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**World Politics Department**

**Uroqov Salohiddin Orif o'g'li**

**“ARAB SPRING” IN NORTH AFRICA AND ITS  
IMPACT ON REGIONAL SECURITY**

**FINAL QUALIFICATION WORK**

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Professor, Yovkochev Sh.A.

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## INTRODUCTION

**Actuality of the theme.** Studying the actual problems of security, combatting against new threats and challenges have been one of the main tasks of every country. This tendency as the President of The Republic of Uzbekistan mentioned: “... totally new national and regional problems are turning into global disputable issues”<sup>1</sup>. Particularly, events which have been occurring in North African region are not apart from these tendencies.

Today, in international relations studying Arab Spring<sup>2</sup> and its effects to the economic, political and social life of North African countries is regarded one the topical issues of every country. There are various factors which influence to the North African region’s stable situation. Studying these factors clarifies actuality of the issue.

Regional conflicts between states of North Africa, international terrorism and religious extrimism are conveyed as threats to the North African and Middle East region security. Regional security is the one of the principle elements of global security. Security of North African region not only essential for this region itself, but also to the world.

North Africa – known in Arabic as the Maghreb<sup>3</sup> (*Map 1*) – is a region of tremendous potential. The birthplace of the Arab Awakening<sup>4</sup>, it is currently undergoing a difficult but critical transformation. Tunisia continues efforts to achieve the democratic promise of its 2011 revolution, even as it faces significant security and economic challenges. Libya continues to undertake a democratic transition following a successful revolution, yet confronts numerous challenges on

<sup>1</sup> Каримов И.А. Юксак маънавият - енгилмас куч. – Тошкент: Маънавият, 2008. – Б. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Particularly, the term “Arab spring” was used by English journalist Jackie Ashley in her article “The Arab spring requires a defiantly European reply” in The Guardian magazine in 06.03.2011. // <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/mar/06/arab-spring-european-reply-labour>

<sup>3</sup> The Maghreb or Maghrib is the name given in pre-modern times by Arab writers on geography and history to the northern part of Africa, that which Europeans often came to call Barbary. The Arabic word maghreb means “place where the sun sets”, i.e. The west, in opposition to mashriq “place where the sun rises”, i.e. The east. The Word Maghreb. // <http://www.maghreb-studies-association.co.uk/en/allhome.html>

<sup>4</sup> The term “Arab Awakening” was used in Aljazeera in 20.04.2011. // <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/general/2011/04/20114483425914466.html>

the political, security, and economic fronts. Libya struggles with the daily threat of violence posed by a lack of security and political consensus, yet our continued engagement there is absolutely essential. Morocco and Algeria have undertaken more gradual reform processes. They remain key regional sources of stability and have assumed increasingly important roles in our global effort to combat terrorism and extremism. At the same time, the strained relationship between Algeria and Morocco also limits regional cooperation and development, which is essential if any regional bodies are to evolve into credible forces for regional stability – in the Maghreb and the Sahel<sup>1</sup>.

Provision of international security is important for Uzbekistan as one of the sovereign actors of international relations. Our peacekeeping policy supports peaceful relations among states. By supporting peace our country prefers developing all spheres. Furthermore, nowadays, strengthening bilateral relations with U.S.A., The Russian Federation, Asia-Pacific Region countries, as well as, the countries of The Middle East and African continent is considered one of the foreign policy priorities of The Uzbek Government.

Uzbekistan considers historical-cultural relations and region's intensive changes, and continues developing and strengthening comprehensive nexus, which are based on bilateral interests, with the countries of The Middle East. ...Moreover, widening and strengthening relations with African continent countries both on the basis of bilateral relations and international organizations appropriates to the interests of Uzbekistan<sup>2</sup>.

The actuality of the theme is that this topic has not been studied as the object of any research works. But some fragments of the issue are studied in detail by both Uzbek, Russian, Western and Arab scientists, while reaction movements

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<sup>1</sup> Richard S. Political, Economic and Security Situation in Africa. November 21, 2013. // <http://www.state.gov/p/nea/rls/rm/217924.htm>

<sup>2</sup> Ўзбекистон Республикаси Ташқи сиёсий фаолияти Концепцияси. Олий Мажлис палаталарининг Ахборотномаси, 2012. № 9/1 (1437) – Б. 6-19.

were widely spread through the region and emerged new threats and challenges to the security system of the whole world states.

**Studied level of the theme.** Final qualification work is devoted to study “Arab spring” and its impact on regional security. Issues such as security, regional security, origins of the “Arab spring”, spreading dynamics of “Arab spring”, the role of “Arab spring” in geopolitical, strategic circumstance of North African countries and approaches of different states to the occurred revolutions in the countries of North African region are being studied in detail by local and foreign politicians and orientalist-scientists.

Moreover, a lot of Uzbek scientists researched about political-social and economic life of North African and Middle East states. Among them can be counted Sh. Yovkochev, S. Gafurov, N. Abdullaev, M. Mukhammadsiddikov and A. Abdisattarov<sup>1</sup>.

The history and political dynamics of the Arab spring in North Africa, modern approaches to the solution of the problem had been studied by scientists and researches such as Garth le Pere, Mark Sedra and Geoff Burt, Toby Dodge, Martin Beck and Simone Hüser, Philip Martin, Christina Weber, David Carment, Lan O. Lesser, Lenie Brouwer, Julie E., Pruzan-Jørgensen, Yonah Alexander, Jan Wouters, Sanderijn Duquet, Vijay Prashad, Stephan Rosiny, Laurel E. Miller,

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<sup>1</sup> Ёвкочев Ш.А. Политизация религии и проблемы исламского экстремизма в АРЕ. Дисс. на соис. ... уч. степени канд. пол. наук. – Ташкент: ТашГИВ, 2000. – 197 с; Ёвкочев Ш.А. Исламский фактор в политической системе современного Египта. – Т.: Ташкентский исламский университет, 2008; Миср Араб Республикасида: давлат ва диний институтлар. Ўзбекистон Республикаси Президенти хузуридаги Давлат ва жамият куриш академияси. – Тошкент: 2007. – 36 б., Муслмон оламида сиёсий тизимларнинг шаклланиши. // Жамият ва бошқарув. – Тошкент, 2007. № 3. 94-95 б. Гафуров С.М. Хавфсизлик стратегияси: Марказий Осиё ва Форс кўрφαзи давлатлари амалиёти: Монография. – Т.: Алишер Навий номидаги Ўзбекистон Миллий кутубхонасининг нашриёти; Тошкент давлат шарқшунослик институти, 2007. – 336 б.; Абдуллаев Н.А. Региональная политика Сирийской Арабской Республики в свете ближневосточного урегулирования. Автореф. дисс. ...канд. полит. наук. – Т.: ТашГИВ, 2000.; Муҳаммадсидиков М.М. Саудия Арабистонининг Қизил денгиз минтақасида хавфсизликни таъминлаш сиёсатининг хусусиятлари. С.ф.н. олиш учун диссер.автореферати. – Т.: ТошДШИ, 2005., Шимолий Африка давлатларида ислом сиёсийлашувининг ўзига хос хусусиятлари. Жаҳон сиёсатининг долзарб муаммолари илмий мақолалар тўплами. – Т.: ТошДШИ, 2012. – Б. 38-42; Замонавий халқаро муносабатларда Африка давлатлари: сиёсий - ижтимоий ва иқтисодий жараёнлар. – Т.: Тошкент Ислам Университети, 2013. – 156 б.; Абдисатторов А.А. Форс кўрφαзи араб давлатлари ташқи сиёсатида “ислом омили”нинг сиёсий таҳлили. С.ф.н. олиш учун диссер.автореферати. – Т.: ТошДШИ, 2005.;

Jeffrey Martini, Stephen Larrabee, Angel Rabasa, Stephanie Pezard, Julie E. Taylor, Tewodaj Mengistu<sup>1</sup>.

Visiting Professor in the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria and Senior Partner at Dajo Associates – Garth le Pere mentions in his article that events surrounding the “Arab Spring” have been subject to interpretive debates, particularly about their revolutionary potential. But about occurring events he again notes that they have been interpreted by different media centers in a different way<sup>2</sup>. So that, in my opinion, studying and analyzing origins of the “Arab spring” and consequences caused by this revolutionary movement is one of the main goals of researchers in the field of security and international relations.

**Work aim.** Studying and analyzing the reaction movement, called “Arab Spring”, its impact on regional security of North African states, defining current balance of this movement and researching developing perspectives of security

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<sup>1</sup> Mark S., Geoff B. Edialogue summary report. August 2011. Security Sector Transformation in North Africa and the Middle East. // <http://www.cigionline.org/publications/2011/8/edialogue-summary-report-security-sector-transformation-north-africa-and-middle->; Toby D. Conclusion: the Middle East After the Arab Spring. // <http://www.allbookez.com/middle-east-after-arab-spring/>; Martin B., Simone H. Political Change in the Middle East: An Attempt to Analyze the “Arab spring”. // [http://www.giga-hamburg.de/de/system/files/publications/wp203\\_beck-hueser.pdf](http://www.giga-hamburg.de/de/system/files/publications/wp203_beck-hueser.pdf); Philip M, Christina W., David C. Ethnic Conflict in Libya: Toubou. June 21, 2012. // <http://www4.carleton.ca/cifp/app/serve.php/1394.pdf>; Lan O.L. Security in North Africa. 1993. // [http://csis.org/files/publication/140206\\_maritime\\_security\\_shelala\\_report.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/140206_maritime_security_shelala_report.pdf); Lenie B. Political Islam and the Moroccan Arab Spring. 23. 01. 2012. // [https://www.google.ru/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCsQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.ru.nl%2Fpublish%2Fpages%2F633443%2Fpolitical\\_islam\\_and\\_the\\_moroccan\\_arab\\_spring.pdf&ei=rhVtU8\\_SE66gsATi4ICoCg&usq=AFQjCNERlJNXyqYcSAqZ0CUmYt-FD04UXw&sig2=hC8HcjKcgJxUe13SLu2u0Q&bvm=bv.66111022,d.cWc](https://www.google.ru/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCsQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.ru.nl%2Fpublish%2Fpages%2F633443%2Fpolitical_islam_and_the_moroccan_arab_spring.pdf&ei=rhVtU8_SE66gsATi4ICoCg&usq=AFQjCNERlJNXyqYcSAqZ0CUmYt-FD04UXw&sig2=hC8HcjKcgJxUe13SLu2u0Q&bvm=bv.66111022,d.cWc); Julie E.P. The Islamist Movement in Morocco Main Actors and Regime Responses. 05.2010. // [http://subweb.diis.dk/graphics/Publications/Reports2010/RP2010-05\\_Islamist\\_movement\\_Morocco\\_web.pdf](http://subweb.diis.dk/graphics/Publications/Reports2010/RP2010-05_Islamist_movement_Morocco_web.pdf); Yonah A. Terrorism in North Africa & the Sahel in 2012: Global Reach & Implications. February 2013. // [http://www.potomac institute.org/attachments/article/1358/Terrorism\\_in\\_North\\_Africa\\_and\\_the\\_Sahel.pdf](http://www.potomac institute.org/attachments/article/1358/Terrorism_in_North_Africa_and_the_Sahel.pdf); Jan W., Sanderijn D. The Arab Uprisings and the European Union: In Search Of A Comprehensive Strategy. January 2013. // [https://ghum.kuleuven.be/ggs/publications/working\\_papers/new\\_series/wp91-100/wp-98-duquet-wouters-2.pdf](https://ghum.kuleuven.be/ggs/publications/working_papers/new_series/wp91-100/wp-98-duquet-wouters-2.pdf); Vijay P. Arab Spring, Libyan Winter. April 2012. A.K Press Publishing & Distribution. Oakland, Baltimore, Edinburgh. // [http://www.giga-hamburg.de/de/system/files/publications/gf\\_international\\_1201.pdf](http://books.google.ru/books?id=ZnLL0Udge4kC&pg=PA1&lpg=PA1&dq=Vijay+Prashad.+Arab+Spring,+Libyan+Winter.+April+2012.+A+K+Press+Publishing+%26+Distribution.+Oakland,+Baltimore,+Edinburgh&source=bl&ots=r16OsTkf_L&sig=YvmYMIqB-uNqrPM8Jm1-YR9N8yU&hl=ru&sa=X&ei=sBZtU6TNA YjksASut4HYAw&ved=0CC4Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=Vijay%20Prashad.%20Arab%20Spring%2C%20Libyan%20Winter.%20April%202012.%20A%20K%20Press%20Publishing%20%26%20Distribution.%20Oakland%2C%20Baltimore%2C%20Edinburgh&f=false; Stephan R. The Arab Spring: Triggers, Dynamics and Prospects. // <a href=); Laurel E.M., Jeffrey M., Stephen L., Angel R., Stephanie P., Julie E.T., Tewodaj M. Democratization in the Arab World Prospects and Lessons from Around the Globe. 2012. // [http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2012/RAND\\_MG1192.pdf](http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2012/RAND_MG1192.pdf);

<sup>2</sup> Garth le P. The Middle East, North Africa and the “Arab Spring” Towards revolutionary change or authoritarian adaptation? // [http://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/32428/LePere\\_Middle\(2013\).pdf?sequence=1](http://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/32428/LePere_Middle(2013).pdf?sequence=1)

matters in this region and making appropriate offer and recommendations relating to the topic.

**Work goals.** Followings are considered as the final qualification work goals:

- Analyzing theoretical approaches to security matters;
- Studying character of security and its types;
- Researching current security threats in North Africa;
- Studying “Arab Spring” origins;
- Researching “Arab Spring” effects to the geopolitical and strategic circumstances in the Middle East and Mediterranean region;
- Studying the impact of “Arab Spring” on regional security and developing perspectives of security in North Africa.

**Object of the work.** The object of the final qualification work is regional security matters in North Africa.

**Subject of the work.** Reaction movement – “Arab spring”, regional security matters and the impact of “Arab spring” on North African countries regional security are considered the subject of final qualification work.

**Theoretic-methodological basics of the work.** All accepted principles of international law, the constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Uzbekistan President’s works and speeches, international treaties, North African countries constitutions and internal law rules and theoretical rules of international scientists and securitologists and international politicians constitute work theoretic–methodological basics.

During the writing process of this final qualification work empirical research methods such as observing, likening and comparing; empirical and theoretical research methods such analysis-synthesis were used for describing the issue.

**Structure and the volume of the work.** The structure of the final qualification work (FQW) corresponds to work aim and goals. This final qualification work consists of introduction, two chapters (five paragraphs), conclusion, bibliography and attachments.

Total amount of the FQW is 61 pages. Bibliography contains 75 literatures and they make up 9 pages.

## **CHAPTER ONE: THEORETIC–METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE STUDY OF SECURITY ISSUES**

### **1.1. Theoretic-methodological basics of the research of security issues**

The end of the Cold War intensified the reflection on security as concept, as policy, and as discipline. The voices claiming for a new way of thinking International Relations multiplied. These defended overcoming the Westphalian State system, the Machiavellian ethics and the Clausewitzian war philosophy. “In the post-Cold War world, traditional boundaries drawn between civil society, and between functional areas such as polity, economy, culture are breaking down. This transformation opens up new political spaces in international relations, filled both with opportunities and threats. Established statecentric and externally directed conceptions of security are inadequate to capture the complexity of new, multifaceted international relations”<sup>1</sup>.

Following on the contributions that for the previous decades valued interdependence and the cooperative dimension of security, the nineties added the generalization of debate, the diversity of critical perspectives, the study of the construction of concepts and the proposals of the societal security and human security concepts. Voices multiplied on the defense of the conceptual enlargement or deepening, as well as, in the analysis of the mechanisms of the security discourse, unfolding the question “what is security?” in “security from or for whom?”, “security from what?”, “security with what means?”, “who provides security?”, “how is security provided?”.

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<sup>1</sup> Raimo V. Concepts of Security Revisited. *Mershon International Studies Review* 39 (suppl. 2), 1995. – P. 259.

The President of The Republic of Uzbekistan says in his book: “Problems of providing security in each region owns essence. Also, each region owns its features, threat recourses and factors of ensuring security”<sup>1</sup>.

The debate on the nature of threat, as well as, on the most adequate means to fight complex threats, led to questioning the referent objects and the actors of security. The multilevel dimension is defended by the proponents of the security of mankind (global security) or of individual security, in “world where decisive power was uncontroversially interpreted as military force wielded by states to one where, increasingly, individuals and communities face threats without enemies; where many of these familiar agents, forces and political ideas of the last two centuries cannot safeguard security”<sup>2</sup>.

Here I would like to briefly note some of the dominant theories of security and discuss how the traditional study of state security has shifted in recent years to include the security of the individual person, otherwise known as human security.

The traditional approach to international security is known as Realism, and this paradigm dominated the study of security for a long time. Realism can be considered a theory of international relations. Classical Realism first emerged in the late 1940s as international relations became a subject of study within universities. Here is where the term “national interest” first came into political decision-making. From the perspective of self-interest, states make many decisions based on how best to secure themselves<sup>3</sup>.

Realism is the theoretical tradition that emphasizes state-centrism the most. States are considered to be the most important international actor, and some would so far as to say that they are the only important actor. This is the opinion held more specifically by the so-called neo-realists or structural realists.

States are concerned about security, but not about human security and they

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<sup>1</sup> Каримов И.А. Хавфсизлик ва барқарор тараққиёт йўлида. Т. 6. – Т.: Ўзбекистон, 1998. – Б. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Gwyn P. “Notes towards the Definition of Global Security. Global Security Programme”. Occasional Paper 6. – Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1994. – P. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Dominant theories of security. // <http://cyberschoolbus.un.org/dnp/sub1.asp?ipage=sectheories/-10.02.2014>.

follow so-called national interests. The most important national interest is to secure oneself as a state. Still, this is not something states choose. They are forced towards this priority by the structure of the international system. The way of thinking is based on an assumption that the international arena is an anarchical self help-system. There is no authority above state level.

Realists consider other actors than the state on the international arena as less important. International relations are mostly understood as areas states use in their struggle for power and influence, not as independent actors. Human rights and human security are defined as internal matters and will therefore be placed outside of what the theories address. For realists, it is the states' struggle for survival<sup>1</sup>.

In the early years of the Realist model, other important terms surfaced such as "security dilemma" which means the dilemma when one state enhances their own security at the expense of another state. A security dilemma among states was averted, at least in theory, by a "balance of power" which became the dominant strategy during the Cold War.

Liberalism is realism's main theoretical opponent. It is a broad tradition of thinking which includes many disciplines and a large number of different approaches. Within the discipline of IR liberalists will usually argue in favour of the international arena as an arena with many different actors. The state may be an important actor, but not necessarily the most important one under all circumstances. It depends what is on the international agenda at specific times, and no particular question is given priority per se. The multiplicity of actors has a parallel in the multiplicity of questions being internationally discussed. These questions are not hierarchically arranged as they tend to be in the realist's assumptions of world politics. Different actors can introduce what should be debated, actors varying from single human beings to groups, institutions, states and international organizations. States are not looked upon as unitary actors. Rather, they are built up by interest groups with the ability to form alliances, internally as

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<sup>1</sup> International relations and security concepts. Human security journal. Vol. 5. 2007. – P. 21.

well as across state borders. This increases the possibility to find someone with similar interests and opinions to cooperate with. The campaign against landmines would hardly have succeeded had it not been possible to mobilize different actors in many countries, working towards the same goal. But the multiplicity of actors and questions to be found on the international arena also means that one is not alone in search of attention. It is not enough to simply bring an item forward for discussion. To keep attention lasting can be difficult when the environment is characterized by complexity<sup>1</sup>.

Another new theory of security is constructivism. This approach maintains the claim that actors exist and that theories and concepts may contribute to fruitful analyses. Rather than a fully developed theory, conventional constructivism can be considered as an analytical perspective with a weak positivist orientation. Constructivists adopt a specific ontological position that it is neither the actor nor the structure that is the focus. It seems attractive when the question is how to implement human rights and human security in the real world. But to use the perspective in concrete analyses is not the easiest thing to do. The ontological position is that actors and structures constitute each other through interaction. Actors create structures, for instance by defining the content of norms and rules. But created structures influence actors, their identity and way of behaving. It also triggers new creative activity<sup>2</sup>.

Today there are some concepts of security in the world. They are international security concept, national security concept, human security concept and public security concept.

International security consists of the measures taken by nations and international organizations, such as the United Nations, to ensure mutual survival and safety. These measures include military action and diplomatic agreements such as treaties and conventions. International and national securities

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<sup>1</sup> International relations and security concepts. Human security journal. Vol. 5. 2007. – P. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. P. 22

are invariably linked. International security is national security or state security in the global arena.

With the end of World War II, a new subject of study focusing on international security emerged. It began as an independent field of study, but was absorbed as a sub-field of international relations. Since it took hold in the 1950s, the study of international security has been at the heart of international relations studies<sup>1</sup>. It covers labels like “security studies”, “strategic studies”, “peace studies”, and others. He views the study of international security as more than a study of threats, but also a study of which threats that can be tolerated and which require immediate action. He sees the concept of security as not either power or peace, but something in between.

The concept of an international security actor has extended in all directions since the 1990s, from nations to groups, individuals, international systems, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and local governments.

International security has taken new forms in the twenty-first century. Threats are coming from ethnic groups obsessed by hypernationalism, from criminal gangs, mafiosi governance, from epidemics, AIDS, terrorism, dangerous food, from poverty, from economic mismanagement, from over-population, from failed states, from flows of refugees, and, most importantly, from pollution and the effects of pollution, the irrigation and destruction of nature, and diversification of nature.

Another one new concept of security is “national security concept”. As an academic concept, national security can be seen as a recent phenomenon which was first introduced in the United States after World War II, and has to some degree replaced other concepts that describe the struggle of states to overcome various external and internal threats<sup>2</sup>. The term was used during discourse on war, for example, Walter Lippmann in 1943 criticized an unwillingness of political

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<sup>1</sup> Buzan B., Hansen L. *The Evolution of International Security Studies*. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. – P. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Prabhakaran P. *National security: imperatives and challenges*. // <http://books.google.co.in/books?id=DMzcGe0-HQwC&printsec=frontcover&hl=ru#v=onepage&q&f=true>

pundits to discuss “the foundations of national security” in a time of peace. However, the earliest mention of the term national security can be traced to 1790 in Yale University in reference to its relation with domestic industries.

There is no single universally accepted definition of national security. The variety of definitions provides an overview of the many usages of this concept. The concept still remains ambiguous, having originated from simpler definitions which initially emphasized the freedom from military threat and political coercion to later increase in sophistication and include other forms of non-military security as suited the circumstances of the time<sup>1</sup>.

National security is the requirement to maintain the survival of the state through the use of economic power, diplomacy, power projection and political power. Initially focusing on military might, it now encompasses a broad range of facets, all of which impinge on the non-military or economic security of the nation and the values espoused by the national society. Accordingly, in order to possess national security, a nation needs to possess economic security, energy security, environmental security, etc. Security threats involve not only conventional foes such as other nation-states but also non-state actors such as violent non-state actors, narcotic cartels, multinational corporations and non-governmental organizations; some authorities include natural disasters and events causing severe environmental damage in this category.

Measures which should be taken to ensure national security include:

- using diplomacy to rally allies and isolate threats;
- marshalling economic power to facilitate or compel cooperation;
- maintaining effective armed forces;
- implementing civil defense and emergency preparedness measures (including anti-terrorism legislation);
- ensuring the resilience and redundancy of critical infrastructure;

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph J. Defining national security: the nonmilitary aspects. // <http://books.google.co.in/books?id=shxDOnuVcyYC&printsec=frontcover&hl=ru#v=onepage&q&f=true/-04.12.2013>.

- using intelligence services to detect and defeat or avoid threats and espionage, and to protect classified information;
- using counterintelligence services or secret police to protect the nation from internal threats<sup>1</sup>.

In the framework document of the Ministry of defense of Spain it is defined “National security is the continued ability of the country to pursue the development of its internal life without serious interference, or threat of interference, from foreign powers”<sup>2</sup>.

Human security is an emerging paradigm for understanding global vulnerabilities whose proponents challenge the traditional notion of national security by arguing that the proper referent for security should be the individual rather than the state. Human security holds that a people-centered view of security is necessary for national, regional and global stability.

The concept emerged from a post-Cold War, multi-disciplinary understanding of security involving a number of research fields, including development studies, international relations, strategic studies, and human rights. The United Nations Development Program’s 1994 Human Development Report is considered a milestone publication in the field of human security, with its argument that insuring “freedom from want” and “freedom from fear” for all persons is the best path to tackle the problem of global insecurity.

Beginning in the mid-1990s, the concept of human security has begun to visibly influence and challenge global politics, institutions, and governance. However, over a decade after its emergence, the definition of human security remains contested in its scope and utility.

In 1994, the United Nations Development Program’s (UNDP) Human Development Report (HDR) presented a new way of thinking about the integration of security issues and globalization. This report defined human security according

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<sup>1</sup> National security. // [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_security/](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_security/)-25.12.2013.

<sup>2</sup> The evolution of the concept of security. – Madrid, 2011. – P. 2.

to seven dimensions: personal, environmental, economic, political, community, health, and food security (UNDP, 1994: 24-25). Moreover, the report adopted a “people-centric” security concept as its focus instead of the traditional state-centered concept (UNDP, 1994: 24-33). This new emphasis on human security supplements the traditional concept of security and represents the emergence of a new paradigm in the field. Human security emphasizes the individual’s rights and interests, which are often ignored by the international community. Real security entails the protection of individuals from such threats as disease, hunger, unemployment, political oppression and environmental degradation. As a multi-level, wide-ranging security concept, it includes both the traditional and non-traditional elements of security. It not only serves as a blueprint for solving human problems, but also offers solutions which middle powers can put into practice.

In a slight more systematic mode, the report identified the following four essential characteristics of human security:

- Human security is a universal concern. It is relevant to people everywhere, in rich nations and poor.
- The components of human security are interdependent.
- Human security is easier to ensure through early prevention than later intervention. It is less costly to meet these threats upstream than downstream.

Human security is people-centered. It is concerned with how people live and breathe in a society, how freely they exercise their many choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities - and whether they live in conflict or in peace.

Finally, the 1994 UNDP report defined human security as:

- 1) Safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression.
- 2) Protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life - whether in jobs, in homes or in communities.

The report in which developed this definition in relation to seven dimensions of human security: personal, environmental, economic, political, community,

health, and food security<sup>1</sup>.

Public security is the function of governments which ensures the protection of citizens, organizations, and institutions against threats to their well-being – and to the prosperity of their communities.

To meet the increasing challenges in the public security area, responsible public institutions and organizations can tap into their own intelligence to successfully address possible threats in advance. They optimize their internal structures, use synergies, and carefully balance costs and benefits of their measures.

Public security is the safety of people and organizations within a given nation while they go about ordinary business. The threats to public security may include terrorism, civil unrest, and related issues. Many nations have security agencies concerned with identifying and addressing such threats, including agencies with the capacity for international cooperation so they can assist allied countries with multinational threats. Public security experts can work in a variety of settings and may need to pass background checks in many work environments.

On a basic level, public security involves maintaining public order and peace. This can include everything from law enforcement officers who make sure people comply with noise and public safety ordinances to anti-terrorism sweeps of public transit so buses, trains, and planes will be safe for members of the public. Emergency services help to protect public security by addressing a variety of safety issues ranging from accidental releases of hazardous materials to structure fires<sup>2</sup>.

As a conclusion, it can be seen that security has several theoretical approaches and concepts. As dominant theoretic approaches of security – realism, liberalism and constructivism can be considered, which account methodological foundation of security issues.

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<sup>1</sup> Alkire S. A conceptual framework for human security. – Oxford: The University of Oxford, 2007. – P.13.

<sup>2</sup> What is public security? // <http://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-public-security.htm>–13.02.2014.

The realism approach leans on state-centrism. This means that state is still the main actor of providing security in country level, and the cooperation of countries ensure global security.

The second grand theory based on multiplicity of actors from single human beings to groups, institutions, states and international organizations.

The third major theory is constructivism. Advocates of this approach claim that neither actor nor the structure is the focus. The most important issue is how to provide security. To ensure security both actors and structure can be classified as the most important mechanism and the combination of these two elements is perfect solution to be away from threats and challenges.

## **1.2. Character of security and its types**

In the last decades of XX century security which is based on two opposing polar system emerged several global threats and dangers. For instance, international terrorism, religion and political extremism, drug traffic and group crime and illegal weapon trade can be included into them.

Today, as a result of changes in international relations system there is a rising desire to anticipate and find correlation between the term of international and regional security. Because new threats, mentioned above are appearing not only in regional level but in international level also. And these tendencies are leading to make new approach to the economic, social, political and military security state of the world.

“In the present debate on theory of international relations attention is paid to the concept of broadening and deepening of security. Most of the discussions on security are concentrated upon selected, predominantly normative issues: Security for whom? How? According to which norms? Less attention is being paid to the questions which are equally important: What security is about? What is the meaning of security? Is it possible to identify a set of properties common for all

definitions of security?”<sup>1</sup>.

As well as, the actuality security matters is mentioned in some Uzbek scientists' books: “Appearance of nuclear weapons, and as a result, totally life destroying risk led to find new approaches to solve war and peace matters. Giving general idea of security provision was a reaction to this demand. And it was obviously clear there was the need of forming new security measures”<sup>2</sup>.

Uzbek scientist D.I. Madaminova is also studied security issues in her research work, “The general theory of national security are closely connected with following terms as “security”, “global security”, “national security”, “interests”, “challenge”, “geopolitics”, “geopolitical region” and “geostrategic region. Security is recognized as a value which has no place and time”<sup>3</sup>.

There are various explanations of security matters in different research works. There is no universal definition of the security concept. Events occurred in the last decades of XX century and 2001 US Tragedy made huge changes in the historical development of international geopolitical circumstance, international relations system, economic, political and military powers locations. The end of bipolar world led human being to dangerous border where are global vacuum and instability.

Any attempts to elaborate a comprehensive definition of security are of course vain. The collection presented herein reflects but the directions of evolution of the concept of security. It must be also underlined that the term security can be used in three meanings:

- “traditional meaning” - security as an attribute of state, absence of military conflict – “military security”;

- security used in a broader sense yet still referring directly to the phenomena taking place in international relations, or directly/indirectly caused by inter-state

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<sup>1</sup> Czeslaw M. Security is as an analytical concept. – Cracow: Cracow University of Economics, 2004. – P. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Одилқориев Х.Т., Очиллов Б.Е. Ҳозирги замон халқаро ҳуқуқи. – Т.: ЖИДУ, 2002. – Б. 274.

<sup>3</sup> Мадаминова Д.И. Миср Араб Республикасининг Ўрта Ер денгизи минтақасидаги хавфсизликни таъминлаш сиёсати. Сиёсий фанлар номзоди... дис.автореф. – Тошкент, 2010. – Б. 20.

relations;

- security as a public good;
- security in a universal sense (of a unit and of a social entity) – human security.

“Etymological discussions on the English notion “security” are twofold. In the first approach the term security is deriving from Latin securus safe, secure, from se without + cura care - the quality or state of being secure or as a freedom from danger (freedom from fear or anxiety). In the classical sense security - from the Latin securitas, refers to tranquility and freedom of care, or what Cycero termed the absence of anxiety upon which the fulfilled life depends.

In the second interpretation, the English word “security” originates from the Latin word “se-curus”. “Se” means “without” and “curus” means “uneasiness”. That is, “security” originally meant liberation from uneasiness, or a peaceful situation without any risks or threats. The English word “security” has a wide range of meaning including “to feel safe”, and “to be protected” and is used to describe a situation without any risks or worries”<sup>1</sup>.

Uzbek scientists I. Bobokulov and X. Umarov in their book see “security is characterized as a term, which has no perfect description. It is directed much more into practical way, and that’s way it cannot own one universal, all recognized interpretation”<sup>2</sup>. From point of my view, these two scientists above are true and actually, we can see various interpretation of this term.

Security problem is one of the elements of classic Westphalian political system. Because at that time states firstly used the term of “national security” to keep their sovereignty and preserve from external aggression.

There are 3 terms connected with security in current international relations:

- national security;
- regional security;

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<sup>1</sup> Czeslaw M. Security is as an analytical concept. – Cracow: Cracow University of Economics, 2004. – P. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Бобокулов И., Умаров Х. Хавфсизлик асослари. – Т.: ЖИДУ, 2011. – Б. 21.

- international security<sup>1</sup>.

Many “National security” descriptions in political literatures gather attempts to explain this phenomenon in anecdotal-events. Particularly, in the other literature, “security is state of object’s being without danger, i.e. it is state of being without deterioration”<sup>2</sup>; In the article of Russian scientist E. Scacunov “security – is status of nations being provided with suitable economic and military power in order to withstand on internal and external threatens, endangering to the development of society”<sup>3</sup>; according to Russian scientist N. Ushakov “security is a real possibility of being without risk”<sup>4</sup>; in another one source “security is an international relations, without risks which threaten to the breaking of any type of free world rules or nations’ security”<sup>5</sup>; in the work of another Russian scientist A. Buryakov it is defined as “national security – status figures of nations to the fighting against internal and external risks, leading to decreasing of living level and spoil life interests of them”<sup>6</sup>. Another Uzbek scientist’s opinion about security can be explained like that “Security is essential interests’ status of being prevented from internal and external challenges, relating to individuals, social groups, society and state’s civilization”<sup>7</sup>.

There are a lot of descriptions of security and they can be supported in some levels.

Another relatively close definition to “national security” is clarified in Russian scientist A. Vozzhenikov’s monograph: “as a national security it can be understood that a country’s status in which individuals’ and societies’ and state’s essential national interests are provided i.e. a status of being without domestic and foreign risks real endangering to national values, interests and life style. In a

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<sup>1</sup> Лебедева М. Мировая политика. – М.: Аспект Пресс, 2007. – С. 182.

<sup>2</sup> Периодический обзор ООН. – 1991. – Т. XIV. – С. 96-97.

<sup>3</sup> Скакунов Э.И. Всеобъемлющая безопасность: Модель перестройки международных отношений // Советское государство и право. – М., 1987. - № 5. – С. 104.

<sup>4</sup> Ушаков Н.А. Проблемы теории международного права. – М.: Наука, 1988. - № 5. – С. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Дипломатический словарь. Т. 2. – М.: Наука, 1985. – С. 190.

<sup>6</sup> Бурьяков А. Национальная безопасность. // <http://national-security.narod.ru/#2.1./-20.02.2014>.

<sup>7</sup> Тошев С. Ўзбекистонда политология. – Т.: Шарқ, 2002. – Б. 174.

nutshell, national security is being under the protection from real internal and external risks. These risks can be classified like in political, economic, military, technic ... spheres of particular individuals, social groups, country and society essential live interests, as well as, national values and life level”<sup>1</sup>.

Particularly, another Uzbek scientist S.M. Gafurov in his monograph defines national security.

Generally, national security is a state which is defended from or there are no real internal and external risks to state’s national values, interests and national life style<sup>2</sup>.

Uzbek scientist D.I. Madaminova in her article defined security, particularly national security: “National security has a correlation with “national interests” term, and it is formed in it. There is great role of state in providing nation with acclimatization in global atmosphere, saving national origin, protecting values i.e. providing security”<sup>3</sup>.

Uzbek scientist R. Alimov in his monograph researched deeply security in Central Asia and suggested regional cooperation as a rational way of protection from risks and challenges endangering to states’ security. “The formation of states’ coalitions outside the framework of international institutional structures allows the rather efficient resolution of specific targets, on both regional and global levels. However, practice also shows that the fullest resolution of global and regional security problems, and the effective counteraction to modern challenges and threats is possible only within framework of multilateral mechanism. Confronting modern challenges and threats should be based on collective actions and coordinated efforts, on both a regional and international level”<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Возжеников А. Национальная безопасность: Теория, политика, стратегия. – М., 2000. – С. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Гафуров С.М. Хавфсизлик стратегияси: Марказий Осиё республикалари ва Форс кўрфази амалиёти. – Т.: Алишер Навоий номидаги Ўзбекистон миллий кутубхонаси, 2007. – Б. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Мадаминова Д.И. “Глобал ва миллий хавфсизлик тушунчалар диалектикаси. Замонавий халқаро муносабатларда хавфсизлик ва барқарорлик масалалари” мазуидаги илмий-амалий конференция материаллари тўплами. – Тошкент: ЖИДУ, 2007. – Б. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Alimov R. Central Asia: common interests. – Т.: Sharq, 2005. – P. 358.

Today, according to Commonwealth of independent states (CIS) countries' concepts, doctrines and laws relating to security is interpreted as individuals', society's, and state's defended status from external and internal risk. Following composite elements can be extracted as a clarifying of current term meaning.

- Preserved condition (measures complex);
- Essential life interests (security objects);
- Individual, society, state (security subjects);
- Internal and external threat (activating force) <sup>1</sup>.

Although all interpretations to security have relatively close meaning, I want to provide some Western scientists opinion on security. Walter Lippmann views security as the capability of a country to protect its core values, both in terms that a state need not sacrifice core values in avoiding war and can maintain them by winning war.

American scientist David Baldwin argues that pursuing security sometimes requires sacrificing other values, including marginal values and prime values. He notes that the various sectors of security – economic, environmental, identity, social, military, etc. – are all types of security that follow the same conceptual distinctions<sup>2</sup>.

One of great scientists of Copenhagen security school Barry Buzan views the study of international security as more than a study of threats, but also a study of which threats that can be tolerated and which require immediate action<sup>3</sup>.

Today, although there are a lot of approaches to classify security types, I'll try to comment them in the framework of the multi-sum security principle. Traditional approaches of international security usually focus on state actors and their military capacities to protect national security.

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<sup>1</sup> Бобокулов И., Умаров Х. Хавфсизлик асослари. – Т.: ЖИДУ, 2011. – Б. 22.

<sup>2</sup>Summary of Baldwin's "The Concept of security" // <http://uberbau.wordpress.com/2012/04/25/summary-of-baldwins-the-concept-of-security/> -2014.02.10.

<sup>3</sup> Buzan B., Waever O. Regions and powers: the structure of international security. – Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2003. – P. 48.

However, over the last decades the definition of security has been extended to cope with the 21st century globalized international community, its rapid technological developments and global threats that emerged from this process. One such comprehensive definition has been proposed by Nayef Al-Rodhan as a “Multi-sum security principle”<sup>1</sup>. Global security, has five dimensions that include human, environmental, national, transnational, and transcultural security, and therefore, global security and the security of any state or culture cannot be achieved without good governance at all levels that guarantees security through justice for all individuals, states, and cultures.

International security – state of political space, in which modern world observes international laws, guaranteeing to political subjects their legitimate sovereignty<sup>2</sup>.

A more comprehensive definition of security was proposed by Arnold Wolfers. This definition has become a “standard” in IR theory: “Security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked”.

The closest he came to a definition was: “National security must be defined as integrity of the national territory and its institutions”<sup>3</sup>.

“The concept of security must change from an exclusive stress on national security to a much greater stress on people’s security, from security through armaments to security through human development, from territorial security to food, employment and environmental security”<sup>4</sup>.

For too long, the concept of security has been shaped by the potential for conflict between states. For too long, security has been equated with the threats to a country’s borders. For too long, nations have sought arms to protect their security. For most people today, a feeling of insecurity arises more from worries

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<sup>1</sup> International security. // [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International\\_security/-25.12.2013](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_security/-25.12.2013)

<sup>2</sup> Рахманов А. Право международной безопасности. – Т.: ТГЮИ, 2005. – С. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Morgentau H. Politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace. – New York, 1948. – P. 184.

<sup>4</sup> Human Development Report 1993. // [www.undp.org/hdro/e93over.htm](http://www.undp.org/hdro/e93over.htm)

about daily life than from the dread of a cataclysmic world event. Job security, income security, health security, environmental security, security from crime-these are the emerging concerns of human security all over the world.

“Human security is relevant to people everywhere, in rich nations and in poor. The threats to their security may differ-hunger and disease in poor nations and drugs and crime in rich nations-but these threats are real and growing.

Most people instinctively understand what security means. It means safety from the constant threats of hunger, disease, crime and repression. It also means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the pattern of our daily lives-whether in our homes, in our jobs, in our communities or in our environment”<sup>1</sup>.

In another short declaration, human security is to be concentrated on survival, daily life and dignity of human beings.

Moreover, there is demand to differentiate levels of security actors. We can see that in the article “International security” by Bertel Huerlin and Kristensen, authors divided security actors into 6 types:

- Security for the individual (individual security);
- Security for the social group, the community, “nation”, organized or ethnic entity (social security);
- Security for the state or “nation”. In the US terminology (national security);
- Security for the region, that is, a coherent security region, not necessarily one based on proximity (regional security);
- Security for the society of nations or what could be referred to as “international society”, consisting of all, or most states in the world (international security);
- Security for the globe, meaning “Spaceship Earth” or planet (global security)<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Human Development Report 1994. // [www.undp.org/hdro/e94over.htm](http://www.undp.org/hdro/e94over.htm)).

<sup>2</sup> Heurlin B., Kristensen. International security. International relations – Vol. 2. P. 6.

As well as, security matters cannot be studied without being understood the meaning of following terms: risk, threat and vulnerability.

The term “risk” refers to the likelihood of being targeted by a given attack, of an attack being successful, and general exposure to a given threat. A risk assessment is performed to determine the most important potential security breaches to address now, rather than later. One enumerates the most critical and most likely dangers, and evaluates their levels of risk relative to each other as a function of the interaction between the cost of a breach and the probability of that breach.

Analyzing risk can help one determine appropriate security budgeting - for both time and money - and prioritize security policy implementations so that the most immediate challenges can be resolved the most quickly.

The term “threat” refers to the source and means of a particular type of attack. A threat assessment is performed to determine the best approaches to securing a system against a particular threat, or class of threat. Penetration testing exercises are substantially focused on assessing threat profiles, to help one develop effective countermeasures against the types of attacks represented by a given threat. Where risk assessments focus more on analyzing the potential and tendency of one's resources to fall prey to various attacks, threat assessments focus more on analyzing the attacker's resources.

Analyzing threats can help one develop specific security policies to implement in line with policy priorities and understand the specific implementation needs for securing one's resources.

The term “vulnerability” refers to the security flaws in a system that allows an attack to be successful. Vulnerability testing should be performed on an ongoing basis by the parties responsible for resolving such vulnerabilities, and helps to provide data used to identify unexpected dangers to security that need to be addressed. Such vulnerabilities are not particular to technology - they can also apply to social factors such as individual authentication and authorization policies.

Testing for vulnerabilities is useful for maintaining ongoing security, allowing the people responsible for the security of one's resources to respond effectively to new dangers as they arise. It is also invaluable for policy and technology development, and as part of a technology selection process; selecting the right technology early on can ensure significant savings in time, money, and other business costs further down the line.

Understanding the proper use of such terms is important not only to sound like you know what you are talking about, nor even just to facilitate communication. It also helps develop and employ good policies. The specificity of technical jargon reflects the way experts have identified clear distinctions between practical realities of their fields of expertise, and can help clarify even for oneself how one should address the challenges that arise<sup>1</sup>.

As a conclusion, there are a lot of interpretations of the term “security” by many of scientists. But none of them stated perfect definition to security and it is connected with security character. Because now traditional meaning of security cannot describe current threats and risks to human, national and global securities, and every phenomenon demands its unique interpretation and security measures. Because, today security threats are normally divided into 2 groups: the first one is traditional or hard challenges to security. It is security from wars between countries and security from nuclear weapons; the second one is untraditional or soft threats to security which include economic security, environmental, food security, and cultural security. The second group security type mostly requires new approaches to protect from such kind of dangers. In my opinion, amongst above mentioned security theories constructivism suits to ensure real secure condition from new untraditional threats and that’s why I support this approach.

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<sup>1</sup> Chad P. Understanding risk, threat, and vulnerability. // <http://www.techrepublic.com/blog/it-security/understanding-risk-threat-and-vulnerability/-07.07.2009>.

## CHAPTER TWO: “ARAB SPRING” AND SECURITY MATTERS IN NORTH AFRICA

### 2.1. Current security threats in North Africa

Africa, for all its beauty and rich history, has always been a complex and often harsh continent. Hundreds of ethnic groups, some of which have hostilities that date back millennia, live in largely impoverished conditions in a forced co-existence dictated by colonial-era national borders. Although Africa’s current security challenges are predominantly governance-related or intra-state conflicts, the continent’s ill-defined national borders remain a potent source of instability. In fact, more than half of all African countries have engaged in boundary-related conflicts.

Today there are a number of reasons that threaten the security system and peace in North African countries. Generally, they can be sorted like internal and external threats. Internal threats are caused by domestic problems which emerge challenges to life and peace of people and states. Internal threats can be divided into following types:

- Ethnic and racial conflicts in one country or between countries;
- Islamist movement through some states of region;
- Terroristic activity through the region;
- Separatism and conflicts in countries.

Except from internal causes, there are a lot of risks, endangering directly the security system of all countries in the region. For instance, a desire of regional powers to spread its power area through the region, causes real danger to the security system. As well as, reports and shows of foreign mass media have a great impact on changing the current system of security of region countries. Now I will try to explain each reason, endangering the security system of states.

One light example of ethnic conflicts in North Africa is a tense which led Sudan divide into two parts: Sudan and South Sudan.

Sudan fought two civil wars between the Arab-dominated north and the black African south, the most recent from 1983-2005 which resulted in autonomy and later the independence of South Sudan in 2011. The Sudanese Civil War spilled over into Chad from 2005-2010 as mostly a proxy war between Sudan and South Sudan utilizing the same ethnic militias from the Sudanese Civil War<sup>1</sup>.

As we see, the main cause of former Sudan's division was disagreement between two main ethnic groups of the country: Arabs who role in North part of the country and Black Africans who conduct policy in Southern areas.

After South Sudan gained its sovereignty again two countries conflicts are continuing, as the reason are borders between these two countries and oil benefits.

Sudan and South Sudan are now on the brink of war after less than a year of separation, feuding over border demarcation and oil revenues. Both sides are using proxy rebel forces and Sudan has conducted air strikes against targets in South Sudan. If history is any indication, the violence will slowly but surely spill over into Chad as rebel groups conduct cross-border raids. It is also likely that Uganda will intervene militarily and fight alongside South Sudan if necessary. This would escalate the conflict into looking very much like a disturbing, regional race war<sup>2</sup>.

Another problem in North African region is disputes between Morocco and Algeria over Western Sahara. Looking into history, 1975 Morocco occupied Western Sahara after it militarily pressured Spain out of the region. But today in Western Sahara the separatist political party, Polisario, which has its roots in the year struggle for independence, continues to campaign for sovereignty of an independent Western Sahara (called the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic or SADR).

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<sup>1</sup> Mali, Sudan, and Ethnic Conflict in Northern Africa. // <http://www.matthewvandyke.com/blog/mali-sudan-ethnic-conflict-north-africa/-25.04.2012>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

According to Morocco news agencies today Algeria is supporting Western Sahara's independence and making some obstacles to join them. Particularly, there are some reasons to Moroccan approach to this issue.

The ongoing struggle between Polisario and the Moroccan government, though, has never been a monogamous affair. In fact, Polisario received heavy assistance from Algeria both during the war and after, and many believe that an independent SADR would exist only as a puppet of Algeria<sup>1</sup>.

On the other hand, Algerian government regrets all above mentioned accuses.

However, these accusations are not supported by the facts. Firstly, the Algerian position has always been consistent throughout the Western Sahara conflict. Should a free and fair referendum be held, Algeria would support whatever choice the Sahrawis make, even one that meant Western Sahara's full integration with Morocco. Significantly, the Polisario Front, on the advice of Algiers, had accepted the Baker II Plan for a referendum in 2003, but it was turned down by Rabat. Moreover, as the American academic and co-author of *Western Sahara: War Nationalism & Conflict Irresolution* Jacob Mundy emphasises, Algiers is not responsible for this conflict. Algeria's stake in the Western Sahara conflict has been one of the most contested yet little understood aspects of this old dispute between Morocco and the Sahrawi nationalists<sup>2</sup>.

But how many attempts are made by Algerian government to Moroccan government to prove that it has not any role in Western Sahara's separatist movement, the tension between two countries is not solved. For several times, these both countries have recalled their ambassadors from countries.

Another internal security dilemma in North African region is Libyan ethnic conflict. Ethnic mobilization in the context of collapsed and ethnically intermixed

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<sup>1</sup> Lyndsey H. A Hateful Love Triangle: Morocco's Relations with Algeria and Western Sahara. // <http://sites.davidson.edu/cis485/?p=3442/-11.04.2012>

<sup>2</sup> Abdelkader A. Western Sahara: Morocco Recalls Its Ambassador to Algeria. // <http://allafrica.com/stories/201311110792.html/-11.11.2013>.

states will create perceptions of vulnerability among other groups, initiating a spiral of conflict escalation.

Today one the most important security problem of Libya is Toubou ethnically minority's life. Toubu people are an ethnic group that live mainly in northern Chad, but also in southern Libya, northeastern Niger and northwestern Sudan. They speak Tebu, in the Saharan subfamily of the Nilo-Saharan languages language family.

In the last 10 years Toubu peopled had been repressed by Libyan government, particularly by Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi.

For decades, Gaddafi's regime pursued national policies of "Arabization" and sought to expel the Toubou, along with other minorities, from Arab Libya. The 1969 Constitutional Declaration defined the state of Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, as an "Arab nation and declared Arabic as the only official language." Subsequent policies deliberately denied basic human and political rights to non-Arab minorities in Libya, including the 2007 withdrawal of citizenship rights<sup>1</sup>.

Tensions amounted along 2008, with Libyan officials urging Toubou tribes to depart to Chad, and finally exploited on 2 November 2008 in Kufra, when a protest against the exclusion of Toubou children from education and health care ended with the government local office on fire. During the next days, Toubous clashed with Zuwayya tribes, who were known for having been armed by the Libyan government during the war with Chad. Finally on 8 November, the Libyan Army intervened to stop the escalating violence encircling the town with troops and helicopters, and as of 14 November the clashes had ceased, apart from some minor skirmishes<sup>2</sup>.

For all above mentioned reasons, Tobou people have lived with their hate and foe attitude to Libyan government as they were under discrimination and

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<sup>1</sup> David C, Christina W, Philip M. Ethnic Conflict in Libya: Toubou. The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs. Carleton University, 2012. – P. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Toubou for the salvation of Libya. // [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toubou\\_Front\\_for\\_the\\_Salvation\\_of\\_Libya/](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toubou_Front_for_the_Salvation_of_Libya/)-15.4.2014.

inequality. For example, in the collapse of Muammar Gaddafi's dictatorship significant role was played by Toubou people. They expected that new government would guarantee freedom and equality to Toubou people, but the results were vice versa. They are still showing their objection to Libyan government. One of their leader said "We led the fight against Gaddafi in the south so we could leave all these divisions behind and build a Libya where everyone gets their rights. But the new government has so far not offered us any help".

Overall, all tension between Government and Toubou minority led Libyan civil war, and today mobilization of the Toubou has triggered fears among other ethnic groups – particularly the Zwai, who are the primary contenders for control of the smuggling routes – of potential Toubou predominance in the region. Fuelled by a surfeit of arms and a prior history of inter-ethnic hostilities, these conditions have set in motion an ethnic security dilemma between communities in intermixed areas such as Sabha. In the absence of a central authority to arbitrate between the parties, each ethnic group has taken to self-defense by way of armed militias, which in turn fuels hostilities and suspicions of adversaries aggressive motives.

The next major security issue in that region is naturally, terrorism in all region countries. Obviously, terrorism has been considered as the most dangerous threat to states' security system after terroristic attack in US in 2001. Today there a lot of terroristic groups are doing their activities in North African region countries. As a result North Africa is making up one of high rates in terroristic attacks over the world. Annually terroristic attack amount constituted 204 and 184 in 2009 and 2012 respectively (*Figure 1*).

The most dramatic terroristic acts occurred in Algeria, Tunis and Libya. Amongst region countries Morocco was notably a more secure country last year. Several reasons account for this development.

First, King Mohammed VI, the country's hereditary monarch, is still seen as legitimate by the vast majority of the population.

Second, gradual political reform, greater economic and investment progress,

increased employment opportunities, more social and civic equality for women, and some crackdowns on corruption have all contributed to improved internal stability.

And third, counterterrorism efforts at home and strategic cooperation and partnerships in the Maghreb, Sahel, and elsewhere have been strengthened.

Recently, Algeria has been a place where most of terroristic groups have showed their dramatic consequences. Nearly all of those groups have link with Al-Qaida terroristic group and they include representatives of various nations as local and foreign. In fact, in 2006, perpetrated some 125 attacks in Algeria directed against officials, police, the military, civilians, and foreigners, thus undermining the country's political, social, and economic stability. For example, the governor of the Illizi region was kidnapped and brought to a hideout on the Algerian border with Libya. Similarly, three Spanish aid workers from a Polisario-run refugee camp in Algeria were abducted, reportedly with inside assistance from sympathizers in the camp. Organized criminals and regional terrorists have also been engaged in arms smuggling along Algeria's borders with Tunisia and Mali.

Unfortunately, most members of these groups are youth from southern Algerian provinces in exchange for financial support for their poor families.

The most dramatic terrorist attack in Algeria in recent years began on January 16 in 2013, at the gas field of Tengtourine in In Amenas, a region close to the Libyan border, located some 1,300 km from Algiers. The Islamic Katiba (militia), the "Al-Mouthalimin", led by Mokhtar Belmokhtar, who split from Al-Qaida in Maghreb (AQIM) in 2012 and consisting of some 32 assailants of different nationalities (e.g. Algerian, Tunisian, Malian, Nigerian, Egyptian, and Canadian), took over areas of the large facility operated by companies from Algeria, France, Japan, Norway, and the U.K<sup>1</sup>.

The following country is Tunis. Two years after the "Jasmine Revolution"

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander Y. Terrorism in North Africa & the Sahel in 2012: Global Reach & Implications. – Arlington, 2013. – P. 22.

overthrew the autocratic regime of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali and went on to inspire other countries to rise up in the Arab spring, Tunisia is still vulnerable to both domestic and foreign terrorist threats. Another country which plays the role of main position in North Africa is Libya. Over the span of 5 years time there were more than hundred terroristic attacks in which Tripoli Headquarter of Libyan interim prime-minister was suffered and some Iranian citizens and American ambassador was brutally murdered by terrorists.

To sum up, current security challenges in North African countries are still urgent and require immediate actions to solve these problems. These risks differ from inter-state, racial and ethnic conflicts to terrorism which cause death of million people through the region. All above mentioned reasons are resulting in appearing vulnerability in peoples and impoverishing the current economic, social and cultural life of local inhabitants and abuse of human rights. During the period of studying this topic I understood that all problems were consequence of irrational division of borders between countries by former colonists.

## **2.2. The origins of “Arab spring” and its effects to the geopolitical and strategic circumstances in the Middle East and Mediterranean region**

At the end of 2010 and the beginning of the 2011, a series of demonstrations and protests began to rise in the Arab world. These protests mostly in Western studies have become known as the “Arab Spring”<sup>1</sup>, or, as someone else called it, the “Arab awakening”<sup>2</sup>.

The Arab Spring has been widely seen as a watershed event which has irrevocably changed the region and the global political landscape and led to a seismic shift in the social contract governing the relationship between Arab ruling

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<sup>1</sup> Particularly, the term “Arab spring” was used by English journalist Jackie Ashley in her article “The Arab spring requires a defiantly European reply” in The Guardian magazine in 06.03.2011. // <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/mar/06/arab-spring-european-reply-labour>

<sup>2</sup> The term “Arab Awakening” was used in Aljazeera in 20.04.2011. // <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/general/2011/04/20114483425914466.html>

elites and their populations. The spring has demonstrated a strong regional dynamic: protests have spread within the Arab world because of the cultural affinity felt by Arabs, and have not been matched in other parts of the world facing similar problems. The impacts of the Arab Spring on countries across the Middle East and North Africa (the “MENA region”) have been varied. The revolutions that occurred in Tunisia and Egypt have not been easily replicated in Libya, Yemen, Syria, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia<sup>1</sup>.

Independently of its outcome, the Arab Spring can be regarded as an event of global historical significance. From its onset in early 2011, it has been understood as a process of political change in the Middle East. The Arab world was the only major area where authoritarian rule could be established region-wide in the twentieth century, and where regimes managed to defy global trends beyond the threshold of the twenty-first century. But in Tunisia and Egypt in 2011, internal mass protests forced the leadership to resign within weeks. Inspired by these successes, popular movements throughout the Middle East were bolstered. They demanded substantial political reform and, in some cases, regime change. After decades of authoritarian rule and political stagnation, popular movements were finally able to destabilize or overthrow a number of authoritarian regimes in the Arab world<sup>2</sup>.

The Tunisian revolution that took place in the self-immolation of Mohamad Bouazizi on 18 December 2010 in protest of police corruption and ill treatment has shaken authoritarian leaders across the Arab world in areas such as Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Bahrain<sup>3</sup>.

There are several reasons to Arab spring supported by various scientists – political persons.

A first approach to the Arab Spring argues that change was inevitable because

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<sup>1</sup> Oliver W. Effects of Arab spring. // <http://iddbirmingham.wordpress.com/2011/07/12/effects-of-the-arab-spring/>

<sup>2</sup> Martin B., Simone H. Political Change in the Middle East: An Attempt to Analyze the “Arab Spring”. – Hamburg: GIGA German Institute of Global and Arena Studies, 2012. – P. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Jamoul H.A. The Arab Spring: root causes? // <http://www.almanar.com.lb/english/adetails.php?eid=45439&cid=31&fromval=1/-08.10.2013>.

of the critical socioeconomic development in the authoritarian states of the Middle East. According to the opinion of some German scientists, the most important trigger for this change was the demographic development of the Arab world. From 1970 to 2010, the population nearly tripled, going from 128 million to 359 million inhabitants. An estimated 41 percent of these people live below the poverty line<sup>1</sup>, and nearly 30 percent of the population is between the ages of 20 and 35. Although the current generation is better educated and qualified than the previous one - due to a strengthened education sector and increased networking through digital technology - many are unable to find employment. The unemployment rate for the population cohort between the ages of 15 and was 25.6 percent in 2003, the highest in the world. Additionally, the labor market offers limited opportunities for university graduates. The consequent lack of prospects, rising costs of living, and anger over obviously corrupt and repressive rulers compelled this generation rise up against the authoritarian regimes<sup>2</sup>.

Another view, held especially by Philip Howard and Muzammil Hussain, attributes the outbreak of the Arab Spring to the access to digital media, including social media such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and text messages. Advocates of this approach make clear that the dissent between regimes and populations already existed long before the spread of the Internet. However, virtual communication gave people an instrument that made it possible for them to share their resentment with like-minded people and to organize movements against authoritarian rulers.

Even before the outbreak of the riots, the strongest criticism came from political bloggers: investigative journalism in the Middle East has long been the domain of private actors. The Internet showed videos which presented the corrupt rulers' luxurious standard of living, thereby substantiating the once abstract

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<sup>1</sup>UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) (2009), Development Challenges Outlined in New Arab States Report. // [http://204.200.211.31/contents/file/DevChallenges\\_Re-port\\_Vol01\\_Eng.pdf](http://204.200.211.31/contents/file/DevChallenges_Re-port_Vol01_Eng.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> Martin B, Simone H. Political Change in the Middle East: An Attempt to Analyze the "Arab Spring". – Hamburg: GIGA German Institute of Global and Arena Studies, 2012. – P. 7.

criticism of the regimes. Furthermore, digital media displayed the freedom and prosperity of people in the West and elsewhere in the world. Every day more people in the Arab world were exposed to the rest of the world through international online news or the use of programs like Skype to talk with friends or relatives living abroad. The increasingly multilayered access to media gave people the opportunity to question political norms and values - often leading to a democratic orientation.

After Mohammad Bouazizi's legendary self-immolation, people communicated throughout Tunisia in various online forums, expressing their solidarity as well as their dissatisfaction with the political situation in the country. Social media offered a space for solidarity that was ultimately transferred from the virtual world to the real one and manifested in mass protests against the authoritarian regime. Messages and posts on Facebook and Twitter or simple text messages immediately informed protestors about the next step of action and the location where it would take place. Within a few weeks, guided instructions for organizing successful protests were circulated on the Internet. Authentic videos and pictures taken by protesters with cameras on mobile phones inspired citizens of other Arab states to organize protests - some of which were the largest in decades. Abroad, social media platforms were used as channels to support protestors, to express solidarity, and to encourage people in their chosen path; for instance, external supporters programmed software that enabled activists to circumvent government firewalls<sup>1</sup>.

Particularly, another Uzbek scientist Sh.A. Yovkochev also confirms that in these revolutions the mass media also has significant affects.

Of course, that the main cause of all the political upheavals occurring in the region is not only internal problems social-economic nature, but also by external factors (TV channel Al-Jazeera technology Facebook, Twitter), which played a

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<sup>1</sup> Howard, Philip N., Muzammil M. Hussain. The Role of Digital Media. Vol. 22. - №3, July 2011. Journal of Democracy. – P. 35–48. // <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/jod/summary/v022/22.3.howard.html>

significant role in fueling political passions<sup>1</sup>.

As diverse as the uprisings in the Arab countries may have been, all protests were directly linked to the demands for human dignity (karama), freedom, and social justice. The first major mass protest in Egypt on 25 January 2011 brought thousands of people to Tahrir Square in Cairo carrying the words “bread, freedom and human dignity”<sup>2</sup>. With slogans like these, people called for just structures that did not constrain them from access to jobs because they didn’t belong to a particular family; political and economic systems not permeated by omnipresent corruption; and a state that would not force them to accept a poor social and economic situation. Thus, the assumption held by many in the West that the culture and religion, or the “mentality”, of people in the Arab world, are incompatible with democratic values can be refuted<sup>3</sup>.

Particularly, in other source three reasons described as the main impetus of revolutions in Egypt.

Three factors contributed to the protests which began in January 2011. First, the authoritarian rule of the Mubarak regime allowed only limited political freedoms and moved harshly to crush overt expressions of opposition. Second, a dramatic change in demographics occurred: since the 1950s, Egypt’s population has quadrupled, increasing from 21 to more than 83 million people. This resulted in growing unemployment especially among the middle class youth, deteriorating health and educational services, and imbalances in the existing social structures. Third, the fact that after two decades of neoliberal economic reforms the Egyptian state was unable to guarantee the population a basic standard of living, called its

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<sup>1</sup> Ёвкочев Ш.А. Трансформация внешнеполитической стратегии США в свете Твиттерных революций на Ближнем Востоке. // XXI асрада жаҳон сиёсати архитектурасидаги ўзгаришлар: Soft Power концепциясини тадбиқ этиш ва Ўзбекистон Республикаси Конституциясининг ташқи сиёсатга оид меъёрларини қўллаш амалиёти. "Ўзбекистон ва халқаро ҳамжамият" рукни остидаги Ўзбекистон Республикаси Олий ва ўрта махсус таълим вазирлиги микёсидаги иккинчи илмий-амалий конференция материаллари тўплами. (Тошкент, 16 декабр 2011 й.) // Масъул муҳаррирлар: Ёвкочев Ш.А., Очилов Б.Э. – ТошДШИ, 2011 й. Б. 11-14.

<sup>2</sup>HRW (Human Rights Watch) (2012). Voices from Tahrir: Bread, Freedom, Dignity, 25 January. // [www.hrw.org/audio/2012/01/25/voices-tahrir-bread-freedom-dignity](http://www.hrw.org/audio/2012/01/25/voices-tahrir-bread-freedom-dignity)

<sup>3</sup> Martin B., Simone H. Political Change in the Middle East: An Attempt to Analyze the “Arab Spring”. – Hamburg: GIGA German Institute of Global and Arena Studies, 2012. – P. 8.

legitimacy into question.<sup>1</sup>

In 2011, a young generation happened to come of age just when dictators in several Arab countries were approaching the end of their careers. The situation was thus ripe for an explosion, and should have been predicted. Muammar al-Gadhafi of Libya had ruled since 1969; Ali Abdallah Salih of Yemen since 1978; Husni Mubarak of Egypt since 1981; Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali of Tunisia since 1987 (having replaced Habib Bourguiba who had ruled since 1957). In the Gulf state of Bahrain, Khalifah bin Salman has been the powerful prime minister since 1971, overshadowing his nephew King Hamad, while in Syria Bashar al-Asad has ruled Syria since 2000, having replaced his father Hafez al-Asad who took power in 1970 and ruled for thirty years<sup>2</sup>.

“The international community has already encountered some of the consequences of the Arab Spring,” Margelov noted, adding that they “include not only the region of North Africa and the Middle East, but also Sub-Saharan Africa. It is here that the interests of many countries, including the United States and Russia, intersect. Close cooperation is required to achieve stability in this region, even if our countries have different approaches to solving this problem.” Russia and the United States are in a position to make compromises, Margelov added, and in fact are forced to cooperate in such areas as energy, regional stability, non-conventional and nuclear weapons, and the war against international terrorism. In other words, concluded Margelov, “the cooperation between our countries in the greater Middle East is essentially the regional application of these global trends”<sup>3</sup>.

There are some assumptions of scientists to the impact of Arab spring on geopolitical and strategic circumstance in Middle East and Mediterranean region. I will provide some of them in the followings.

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<sup>1</sup> Erzsébet N., Rózsa and others. The Arab Spring. Its Impact on the Region and on the Middle East Conference. Academic peace orchestra Middle East – Policy Brief. NOS. 9/10. – August 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Arab Spring and its impact on the balance of power in the region. Valdai discussion club. // [http://valdaiclub.com/middle\\_east/38480.html/-01.04.2014](http://valdaiclub.com/middle_east/38480.html/-01.04.2014).

<sup>3</sup> Amy L. The Arab Spring and its Impact on the Situation in Africa and Russian-U.S. Bilateral Cooperation in the Region. Kennan Institute. // <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/the-arab-spring-and-its-impact-the-situation-africa-and-russian-us-bilateral-cooperation/-06.11.2013>.

I think that it's probably banal to say that the region the regional order has changed quite a bit as a result of the Arab uprisings. So that, we have to look at trends in one direction and changes in another direction. In my opinion we are seeing three kind of dominant political trends in the region.

One is, quite obviously, the rise of Islamist movements in the region. That's not necessarily a bad thing. But clearly, Islamists now and in freer and more-open political environments are winning elections. I do not think that should be a surprise to anybody who's been even casually paying attention to what was going on in the Middle East over the course of the last three, four decades, or so.

The second trend in the region is quite obviously the rise of Turkey and the emergence of Turkey as a regional player. Turkey had, at one time, been a kind of passive observer of events in the region, not wanting to get entangled in the region and keeping with the Atatürk maxim "peace at home and peace in the world". The Turks just wanted to stay home, they didn't want to go anywhere else. And that is obviously, the role of Turkey in the Middle East has been changing since 2002 when the Justice and Development Party came to power, this party of Islamist patrimony, which was intriguing to many in the Arab world. Because, for Arab liberals, it seemed like a party of Islamist patrimony that could advance a liberal or a quasi-liberal political agenda.

And for Islamists, it was a group of Islamists who had accumulated political power and have since held onto it. And they obviously became more active in the Middle East. But since then, we have been just bombarded with discussion of the Turkish model and Turkey this and Turkey that. And clearly, the Turks have a role to play.

And I think the third trend in the region is the rather peripheral role that outside powers, and particularly the United States, is playing in the region. And I assume that overall for the United States, this is a massive shift.

Egypt was a linchpin of a regional political order that made it relatively easier for the United States to pursue and achieve its objectives in the region. That order

was made of Morocco, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, the small Gulf states. But Egypt stood at the center because of its peace treaty with Israel, because it sits on the Suez Canal, central to U.S. strategy in the region, and that has that is unlikely to be the same kind of relationship that we had over the course of the last 30 years, that we had with President Mubarak.

So the region is quite scrambled. And it's still working itself out. We have tiers of countries. We have countries that are struggling to achieve its revolutionary promises and goals. We have countries essentially where leaders are ducking and trying very hard to make sure that they are not consumed by people power. And then there are repressive states that are trying to stave off and reestablish the fear factor in hopes of hanging on.

And it is going to be uncertain going forward. But I think those three trends and the position of the United States are abundantly clear, no matter what the outcomes are in any of these countries<sup>1</sup>.

On the other hand, following future descriptions of balance power are expressed in another analytical center.

From this perspective, the future of the balance of power in the region will embrace the rivalry of two blocs of players: the regional 4+1 which comprises four active and major regional players including, Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt plus Israel as a behind-the-scene player, which passively pursues its objectives through the channel of the United States. The trans-regional bloc is comprised of two key players; the United States and Russia.

The Arab Spring's internal dynamics have drastically influenced the foreign policies of the regional players. Egypt is pursuing the policy of interaction with all the regional and trans-regional players. Influenced by its internal politics and in order to realize the government's main objective of institutionalizing the role of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt's political and power structure, Egyptian President

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<sup>1</sup> Steven A.C. Regional Consequences--the Geopolitics of the Changing Middle East. // <http://www.cfr.org/middle-east-and-north-africa/regional-consequences-geopolitics-changing-middle-east/p27838/-28.03.2014>.

Mohamed Morsi is aware that he needs to gain the support of the middle class while ensuring political stability as well as reviving the Egyptian economy. In other words, he should prioritize the demands of those who staged the revolution at Tahrir Square.

Therefore, the new Egypt seeks an active regional role through engagement with all the regional countries. For example, it interacts with Saudi Arabia and Qatar so as to attract financial support, and it also cooperates with Iran and Turkey in order to achieve regional political stability. Simultaneously, Egypt will continue its interactions with trans-regional players such as the United States, Russia, and China in an attempt to maintain a major role in the regional balance of power, consequently achieving its economic objectives.

Turkey mainly seeks to attain regional leadership and tries to exploit the Arab Spring's internal potentials in order to benefit from its own, supposed, "soft power" and to strengthen ties with the new Arab governments so as to guarantee its economic interests in the region<sup>1</sup>.

To sum up, Arab spring was series of reaction movement which resulted change of ruling governments and head of states. After the actions happened in North African region following political changes can be assumed as geopolitical and strategic changes which are general for the states of Middle East and Mediterranean region:

First, activating of Islamist movements through the region. For instance, Justice and Charity party in Morocco has been participating in political activities since February 20 in 2011;

Second, strengthening of Turkey's power in those regions, because although Turkey has declared itself as state which wants peace and integration with other neighbor region countries, according to some information there is the role of

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<sup>1</sup>Kayhan B. The Arab Spring and the Balance of Power in the Middle East. // [http://www.powerandpolicy.com/2012/10/30/the-arab-spring-and-the-balance-of-power-in-the-middle-east/#.Uzuw66h\\_s1M/-30.10.2012](http://www.powerandpolicy.com/2012/10/30/the-arab-spring-and-the-balance-of-power-in-the-middle-east/#.Uzuw66h_s1M/-30.10.2012).

Turkey to supply rebels with required arms to accomplish their duty in the area of region dominant powers.

Third one is not directly, but indirectly role of outside countries, such as US and particularly Russian Federation. Looking into history, after Libya gained its sovereignty from Italy, it bound bilateral relations with Russian Federation and took help from Russian Federation to reinforce its arm. In this period these tendencies led to tension between Libya and US. As a result, collapse of Gadhafi regime was appropriate to the interests of US. Particularly, most protestors of movements in Libya were young students graduated from US and European universities, who were manipulated by social networks.

On the other hand, regional powers like Egypt could not provide stability not only in the region but even in its own area and needed the help of other great countries like US, Russian Federation and China. So that these countries' roles in the occurred events of this region are predictable.

### **2.3. The impact of “Arab Spring” on regional security and developing perspectives of security in North Africa**

Arab spring has caused a lot of damage and changes in all Arab world, especially in North African countries. Some researchers argue that it was natural phenomenon while others claim that events connected with Arab spring were manipulated by external actors. Anyway, that that phenomenon had significant impact on security both at internal and regional level. Those impacts cover from speech freedom to balance between the number of men and women participants of elections. For instance, changes in election system can be seen in Tunisia and Egypt.

Nevertheless it is already possible to identify a few concrete changes in governance that have resulted from the Arab Spring, particularly in relation to the role of women in politics. In Tunisia, as an example, parties are now required to

have equal numbers of men and women in their electoral lists. In Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood is holding discussions about including women in their Consultative Council, although no women sat on the commission to change the constitution<sup>1</sup>.

As an obvious fact after the Arab Spring following flow of events is seen. The Arab Spring did not spread to Iran, which is best characterized as a “post-revolutionary” state rather than a “pre-revolutionary” one. Nevertheless, the Spring has ratcheted up regional competition between Iran and Saudi Arabia, with the latter becoming increasingly fearful of the threat posed by Shia rebellions in Bahrain and Yemen. Saudi Arabia’s recent moves to invite Morocco and Jordan to join the Gulf Cooperation Council have been seen as an attempt to constrain Iran’s influence.

Today one of the actual problems of North African region countries is how to ensure security: first, at domestic level, second at regional level.

If fact, nowadays all countries of North African region are facing to the problem connected with their own security. Because after “Arab spring” there had been several coups, civil wars and conflicts between rebels and government arms which result in malaise of every country’s armed forces. Besides that, in most countries of the region terroristic groups are still active and they are jeopardizing security system of countries.

And while core al Qaeda may have been decimated and its ideology challenged, dangerous splinter groups have also emerged and remain strong across the region. These include al Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) in Yemen, Ansar al-Sharia in Tunisia, Al-Shabaab in Somalia and radical groups in the Sahel and in the Sinai. While AQAP remains highly focused on hitting “far enemy”

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<sup>1</sup> Helpdesk Research Report: Effects of the “Arab Spring” on the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. 01.07. 2011. – P. 2.

targets in the United States in addition to fighting for control in Yemen, most of these groups focus more on the “near enemy,” or local foes<sup>1</sup>.

That’s why, most of region countries are exerting to provide inner security rather than regional one. However, none of them owns enough resources and potentials to ensure domestic security without the help of foreign countries. According to news, most of region’s countries are relying on U.S. and NATO’s military help. One of the great states of the region – Libya has already begun to reform its army and it also needs U.S. and NATO military support.

Several North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries have signed on to train a new “general purpose” military force that is to have roughly 19,500 members. The United States has committed to training 5,000 to 8,000 Libyan soldiers under the supervision of its Africa Command. Yet, there remain serious concerns within the U.S. government about the specific roles of the general purpose force, its oversight and command authorities, its relationship with other security bodies, and, perhaps most importantly, the degree of buy-in from Libya’s armed groups and political factions. In addition, the United States may also train two company-sized Libyan special forces units<sup>2</sup>.

To move forward, the Libyan government must train, equip, and reform the state’s security institutions, overcoming the perception of their association with the former regime. And it must demobilize and disarm those elements that cannot be integrated into a unified whole without polarizing the already-fragmented security sector. In order to achieve stable national security some scientists and analytical experts offer following vital actions which must be accomplished by Libyan Government.

- Push for Political Reconciliation;
- Build an Effective Security Sector Architecture;

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<sup>1</sup> Jacob S. After the Awakening Future Security Trends in the Middle East. Policy brief of the Center for a new American Security. January 2014. – P. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Frederic W. Building Libya’s Security Sector. Peter Cole Policy Outlook. August 6. 2013. // <http://carnegieendowment.org/2013/08/06/building-libya-s-security-sector/ghle#>

- Rebalance the Military's Personnel System and Rationalize Payroll;
- Build the National Guard as an Inclusive Transition Force;
- Bolster International Training of Libyan Security Forces.

Another main country which played great role in the region security provision is Egypt. Once although Arab Republic of Egypt is seen as a Regional Power, now it is also having trouble with security provision in country itself. Intrigued, Egypt is seeking military aid from U.S. as other countries of the region. U.S. is also eager to provide a range of assistance in support of Egypt's security since Egypt is critical to the stability of the greater Middle East and North Africa region. In Egypt, the U.S. considers its security cooperation and assistance to the Egyptian military as a way to achieve three primary goals:

1. Support Egypt's leadership role promoting regional security in the Middle East and North Africa.
2. Support and enable a modern Egyptian military that respects human rights, rule of law and civilian control of the military.
3. Cooperate with Egypt in securing its borders and combating terrorism and violent extremism in the Middle East and North Africa<sup>1</sup>.

U.S.A. are providing more than \$1.3 billion in annual military and security assistance to improve Egypt's defensive capabilities; support Egypt's contributions to regional security; promote the rule of law; and counter terrorist threats. U.S. security assistance is administered collaboratively in partnership with the Egyptian government.

Now, however, stability and security insurance is number one target of every country in the region. Regional organization – League of Arab states is not achieving anything in these spheres. Because most of member countries are requiring reform and reorganization as The Arab League failed to coordinate its policy over both the 1990-1991 Gulf War and the 2003 Iraq War. Moreover, when

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<sup>1</sup> Security Assistance and Cooperation for a New Egypt. // <http://egypt.usembassy.gov/security.html/-01.05.2014>.

Arab countries came across with “Arab Spring”, this regional organization could not put into action its initiatives relating to the revolution movements.

Although, other countries of the region like Morocco, Tunisia and Western Sahara are trying to reform and develop their army and military equipment in order to protect themselves there some reasons which are the real obstacle. First one is financial crisis after revolutions, second is sectarian and ethnic conflicts between the population of the countries, third one is political instability through the region.

To sum up, in today’s world, North Africa can be seen as a region which is facing to severe security problems after the Arab Spring. Because after the revolutions connected with Arab Spring, in all countries of the region began conflicts between ethnic groups, amongst region countries, as a result there emerged another problem how to ensure security both at domestic and regional level. But unfortunately, none of the region countries are now capable of doing these actions. For example, once although Egypt played the role of Regional Power in Middle East and North African region, now it is also having trouble with its own security.

## CONCLUSION

XX century has made a lot of changes and new orders in the history of mankind. For instance, changes in the international relations system, appearing new global problems are not apart from that. As a result, today, one of the main concerns of every county became providing its own security and at the moment realizing its national interests. These two tendencies are counterpart to each other. On the other hand, this century led developing of security concepts and theories. In consequence, there were emerged grand security theories like realism, liberalism and constructivism. Realism approach is based on state-centrism i.e. state is still the main actor of security insurance at the country level, and the cooperation of countries can be guarantee for global security. However, liberalism supports multiplicity of actors from single individuals to groups, states and international organizations. The next major theory – constructivism mainly pays attention how to provide security, instead of focusing on security actors.

At the end of XX century and beginning of XXI there appeared a demand to create new definitions of security, as traditional meaning could not provide a perfect interpretation for new types of security. Because, only absence of military conflict – “military security” was explained in traditional meaning of security. Now traditional meaning of security cannot describe current threats and risks to human, national and global securities, and every phenomenon demands its unique interpretation and security measures. Nevertheless, with the new concepts of scientist new definitions and types of security were emerged in this period.

In general, from the past African continent is considered the place of undeveloped countries and we still come across with terms like “third world countries” according to their economic, social and political development. Although, countries which are situated in the Northern part of the continent differ from the other states of the region with their economic and social live, it could not help provide them from reaction movements – “Arab Spring” which has been

lasting for the late 2010 through now. Most of the North African countries had been former colonies of great empires, and after gaining their sovereignty every state developed its economy on the bases of its natural resources and created normal life style for their population. But, all countries were ruled by monarchs (some were absolute and some were constitutional monarchies). This tendency – monarchy ruling system caused hating and dissatisfying of people from the current governments. Besides that, there were their own threats which really endanger every country's security system. They are: ethnic and racial conflicts in one country or between countries; Islamist movement through some states of region; terroristic activity through the region and separatism and conflicts in countries. All these mentioned reasons led to Arab spring – series of reaction movement which resulted change of ruling governments and head of the states.

As a result, after the Arab spring life conditions in North African countries were even more deteriorated. After the actions happened in North African region following political changes can be assumed as geopolitical and strategic changes which are general for the states of Middle East and Mediterranean region:

First, activating of Islamist movements through the region. For instance, Justice and Charity party in Morocco has been participating in political activities since February 20 in 2011;

Second, strengthening of Turkey's power in those regions, because although Turkey has declared itself as state which wants peace and integration with other neighbor region countries, according to some information there is the role of Turkey to supply rebels with required arms to accomplish their duty in the area of region dominant powers.

Third one is not directly, but indirectly role of outside countries, such as US and particularly Russian Federation. Looking into history, after Libya gained its sovereignty from Italy, it bound bilateral relations with Russian Federation and took help from Russian Federation to reinforce its arm. In this period these tendencies led to tension between Libya and U.S. As a result, collapse of Gadhafi

regime was appropriate to the interests of U.S. Particularly, most protestors of movements in Libya were young students graduated from U.S. and European universities, who were manipulated by social networks.

On the other hand, regional powers like Egypt could not provide stability not only in the region but even in its own area and needed the help of other great countries like US, Russian Federation and China. So that, these countries' roles in the occurred events of this region are predictable.

Today, one of the main problems of region countries is providing security in the state area. But, unfortunately, after the Arab awakening all countries faced to financial deficit which is not enough to equip and train national troops. So that, nowadays, most of the region countries like Egypt, Libya and others are conducting negotiations with U.S. and NATO countries to modernize and strength their army.

In my opinion, results came from Arab spring can be sorted into advantageous and disadvantageous one. For example, as a result of revolutions women in Egypt and Libya gained right to vote and most of region countries are building their democratic governments. However, disadvantages of coups overweight than advantages. For instance, civil wars and ethnic conflicts in Libya, terroristic attacks and Islamist movement through the region. Now it is very difficult period for the region countries which leads to prosperity or destruction of all gained values and achievements for years. From my point of view, if these political changes had been by reform instead of revolutions, it would have been more useful.

To sum up, North African countries are now in such a difficult situation, that every of them need global aid in economic, social and political spheres from the world community.

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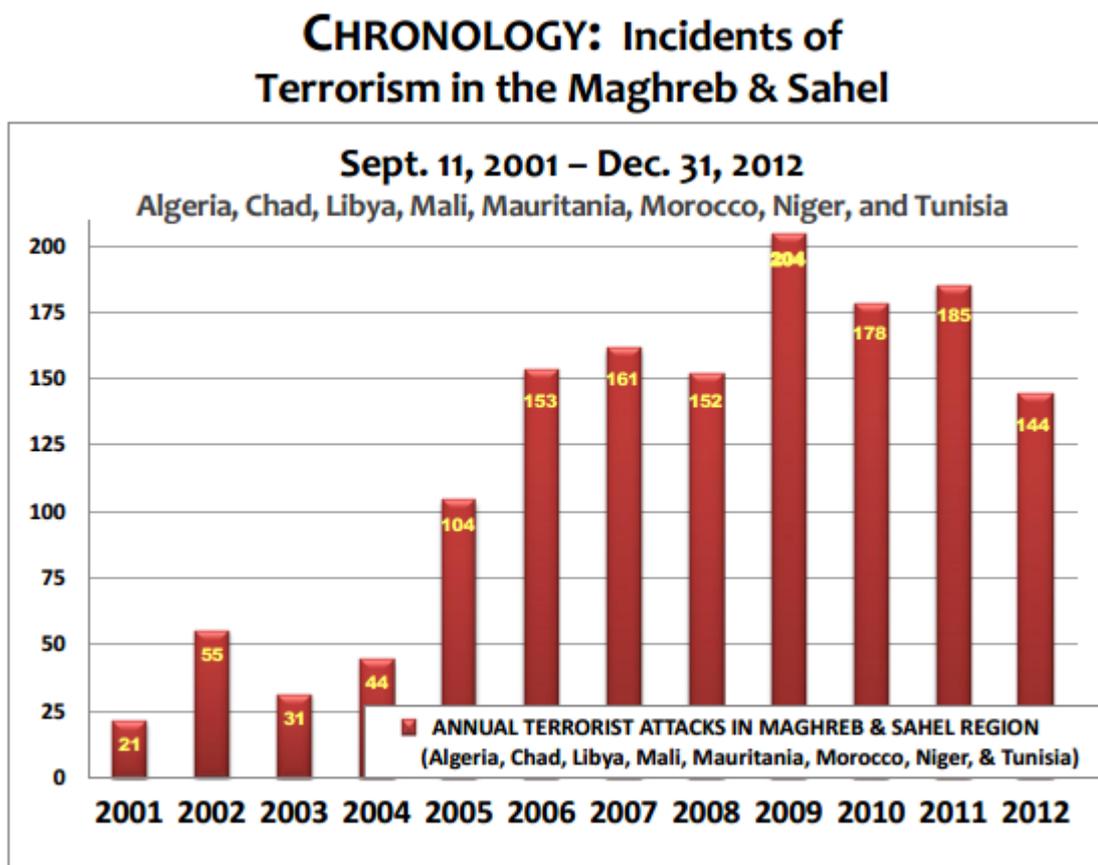
## ATTACHMENTS

## Map 1



Source: The Word MAGHREB. // <http://www.maghreb-studiesassociation.co.uk/en/allhome.html>

Figure 1



Source: **Terrorism in North Africa & the Sahel in 2012: Global Reach & Implications**. P. 22. Yonah Alexander Director, Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies, and Senior Fellow, Potomac Institute for Policy Studies. February 2013.