The Algerian National Security Challenges in Light of the World Politics Transformations

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Abstract:

This study represents an academic attempt in the field of political science to provide a theoretical basis that addresses the Algerian national security in light of the world politics transformations based on theories of international relations that have dealt with security concept. Barry Buzan & Ole Wæver's contribution to the field of security studies stand out as an academic reference in studying and categorizing the various approaches presented by these theories; providing a comprehensive theoretical framework to today's concept of security. Algerian security is facing broad interconnected threats that can be understood and interpreted through works of Buzan, Wæver, Frank G. Hoffman and others presented in this essay. On the reality of the expansion of security concept, the concerns regarding national security increase due to the nature of the emerging security challenges.

Keywords: *Security Concept; Security Doctrine; Hard Challenges; Soft Challenges.*

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Introduction:

   One of the core topics the theory of international relations is concerned is security. Defining the concept of security and the attempts to develop it, have known multiple stages. The traditional concept of international security in western political thought came out in the ''Westphalia Treaty 1648''[1]. Then, the security concept was linked a dominant academic interpretation during the Cold War, with the assumptions of classical realism that were mainly derived from the hard notions of security that Treaty of Westphalia first laid. However, these interpretations which called by the scholars as traditional have completely developed after the end of the Cold War.

   The development of the security concept is a reflection to the development of international politics itself after the end of the Cold War. International relations became distinguished by complexity in light of the rise of new actors and issues that also overlap in many aspects. Thus, there came what the liberalist perspective introduced as world politics. I am using the liberalist perspective of world politics to examine the new concept of security in a clear-cut distinction between two separate periods: during-Cold War that is distinguished by the domination of the nation-state as the only actor in international politics; and post-Cold War that is distinguished by the emergence of new actors beside nation-state in world politics.

   Algerian national security is affected by the new concept of security for it becomes threatened by wide range of interconnected domains. Therefore, the question is: what are the most notable challenges of the Algerian national security in light of the world politics transformations? This question would be examined through screening three main parts: (1) the development of security concept, (2) hard and soft challenges of Algerian national security, and (3) Algerian security doctrine. To screen these parts, I use the historical, comparative, and descriptive analytical approaches. Finally, a conclusion would be added based on the previous parts' outcomes.

The First Topic: The Development of Security Concept

   ''Since its inception the security studies represent the core of the International Relations predominantly dealing with the issues of war and peace. In the years following the Second World War security studies have become a synonym for Strategic Studies with a distinct focus on the military

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sector. However, with the growing complexity of the international relations agenda, namely with the rise of economic and environmental challenges count, emergence of the new security challenges, risks and threats, emergence of the new international relations actors, the traditional view of the sole concept of security, that is, its essence, has become too narrow''[2].

''Redefining security has recently become something of a cottage industry. Most such efforts, however, are more concerned with redefining the policy agendas of nation-states than with the concept of security itself. Often, this takes the form of proposals for giving high priority to such issues as human rights, economics, the environment, drug traffic, epidemics, crime, or social injustice, in addition to the traditional concern with security from external military threats''[3].

The security assumptions of classical realism focus on nation-state and its military force. John Herz expounded the classical relists' core concept of security dilemma represented by E.H. Carr, Frederick Shuman, Harold Nicolson, Reinhold Niebuhr, Georg Schwarzenberger, Martin Wight, Hans Morgenthau, George F. Kennan, and Herbert Butterfield, as follows:

''Groups (including states) seek to make themselves more secure by becoming more powerful, they simultaneously make other groups less safe. The threatened groups respond, and a competitive cycle is created, even though none of the actors wishes to do the others any harm''[4].

This classical realist perspective declined after the end of the Cold War. A new concept of security was introduced in different perspectives. Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver, two prominent theorists of security studies classified those perspectives by writing:

''The three principal theoretical perspectives on post-Cold War international security structure are neorealist, globalist, and regionalist. What do we mean by structure in this context? We are using it in broadly Waltzian (1979) terms to mean the principles of arrangement of the parts in a system, and how the parts are differentiated from each other. But our range is wider than the neorealist formulation (though we incorporate it) because we want: (a) to look at structural perspectives other than the neorealist one; and (b) to privilege the regionalist perspective''[5].

''The neorealist perspective assumes that there was a change of power structure at the global level (the end of bipolarity), and its concern is to

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identify the nature of that change in order to infer the security consequences. Neorealism does not question the primacy of the global level, so its search for change is confined to a narrow range of options within that level: unpolarity or multipolarity''[6].

''The globalist perspective (by which we mean acceptance of the view usually labelled globalisation) is generally understood to be the antithesis of realism's (and neorealism's) statist, power-political understanding of international system structure. Globalisation is rooted mainly in cultural, transnational, and international political economy approaches''[7].

''The regionalist perspective is the approach which is chosen by Buzan and Wæver. They assume that in the post-Cold War world 'the regional level stands more clearly on its own as the locus of conflict and cooperation for states and as the level of analysis for scholars seeking to explore contemporary security affairs', and we believe this to be true even though we use an understanding of security more open than their rather traditional, military one''[8].

Table (1) Security Structure Approaches

Theories \ Indicator	Classical realism	Neorealism	Globalism	Regionalism
Level of analysis	*nation-state*	*international system structure*	*global*	*region*
Unit of analysis	*military sector (the security dilemma as a result to the states' desire for more power)*	*military sector (the lack of an overarching authority, and the principle of self-help)*	*cultural transnational, and international political economic sectors*	*military, political, economic, societal, environmental, and humanity sectors*
Period in context	*during-Cold War*	*post-Cold War*	*post-Cold War*	*post-Cold War*

Reference: *researcher's work*

Buzan challenged the concept of security by widening the security studies agenda, both horizontally and vertically, having in mind the horizontal

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dimension, the security concept has been expanded from exclusively military onto political, economic, societal and environmental sectors[9]. Vertically, the altered security concept should also be open to referent objects other than the state: individuals, social groups, and humanity as a whole[10].

Based on the regionalism approach – chosen by Buzan and Wæver – since its comprehensive perspective of international security structure, it leads to interpretations of completely new form of security challenges, instead the traditional challenges that were restricted in states' arms race. This new form of security challenges described as hybrid. Frank G. Hoffman defines it:

''Hybrid challenges are not limited to non-state actors. States can shift their conventional units to irregular formations and adopt new tactics. Hybrid wars blend the lethality of state conflict with the fanatical and protracted fervour of irregular warfare. In such conflicts, future adversaries (states, state-sponsored groups, or self-funded actors) will exploit access to modern military capabilities, including encrypted command systems, man-portable air-to-surface missiles, and other modern lethal systems, as well as promote protracted insurgencies that employ ambushes, improvised explosive devices (IEDs), and coercive assassinations. This could include states blending high-tech capabilities such as anti-satellite weapons with terrorism and cyber warfare directed against financial targets''[11].

Table (2) Comparison of Security Challenges Transition

Indicator Security challenge	Actor(s)	Source(s)	Range
Traditional	nation-state	military (weapons, borders, vital areas)	limited
Modern	nation-state, international organizations, NGOs, MNCs, individuals, state-sponsored groups or self-funded actors	military, culture, human rights, economic, technology, migration, refugee, terrorism, drug traffic, epidemics, social injustice, crime, environment etc.	widened

Reference: *researcher's work*

The transition of security concept from limited to widen was directly linked to the information revolution in the 1990s, which made the world strongly interrelated and full of complexity. The most observed consequence of the

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changes of the international political system and the information revolution was the phenomenon of globalization. In the light of globalization, it is too difficult to separate domestic politics from international politics. Therefore, both domestic and international politics are feeding each other in a sort of vicious cycle.

Globalization is represented with economic, political, cultural, educational and technological orientations, in which the borders between countries, between the North and the South, and between different civilizations, and in which nations, peoples, and individuals are constantly and rapidly connected, they are mutually interdependent in all spheres of life, such as interdependence in capital, investments, goods and services, ideas, concepts, it also includes attitudes, approaches and values, which states and peoples must embrace and adapt to, and be aware of their consequences, problems and implications, this means that globalization is a phenomenon or a complex movement with economic, social, cultural and technological dimensions produced by the conditions of today's world and has a profound impact on the lives of individuals, societies and contemporary states[12].

The Algerian state security is definitely affected by the recent developments of security structure in the world politics. Therefore, the limited security challenges that were only reflected in hard threats must highly be widened within the vision of Algerian decision makers in turn as the need to move towards further understanding of the widened concept of security and its soft challenges is absolutely needed to protect national security.

The Second Topic: Hard and Soft Challenges of Algerian National Security

The relation of Algerian national security with soft issues in light of globalization does not abolish the security challenges of hard nature[13]. The phenomenon of globalization cannot only be linked with soft challenges – although it is mainly concerned with deep notions in this meaning – because the military sector in particular has known a qualitative development as a result to the information revolution and hence it becomes strongly linked with soft challenges in addition to the hard challenges.

John Burton argues that as a result to the information revolution, security no longer depends on how many military forces could be deployed at the right moment, rather it depends on the ability to obtain or prevent access to important sources of information[14]. In this regard F.G. Hoffman wrote:

''The exploitation of modern information technology will also enhance the learning cycle of potential irregular enemies, improving their ability to transfer lessons learned and techniques from one threat to another''[15].

The nature of militant action also becomes no longer an absolute action by regular state's military force, but it could be done by irregular self-sponsored groups. F.G. Hoffman citing Alan Dupont about this:

''The state on a state conflicts of the 21th century are being replaced by hybrid wars and asymmetric contests in which there is no clear-cut distinction between soldiers and civilians and between organized violence, terror, crime and war''[16].

Tiguentourine attack on January 16, 2013, that targeted the gas production unit in In-Amenas in the south-eastern of Algeria, could be clearly explained in light of the new form of the militant action which combines both hard and soft nature. It was a terrorist attack by a self-sponsored group that made well-exploitation of technology to plan and execute their attack.

This terrorist attack required Algeria to adopt a strategic plan to secure borders and fight terrorism in the light of the security deterioration on the borders; the proliferation of arm networks smuggling; and the control of irregular militias in a direction that increases national security concerns.

Algeria's location is an area of militant and security challenges in which security risks remain open for all possibilities, hence, the Algerian military institution developed an electronic surveillance system and re-mobilized the army on the borders intensively to ensure national security[17]. Moreover, the Algerian security approach in the Sahel region depends on a set of political and diplomatic mechanisms by its commitment to international and regional cooperation to contain the actors threatening national security.

Even state on state conflicts has been replaced, but it does not mean they have been disappeared; they are being represented in sort of hidden conflicts. Algeria and Morocco are meant with such conflicts shown in form of arms race. In addition to the terrorism threats coming from the fragile security borders with Libya on the eastern side, Niger and Mali on the southern side. The Algerian military expenditure increased since 2012 to respond to these threats as seen in table 3.

Table (3) Algerian Military expenditure in US$ Million (2012-2021)

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Country	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Algeria	*8056*	*8701*	*10021*	*10484*	*10515*	*9959*	*9551*	*10304*	*9958*

Reference: SIPRI. Military expenditure by country, in constant (2019) US$ m. Available on: http://bitly.ws/yjor [28/12/2022]

The soft challenges are mainly concerned with the transition of security structure after the end of the Cold War. Accordingly, the Algerian security challenges were expanded. Moreover, Algeria is a country that possesses a geostrategic location and special cultural characteristics, the thing that definitely make the soft security challenges facing Algerian national security deeper and more complicated. These challenges could be noted in political, economic, technological, social and cultural dimensions.

Political challenges: after the recent political event in Algeria that was the popular movement which started on February 22, 2019, the democratic transition remains controlled by a non-political actor that possesses the ability to implement political decisions over the state. The popular movement's demand to resignation of Abdelaziz Bouteflika using ''article 102''[18] from the Algerian Constitution was not came into implementation until the intervening of the military institution that ordered to execute that article in a statement of Ahmed Gaied Salah Deputy Minister of Defense and Chief of Staff of the National People's Army at that time. The new president Abdelmadjid Tebboune made promises in his first words after he won the elections to fight exclusion and to open political participation. This will be the endeavour of the president in order to close any threats that may come from political windows since the democratic transition process is still ongoing.

Economic challenges: Algerian economy mainly depends on exports of oil and natural gas, exports outside hydrocarbon are marginal. Trade global ranking statistic included 121 countries, showed a fragile status of Algerian economy in 2019, Algeria's global exporter rank is 47 with total exports of 35.191.117.416 US$, while its global importer rank is 44 with total imports of 46.053.051.989 US$, as a result, the Algerian economy is suffering from a massive deficit in the balance trade of 10.861.898.573 US$, comparing to the global trade balance rank, Algeria is 104[19].

Algeria economic snapshot in comparison to other economies, within the last 5 years, seem critical as Algeria's export and FDI ranks are higher than

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60%, and GDP measures is higher than 40%. And for the unemployment and inflation rates are both at 80%. For Exports, FDI, and GDP measures, a higher rank (closer to 100%) indicates a stronger economy. On the contrary, for unemployment and inflation, a lower rank (closer to 0%) indicates a stronger economy (see Figure 1).

Figure (1): Algeria Economic Snapshot
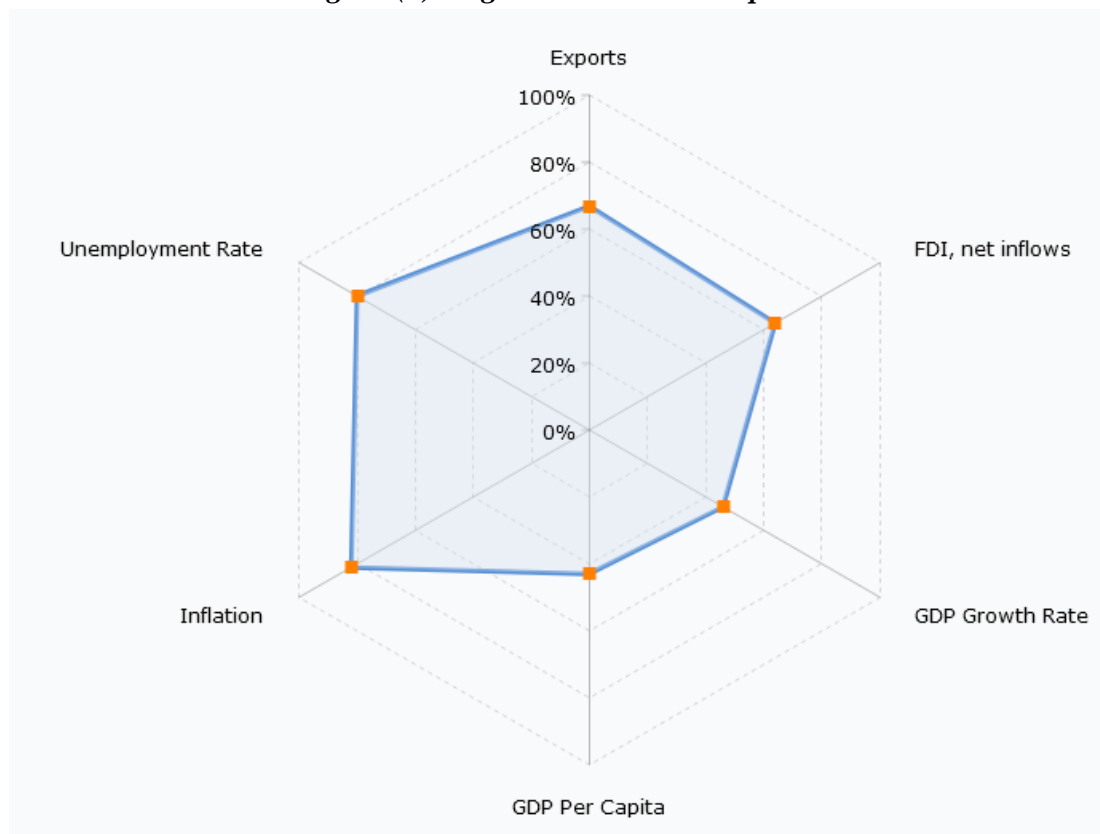
Reference: *globalEDGE, Algeria Economy. Available on https://globaledge.msu.edu/countries/algeria/economy [28/12/2022]*

Food security is connected to the national economy; Algeria has not yet achieved self-sufficiency as it relies on imports to provide the basic needs of food to its people[20]. Algeria covers an area estimated at 2,381,741 km², approximately 79.03% of the total area represents non-productive lands that are not considered for agriculture, the farmlands are about 03.05%, Algerian agriculture mainly depends on rainfall as its water resources are scarce due to its geographical location in dry and semi-dry region[21]. The National Water Program which has entered into force in 2007 and extends to 2030, is a flexible planning tool whose primary objectives are to ensure the sustainable

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supply of water resources, create a national balance in water distribution, and ensure rational management of water[22].

Environment is essential for a prospered economy; three major challenges threaten Algeria: (a) the climate change intensifies the global warming which increases the potential of natural disasters as well as erases the diversity of vegetation and agriculture production, (b) the spread of desertification in the south that is getting closer to the north threatening agriculture lands, (c) and pollution.

Socio-cultural challenges: the national state keen to absorb all the different and varied elements that constitute the society and give it a common identity to live under one unified political authority, thus social division threaten national security, this is represented in the division of the individuals of the same nation to affiliations based on a sense of belonging to different origins, speaking different languages, and believing in different religions, instead of their national loyalty that should be higher than any other sense[23].

Algeria faces security challenges at that level, mainly in the emergence of some separatist movements in the Kabylie region that threaten the national social and territorial integrity. Algeria has responded to this threat by delineating Amazigh language in the constitutional amendment of 2015, and adoption of Amazigh year as a national official celebration in 2018. In addition to the Kabylie region, the Tuareg issue in the south has become a major part of Algeria's security. It has taken a preventive action related to its security policy, including the integration of Tuareg in the political life, as well as protecting and promoting local heritage and culture. Algeria also recently witnessed Ghardaia crisis, which has been manifested in a form of sectarian violence and reached the point of infighting[24].

Technological challenges: technology's role in a state's national security is great due to the high security advantages and choices it offers. The protection and development of data, military, education, and economy, require from the state to have its own developed technology. Algeria is a developing country technologically that fulfil its main technology needs through importation and relies on foreign experts to deal with its technic issues.

The Third Topic: Algerian Security Doctrine

The security doctrine of the state means the sum of opinions, beliefs and principles that constitute an intellectual system for the issue of security in the

state, the state adopts this doctrine when it comes to dealing with the challenges and issues it faces, and this doctrine gives it the ability to interpret all security events, the security doctrine is basically based on factors of history, geography and ideology, and these factors have had a clear impact on the Algerian security doctrine from the early days of independence[25].

The Algerian Foreign Policy respects the principles of Westphalia Treaty; it derives its general approach from the pillars of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states; and the support of the right of states to self-determination. Algeria engages in the regional and international cooperation and support the non-use of force in the resolution of conflicts and disputes as its commitment is to invoke the International Law and to go to the peaceful means and diplomacy.

The national liberation revolution with its ideas is considered the most important fundament for the Algerian security doctrine, as this revolution contributed to drawing the political scene in Algeria after independence, the history of the Algerian resistance in fighting French colonialism for 132 years has made this factor an influential element in the process of building the Algerian security doctrine and its obligations both internally and externally. The obsession of history is present in shaping the directions of its security doctrine. Algeria refuses to establish relations, or even normalization, with Israel[26]. It also insists on supporting the people's right to self-determination and supporting liberation movements, for instance the Algerian support to the Palestinian case in the struggle against Israel.

The multi-dimensional strategic geographical location of Algeria in the Maghreb, Mediterranean, and Africa, makes Algerian security exposed on several fronts and hence the Algerian security doctrine covers and takes into considerations this security exposure[27]. Algeria is committed to cooperate and exchange experiences in the Mediterranean region by engaging in set of dialogues and initiatives proposed that target preserving the security of the region and facing the existing security challenges primarily represented by the trilogy of terrorism, organized crime and illegal immigration, among the most prominent dialogues and initiatives in which Algeria is involved; the 5+5 Defense Initiative established in 1990; and the Atlantic-Mediterranean Dialogue that NATO established with seven southern Mediterranean countries in 1994[28].

The ideological basis of the Algerian security doctrine is derived from the Algerian texts and covenants that charted the future of the Algerian state before and after independence. They are as follows: the statement of the first of November 1954, the Tripoli Charter in 1962, and the National Charters in 1964, 1976, and 1986.

The statement of the first of November 1954 indicated that the independent state of Algeria will be Islamic and adopts Islamic principles and guarantees the individual freedoms without any racial or religious discrimination, in this statement, the leaders of the revolution aimed to achieve the unity of North Africa in its Arab and Islamic framework, and have identified three circles of Algerian belonging, that they are Maghreb, Arab, and Islamic[29].

The Tripoli Charter of 1962 affirmed the patriotism of culture by the necessity of re-consideration of Arabic, given that it is the true expression of cultural values, as well as the language of civilization and science, thus include it in the intellectual life and the cultivation of national sentiment, as it will fight the cultural hegemony and Western influence, this contributed to teach many Algerians their language and national values[30].

The education program implemented by the National Liberation Front and the National Liberation Army was based on the Islamic religion and its basic rules and history, through the teaching of Qur'an, the principles of Islamic religion, and the prophetic biography[31]. The days of religious and national occasions were taken into consideration as national days[32].

Algeria chose the socialist approach against colonialism and Western imperialism, and chose political closure at the domestic level by adopting the one-party policy of the National Liberation Front party. National charters for the years 1964, 1976, and 1986 affirmed that socialism as a system and ideology is the only approach that can achieve completed independence and eliminate exploitation[33]. In light of the security slippages that happened in the country on October 05, 1988, and also the changes at the international's balance of power, Algeria turned into capitalism and created an internal political openness through the approval of the multi-partyism in the February 1989 Constitution.

Conclusion:

The Algerian national security is affected by the transformations occurred in world politics since the end of the Cold War. Specifically, by the transition

on the level of the security structure that affords widened sectors and different actors. The modern concept of security includes political, economic, societal, environmental, cultural, and humanitarian sectors. Thus, threat is no longer coming only from the states, but it also comes from other actors such NGOs, MNCs, individuals, state-sponsored and/or self-funded groups.

Given the increasing security challenges of the hard and soft nature that are facing Algeria both internally and externally, its security doctrine needs continuous review and development, especially towards the emerging soft challenges that threaten Algeria, its military, economic foundations, society, identity and cultural constants.

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unanimously to Parliament to declare the evidence to be proven. Parliament [...] assigns the acting head of state for a maximum period of forty-five (45) days to the Speaker of the National Assembly who exercises his powers while observing the provisions of Article 104 of the Constitution. In the event that the President of the Republic resigns or dies [...] The Speaker of the National Assembly hold the duties of the Head of state for a maximum period of ninety (90) days, during which presidential elections are organized [...]'' For more information about this see:

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