

*Algeria's experience in combating terrorism is a model
of transitional justice*

التجربة الجزائرية في مكافحة الإرهاب أنموذجاً للعدالة الانتقالية



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Abstract:

Transitional justice is rooted in international law and its application has been linked to the disturbances and flagrant violations of human rights identified by some countries that have resorted to international efforts and courts to resolve their disputes. This shows the importance of considering Algeria's experience in combating terrorism, where the Algerian authorities have adopted transitional justice in order to achieve national reconciliation and the advantage that they have been within an internal framework that has not witnessed foreign interventions. It relied on different stages of achievement that we seek through this study to demonstrate.

key words: Terrorism; Alternative justice; Transitional justice; Punitive measures; National reconciliation

ملخص :

العدالة الانتقالية متجذرة في القانون الدولي، وارتبط تطبيقها بالانتهاكات الصارخة لحقوق الإنسان التي عرفتها بعض الدول التي كانت تلجأ لحل نزاعاتها إلى الجهود الدولية والمحاكم الدولية، وهنا يظهر الهدف في دراسة التجربة الجزائرية في مكافحة الإرهاب، حيث اعتمدت السلطات الجزائرية العدالة الانتقالية في سبيل تحقيق المصالحة الوطنية والميزة فيها أنها كانت في إطار داخلي لم يشهد تدخلات أجنبية، واعتمد في تحقيقها على مراحل مختلفة نسعى من خلال هذه الدراسة إلى تبينها. وبيان ريادة التجربة الجزائرية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الإرهاب؛ العدالة البديلة؛ العدالة الانتقالية؛ تدابير ردعية؛ مصالحة وطنية.

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Introduction:

At the beginning of the 1990s, Algeria witnessed a wave of violence that had not been perpetuated before.

The main reasons for the suspension of the electoral track in 1991, where the sit-ins began and marched things have been at a standstill and criminal acts have been launched since 1992 which lasted a full decade.

The period from 1992 to 1997 is considered to have escalated atrocities against the Algerian society of all kinds, as well as destruction of installations and structures Algerian legislation for the first time criminalized the act of terrorism.

In 1992, he was subjected to the most severe penalties, and the State recruited all necessary means of justice, through human mobilization or through legislative texts, but nonetheless.

The terrorist acts did not end, they continued to grow, in the face of this situation the authorities found the solution to this long-standing crisis in adopting a manifestation of alternative justice is transitional justice, here shows the importance of the subject, it is known that transitional justice is known widespread application in international conflicts, with the aim of moving from conflict to peace and providing adequate compensation for the victims of these conflicts. However, the Algerian authorities considered their application combating terrorism within the national framework , and the importance is also demonstrated in the fact that terrorism is a global and regional phenomenon experienced by many countries experiencing internal unrest, especially African ones (African sahel and sub-Saharan States or Sudan). Algeria's experience may be especially useful because the international community has praised Algeria's experience in combating terrorism.

based on what I mentioned, the topic discusses the following problem:

What transitional justice applications have been adopted by the Algerian authorities to combat terrorism and its effectiveness?

The answer to this problem is the exposure to the Algerian authorities' methods of confronting terrorism, relying on descriptive and analytical methodologies.

- The Security Method to Counter Terrorism
- Political approach to countering terrorism
- Transition from security to political solution

Section I: Security Method to Counter Terrorism

Events accelerated after the abolition of the results of the 1991 legislative elections, and Algeria entered into a cycle of bloody criminality, requiring the authorities to intervene in response to this new phenomenon by adopting a security method that deters the following:

A) Imposing exceptional circumstances

The state of siege was imposed by Presidential Decree N° 91-196 of 04/06/1991, in order to contain Algeria's political crisis, particularly after the vacancies of both the presidency and the legislature, and in view of the subsequent escalation of security.

It was followed by Executive Decrees N° 91-201, No. 91-202 and No. 91-204, which determined the application of articles 04, 07 and 08 of the aforementioned 91-196¹.

Subsequently, a state of emergency² was declared by Presidential Decree 92-44 of 09/02/1992 and extended by Legislative Decree 93-02 of 06/02/1993³.

There is no doubt that the declaration of the state of siege and the state of emergency was justified by the continuation of the security crisis, as the declaration of both cases were aimed at establishing public order and ensuring the security of persons and property and ensuring the proper functioning of public facilities;

By continuing the security crisis, the declaration of the two situations was aimed at maintaining public order, ensuring security for persons and property and ensuring the proper functioning of public facilities; In contrast, both cases have had a dire impact on individual and collective rights and freedoms through the measures that have been taken, including the task of maintaining public order of power.

¹ Presidential Decree N° 91-336 dated september 22,1991, includes the lifting of the state of siege, Official Gazette N° 44,issued on September25,1991.

² The Emergency Law was not promulgated by the legislature (formerly the National People's Assembly), which has inherent competence as required by the provisions of the Constitution, but by the Supreme Council of the State, which was installed in 14/01/1992 under the chairmanship of Mohamed Boudiaf, in view of the constitutional and political vacuum. Abdelmonim Naimi, "Read in Presidential Decree 92-44 declaring a state of emergency and its conformity with the Constitution", e-newspaper "Legal" N°. 303, date of publication 16/02/2016, www.alkanounia.com website, Visit website on 25/12/2022.

³ Presidential Decree N°92-44 dated February 09,1992 includes state of emergency, Official Gazette N°10,issued on February 09,1990.and Legislative Decree N°93-02 dated February 06,1993, includes Extension of the State of Emergency , Official Gazette N° 08,issued on February 07,1993.

Military rather than civilian, most public security trials were heard before military justice. The nighttime curfew was imposed from 10 o'clock at night until 08 o'clock, and the administrative detention report, which was not preceded by a court judgment and the placement in house arrest, carried out day and night searches without restriction in public or private shops to impair freedom of expression by preventing the issuance of publications, meetings, gatherings and marches, and by giving the Government the possibility to take all the regulatory actions that it is competent to establish the situation and other actions exceptional ¹.

Let us conclude that the declaration of the state of siege and then the state of emergency were imposed by the security situation, but both of them had a great prejudice to the constitutional legitimacy, which is based on legal sovereignty and respect for rights and freedoms.

B) deterrent legal texts

The crime of terrorism is a modern crime that was not witnessed by Algerian society before the 1990s, and the legal texts did not criminalize or punish it, because in the face of the wave of blind criminality, the legislator was obliged to confront it with strict legal texts, and this was already through the sequence of issuance of texts regulating the substantive and procedural provisions of the terrorist crime.

1) substantive provisions :

The Algerian legislator issued Legislative Decree No. 92-03 on (30/09/1992) on combating subversion and terrorism², which was divided into four chapters, chapter I of which contains a definition of offenses described as subversive or terrorist ³ acts .This Legislative Decree is the first legal text to

¹ Ghadban Mabrouk and Gharbi Nadjah,"Analytical reading of the legal texts governing the siege and emergencies and their impact on the rights and freedoms of Algeria", Al-Moufker magazine, published by the Faculty of Law and Political Science, Mohamed Khidir Biskra University, Volume09, Issue 01, January 2014, p. 22-31

² Legislative Decree N° 92-03 dated September 30, 1992 sets combating subversion and terrorism. amending and supplementing by Legislative Decree N° 93-05 dated April 19, 1993 ,Official Gazette N° 25 issued on April 25, 1993.

³Article 1 of Decree 92-03: " is considered an act of subversion or terrorism within the meaning of this Legislative Decree, any infringement

Targeting State security and territorial integrity, stability and normal functioning of institutions through any action for its purpose

Comes:

- To spread terror among the population and create an atmosphere of insecurity by assaulting people or endangering their lives or

Their security is endangered, or their property is compromised,

define the terrorist crime, thus filling the legal vacuum for dealing with this type of crime Acts.

In addition, articles 03 to 09 of the Legislative Decree provide for the punishment of such terrorist acts, which are severely and rigorously punishable and swing between the death penalty, life imprisonment and temporary imprisonment from 5 to 10 years, and temporary imprisonment from 10 to 20 years, as well as financial fines of up to 1.000.000 dinars with the possibility of consequential penalties¹.

Until 1995, Legislative Decree N° 92-03 on combating subversion and terrorism had been repealed in view of the shortcomings and had issued a series of orders; to remain seized of Ordinance N° 95-11 of 25 February 1995, amending and supplementing Ordinance N° 66-156 of 08/06/1966, containing the Penal Code ², which criminalizes terrorist acts and provides for them in articles bis 87 to 87 bis 12 of section IV bis entitled "Offences described as terrorist acts or subversive acts ³".

This has added some acts of terrorism, which were not previously provided for in Legislative Decree N° 92-03, and has retained the advantage of aggravating and harsh penalties.

However, we must note that the inclusion of the criminalization of terrorism in the Penal Code is important.

It is a return to the provisions of the Constitution by giving real guarantees to the accused in accordance with the principle of legality of offences and penalties,⁶ Article 1 of Decree 92-03.

2) Procedural provisions:

The procedural provisions governing terrorist crimes were exceptional,

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- Hamper traffic or freedom of movement on roads and public squares,
 - Attacks on the ocean, transportation and public and private property, and their acquisition their occupation without legal justification, desecration of graves or attacks on the symbols of the Republic,
 - Obstruction of the work of public authorities or the freedom to practise worship and public freedoms and the functioning of institutions assisting the facility
- General,
- Obstructing the functioning of public institutions, assaulting the lives of their associates or property, or impeding the application of laws and regulations. "

¹ Subsidiary penalties (articles 6 to 8) have been abolished by the Penal Code by Act N°. 06-23 of 20/12/2006 amending and supplementing the Penal Code.

² Official Gazette N° 11.

³ Bakhaled Abdelrazak, National Reconciliation under Criminal Policy, Master's Note, Faculty of Law and Legal Sciences, University of Constantine, Algeria, 2010, p. 48.

following the Declaration of the state of emergency under Presidential Decree N° 92-44, article 10 of which provides for competence military courts for crimes against State security, also following the decree's issuance legislative 92 - 03 Assigned the Consideration of Terrorist Offences to Judicial Councils .

This constitutes an infringement of the accused's right to be heard before his natural judge,

In addition to being denied many guarantees, such as violation of the defendants' rights, in particular.

On the rights of the defence, the principle of equality before the judiciary and non-observance of recognized norms.

International Fair Trial, Which Has Made It Imperative for the Authorities to come to criticism international human rights treaty bodies to return ordinary Judicial Order 95-10 of 25/02/1995 amended and supplemented of the 66-155 Ordinance of the 8/6/1966 containing the Code of Criminal Procedure the Criminal Court was assigned to adjudicate on acts described as terrorist or subversive, it went further when the Criminal Court was granted consideration for terrorist offences committed by minors aged 16 (10), which is contrary to the Convention on the Rights of the Child for the year 1989 ratified by Algeria by presidential decree 92-461 of 19/12/1992.¹

With regard to the remainder of the proceedings, particularly those relating to police competencies the legislator has chosen to take the public interest at the expense of rights.

In addition, individuals' freedoms by extending the jurisdiction of judicial police officers to full national territory for research and investigation of terrorist Offences, Non-Restriction of house searches subject to the meals and attendance rule, the duration of the arrest for consideration can be extended 5 times, and other procedures ².

Section II: Political approach to countering terrorism

The violence escalated in 1992, especially after the assassination of President Mohamed Boudiaf on 29/06/1992, and the bloody confrontations began after the assumption of the right-wing President Zeroual chose dialog with the leaders of the Islamic Salvation Front imprisoned, but the dialogs

1 Article 248 and article 249/2 were amended by Act N° 17-07 dated March 27,2017 and the Criminal Court's jurisdiction over terrorist offences committed by children was abolished

2 Ben Nasser Fatiha, Limiting Procedural Safeguards for Terrorist Offenders - Comparative Study, Dar el Jamiaa el jadida, Egypt, 2011, p. 97, 131, 190.

failed¹. Armed Islamist groups emerged in early 1994, but apart from this prelude, they tried to highlight that despite the policy of militancy pursued by the authorities to confront terrorism, they did not overlook the policy of dialog and political solution.

A) The ground of national reconciliation and measures of mercy

In parallel with the policy of deterrence that the legislator pursued in the beginning of his confrontation with terrorism, the authorities considered that they should not lose sight of the policy of dialog and political solution.

1) The ground of national accord

The Supreme Council of the State, after the end of its mandate on 13/01/1994, gave the National Dialogue Committee the authority to organize a national seminar in order to organize the transitional phase, and the National Accord Symposium worked to restore institutional stability by opening the field of dialog with various political parties, followed by the ground of national reconciliation for 1994, and the ground of national reconciliation for 1996, these attempts are the first initiatives to solve the crisis politically with emphasis on rigour and resolve to restore civil peace².

2) The mercy measures

Algerian legislature repealed Legislative Decree 92-03 and replaced it with three orders, including Ordinance 95-12 of 25/02/1995 containing mercy measures³. This is an outcome of the 1994 transitional phase of national reconciliation, Persons who follow terrorist offences and who automatically surrender themselves to the competent authorities and notify them of their cessation of any terrorist or subversive activity as affirmed in article 1 of the Ordinance 95-12 consider mercy measures as a reward to anyone who proclaims repentance and retracts his terrorist acts. impunity ", thus prevailing the social benefit of impunity in certain cases over the benefit of punishment⁴.

1 Hadj Mohamed Fadila, National Reconciliation in Algeria from the perspective of the globalization of security and the transformations of global power, Algerian Journal of Security and Development, published by the Research and Security Laboratory in the Mediterranean, University of Batna, Volume 06, Issue 01, January 2017, p. 333 and 334.

2 Belkhaled Abd al-Razak, op. cit., p. 47. and Presidential Decree N° 94-40 dated January 29, 1994 issuing the ground for national reconciliation for the transitional period. Official Gazette N° 06, Presidential Decree N° 96-304 dated septembre 17, 1996 concerning the publication of the ground for national reconciliation.

3 Official Gazette N° 11.

4 Al-Harba is a border crime and is an offence against the purposes of Islamic law.

(Preservation of religion, soul, mind, offspring and money) But despite the gravity of the penalty of limitation in it, Allah Almighty mentioned repentance and the possibility of

B) Restorative measures

The initiatives of the Algerian legislator to resolve the crisis politically did not end with measures of mercy, but continued with other initiatives, all of which were aimed at motivating the terrorist armed groups to refrain from their acts and terrorist orientations.

These initiatives are as follows:

- The Law on the Restoration of Civil Harmony
- Charter of Peace and National Reconciliation

1)The Law on the Restoration of Civil Harmony

The policy of civil harmony came as an alternative to measures of mercy and a continuation of its objectives. It was promulgated by Law 99-08 of 13/07/1999, article 42 of which repealed all provisions of order 95-12 containing measures of mercy.

The policy of civil harmony was imposed by the security and social situation of the country, especially after the measures of mercy gave positive results and Law 99-08 came to strengthen these results, the aim of this law is to give the opportunity to return and reintegrate into society to every person involved in acts of terrorism or sabotage forever and consciously he wanted to stop all terrorist activity¹.

The law has put in place three measures to reflect this policy:

- Exemption from follow-up
- The situation is deferred
- Reduce penalties.

2) Charter of Peace and National Reconciliation

In order to complement of civil harmony, former President Abdelaziz Bouteflika launched the National Reconciliation Initiative, where he issued on August 15, 2005 a decree containing the draft Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation, which called for turning the pages of bloody violence and a return to peace, and President Bouteflika considered that national reconciliation is a high moral challenge that stops the faith of the Algerian people and their patriotism², the draft Charter for Peace and Reconciliation was submitted to a

amnesty for the owners of this crime according to verses 33 and 34 of the table. Therefore, Algerian legislator did not create anything new but followed the approach of the sharia that calls for repentance and reward its owner.

1 Article 1 of Act N° 99-08 dated July 13, 1999 on the Restoration of Civil Harmony, Official Gazette N° 46.

2 Address by the former President of the Republic, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Journal of the national assembly, issued by the National Assembly, Issue. 21, august. 2005, p. 5 and 6.

referendum on 29/09/2005 to gain constitutional and national legitimacy, and was unanimously approved, which constituted a milestone in the history of Algeria and put an end between a bloody black decade and other years, which we hope will be bright, and by approving the Charter for Peace and Reconciliation issued order 02/2006-01 of 27/, which includes the implementation of the Charter for Peace And national reconciliation.

The main objectives of order 06-01 are:

- Rehabilitation of security institutions
- Annulment of judicial follow-up of those involved in terrorist acts who surrendered after the expiration of the period allocated to Civil Harmony Act.
- Reduce and replace penalties
- Amnesty report
- Canceling follow-up
- Reintegration of respondents from the Civil Harmony Act
- Follow up and solve the missing people's file
- Care for the victims of the national tragedy.

Section III: The transition from a security solution to a political one

The Algerian legislature has shifted its solution to the problem of terrorism from a security solution to a political one. The first years after the ratification of the Charter for Peace and Reconciliation witnessed a major decline in terrorism. Even though the legislature has prioritized the path of reconciliation, achieving a form of transitional justice, it has remained on the side Security retrenchment.

A) Transitional Justice

The Algerian society's choice of national reconciliation almost completely turned the page of the past into its black decade, and achieved the transition from a state of conflict to a state of peace, a concept that applies to transitional justice, which is the subject of transitional periods by moving from a state of internal armed conflict to a state of peace and democratic transition .It should be accompanied by necessary remedial measures as well as reparations for victims of serious violations¹.

Algeria has achieved this concept through national reconciliation, which is a formula of understanding between the citizens of the same country to reach a solution to save the country from its crisis, and the abolition of obstacles of the past away from violations, crimes, reparation for the victims of the national

1 Shaban Abdel Hussein, Transitional Justice: Arab Approaches to International Experience, panel discussion "Transitional Justice", 8 May 2013, held at the headquarters of the Centre for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 2013, p. 100.

tragedy¹, and the adoption of the Algerian legislator on two different policies in parallel (security and political) The Algerian experience to solve the crisis is a distinctive experience and today it is a requirement to follow its example, although the idea of national reconciliation is not new but applied by other countries². However, the Algerian model is characterized by the adoption of the referendum to reach a compromise solution and the involvement of an entire people in determining this solution. Algeria is seeking to export its model in the framework of efforts to promote a culture Algeria has proposed a World Day for living together in Peace, an initiative adopted by the United Nations and supported by the countries of the world in 2017³. This is in itself an international recognition of Algeria's efforts to promote and disseminate the values of peace, reconciliation and coexistence.

B) The continuation of the policy of deterrence

The fight against the crime of terrorism continues today by adhering to the policy of national reconciliation on the one hand, as well as the adoption of the security method on the ground by strengthening and supporting the various security wires⁴, in addition to the establishment of a set of procedural rules to confront anyone who commits a terrorist crime Decree N° 11/01 of (23/02/2011)⁵ Whoever commits a terrorist offence and I stop at this point to point out that thanks to the policy reconciliation and gradual return to security decides to lift state of emergency by Order N° 11/01 of 23/02/2011 as issued by Order 11-03 of 23/02/2011 amends and supplements Law N° 91-23 of 06/12/1991 and on the contribution of the National People's Army to the task of protecting security general outside exceptional cases, which in its article II emphasizes the use of national people's Army units and formations in the fight

1 Bakhoya Driss, Transitional Justice in Light of the National Reconciliation Law, Journal of Jurisprudence for Legal and Economic Studies, published by Tamingst University Center, Volume 06, Issue 02, June 2017, p. 102.

2 The world has witnessed more than 40 transitional justice experiences, the most important of which are those of Chile, Argentina, Peru, Ronda, South Africa, Serbia, Greece, Lebanon, Iraq, Tunisia... . Abdul Hussein Shaaban, op. cit., p. 100.

3 On 8 December 2017, the General Assembly of the United Nations unanimously (172 countries out of a total of 193) ratified Regulation N°. 130/72 proclaiming May 16 of each year as the International Day of Peace, which is a day of call to countries to promote reconciliation and to help ensure peace and sustainable development.

4 Lakhdar Omar Al-Dheimi, "Algerian experience in combating terrorism", "Scientific materials of the seminar on the role of civil society institutions in countering terrorism", Center for Studies and Research Department of Scientific Meetings, 26-28/08/2014, Naif Arab University of Security Sciences, Saudi Arabia, 2014, pp. 223-224.

5 Ordinance N°. 11/01 of 23/02/2011 lifting the state of emergency, Official Gazette No. 12.

against terrorism and subversion, while in the legislative sphere, particularly the Code of Criminal procedure, the legislator has introduced Algeria's amendment to the Code of criminal Procedure in 2006 by Act N° 06-03 22 of 20/12/2006 set of special procedures stages of research and investigation as well as judicial investigation of a range of crimes which the legislator considered dangerous - usually expressed by the crimes created, or emerging - Terrorist offences are one of them:

Intercept correspondence, record votes, take photos, leak, seen in text contains articles 65 bis to 65 bis 18 the Code of Criminal Procedure.

Although these actions are infringed upon the inviolability of private life and freedoms, especially it takes place at a point where the person is merely a suspect, and it is also contrary to the Constitution's provisions in articles 41 and 47, it was decided in the interest of It is not incompatible with the provisions of certain international conventions that have called for the adoption of the Convention.

Special investigative techniques to counter certain crimes¹ and to minimize their impact on rights individuals surrounded by the legislature with a range of conditions above the authorization issued by the judicial authorities crimes.

Article 1 of Presidential Decree N° 15-261 of 8/10/2015 of the National Authority for the Prevention of Offences Related to Information.

Technologies allows preventive surveillance of electronic communications for the purpose of detecting terrorist offences as if the legislator were establishing an administrative police force to operate semi-judicial under the cover of prevention, particularly against terrorist offences².

The establishment of specialized penal poles (courts with an expanded jurisdiction), which was made possible by the extension of the quota report for both the agents of the Republic and the investigating judges and the courts, which was decided by Law No. 04-14, dated 10/11/2004/ ,and the regulatory texts were issued in 2006 by Executive Decree No. 06-348, dated 5/10/2006 , the specialized penal poles became operational in 2008³, Under Amendment 04-

1 For example: the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, adopted and presented for signature and ratification by the General Assembly of the United Nations 55/25 resolution 15/11/2000, ratified by Algeria by Presidential Decree 02-55 dated February 05,2002, Official Gazette N° 09.

2 Ohaibia Abdallah, Explanation of Algeria's Code of Criminal Procedure, Part 1, supplementary and revised edition with latest amendments, Dar Houma, Algeria, 2018, p. 363 and 364.

3 Bakrarshosh Mohammed, expanded territorial competence in the penal article in Algerian

14, it was also decided that public proceedings for crimes and misdemeanours described as acts of terrorism and subversion would not be statutory.

Amendment of Article 248 of the Code of Criminal Procedure by Law 17-07 of 27/03/2017, especially with regard to the jurisdiction of the Criminal Court to deal with terrorist crimes committed by minors aged 16 years. Also on the substantive level, a series of texts relating to the terrorist crime were issued through the amendment of the Penal Code by Law 16-02 of 19/06/2016, which added articles 87 bis 11 and 87 bis 12.

all the other amendments related to the terrorist crime, and we cannot speak about them all.

Conclusion:

In conclusion to this study we note that the Algerian legislature has applied a form of transitional justice to mitigate the effects of terrorism and to move on to another stage, namely national reconciliation through the adoption of various measures,

The results of this study include:

- Algeria's adoption of transitional justice without permitting foreign interference in national affairs.
- The success of balancing the policy of national reconciliation with the policy of deterrence.
- In response to the National Reconciliation Act, he benefited from a reduction in his sentence or a pardon all those who remain committed to the arms and their terrorist acts are exposed for maximum penalties.
- The fight against terrorism took place through two main security and political phases, during which a series of legal texts were issued.
- Adopting special investigative techniques and expanding the jurisdiction of judicial authorities.
- Determining national reconciliation does not mean abandoning the policy of deterrence.
- The Algerian experience in combating terrorism is one of the most prominent forms of successful transitional justice, through achieving a break with a long bloody period in which all the Algerian people lived in tragedy, so that we move to another stage of security and peace.
- Algeria overcame terrorism individually providing a strong example in counter-

terrorism operations at the national level which is a model that any country in internal conflict will undoubtedly benefit them if they may adopt, but the threat of international terrorism persists for Algeria because of its volatile geographical location linked to the coastal countries in which terrorist movements are increasing, or for other countries experiencing security disruptions and external interventions, this kind of international terrorism calls for concerted international efforts to confront him.

Suggestions:

- media coverage of the algerian experience in the fight against terrorism.
- presentation of the Algerian experience in regional and international organizations, or in the various bodies interested in the peaceful resolution of conflicts.
- The Algerian experience in the fight against terrorism, although pioneering, requires further research and renewal so that its success is not only linked to the security aspect, but must also extend to the political side.

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