stability in the region.

Significance of the Study

The importance of addressing security challenges in the Sahel region stems from objective considerations related to their global and growing nature, such as terrorism and organized crime, which pose threats to human stability and existence. They jeopardize the construction of comprehensive security for states, given their escalating trajectory. Furthermore, studying the Algerian security approach and its practical application to the African Sahel, where manifestations of instability and insecurity prevail, provides the topic with an academic dimension aimed at identifying the roots of the problem and the causes of its spread. This, in turn, offers a prescriptive outlook that goes beyond the Sahel to confront security threats more broadly.

Main Problematic

Amid the evolving situation in the Sahara and the accelerating pace of interactions between various internal and external variables, and with the growing international focus on the Sahel due to its importance for different actors and its potential as a source of attraction, Algeria's positions are critical. Accordingly, this study revolves around the following main problematic:

To what extent has the Algerian security and development approach contributed to addressing the phenomenon of terrorism in the African Sahel region?

From this central question emerge several sub-questions:

- What is meant by security and development?
- How does Algeria deal with the current situation in the African Sahel?
- How does the Algerian strategy affect security and development in the African Sahel region?

Hypotheses

This study is based on two hypotheses:

- The more development is achieved, the greater the prospects for establishing security in the African Sahel.
- The comprehensive concept of security and development, coupled with the expansion of the notion of secure borders, leads Algeria to acknowledge the severity of risks that transcend its geographical boundaries in the African Sahel.

Methodological and Theoretical Framework

Researching security in the African Sahel required us to employ several methodologies. We resorted to the survey method, through which we examined various events and issues in the region that affect Algerian national security, such as conflicts, terrorism, and organized crime. We also used the case study method, applying it to the Sahel as a model to highlight security threats to the region and to Algeria's security in particular. Additionally, the historical method was employed to trace the stages of the crisis's evolution in the Sahel.

As for the theoretical framework, the study relies on security approaches such as the realist approach to security, which assumes that security constitutes a fundamental concern for the state, always seeking to achieve its interests without excluding rational logic. The reality of security threats in Sahel countries hinders states from realizing their interests.

Structure of the Study

To answer the research problematic, we will focus on three main sections:

- **Chapter One:** The conceptual framework of security, development, and the African Sahel region.
- **Chapter Two:** Algeria's efforts in resolving the Sahel crisis.
- **Chapter Three:** Algeria's arrangements with frontline states to combat terrorism in the Sahel.

CHAPTER ONE: THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF SECURITY, DEVELOPMENT, AND THE AFRICAN SAHEL REGION

New terms have emerged on the international scene in their form, though old in their content. This is an inevitable result of the shifts in the balance of power in the world, and these terms reflect such fluctuations. Among the most prominent of these concepts is terrorism. Terrorism has existed since the beginning of human existence, expressing itself in different forms. Humanity has attempted to regulate it through spirituality, divine teachings, systems of values, social norms, laws, punishments, and counter-violence. Yet, it remains inherently part of life, a continuous struggle between good and evil, between power and interests. In recent years, terrorism has multiplied, and its negative effects have expanded across many countries, undermining their security, stability, and economies. Therefore, in the first section, we will address the concept of security from the perspectives of international relations. In the second section, we will examine development from a theoretical and conceptual perspective, before moving in the third section to discuss the phenomenon of terrorism and the dilemma of its definition.

Section One: The Concept of Security from the Perspectives of International Relations

Various interpretations and theories have been proposed concerning the concept of security, which remains one of the most debated notions, given the diversity of its references and definitions. Some argue that security should not have a generalized, fixed definition, but rather that it must be redefined whenever it is threatened. This divergence stems from the concept's connection to reality, the differences in the security environment of thinkers and the cases under analysis, its psychological dimension, and the evolving nature of security threats facing states and other actors in the international arena. Thus, despite the utmost importance and frequent use of the concept of security, researchers and academics remain divided over many of its principles and foundations, which has affected the ability to precisely define it.¹

Subsection One: The Definition of Security in Language

Linguistic and lexical studies in both Arabic and foreign dictionaries define *amān* (security) as synonymous with tranquility, the opposite of fear, or equivalent to the absence of danger. Its use typically relates to being free from danger, invasion, or fear. These terms, however, are not perfect synonyms, and each carries a different connotation.

In the Qur'anic text, *amān* (security) signifies tranquility derived from trust in Allah, which is faith (*īmān*), and from it comes peace of mind. In the Qur'an, the root *amn* appears in various forms, since it is derived from *īmān*. The word *amān* is mentioned five times in this form, and seven times in the form *āminīn*. It also appears in contrast to fear in three verses: **Surat Al-Nisā' (83)**, **Surat Al-Nūr (55)**, and **Surat Quraysh (04)**.²

The linguistic meaning of the word *amn* in Arabic comes from: *amina*, *ya'manu*, *amnan*, *amānan*, *amnatan* meaning to be reassured and not afraid. A place is said to be secure (*āmīn*) if its people are safe; one is safe from evil if unharmed by it; to entrust someone (*ammanahu*) is to place confidence in him. To make someone secure (*ammanahu*) is to provide him safety; to entrust someone (*i'tamanahu*) is to make him a custodian. Seeking refuge (*ista'mana*) means requesting protection. An Arab who *ista'mana* entered the abode of peace under protection. The term *amānah* (trust) is the opposite of betrayal and also means a deposit.³

Security is derived from *amān*, the opposite of fear. Thus, to say one is secure means he is reassured and not afraid. A secure society is one in which matters are stable, and its people enjoy peace of mind. *īmān* (faith) means belief or conviction.⁴ Therefore, the linguistic meaning of security corresponds to several terms, including safety, tranquility, and well-being.

In another sense, the word *amn* expresses tranquility, reflecting an existence accompanied by the capacity to confront present and potential surprises without causing disruption to the prevailing security conditions.⁵

According to the *Oxford Dictionary*, security is defined as: "a condition of being free from danger or threat, stability, and freedom from fear and anxiety."⁶

Subsection Two: The Concept of Security in Terminology

The concept of security encompasses numerous terminological definitions due to the diversity and divergence of perspectives among researchers in the field of security studies in particular, and international relations in general. We have reviewed a set of definitions to grasp the full scope and

cognitive content of each, thereby avoiding bias and subjectivity. Among these definitions, we highlight the following:

The term *security* is regarded as one of the ambiguous concepts in the approaches of scholars in this relatively young academic field. The ambiguity of the concept primarily stems from the fact that security studies are still part of the discipline of international relations, which offers competing approaches and academic models for its treatment. Furthermore, the nature of the concept itself has led many thinkers to diverge in defining, interpreting, and analyzing it. The thinker **Barry Buzan**, in his work *People, States, and Fear*, identified twelve conflicting definitions of the concept of security.

In this regard, **Barry Buzan** argues that security is a complex concept and that its definition should encompass at least three elements: the political context of the concept, its different dimensions, and the ambiguity and divergence linked to its application in international relations.⁷

The meanings of security in the Qur'an refer to serenity, tranquility, the absence of fear, safety, and the removal of fear. As for thinkers, the concept of security has been defined through different orientations and visions, among which are the following:

- **Henri Kissinger** defined it as: *"Any action by which society seeks to preserve its right to survival."*⁸
- **Robert McNamara**, former U.S. Secretary of Defense and one of the prominent strategic thinkers, in his book *The Essence of Security*, defined it as: *"It means progress, growth, and development, whether political, social, or economic, under guaranteed protection."* He further elaborated: *"The true security of a state derives from its deep understanding of the sources threatening its various capabilities and from confronting them in order to create opportunities to develop these capabilities in all fields."*⁹
- The most widely used definition in the field of security studies is that offered by **Barry Buzan**, who stated: *"Security is the absence of threats to the basic values of society."*¹⁰
- The thinker **Thomas Schelling** defined it as: *"Security is the preservation of the state's freedom and the safeguarding of its core values and institutions."*¹¹

Section Two: Development – Conceptual Foundations

Many researchers and scholars have contributed to clarifying the concept of development, including those in political science, economics, sociology, and others, in addition to the United Nations. This is due to the transformations occurring within societies and nations, which have had a decisive role in shaping the concept, as well as the divergent views of researchers and thinkers regarding the definitions of the term development. We will attempt to clarify this in what follows:

Subsection One: The Definition of Development

In its general sense, development means a process that requires choices and decisions regarding methods and means of action in several fields, including the social, economic, and political. It also requires an assessment of the existing situation and a vision of what is desired and what must be done.¹² Several definitions of development are found in the Arabic language, where the term is derived from *namā* (growth), meaning increase and expansion, while the word *numū* (growth) from

namā – yanmū – numū also means increase, in the sense of growth, expansion, and multiplication.
13

Terminologically, development is a process of change in the economic, social, and cultural structures of society, essentially aimed at raising the living standards of the population in all aspects. It refers to the genuine advancement of the citizen, meaning an increase in income accompanied by positive changes in behavior, values, and attitudes.¹⁴

Raymond Boudon defined development as: *“an idea borrowed from comparing society to a living human body, which grows and transforms according to the procedures of maturation in development; likewise, society matures, transforms, and develops across all its sectors.”*¹⁵

Atif Ghaith defined development as: *“the planned scientific movement to undertake multiple social and economic processes within a particular ideology, leading to change from an undesirable state to a preferable desired one.”*¹⁶

In 1956, the **United Nations** defined development as: *“the process aimed at linking local efforts with governmental authorities’ efforts to improve the economic, social, and cultural conditions of local communities, integrating these efforts into the lives of nations and peoples, and enabling them to contribute to national progress.”*¹⁷

For sociologists, the concept of development carries different meanings and contents, shaped by the diversity of ideological orientations of thinkers. **Ahmed Zaki Badawi** defined it as: *“the transformation of a static society into a dynamic one according to the needs of the masses.”*¹⁸

In this regard, French sociologist **Gabriel Loubère** emphasized that development is not a purely economic phenomenon but rather a set of diverse sociological and psychological phenomena.¹⁹

French thinker **François Perroux** defined it as: *“an attempt to adapt to the social and mental transformations of the masses, which are continuously developing and expanding with sustainability.”*²⁰

Economists, on the other hand, defined development as: *“a process of increasing real national income and maintaining this increase over a long period of time, such that the growth rate of income exceeds the population growth rate, accompanied by structural changes in the economy of the state.”*²¹

The **United Nations Development Programme (1990)** defined development as: *“the process of enlarging people’s choices, the most critical of which are to lead long and healthy lives, to acquire knowledge, and to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living.”*²²

In 1996, the **United Nations General Assembly** issued a resolution containing the *Declaration on the Right to Development*, which stated in Article 01 that the right to development is an inalienable human right. By virtue of this, every human being and all peoples have the right to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural, and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized.²³

From these definitions, it becomes clear that development cannot be confined solely to the economic dimension, but extends to other aspects as well. This diversity reflects the different intellectual perspectives of thinkers, whether social or even psychological. It is also worth noting that the United Nations considered development to be the totality of structural and functional transformations

Algerian Security and Development Mechanisms to Combat Terrorism in the African Sahel Region

within society, enabling it to move from stagnation and underdevelopment to progress, growth, and prosperity, recognizing development as a fundamental human right.

Based on the above, development can be concluded to mean: a qualitative and quantitative transformation from one situation to another better state, encompassing all fields, including economic, social, political, cultural, environmental, administrative, health, and even technological dimensions.

Section Three: The Phenomenon of Terrorism and the Dilemma of Definition

The concept of terrorism has occupied a wide space in the fields of politics and international security, since this variable transcends the considerations of national sovereignty of many states worldwide—either by undermining their security and stability through the use of violence, or under the guise of illegitimate international interventions in the name of counterterrorism. Added to this is the divergence of thought in how it is perceived: what one actor sees as terrorism, another may regard as a heroic act of jihad. Even more problematic is the fact that those who support terrorism today may condemn it tomorrow, and vice versa.

Thus, defining terrorism is a thorny and difficult task, as it often stems from psychological bases tied to the identity of the actor. For this reason, there is no agreement among individuals or groups on the exact nature of terrorism. This reflects a subjective state, as people interpret and understand phenomena differently according to the systems and laws of their societies on one hand, and their varying interests on the other. Consequently, agreeing on a precise definition of terrorism becomes nearly impossible. The concept of terrorism is dynamic and fluid, its forms and manifestations shifting over time and across space.²⁴

Subsection One: The Definition of Terrorism in Language

When studying concepts and meanings, one must first return to original linguistic sources and then observe how meanings evolved in modern dictionaries. The linguistic meaning of terrorism does not differ much from one language to another, revolving around notions of fear, dread, and extreme fright. This is what we see when reviewing linguistic definitions of the term.

In its commonly understood sense today, irhab (terrorism) is a modern term in Arabic; thus, derivatives like irhāb and irhābī (terrorist) are absent from classical Arabic dictionaries. The word irhāb is derived from the augmented verb arhaba—yarhibu, irhāban, tarhībān—meaning to frighten or terrify. It carries the same meaning as the triliteral verb rahaba—yarhabu, rahbatan—to fear. Rahiba shay'an rahbatan means "he feared it," and rahba refers to fear and dread. A terrorist (irhābī) is thus one who resorts to violence to establish his authority, while a terrorist regime is a form of rule based on terror and violence to achieve political goals.²⁵

If we turn to the Qur'an as the source of expression, we find that derivatives of the root rahaba appear in seven places, some of which refer to meanings of fear, dread, and fright, as in:

- (yahrabun) in the verse: ﴿وَفِي نُسَخَتِهَا هُدًى وَرَحْمَةٌ لِلَّذِينَ هُمْ لِرَبِّهِمْ يَرْهَبُونَ﴾²⁶
- (farhabun) in the verse:²⁷ ﴿وَأَوْفُوا بِعَهْدِي أُوفِ بِعَهْدِكُمْ وَإِيَّايَ فَارْهَبُونَ﴾, and also: ﴿إِنَّمَا هُوَ إِلَهُ وَاحِدٌ فَإِيَّايَ﴾²⁸ فَارْهَبُونَ

- (turhibun) in the verse: ﴿وَأَعِدُّوا لَهُمْ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ وَمِنْ رِبَاطِ الْخَيْلِ تُرْهِبُونَ بِهِ عَدُوَّ اللَّهِ وَعَدُوَّكُمْ﴾²⁹

Terrorism has been defined in many global encyclopedias and dictionaries. In the political dictionary, it is defined as: “an attempt by terrorist individuals to spread panic, fear, and terror for political purposes.”³⁰

The Italian language used the word *herise*, meaning to frighten, terrify, or spread panic. The German language translated the French term *terrorisme* into *Terrorismus* as an equivalent term.³¹

The Political Encyclopedia defines terrorism as: “the use of unlawful violence or the threat of it in its various forms such as sabotage, murder, and torture—with the aim of achieving political objectives, in addition to undermining the morale of organizations and institutions, and applying coercion against authority.”³²

In the Oxford Dictionary, terrorism is defined as: “a policy or a method intended to intimidate or terrorize opponents of a government; the term terrorist generally refers to any person attempting to support his views through coercion, threats, or intimidation.”³³

In modern political science dictionaries, the term terrorist is often used to describe political groups that employ violence as a means of pressuring governments to meet their various demands. In global encyclopedias, the terrorist is defined as the individual who practices violence, either alone or within a group or system, according to a specific strategy.

From Arabic, translated, and Latin dictionaries, it becomes clear that the essence of terrorism lies in terror itself. The root meaning of *irhāb* is “to terrify.” However, dictionaries have approved the term *irhāb*, which denotes dread (*rahba*). This is nevertheless distinct from the traditional Arabic meaning of *rahba*, which also implies fear mingled with reverence and awe. Thus, linguistically, the term encompasses both fear and dread.

Subsection Two: The Definition of Terrorism in Terminology

From a scientific and academic perspective, there is no consensus on the definition of terrorism, as definitions vary according to different orientations. It is worth noting that the terminological definition of terrorism faces profound disagreements due to the variety of interpretations. What is agreed upon, however, is that the term *terrorism* was coined by Western states and used during the colonial era to describe resistance fighters and liberation movements.³⁴

Eric Morris defines terrorism as “*the threat of using unusual or extraordinary violence to achieve political objectives, with terrorist acts usually being symbolic in order to produce a psychological rather than a material effect.*”

Ahmed Jalal Ezzedine defines terrorism as “*organized and continuous violence intended to create a state of general threat directed at the state or a political group, carried out by an organized group with the aim of achieving their political objectives and pressuring the group or the state to change its behavior toward a specific issue.*”

Dr. **Abdelwahab Hamed** argues that “*terrorism is a doctrine that relies on panic and intimidation to achieve its goals. This doctrine has a social dimension aimed at eliminating the class system that directly targets a specific group, and a political dimension that seeks to overturn regimes entirely, not hesitating to strike state representatives in order to strike the state itself.*”³⁵

Noam Chomsky defines terrorism by saying: *“We use the term terrorism to refer to threats of violence, or acts of violence, intended to intimidate or coerce for political purposes in most cases—whether it is wholesale terrorism practiced by emperors or retail terrorism practiced by bandits.”*³⁶

Raymond Aron links terrorism to its psychological effects, considering that *“what we call a terrorist act is an act of violence whose psychological effects outweigh its purely physical consequences.”*³⁷

In North Africa and the African Sahel, the region is facing regional security threats, among them the phenomena of terrorism and organized crime. If we are to examine Algeria’s role in the Sahel in combating the security threats it faces

CHAPTER TWO: ALGERIA’S EFFORTS IN RESOLVING THE CRISIS OF THE AFRICAN SAHEL REGION

Numerous imperatives have led to Algeria being considered a pivotal and geostrategic state. Inevitably, we must highlight its political and diplomatic role in resolving crises in the region, particularly in light of the profound political transformations and serious security disruptions that have compelled Algeria to place this region at the forefront of its foreign policy agenda. The African Sahel represents one of the geopolitical areas suffering from a complex, multidimensional crisis that has fueled the rise of terrorism in the region. This situation necessitated the intervention of several states, foremost among them Algeria, which has adopted positions and efforts reflecting its experience and expertise in addressing terrorism in the Sahel, from the standpoint of protecting Algerian national security. This cannot be achieved without restoring stability to the Sahel region.³⁸

Section One: Algeria’s Developmental Strategy in the African Sahel Region

There is a strong correlation between security and development: development cannot be achieved in the absence of security, just as the lack of development leads to threats to state security. This equation is particularly complex within the African landscape in general, and in the Sahel in particular. For this reason, Algeria has sought to adopt a dual security and development approach to address the challenges it faces.

Subsection One: The NEPAD Initiative

The NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa’s Development) initiative emerged within the context of international and regional efforts to confront Africa’s challenges. It was proposed in 2001 by the heads of five African states: the late Algerian President **Abdelaziz Bouteflika**, Nigerian President **Olusegun Obasanjo**, Senegalese President **Abdoulaye Wade**, South African President **Thabo Mbeki**, and the late Egyptian President **Hosni Mubarak**. It is a detailed action plan represented in the new partnership to develop Africa and lift it out of poverty and marginalization.

The importance of the initiative lies in its focus on several priority development sectors, such as agriculture, education, health, technology, infrastructure, environment, communications, security, and investments. Within this partnership, Algeria assumed responsibility for the **human development portfolio (education and health)**, Nigeria took charge of **economic integration**,

Senegal was responsible for **infrastructure, environment, information technology, and communications**, while Egypt oversaw **agriculture, trade, and transport**.³⁹

The initiative was presented in its final form in the Nigerian capital, Abuja, on 23/10/2001, where the basic document was ratified by the heads of state and governments responsible for its implementation. It was then officially named “*The New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD)*”, aimed at integrating Africa into the global economy while committing to principles of good governance and democracy in exchange for increased aid and investment from developed countries. The G8 countries welcomed the African initiative during the Genoa Summit in Italy on 20/07/2001, urging African states to pursue political and economic reform in exchange for access to external assistance.⁴⁰

Section Two: Characteristics and Objectives of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD)

The NEPAD initiative is based on several priorities aimed at establishing the necessary conditions for sustainable development. These include peace and security, governance and economic reform, and continental cooperation and integration in multiple sectors such as agriculture, education, health, advanced technology, environment, infrastructure, energy, and transportation. The ultimate goal is to achieve comprehensive political, economic, social, and security development to confront major risks, foremost among them poverty and terrorism.⁴¹

Subsection One: Characteristics of the NEPAD Initiative

The NEPAD initiative sought to address Africa’s problems, including those of the Sahel region, by linking sustainable development from an economic and social perspective with sustainable development structurally connected to democratic development. The new initiative is distinguished by the following:⁴²

- It is an African initiative, making it closer to African realities and the problems the continent faces.
- It is a pragmatic initiative, being aware of the shortcomings of earlier economic plans such as the Lagos Plan of Action or the African Economic Community. Accordingly, the new initiative divided the main work areas among the five member states of the Steering Committee.
- It identifies African material resources that must be relied upon and exploited.
- It emphasizes the importance of achieving political stability as a prerequisite for attaining economic development, with such stability ensured through principles of democracy, transparency, and regionalism.

Subsection Two: Objectives of the NEPAD Initiative

The initiative aims to achieve five main objectives:

a. Promoting trade, investment, and economic growth:⁴³

- Increasing the mobilization of domestic resources to achieve higher growth levels.
- Encouraging private capital inflows to raise the gross domestic product (GDP).

- Doubling agricultural production by diversifying and improving it, thereby reducing poverty and enhancing food security.
- Expanding basic infrastructure.
- Reviving regional economic integration in vital sectors that influence regional production.
- Working to integrate African products into global markets through regulated exchanges between African states and buyers within the framework of multilateral trade negotiations to secure advantages.

b. Increasing external development aid in the medium term:

This includes reforming the aid delivery system to ensure that its flows are used more effectively by African countries benefiting from bank loans, as well as forming a group to study and draft a strategy document on poverty reduction. This cannot be achieved without cooperation with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.⁴⁴

c. Debt relief:

Debt relief is essentially linked to poverty reduction. On this basis, the leaders of the initiative negotiated with creditor governments to reduce debts to less than 10% of the revenues of each African government.

d. Expanding knowledge and enhancing the dissemination of digital systems:

This involves preparing and implementing national education plans aligned with the objectives of the “Dakar Framework for Action” on Education for All. It also aims to establish specialized universities and technology institutes staffed by available African teaching bodies, in addition to strengthening education through the construction of educational institutions, particularly primary schools in remote areas, as well as building secondary schools and ensuring gender equality in education.

e. Improving health services:

This is to be achieved by reducing child and post-child mortality by two-thirds between 2001 and 2015, and by reducing maternal mortality by three-quarters over the same period.⁴⁵

Subsection Three: Evaluation of Algeria’s Role in the NEPAD Initiative

Algerian diplomacy actively contributed to the success of the NEPAD initiative, managing to secure support from various international actors. The China–Africa Forum, established in 2000, engaged with the initiative by working to align cooperation programs between China and Africa with NEPAD’s programs. Likewise, the TICAD Forum, spearheaded by Japan in cooperation with the United Nations and other donor states, supported NEPAD programs. Furthermore, the United Nations endorsed the initiative as a framework for development in Africa, in addition to the backing it received from the G8 through various summits.⁴⁶

Algeria also sought to strengthen South–South cooperation in multiple fields. For instance, in 2003, seven South African doctors performed surgeries under a bilateral agreement between the two states. Additionally, different projects were initiated, such as the African Highway Project, the railway network connection, the Algerian gas pipeline, and the fiber-optic connection.⁴⁷

With the emergence of the new development framework for Africa, which identified the continent's needs to support development, the 2003 TICAD Conference pledged \$1 billion in aid to Africa over five years to help it address pressing challenges. Japan also encouraged debt relief, estimating the debts to be around \$3 billion.⁴⁸

Despite Algeria's efforts to achieve the ambitious goals outlined in NEPAD, implementation on the ground faced serious obstacles. NEPAD obtained only promises rather than concrete actions, failing to meet the expected objectives. Moreover, economic fragility left room for the outbreak of conflicts and security unrest. Ensuring the state's security and protecting its territory and institutions requires achieving human security, which begins with the individual as the fundamental unit of analysis. Guaranteeing individual security translates into ensuring state security—something that remains absent in the African Sahel.

Subsection Four: Algeria's Development Projects to Foster Border Areas and Address Security Threats

Algeria worked to establish economic exchange relations with Sahel countries across borders, turning them into areas of cooperation and regional development. Among the most important joint economic projects are:

a. The Trans-Saharan Highway Project (Algeria–Lagos):

The trans-Saharan highway is historically the first African project included in the African Program for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA), covering **nine main roads** to connect all African capitals with the aim of fostering development and socio-economic integration. The highway links six countries: Algeria, Tunisia, Mali, Niger, Chad, and Nigeria. It contributes to boosting trade, improving living conditions, and breaking the isolation of vast desert areas, enabling cultural exchange while serving as a structural project for Africa that promotes both security and development.⁴⁹

Algeria invested **€2 billion (≈ 212 billion DZD)** in the project, completing **95%** of the work across the six states. Algeria was responsible for **3,400 km**, while the Niger and Tunisia segments covered **2,400 km** and **39 km**, respectively. The Malian segment remains incomplete due to insecurity, with only 50% of its **200 km** completed, linking Tamanrasset, Timiaouine, and Tinzaouatine. Public Works Minister Farouk Chiali indicated that the project would soon be finalized, as it had originally been scheduled for completion by 2016.⁵⁰

b. The Trans-Saharan Gas and Oil Pipeline Project:

Known as the **NIGAL pipeline**, this strategic project aims to supply Europe with gas through a trans-African pipeline carrying gas from Nigeria to Algeria via Niger, and onward to Europe. The total length is **4,128 km** (Nigeria 1,037 km; Niger 841 km; Algeria 2,130 km), with a cost exceeding **\$10 billion**, plus an additional **\$3 billion** for building gas-gathering infrastructure in Nigeria. In June 2009, Algeria, Niger, and Nigeria signed an agreement to establish the gas network, with a deadline set for 2015.⁵¹

The project was first launched in 2002 during the Algeria–Nigeria High Committee meeting (NNBC). It remained frozen until 2009, when Nigerian President **Goodluck Jonathan** revived it at the African Union Summit in 2013. However, financial and security challenges, particularly in the Niger Delta, delayed its implementation. On 29/06/2009, the Niger Delta Liberation

Movement, which had already cut Nigeria's oil output by over 50% through attacks on the industry, issued warnings. Another challenge emerged in 2017 when **Morocco and Nigeria** signed a feasibility agreement in Rabat for a massive gas pipeline along West Africa's Atlantic coast, casting further uncertainty over the Algeria–Nigeria project.⁵²

c. Fiber Optic Network Project:

Algeria, Nigeria, and Niger signed the “**Algiers Declaration**” to establish a fiber-optic connection along the Algiers–Abuja axis via Zinder in Niger. The project, part of NEPAD, aims to strengthen Africa's broadband networks, especially for intercontinental communication. The line spans **4,500 km**, with Algeria covering **2,200 km**, Niger **900 km**, and Nigeria **800 km**. The decision to implement the cable was made during the first session of the Algeria–Nigeria High Committee in January 2002, with Niger joining in March 2003. In 2008, the three states adopted the project's specifications under the supervision of the Ministry of Post, Telecommunications, and Digital Technologies.⁵³

d. Algeria's Debt Relief and Financial Support Initiatives:

One of Algeria's major initiatives was the cancellation of debts for 14 African states. In 2013, Algeria forgave debts worth \$902 million, with Mauritania being the largest beneficiary (\$258 million). Algeria also invested \$200 million in development projects in Niger and Mali and donated \$10 million to the Malian government to revitalize development activities in northern Mali (Gao, Kidal, Timbuktu) in 2010.⁵⁴

e. Opening the Algeria–Mauritania Border Crossing:

For the first time, Algeria and Mauritania agreed to establish a border crossing to boost trade and facilitate transportation between the two countries within the framework of strengthening Maghreb cooperation. This decision was announced at the 18th session of the Algeria–Mauritania High Joint Committee in late December, alongside advanced preparations to launch a reciprocal air route between Nouakchott International Airport and Tindouf Airport in Algeria.⁵⁵

Algeria's efforts to enhance cooperation and partnership with Sahel countries represent an attempt to build a development-based approach to counter asymmetric security threats affecting Algerian national security. Algeria established partnership agreements with Sahel states to achieve peace, security, and stability in border regions.

However, indicators of development in Algeria's southern border areas remain below expectations. This hinders the capacity to mobilize local populations as a shield against terrorism, which has grown in scale and severity amid the fragile security conditions in neighboring states. Despite Algeria's multiple initiatives to foster security, economic, and social stability, these measures remain insufficient and require further detailed policies. Algeria must enhance its strategies not only to diversify its economy and overcome crises but also to harness local strengths and address weaknesses in order to achieve sustainable development and reduce existing imbalances.

CHAPTER THREE: ALGERIA'S ARRANGEMENTS WITH SAHEL COUNTRIES TO COMBAT TERRORISM

Algeria is regarded as one of the most successful states in confronting terrorism according to many international positions. Counterterrorism has held priority status within Algeria's foreign policy

agenda, relying on its extensive experience in deterring terrorist activity, which has secured it an influential African and international role in addressing terrorism-related issues and their repercussions. Algeria's commitment to ensuring security in the Sahel and combating terrorism and its sources is reflected in its participation in numerous events and initiatives focused on counterterrorism in the region. Among these efforts are the following:

Section One: The Algiers International Conference on Partnership, Security, and Development

Held in Algiers on September 7–8, 2011, this conference reaffirmed the designation of “Sahel frontline states” (Algeria, Mali, Mauritania, Niger), as established by the ministerial meeting of the four states in Bamako on May 20, 2011. Algeria had committed to organizing this international conference, which brought together 38 states. It was the first event dedicated to examining partnership challenges in the Sahel in the areas of security and development.⁵⁶

Section Two: The Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF)

The GCTF was established on September 21, 2011, in New York, on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly, by **30 members (29 states + the European Union)**. The U.S. State Department introduced it as *“an informal multilateral platform aimed at mobilizing the expertise and resources necessary for counterterrorism requirements and shaping global policy against this threat.”*⁵⁷

The forum operates on the principle of **co-chairmanship** in managing its structures, which include:⁵⁸

- A strategic-level Coordination Committee, chaired by the United States or Turkey.
- Five working groups led by experts or an administrative unit hosting the secretariat.
- The five working groups are:
 - Criminal Justice.
 - Countering Violent Extremism.
 - Capacity-Building in the Sahel (co-chaired by Algeria and Canada).
 - Capacity-Building in South Asia.

Algeria also adopted several operational initiatives, including:⁵⁹

Subsection One: The Fusion and Liaison Unit (FLU)

Established in Algiers on April 6, 2010, based on the recommendations of the March 16, 2010, foreign ministers' meeting of seven countries (Algeria, Mauritania, Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso, Libya, Chad). Its presidency rotates alphabetically among member states. The unit serves as a framework for securing operational and tactical intelligence essential for leading “the Joint Operations Committee to Combat Terrorism and other forms of organized crime in the Sahel.”

Subsection Two: The Tamanrasset Plan

Algeria took significant steps in counterterrorism through major military assistance to Mali and other states, as well as unifying security and political efforts under the African Union's frameworks.

It hosted a chiefs-of-staff meeting for Mali, Libya, Mauritania, and Niger to develop a regional counterterrorism strategy and to establish a regional command center in Tamanrasset.⁶⁰

This effort resulted in the “Tamanrasset Plan”, announced at the August 12, 2009, security coordination meeting under the auspices of the AU Peace and Security Council. The plan introduced a regional security framework to combat Al-Qaeda, identifying strategies to confront it.⁶¹

The plan was the product of extended military meetings in Tripoli in July 2009 among the chiefs of staff of five states (Algeria, Libya, Mali, Niger, Mauritania). It entered into force in September 2009, mandated by the AU Peace and Security Council, which authorized the five states to establish a unified regional army based on self-reliance without external oversight. Algeria confirmed this by rejecting a U.S. Department of Defense request to attend the August 12, 2009, meeting, stressing: “The meeting reflects the determination of the Sahel states and Algeria to handle their own security challenges without foreign military intervention.”⁶²

The Tamanrasset Plan evolved into the Joint Operational Staff Committee (CEMOC), announced on April 21, 2010, in Tamanrasset, which became its operational headquarters. The committee aimed to address gaps in coordination, intelligence-sharing, and field counterterrorism efforts against transnational threats. Its tasks included:

- Monitoring, analyzing, and coordinating operations.
- Conducting search and destroy missions against terrorist groups and their networks.
- Ensuring follow-up on the security situation in the shared operational area.
- Planning and executing joint operations.

Its structure consisted of four core cells: operations, signals, logistics, and intelligence.⁶³

International Assessments and Challenges

A 2005 International Crisis Group report titled “*Islamist Terrorism in the Sahel: Fact or Fiction?*” argued that the vast area bordering the Sahara (Mali, Niger, Chad, Mauritania) was not inherently a hub for terrorist activity. Instead, misperceptions and misguided responses created exaggerated narratives, whereas balanced and serious engagement with these states could preserve stability and peace.⁶⁴

Despite Algeria’s counterterrorism strategies in the Sahel, a **holistic approach** remains necessary to confront the triad of threats: *drugs, terrorism, and irregular migration*. This requires activating legal mechanisms such as treaties and conventions, enhancing security coordination and cooperation, advancing effective diplomacy, fostering economic growth, and implementing development programs to address the region’s socio-economic vulnerabilities.

Obstacles to Algeria’s Counterterrorism Policy

Although Algeria has achieved notable successes locally, regionally, and internationally, its policies still face considerable obstacles, including:

- The vast geographic expanse of the Sahel, which makes it difficult to monitor all entry and exit points.

- Multiple security crises and disasters—desertification, internal and external conflicts—resulting in displaced persons and refugees, fueling irregular migration and weakening Algeria’s counterterrorism role.
- The intervention of ECOWAS, its proximity to France, and its pro-war stance.
- The difficulty of establishing effective international mechanisms due to the absence of a universally agreed definition of terrorism.
- Attempts to involve Morocco in the Joint Operational Staff Committee (CEMOC) or other regional structures—an initiative Algeria views with suspicion, as Morocco is not a Sahel country. Recognizing it as such would imply acceptance of its sovereignty over Western Sahara and intensify the regional rivalry between Algeria and Morocco.
- Security cooperation with the U.S., which risks militarizing Africa and attracting Al-Qaeda further into the Sahel and Maghreb.
- French and American interventions in Sahel states’ affairs, which have worsened the regional security situation.

CONCLUSION

Within the framework of its security and development approach in the African Sahel, Algeria seeks to prioritize political, diplomatic, and developmental mechanisms over military ones in overcoming security threats in this region. Based on the analysis and details presented throughout this study, we have reached the following findings:

The African Sahel region represents a strategically important area in the geopolitical division of the world, as it constitutes Algeria’s southern depth and an essential geopolitical circle of its national security.

The Sahel region provides a fertile security environment for the spread of threats, posing a direct danger to Algerian national security and that of neighboring states. This has left the entire region suffering from a vast security vacuum that is difficult to control or contain. With the growing threat of terrorism—fueled by the proliferation of numerous armed groups, foremost among them Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb with its various branches and diversified field strategies—and the rising intensity of organized crime linked to other threats such as cannabis and drug trafficking, arms smuggling, kidnapping for ransom to boost financial revenues, along with increased flows of irregular migration where countries like Algeria have become a point of transit and even settlement for migrants from Mali, Niger, and Chad, the Sahel region remains exposed to long-term security vulnerabilities that are hard to overcome despite the multiplicity of strategies adopted by local, regional, and international actors due to the interwoven nature of its threats.

These risks and security threats in the African Sahel represent a major challenge for Algeria’s domestic and foreign policy. Algeria remains a key factor in building peace and fostering stability in the Sahel, yet the lack of cooperation among Sahel states leaves Algeria operating in a broad crisis-prone environment. Hence, it is crucial that Sahel states join efforts with Algeria by adopting a comprehensive security and development approach to counter the phenomenon of terrorism in the region.

From the results, we derive the following recommendations:

- Develop a comprehensive Algerian strategy in the Sahel to combat terrorism, with the In Amenas (Tiguentourine) incident serving as an exemplary Algerian experience in counterterrorism.
- Foster cooperation among Sahel states to establish security and development mechanisms to address terrorism.
- Establish an effective Maghreb regional security complex to confront asymmetrical security threats.
- Leverage Algeria's cultural and religious ties with the peoples of the Sahel as a tool for strengthening bonds and bringing perspectives closer together.

Accordingly, Algeria and neighboring states must activate the principle of humanitarian and preventive diplomacy to contain actors threatening Algerian national security through the dual entry points of security and development, while also supporting democracy, strengthening and protecting human rights, and enhancing regional security cooperation among the governments of the Sahel to achieve security and stability in the region.

LIST OF SOURCES AND REFERENCES

First: Sources

The Holy Qur'an:

1. The Holy Qur'an, Surat Al-A'raf, Ayah 154.
2. The Holy Qur'an, Surat Al-Baqarah, Ayah 40.
3. The Holy Qur'an, Surat Al-Nahl, Ayah 51.
4. The Holy Qur'an, Surat Al-Anfal, Ayah 60.

Second: References

1 – Arabic-language

1. Idris Atiya, "Algeria's Stakes in Combating Terrorism in the Frontline States of the African Sahel between Local Inputs and International Exaggeration," *Strategic Studies Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 02, Algeria, December 2014.
2. Ibn Manzur, *Lisan al-Arab Dictionary*, 1st ed., Cairo: Dar al-Hadith, 2003.
3. Abu al-Hasan Abdul-Mawjoud Ibrahim, *Development and Human Rights: A Social Perspective*, Alexandria: The Modern University Office, 2006.
4. Ahmed Mohammed Abu Zeid, *Development and Security: Theoretical Linkages*, research paper presented at the First Annual Conference for Social Sciences and Humanities "From Stunted Growth to Sustainable Development," Doha: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 24–25 March 2012.

5. Ahmed Nasser, "After a Meeting Including Libya, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, and Algeria: A Six-Point Plan and 25,000 Fighters to Confront Al-Qaeda in the Sahel," *El-Khabar*, No. 5704, (21/07/2009).
6. Idris Atiya, *Notebooks on International Security Studies: From the Classical Approach to New Trends*, 1st ed., Algeria: Dar Al-Ummah for Printing, Publishing, and Distribution, 2021.
7. Amina Dair, *The Impact of Environmental Threats on the Reality of Human Security in Africa: A Case Study of the Horn of Africa States*, Master's thesis, International Relations and Strategy, Biskra: Mohamed Khider University, 2014.
8. Bouden Zakaria, *The Impact of Terrorist Threats in Northern Mali on Algerian Security and Strategies to Confront Them*, Master's thesis in Political Science and International Relations, specialization: International Relations, Faculty of Law and Political Science, Mohamed Khider University, Biskra, 2014–2015.
9. Tebani Wahiba, *Mediterranean Security in NATO Strategy: A Case Study of Terrorism*, Master's thesis, specialization: Mediterranean and Maghreb Studies, Security and Cooperation, Mouloud Mammeri University, Tizi Ouzou, 2014.
10. Tebani Wahiba, *Mediterranean Security in NATO Strategy: A Case Study of Terrorism*, Master's thesis, specialization: Mediterranean and Maghreb Studies, Security and Cooperation, Mouloud Mammeri University, Tizi Ouzou, 2014.
11. Jalal Bouati, "Tamanrasset Meeting (An Opportunity for Analytical Exchange): Algeria Urges Sahel States to Respect Their Commitments in Fighting Terrorism," *El-Khabar*, No. 6126 (Monday 17/09/2010).
12. Hussein Khalil, *Public Policies in Developing Countries*, 1st ed., Lebanon: Dar Al-Manhal Al-Lubnani, 2007.
13. Khadija Ziani, Samia Ben Hajaj, (Miloud Ould Esseddik, ed.), *Counterterrorism between the Problem of Concept and Divergence of Standards in Application*, Vol. 2.
14. Rachid Zerwati, *Development between Fields, Theories, and Models*, 1st ed., Algeria: Jusoor for Publishing and Distribution, 2017.
15. Zakaria Hussein, *National Security*, Cairo: Dar Al-Nahda Al-Arabiya, 2001.
16. Al-Taher Saud, *Underdevelopment and Development in the Thought of Malek Bennabi*, 1st ed., Beirut: Dar Al-Hadi for Printing, Publishing, and Distribution, 2007.
17. Atef Adly Al-Abd, Noha Atef Al-Abd, *Developmental Communication and Social Change: Theoretical Foundations and Applied Models*, 5th ed., Cairo: Dar Al-Fikr Al-Arabi, 2007.
18. Abdel-Samad Saadoun, "International Terrorism: The Meaning and Content in U.S. Strategy," *Journal of Political Issues*, Vol. 3, No. 3, Iraq, 2006.
19. Al-Arabi Hajjam, Tari Samihah, "Sustainable Development in Algeria: An Analytical Reading of the Concept and Constraints," *Journal of Development Research and Studies*, Vol. 06, No. 1, December 2019.

20. Ali Bin Fayeze Al-Juhani, *Terrorism: The Imposed Understanding of the Rejected Terrorism*, 1st ed., Academicians for Publishing and Distribution, Amman: Dar Al-Hamid for Publishing and Distribution, 2014.
21. Ali Khalifa Al-Kuwari, *Development for Loss or Loss of Development Opportunities*, 1st ed., Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies, 1996.
22. Kamal Mohammed Al-Astal, *Towards Formulating a Theory for the Security of the GCC States*, Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 1999.
23. Lakhdar Ben Dada, Faiza Sahraoui, (Miloud Ould Esseddik, ed.), *Counterterrorism between the Problem of Concept and Divergence of Standards in Application*, Vol. 2, 1st ed., Amman: Academic Book Center, 2016.
24. Mohammed Al-Ridwani, *Political Development in Morocco: The Formation and Practice of the Executive Authority from 1956 to 2000*, 1st ed., Rabat: New Knowledge Printing Press, 2011.
25. Mohammed Shafiq Taneeb et al., *Dimensions of Development in the Arab World*, n.p., Jordan: Dar Al-Mustaqbal for Publishing and Distribution, n.d.
26. Mahmoud Dawood Yaqoub, *The Legal Concept of Terrorism: An Analytical, Foundational, and Comparative Study*, n.p., n.d.: Zain Legal Publications, 2011.
27. African Research Center, "Western Intervention in the Sahel Will Turn Al-Qaeda into a Liberation Movement," see the following link: <http://www.magrssa.com/post.aspx?u2630RA=30A38>, (18/11/2013).
28. Mamdouh Shawqi Mustafa Kamel, *National Security and International Collective Security*, n.p., Cairo: Dar Al-Nahda Al-Arabiya, 1985.
29. Mansour Lakhdari, presentation: *The Algerian Approach to Combating Terrorism in the African Sahel*, within the proceedings of the international symposium titled: "Algeria's Regional Role: Determinants and Dimensions," 28–29 April 2014.
30. Organization of African Unity, *The New Partnership Initiative for Africa's Development*, Abuja – Nigeria, on 23 October 2001, Objectives.
31. Algeria International Symposium: *Promoting Partnership and Security and Development Efforts*, Al-Jaish (Army) Magazine, No. 579, October 2011.
32. Al-Hashemi Nasser, *Terrorism: Roots, Manifestations, and Ways of Combating It*, 1st ed., Amman: Dar Al-Hamid for Publishing and Distribution, 2016, p. 68.
33. Hadj Reda, *Counterterrorism in International Law*, Master's thesis in International Law and International Relations, 2009–2010, University of Algiers (1), Faculty of Law, Ben Aknoun.
34. Hanaa Ismail Ibrahim Al-Asadi, *Terrorism and Money Laundering as One of Its Sources of Financing – A Comparative Study*, Zain Legal and Literary Library, 1st ed., Beirut: 2015.
35. Haitham Al-Kilani, "International Security," *Strategia Journal*, No. 20, 1983.
36. Abdelhadi Abad, Mounir Rabhi, "Development and the Development of Border Areas as a Mechanism to Confront Security Threats in Maghreb Countries (A Comparative Political

Foreign-language

1. Barry Buzan, “Is International Security Possible?” paper presented at: *New Thinking about Strategy and International Security (Conference)*, edited by Ken Booth (London: Harper Collins Academic, 1991).
2. Bernard Billondant, *Développement et croissance : les enjeux conceptuelle des débats actuels*, projet d'article, octobre 2004, / Bernard Billondant@upmf_grenoble, Fr.
3. Laurence Aidaa Aummour, “La coopération de sécurité au Maghreb et au Sahel: L'Ambivalence de l'Algérie,” *Bulletin de la Sécurité Africaine*, une publication du Centre d'Études Stratégiques de l'Afrique, N° 18 / Février 2012.
4. Michel Fratianni, Paolo Savona and Jphn, J. Kitron, *The G8 System And G20: Evolution, RoleandDocumentaion* (Toronto, Canada: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007).
5. Raymond Boudon et autres, *Dictionnaire de sociologie*, Larousse, 3ème Édition, Québec-Canada, 2005.
6. *The American Heritage Dictionary*, Boston, MA: Hongtonco, 1982.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Mamdouh Shawqi Mustafa Kamel, *National Security and International Collective Security*, Cairo: Dar Al-Nahda Al-Arabiya, 1985, p. 28.

² Idris Atiya, *Notebooks on International Security Studies: From the Classical Approach to New Trends*, 1st ed., Algeria: Dar Al-Ummah for Printing, Publishing, and Distribution, 2021, pp. 13–17.

³ Haitham Al-Kilani, “International Security,” *Strategia Journal*, No. 20, 1983, p. 47.

⁴ Ibn Manzur, *Lisan Al-Arab Dictionary*, 1st ed., Cairo: Dar Al-Hadith, 2003, p. 164.

⁵ Kamal Mohammed Al-Astal, *Towards Formulating a Theory for the Security of the GCC States*, Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 1999, p. 35.

⁶ Lakhdar Ben Dada, Faiza Sahraoui, (Miloud Ould Esseddik, ed.), *Counterterrorism between the Problem of Concept and Divergence of Standards in Application*, Vol. 2, 1st ed., Amman: Academic Book Center, 2016, p. 66.

⁷ Barry Buzan, “Is International Security Possible?” paper presented at: *New Thinking about Strategy and International Security (Conference)*, edited by Ken Booth (London: Harper Collins Academic, 1991), p. 31.

⁸ Zakaria Hussein, *National Security*, Cairo: Dar Al-Nahda Al-Arabiya, 2001, p. 6.

⁹ Amina Dair, *The Impact of Environmental Threats on Human Security in Africa: A Case Study of the Horn of Africa States*, Master's Thesis in International Relations and Strategy, Biskra: Mohamed Khider University, 2014, p. 11.

- ¹⁰ Tebani Wahiba, *Mediterranean Security in NATO Strategy: A Case Study of Terrorism*, Master's Thesis in Mediterranean and Maghreb Studies, Security and Cooperation, Mouloud Mammeri University, Tizi Ouzou, 2014, p. 11.
- ¹¹ Ahmed Mohammed Abu Zeid, *Development and Security: Theoretical Linkages*, research paper presented at the *First Annual Conference for Social Sciences and Humanities: From Stunted Growth to Sustainable Development*, Doha: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, March 24–25, 2012, p. 8.
- ¹² Mohammed Al-Ridwani, *Political Development in Morocco: The Formation and Practice of the Executive Authority from 1956 to 2000*, 1st ed., Rabat: New Knowledge Printing Press, 2011, p. 5.
- ¹³ Atef Adly Al-Abd, Noha Atef Al-Abd, *Developmental Communication and Social Change: Theoretical Foundations and Practical Models*, 5th ed., Cairo: Dar Al-Fikr Al-Arabi, 2007, p. 9.
- ¹⁴ Abu Al-Hasan Abdul-Mawjoud Ibrahim, *Development and Human Rights: A Social Perspective*, Alexandria: The Modern University Office, 2006, p. 15.
- ¹⁵ Raymond Boudon et al., *Dictionnaire de sociologie*, Larousse, 3rd Edition, Québec-Canada, 2005, p. 61.
- ¹⁶ Rachid Zerwati, *Development between Fields, Theories, and Models*, 1st ed., Algeria: Jusoor Publishing and Distribution, 2017, p. 46.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 46–47.
- ¹⁸ Al-Taher Saud, *Underdevelopment and Development in the Thought of Malek Bennabi*, 1st ed., Beirut: Dar Al-Hadi for Printing, Publishing, and Distribution, 2007, p. 39.
- ¹⁹ Ali Khalifa Al-Kuwari, *Development for Loss or Loss of Development Opportunities*, 1st ed., Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies, 1996, p. 260.
- ²⁰ Bernard Billondant, *Développement et croissance: les enjeux conceptuelle des débats actuels*, draft article, October 2004, / Bernard Billondant@upmf_grenoble, France, p. 18.
- ²¹ Mohammed Shafiq Taneeb et al., *Dimensions of Development in the Arab World*, Jordan: Dar Al-Mustaqbal for Publishing and Distribution, n.d., p. 123.
- ²² Al-Arabi Hajjam, Teri Samihah, “Sustainable Development in Algeria: An Analytical Reading in the Concept and Constraints,” *Journal of Development Research and Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1, December 2019, p. 122.
- ²³ Hussein Khalil, *Public Policies in Developing Countries*, 1st ed., Lebanon: Dar Al-Manhal Al-Lubnani, 2007, p. 37.
- ²⁴ Abdel-Samad Saadoun, “International Terrorism: The Meaning and Content in U.S. Strategy,” *Journal of Political Issues*, Vol. 3, No. 3, Iraq, 2006, p. 19.
- ²⁵ Hanaa Ismail Ibrahim Al-Asadi, *Terrorism and Money Laundering as a Source of Its Financing – A Comparative Study*, 1st ed., Beirut: Zain Legal and Literary Library, 2015, p. 38.
- ²⁶ The Holy Qur'an, Surat Al-A'raf, Ayah 154.
- ²⁷ The Holy Qur'an, Surat Al-Baqarah, Ayah 40.
- ²⁸ The Holy Qur'an, Surat Al-Nahl, Ayah 51.
- ²⁹ The Holy Qur'an, Surat Al-Anfal, Ayah 60.

- ³⁰ Al-Hashemi Nasser, *Terrorism: Roots, Manifestations, and Ways of Combating It*, 1st ed., Amman: Dar Al-Hamid for Publishing and Distribution, 2016, p. 68.
- ³¹ *The American Heritage Dictionary*, Boston, MA: Hongtonco, 1982, p. 1255.
- ³² Ali Bin Fayeze Al-Juhani, *Terrorism: The Imposed Understanding of the Rejected Terrorism*, 1st ed., Amman: Al-Hamid Publishing and Distribution, 2014, p. 17.
- ³³ Ibid., pp. 18–19.
- ³⁴ Bouden Zakaria, *The Impact of Terrorist Threats in Northern Mali on Algerian Security and Its Confrontation Strategies*, Master's Thesis in Political Science and International Relations, Mohamed Khider University, Biskra, 2014–2015, p. 54.
- ³⁵ Hadj Reda, *Counterterrorism in International Law*, Master's Thesis in International Law and International Relations, University of Algiers 1, Faculty of Law, Ben Aknoun, 2009–2010, p. 96.
- ³⁶ Mahmoud Dawood Yaqoub, *The Legal Concept of Terrorism: An Analytical, Foundational, and Comparative Study*, Beirut: Zain Legal Publications, 2011, pp. 114–115.
- ³⁷ Khadija Ziani, Samia Ben Hajjaj, (Miloud Ould Esseddik, ed.), *Counterterrorism between the Problem of Concept and Divergence of Standards in Application*, Vol. 2, p. 75.
- ³⁸ Ibid., p. 183.
- ³⁹ Tebani Wahiba, *Mediterranean Security in NATO Strategy: A Case Study of Terrorism*, Master's Thesis in Mediterranean and Maghreb Studies, Security and Cooperation, Mouloud Mammeri University, Tizi Ouzou, 2014, pp. 1–2.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 421.
- ⁴¹ Ibid., p. 53.
- ⁴² Idris Atiya, Ibid., p. 421.
- ⁴³ Organization of African Unity, *New Partnership Initiative for Africa's Development*, Abuja-Nigeria, October 23, 2001, Objectives, p. 6.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 7.
- ⁴⁵ Idris Atiya, Op. cit., p. 425.
- ⁴⁶ Dala Wahiba, Op. cit., p. 54.
- ⁴⁷ Laurence Aïdaa Aummour, "La coopération de sécurité au Maghreb et au Sahel: L'Ambivalence de l'Algérie," *African Security Bulletin*, publication of the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, No. 18, February 2012, p. 3.
- ⁴⁸ Michel Fratianni, Paolo Savona, John J. Kitron, *The G8 System and G20: Evolution, Role and Documentation*, Toronto, Canada: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007, pp. 147–152.
- ⁴⁹ Abdelhadi Abad, Mounir Rabhi, Op. cit., p. 15.
- ⁵⁰ Abdelkader Abdelali, Bouhanian Qoui, Op. cit., p. 339.
- ⁵¹ Abdelhadi Abad, Mounir Rabhi, "Development and Border Area Development as a Mechanism to Confront Security Threats in Maghreb Countries (Comparative Political Economy Perspective)," *Algerian Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 2009, p. 437.
- ⁵² Ibid., p. 438.
- ⁵³ Ibid., p. 438.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 439.

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 15–16.

⁵⁶ *Algeria International Symposium: Promoting Partnership and Security and Development Efforts*, *Al-Jaish Journal*, No. 579, October 2011, p. 22.

⁵⁷ Khadija Ziani, Samia Ben Hajjaj, (Miloud Ould Esseddik, ed.), Vol. 2, Op. cit., p. 192.

⁵⁸ Mansour Lakhdari, “The Algerian Approach to Combating Terrorism in the African Sahel,” paper presented at the *International Conference: Algeria’s Regional Role: Determinants and Dimensions*, April 28–29, 2014, p. 15.

⁵⁹ Idris Atiya, “Algeria’s Stakes in Combating Terrorism in the Sahel Frontline States between Local Inputs and International Exaggeration,” *Strategic Studies Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 2, Algeria, December 2014, p. 123.

⁶⁰ Jalal Bouati, “Tamanrasset Meeting (An Opportunity for Analytical Exchange): Algeria Urges Sahel States to Respect Their Commitments in Fighting Terrorism,” *El-Khabar*, No. 6126 (Monday 17/09/2010), p. 6.

⁶¹ Ahmed Nasser, “After a Meeting Including Libya, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, and Algeria: A Six-Point Plan and 25,000 Fighters to Confront Al-Qaeda in the Sahel,” *El-Khabar*, No. 5704, (21/07/2009), p. 3.

⁶² Idris Atiya, Op. cit., pp. 514–515.

⁶³ Mansour Lakhdari, Op. cit., p. 17.

⁶⁴ African Research Center, “Western Intervention in the Sahel Will Turn Al-Qaeda into a Liberation Movement,” available at: <http://www.magrssa.com/post.aspx?u2630RA=30A38>, (18/11/2013), pp. 1–2.