T.C. İSTANBUL TİCARET
ÜNİVERSİTESİ

THE SECURITY DILEMMA IN THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA REGION AND ITS IMPACT ON REGIONAL COOPERATION

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MASTER'S THESIS
AFRICAN STUDIES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
İSTANBUL – 2017

T.C.
İSTANBUL TİCARET ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

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ABSTRACT

M.Sc. Thesis

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2017, 51

This thesis argues that the Mediterranean Sea region has faced significant security challenges in the post-Arab Uprising era. In particular, nations in the region are confronting a cooperative security dilemma. Mediterranean Sea countries have been adopting a range of cooperative agreements to strengthen their security. By doing so, however, they may put other nations in isolation that are left out of those agreements, and therefore create an unstable security environment. This thesis examines the nature of the cooperative security dilemma in the Mediterranean Sea region, and analyzes how this region's nations can cooperate in the future without posing a threat to other nations, including Libya. This thesis asserts that the Union for the Mediterranean program offers a model of future security arrangements that could avoid the problems of the security dilemma.

Keywords: European Union, Libya, Mediterranean Sea Region, Security Dilemma, Union for Mediterranean

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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AU	African Union
Daesh	The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
EMP	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
ENP	European Neighborhood Policy
ENPI	European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument
EU	European Union
EURORECAMP	The Euro-Recamp programme
ITC	The International Transition Council
JAP	The EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
UfM	The Union for the Mediterranean
UNHCR	The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UN	United Nations
RCC	Revolutionary Command Council

I. INTRODUCTION

I.I Thesis

Robert Jervis[1] examines a security dilemma and concludes that "an increase in one state's security decreases the security of others" (Jervis, 1978, p. 169). How does this assertion apply to the Mediterranean Sea Region environment in the post-Arab Uprising era? Which measures are needed to analyze the situation of the security dilemma described by Jervis? These are the central points that will be examined in this thesis. Today, we are facing the post-Arab Uprising's cooperative security dilemma, which differs in some ways from the meaning given by Jervis. According to the cooperative security dilemma, as some states are disposed to cooperate to decrease their security fears, the security of others is decreased if any country remains outside of the cooperative security arrangements.

This thesis argues that there are considerable security dilemmas in the Mediterranean Sea region. The security interests of the majority of the Mediterranean Sea countries differ to some extent from the interests of the non-autonomous regional state Libya.

It is possible that the solutions for the Mediterranean Sea security dilemmas could be found through the elaboration of cooperative security elements in the region. Security and regional partnerships such as the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) [2] and (non-NATO) protective security in the Mediterranean, referred to as the European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI) create many opportunities for promoting peace, stability and economic growth in the Mediterranean Sea region. The UfM program points out one additional way to establish appropriate cooperative security arrangements and escape from the security dilemma.

[1] Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," 169–70. See also, Jervis, (1988). "Realism, Game Theory, and Cooperation," *World Politics, 40*(4).
[2] http://ufmsecretariat.org/ (accessed September 26, 2017)

The need for the current work stems from the new security environment that emerged in Europe after the Arab Uprising in 2011. The southern part of Europe, and particularly the Middle East and North Africa region (MENA), offered new guarantees for a stable security environment. It would be desirable for these new guarantees to be based on cooperation rather than conflict, as in the recent past. Meanwhile, some serious threats to security exist as new potential threats.

The regional peace in the Mediterranean Sea region is affected by a cooperative security dilemma.

The elements of the current security dilemma tend to be related to Libya, which is without discipline and has become a chaotic, failed state in the region. Moreover, Libya is not involved in the majority of cooperative security arrangements and it is not an active participant in regional EMP cooperation.

The Libyan security threat is also exacerbated by the migration and refugee crises; the emergence of The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (Daesh) terrorism between Libya and other Mediterranean Sea nations.

The dependent variable of this work is the effectiveness of regional security cooperation in contributing to a stable security environment in the Mediterranean Sea region. The two independent variables are the security environment in the Mediterranean Sea region and the different kinds of cooperative and collective security arrangements, as presented below in Table 1.

Security environment on the Mediterranean Sea	EU member states, 15 Southern Mediterranean countries, Libya, Syria.
Cooperative and collective security arrangements in the Mediterranean Sea region	The Union for the Mediterranean (UfM), common area of peace and stability, economic and financial partnership, social, cultural and human partnership

Table I.I Independent Variables

The effectiveness of cooperative security arrangements depends on involvement of all interested actors in the regional peace. The Mediterranean Sea region is a security complex in which the security of each country is dependent on the others that belong to the regional complex. Because of this security complex, all countries located in that region must cooperate with each other to decrease threats to the regional peace. The involvement of The Union for the Mediterranean could produce a positive outcome, helping reduce the potential threat of individual actors such as Libya that could destabilize the security environment.

The enlargement of these security arrangements to Libya, which is now suspended as much as possible, makes the failed state of Libya responsible for stability and peace in the region.

I.II Background

In the wake of the Arab Uprising, Daesh has carried out many terrorist attacks across Europe, including France, Belgium, and the United Kingdom. The current Mediterranean Sea region security dilemma can be described in two aspects.

First, the Middle East and North Africa region, as well as the European region are articulated in respect to security architecture. Second, it is necessary to strengthen the European role in its own border defense.

There are two close trends that still exist for European and Mediterranean countries' relations: the European Union's security actorness and regionalization.

Actorness is usually defined as the Union's "capacity to behave actively and deliberately in relation to other actors in the international system" (Sjöstedt, 1977, p. 16). [3]

[3] Sjöstedt, G. (1977). The Exercise of International Civil Power: A Framework for Analysis. *Cooperation and Conflict, XII*, 21-39.

The two academicians; Maria Raquel Freirea and Lícinia Simão (Freire & Simão, 2013, p. 4)[4] stress that the European Union's comprehensive approach to security, appropriateness of policies, actions and recognition of legitimacy are approved by third actors. The academicians add that these fractions are the main elements of the EU as a security actor.

According to Freire and Simão, using interrelated security instruments represents the comprehensive nature of the EU's approach and it affects the expected outcomes. These are the central points in the definition for the EU's recognition and its legitimacy as actorness.

The EU aims to develop an extensive security approach that combines civilian and military elements to resist different challenges. The EU policy seeks to prevent crisis management and the peace building of post-conflict countries'.

This set of official records reinforce dimensions of the EU's security actorness by fostering democratization processes and the consolidation of peaceful paths toward development. This is complemented by the deployment of rule of law, police training, and border monitoring missions (Freire & Simão, 2013).

The EU's security actorness has been continuing and is still valid despite other initiatives, even some that were contributed by the EU itself. However, the Union decided to develop its role of security actor in the literature on EU external relations.

Since the issue of EU's inability to independently deploy military forces have been debated, this main obstacle has been a continued topic of discussion by the member states. EU assessed that is the "main sticking point in EU attaining full security actorness in international affairs" ("EURORECAMP, an Alliance for Peace: EU in Africa," 2010).

Despite the long debate surrounding the independence of the EU's military deployment to other countries such as Africa, the member states insisted on keeping the Union's military capability in their own hands. The Member states suggested to stich the EU in its own traditional view.

[4] Freire, M. R., & Simao, L. (2013). The EU's security actorness: the case of EUMM in Georgia. *European Security, 22*(4), 464 477.

The EU body later determined that the main issue with international security is not a new one. As a result, they considered the responses to regional security from any countries where they share borders or live in the same basin as international security responses.

In 2008, the EU concluded that the regional security challenges within Africa were part of the broader challenges of the international community. The perceived international consequences of regional security have been a key motivator for the international donor community of European countries that always promised to support African peace and security. EURORECAMP-AMANI AFRICA was established by the initiatives of EU member states and AU, and it was created to support regional security in Africa.

The process of EURORECAMP had been constituted as a partnership and coordinated attempt to extend European regionalism perspectives through the African continent, especially to those countries located in the Mediterranean Sea Basin.

Despite its positive intentions for international security and peace, the process of EURORECAMP was faced with multiple security dilemmas. After a long and bloody colonial period, the African people could not rely on EURORECAMP to respond adequately to the immediate threats of violence in Africa.

This was a valid concern for many African countries that had EU military troops positioned inside the continent, which created a security dilemma. Although the process ended in 2010, consequences still exist for the European Union, as it was an actorness for many past issues in the region.

In 2008, the Council of the European Union[5] adopted a report on the implementation of the European security strategy, which led to establishing a security community and developing tools to act outside its borders.

The report from the Council of the European Union identified the two interconnected dimensions that made essential contributions to peace and stability within and beyond Europe, especially among the Mediterranean Sea Region.

[5] http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/reports/104630.pdf (accessed September 26, 2017)

Another tendency that influenced Europe and Africa is the process of regionalization. The importance of regional cooperation and security has been growing rapidly.

The regionalism approach for both Europe and Africa has been developed over the past several years. Although the old studies defined regionalism as making up regional projects, trade arrangements and security concord operations, the new studies developed concepts for regionalism that involve a more comprehensive and multi-faceted process.

The general tendency in recent European politics is to cooperate and attempt to prevent conflict, as well as to manage any crisis and peace operations for new modern security issues.

On the other hand, African countries, especially those that share borders with the Mediterranean Sea, view the European Union as an example organization to build its own regional organizations.

According to Michael Schulz, the African countries have interpreted regionalization as a reemergence and revalorization of local and regional economies in national economies (i.e. new industrial districts, learning regions, gateway cities, and Mediterranean islands as bridges between Europe and Africa)(Schulz, 2001).[6]

The term regionalization could be interpreted in some cases, as in Europe, as the decomposition of the national economy due to economic crisis, or it could be referenced as a civil war or some other disruptive mechanism for Africa.

To sum up, regionalization could also be viewed as a parallel process for increasing the scale of regions, developed within the framework of a larger unification, not as an alternative movement to it.

The Mediterranean Sea region can be defined on two dimensions. The geographical dimension includes France, Spain, Italy, Greece, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania and Malta. The political dimension incudes all the members of The Union for the Mediterranean (UfM).

[6] Schulz, M., Soderbaum, F., & Ojendal, J. (2001). Regionalization in a Globalizing World: A Comparative Perspective on Forms. Actors and Processes, London: Zed Books.

The UfM aims to promote economic integration across neighbors to the EU's south in North Africa, along with the Middle East and the Balkans region. It was created by 43 Euro-Mediterranean Heads of State and Government on July 13th, 2008 at the Paris Summit for the Mediterranean.

The UfM could be considered a continuation process of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP), also known as the Barcelona Process, which was established in 1995.

The Union for the Mediterranean plans to make relations more operational with the initiation of new regional and sub-regional projects that are relevant for those living in the region. The project is intended to affect the economy, environment, energy, health, migration, education and social affairs and, most importantly, security.

Since the beginning, the EU has declared itself to be a promoter of reform and democracy to the countries south of the Mediterranean and the Arab states.

Meanwhile, the member states understood that the EU was faced with a security dilemma. The European Union member states' locations extend to the area south of the Mediterranean, which has always constituted a source of conflict and tension. The EU attempts to address fears of extreme Islamic fundamentalism as well as illegal migration from the south (El-Molla, 2009).[7]

According to El-Molla, there are two main reasons for possible security threats: the first is an economic regression, or slowing of economic development, and the second is the rule of authoritarian regimes in several countries (El-Molla, 2009).

In addition, the UfM annual report, which was released in 2016, stressed that security and development are the two main issues that they are currently facing.

The UfM members belong to at least three geopolitical areas, which are usually overlapping: the Balkan countries, African countries and European countries.

[7] Khaled El-Molla, N. (2009). The EU's Role in Political Reform and Democracy Building in the Southern Mediterranean Region: An Egyptian Perspective. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.

The UfM Balkan countries consist of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, Romania and Hungary. The African countries are located in the continent's northern part and are sometimes referred to as the Middle East region. These include Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, and Tunisia. In addition, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine are also member countries of the UfM, but they are considered Middle East countries.

The UfM members mostly consist of European countries, including Austria, Czech Republic, Finland, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, Mauritania, The Netherlands, Poland, Slovenia, Sweden, United Kingdom, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, France, Greece, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Monaco, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain and Turkey.

The war-torn country of Syria was a member of the Union in the Mediterranean; however, it's membership was suspended in 2011. Meanwhile, Libya has had an observer status in the UfM since 1999.

Although Austria, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Luxemburg, Romania, Sweden, United Kingdom, Bulgaria, Ireland, Monaco, Portugal and Slovakia do not belong to the region, their security interests are strongly connected with it.

In addition, Denmark, The Netherlands, Poland, Belgium, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and the Czech Republic are connected to the region.

Table 2, included below, gives a general overview of the Mediterranean Sea countries.

Country	Area Sq. km	Population In 2016	GDP Per capita (US$) In 2016	Military expenditure (GNP%) in 2016	Main Export trade partner	Ethnic composition	Major religion
France	643,801	66,836,154	$42,400	1.78	Germany Spain, US, Italy, UK	Celtic and Latin Slavic, North	Christian

						African,	
Spain	505,370	48,563,476	$36,500	0.91	France Germany Italy, UK Portugal, US	Composite of Mediterranean and Nordic types	Roman Catholic
Morocco	446,550	33,655,786	$8,400	3.25	Spain, France, India, US, Italy	Arab-Berber, other 1%	Muslim
Tunisia	163,610	11,134,588	$11,700	2.28	France, Italy Germany Spain, Algeria,	Arab, European	Muslim
Algeria	2,381,741	40,263,711	$15,000	6	Spain Italy France	Arab-Berber, European	Muslim
Italy	301,340	62,007,540	$36,300	1.31	Germany France, US UK, Spain Switzerland	Italian Slovene-Italians and Albanian-Italians	Christian
Egypt	1,001,450	94,666,993	$12,100	1.73	Saudi Arabia Italy, Turkey UAE, US, UK, India	Egyptian	Muslim
Israel	20,770	8,174,527	$34,800	5.38	US, Hong Kong, UK, China	Jewish (of which Israel-born, Europe/America/Oceania-born, Africa-born, Asia-	Jewish

						born	
Lebanon	10,400	6,237,738	$18,500	4.76	Saudi Arabia UAE, Iraq, Syria, South Africa	Arab, Armenian, other	Muslim
Slovenia	20,273	1,978,029	$33,100	0.93	Germany, Italy, Austria Croatia Slovakia Hungary France	Slovene, Serb, Croat, Bosnian	Catholic
Turkey	783,562	80,274,604	$21,100	1.69	Germany, UK, Iraq, Italy, US, France	Turkish, Kurdish	Muslim
Greece	131,957	10,773,253	$26,800	2.61	Italy, Germany, Turkey, Cyprus, Bulgaria, US, UK, Egypt	Greek, other	Greek Orthodox
Albania	28,748	3,038,594	$11,900	1.14	Italy, Kosovo, US, China, Greece, Spain	Albanian, Greek	Muslim
Montenegro	13,812	644,578	$17,000	1.63	Croatia, Serbia Slovenia	Montenegrin, Serbian, Bosnian Albanian	Orthodox
Bosnia and Herzegovina	51,197	3,861,912	$11,000	1	Slovenia, Italy Germany Croatia,	Bosnian, Serb, Croat, other	Muslim

					Austria, Turkey		
Croatia	56,594	4,313,707	$22,400	1.55	Italy, Slovenia Germany, Bosnia and Herzegovina Austria, Serbia	Croat, Serb, other	Roman Catholic
Cyprus	9,251 (of which 3,355 sq km are in northern Cyprus)	1,205,575	$34,400	1.81	Greece, Ireland, UK, Israel	Greek, Turkish-Cypriot	Orthodox Christian
Malta	316	415,196	$37,900	0.57	Egypt, Germany Libya, France, Hong Kong, Singapore, US, Italy	Maltese-descendants of ancient Carthaginians and Phoenicians	Roman Catholic
Monaco	2	30,581	$115,700	N/A	Europe Africa America Asia	French, Monegasque, Italian	Roman Catholic
Libya[8]	1,759,540	6,541,948	$14,200	N/A	Italy, Germany China, France, Spain, Netherlands	Berber and Arab, others	Muslim

[8] Libya has an observer status in the UfM.

					Syria		
Syria[9]	185,180	17,185,170	$2,900	N/A	Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, UAE, Libya	Arab Kurdish, Armenian	Muslim

Table I.II Basic Facts of the Mediterranean Sea States[10]

I.III Organization of Thesis

Chapter II examines the questions connected to international relations theory and develops the theoretical background of the thesis. The upcoming chapter analyzes changes that were influenced by world development after the Arab Uprising. It also studies the central concept of this thesis: the security dilemma and cooperation. Chapter III discusses the general political, cultural and historical overview of the Mediterranean Sea region, and focuses on several issues connected with conflict and cooperation around the Mediterranean Sea. These issues consist of cooperation between African and European countries. The third chapter also studies a remarkable country that affects the security of the region: Libya. Meanwhile, Chapter IV deals with a case study regarding the prospects for regional cooperation and international assistance to the Mediterranean Sea countries, particularly the UfM. The last chapter analyzes the role of different institutions in accordance with future security options for the region.

[9] Syria suspended its membership to the UfM on December 1, 2011.

[10] https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/ (accessed September 26, 2017)

II. COOPERATION AND CONFLICT IN THE MODERN ERA

II.I Security Dilemma

The security dilemma is one of the most important theoretical ideas in international relations. The concept of a security dilemma was created and developed by John Herz, Herbert Butterfield, and Robert Jervis[11] in the mid-1900s and was then applied to many important arguments regarding international relations.

International relations students need to understand how to interpret the concept of a security dilemma. This is because the security dilemmas will exist as long as decision-makers face different choices about how to solve security problems.

John H. Herz first described the security dilemma in his book "Political Realism and Political Idealism" as a structural notion in which a state's self-help attempts to manage their security needs leads to increased insecurity for other states. It becomes difficult for these states to measure their own defensive potencies and the potential threat of others against them (Herz, 1950).

A particular states' interpretation of other rival states' potential threats leads to fear, which plays a role in the evaluation of this concept and the creation of new security policy concepts. Thus, it is necessary to ask what degree of security the interstate order can create in world politics.

John H. Herz additionally discussed the security dilemma in his book "Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma", where he stressed that the anarchical society has existed in most periods throughout history, and many known incidents arose among groups that could be considered a security dilemma (Herz, 1950).

[11] Butterfield, H. (1951). History and Human Relations. London: Collins; Herz, J. (1951). Political Realism and Political Idealism: A Study in Theories and Realities. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Jervis, R. (1978). "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics, 30*(2), 167–214.

Herz added that people, individuals or communities that live in such common areas need to be concerned about their security due to the possibility of attack, domination, or annihilation by other groups.

Herbert Butterfield described many wars in the human history as "tragedies" in his work on “History and Human Relations” (Butterfield, 1951).[12]

The factor that turns wars into tragedies is the decision-makers who do not intend to fight the idea and have to fight in action.

According to Butterfield, individuals permanently live in fear that others may harm them (Butterfield, 1951). This fear is felt intensely by those who take precautions to protect themselves due to the fear.

However, other individuals may perceive these measures as policies that are intended to harm them, and as a result they also live in fear and may feel the need to respond to the measures of others.

This mutual fear and uncertainty regarding intentions towards each other leads individuals to take new measures in an increasing manner, and even those even who do not intend to fight in war are engaged in a war or conflict. To sum up, Herz described this circumstance as a "security dilemma" (Herz, 1950). Herz strongly links the security dilemma to the anarchic structure of the international system.

The American scholar Herz also discusses how the authorities living in an international system are concerned about attacks from other units and begin a power-seeking competition. Such anarchic regulatory authorities think about the worst-case scenario regarding the intentions of others, and if they do not do it, it could cause them to disappear (Herz, 1950).

If the authorities can ensure security from possible attacks, they could attain more power to reduce the impact of the power of others. This situation makes the others more insecure and forces them to prepare for the worst situations.

The units and authorities never feel entirely secure while they are in these competing situations, so the fight to gain control continues and those in the region live in a vicious circle of insecurity.

[12] Butterfield, H. (1951). History and Human Relations. London: Collins.

Herz claimed that even cooperation tends to become a factor in the conflict. The cooperation can be a form consolidation, and while it may be a risk to others that are left out, it strengthens those particular groups.

The security dilemma could be witnessed even within families, small groups and tribes. The main goal is for those who want to show the problems to their rivals to overcome the power game.

In conclusion, the conflicts that are formed and are shaped by the security dilemma also emerge among political authorities of power.

Coming from this point of view, the security dilemma constitutes war and peace via interaction. It contains general dynamics that lead to long-lasting wars and the maintenance of peace. The concept of a security dilemma influence extends well beyond the present and helps analyze some major events, such as the Cold War, as well as ethnic conflicts in the Soviet Union[13] and Africa[14].

The first manifestation of the concept of a security dilemma reflects the elements of realist thinkers dominated by discipline during the Cold War era.

First of all, security dilemmas were produced as a state-centric concept. The units in the dilemma were defined on the basis of the states, and the concept of the state is reduced to a structure that advocates its own materialistic interests in a rational way.[15]

The security dilemma should still be part of international relations, and this work aims to describe its role in the Mediterranean Sea region.

Significant changes have been observed in the study of security dilemmas in the post-Cold War era. These changes can be examined in two parts. The first is that new security problems are increasingly affecting world politics, not just two specific countries or regions.

These include civil wars between different ethnic groups, crime organizations frequently emerging in countries with weak state structures, transnational

[13] Jervis, R. (2001). "Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?" *Journal of Cold War Studies, 3*(1), 36–60.
[14] Posen, B. (1993). "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival, 35*(1), 27–47.
[15] Bilgiç, A. (2011). Re-thinking "The Security Dilemma": A New Perspective in Security Studies, *Uluslararası İlişkiler, 8*(29), p. 123-142.

actions of these organizations, the escalation of migration between neighbor countries, and the emerging distrust created by these migrating communities and terrorism.

The second set of effects from the security dilemma is that international relations have been forced to redefine the concept.

According to another well-known definition of the security dilemma, given by Robert Jervis[16], the main argument is that an increase in one state's security could make others less secure, not because of misperceptions, but because of the anarchic context of international relations.

In other words, Jervis[17] emphasizes that even if each state is certain that the intentions of others are kind, they cannot be sure the others will not be aggressive in the future or will always remain peaceful.

When Jervis examines the security dilemma from the realistic perspective of international relations, he discusses how power is everything that a state needs to defend itself and avoid anarchy in the system.

The phenomenon of a state defending itself, yet threatening another in the process was seen numerous times. The American professor touched on how power is consistent for various defenses.

One person's version of security may be threatening to others, as we all have a defensive realism and an offensive realism in relation to the security dilemma. It can also be concluded that dilemmas present from a state that is too powerful or is not strong enough to defend off its enemies.

Robert Jervis' contribution to the intensity of the security dilemma hysteria is prominent in the international security literature. Jervis uses four scenarios to describe the intensity of the security dilemma, focusing on the arms race and alliance formation.

The first scenario is when the offensive and defensive behaviors are not distinguishable, but the offensive behaviors have an advantage in the security dilemma. That situation is considered very intense in the environment and is

[16] Jervis, R. "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma".
[17] Jervis, R. "Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?".

doubly dangerous. This scenario could also lead the state to behave in an aggressive manner and they could display their dangerous potential in an arms race. As a result, the possibility of cooperation will be very low.

The second scenario is when the offensive and defensive behaviors are not distinguishable, but the defense has an advantage. The security dilemma is intense in explaining states' behavior, but not as intense as in the first case.

The state might be able to increase its security without being a threat to other states and without endangering the security of others.

The third scenario is when offensive and defensive behaviors are distinguishable, but the offense has an advantage. In this concept, the security dilemma is not intense, though security issues do exist. Additionally, offensive behavior has an advantage, which might result in aggression at some time in the future.

The fourth scenario is when offensive and defensive behaviors are distinguishable but the defense has an advantage.

In this circumstance, the security dilemma has little or no intensity and the environment could be described as "double safe" in comparison to other possibilities. However, there is an option for offensive action to be launched by other states. Because of this, the state could expand part of its defense budget and other resources on useful development.

Within the scope of critical security studies, the concept of security has been expanded and fed by new concepts. Social security, which has become one of the most influential factors in the concept of security dilemma, is also included in the international relations literature.

The Mediterranean Sea region countries now have to face a totally changed security environment that has created opportunities to develop a more stable political climate.

According to Jervis' second scenario, after the Arab Uprising, the countries in the region have tried to overcome the new security conditions. They determined that it would be more useful to seek large security arrangements, which promote cooperation between democratized countries rather than stress a

possible conflict, as occurred in the past when great powers tried to achieve balance among themselves. In contrast to the past, the new security environment deals with threats; not with enemies.

As a point of departure, this paper will consider the model of a security dilemma. This model refers to the post-Cold War security environment; however, it is appropriate to modernize Jervis' definition and develop the concept of cooperation under the security dilemma.

The security dilemma that was described by Jervis did not disappear but has now become adapted to the Mediterranean Sea region after the Arab Uprising.

The cooperative security dilemma was seen as a remedy for the region by the neighboring countries, and they sought to apply it through the modern trend of institutionalization. The cooperation in the Mediterranean Sea region after the Arab Uprising decreased their security fears; however, it could also decrease the security of those states and others if any country remained outside of the security arrangements.

In recent times, Jervis's cooperation under the security dilemma validates the notion that when a country is faced with isolation, they create offensive security options while others' cooperation is mainly defense-oriented.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is an example of a cooperative security dilemma. The member countries try to protect their security interests within the frame of collective security and defense institution. However, common threats could increase the cooperation between countries and could possibly reduce the security dilemma.

Jervis touches on the reasons for the cooperation by concluding that if two countries with strong boundaries are divided, severe external threats will be required to bring them together.

In the region, there is cooperation among the neighbor countries to strengthen their defense against possible big threats, including terrorism.

Security cooperation and regionalization are two effective tools to avoid the emergence of the security dilemma.

The concept of security is not only related to the actors and their will. Recent developments have led scholars to rethink the security dilemma. One of the most valuable definitions given by Ken Booth and Nicholas Wheeler[18] adds a new dimension to the concept. This redefinition does not only radically alter the concept, but it offers new ideas to extend the scope of the security dilemma. According to Booth and Wheeler, the system is a presumption of interstate co-operation through common values and principles by developing institutions.

II.II Cooperation and Security

One of the most important starting points regarding the security dilemma is that the state could either exist or disappear; however, the new definition gives the authorities more than two choices.

If the states can establish an international system when they are facing a security dilemma, mutual understanding between the decision-makers of states can reduce the presence of a security dilemma.

However, as Booth and Wheeler discussed, softening the security dilemma does not mean overcoming it, and societies need to be involved in this cooperation process. This process could be defined as defensive behavior that helps states increase their security by developing many arrangements in the fields of trade, education and so forth.

On the other hand, the Mediterranean Sea region countries must deal with Jervis' second security dilemma scenario; defense could be used as an advantage, as the offensive and defensive behaviors of states are not distinguishable. This situation also means that this behavior could lead the alienated state to be offensive and feel insecure.

To sum up, the system-oriented idea argues that security can be created through cooperation between decision-makers in international politics.

[18] Booth, K., & Wheeler, N. (2007). The Security Dilemma: Fear, Cooperation and Trust in World Politics. Palgrave and Macmillan: Hampshire.

Unfortunately, if hostility, suspicion and fear exist at the social level, the new system among the states would be affected by this negative atmosphere and it could become fragile.

Robert Owen Keohane summarizes what the cooperation is as he says: "when actors adjust their behavior to the actual or anticipated preferences of others, through a process of policy coordination."[19]

Meanwhile, it does not mean that every state can get equal benefits from the cooperation, but it stresses that everyone should benefit. Helen Milner adds that two or more states can contribute and join the cooperation as conflict.[20]

After the Arab uprising, Daesh emerged and the Mediterranean Sea region countries were severely affected. The process of Daesh's development was started by Jordanian Abu Musab al-Zarqawi and his supporters who set up the Tawhin wel-Jihad military organization in 2000 to train radical militants from the Middle East.

Following the invasion of Afghanistan by the United States, the organization first moved to Iran and then to Iraq. Zarqawi emerged as an insurgent leader in Iraq of the Tawhin wel-Jihad military in 2003, and he changed the organization name to al-Qaeda in the Land of the Two Rivers (al-Qaeda in Iraq) in 2004.

The leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq, Zarqawi, was killed in 2006. Then, al-Qaeda in Iraq announced the appointment of the group's new leader, Abu Ayyub al-Masri. The new leader also changed the organization's name to the Islamic State of Iraq.

The organization carried its presence into Syrian territory and expanded the area that it controlled; an opportunity that was afforded by weakened central authority.

The modern era has introduced the terms collective security and cooperative security. Cooperation is the main basis of cooperative security. Cooperative

[19] Keohane, R. O. (1984). After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
[20] Milner, H. (1992). "International Theories of Cooperation: Strengths and Weaknesses." *World Politics, 44*, p. 467.

security offers to decrease the magnitude of the Mediterranean Sea region security dilemma because the security preferences of the states in the region differ significantly after the Arab Uprising.

The main goal of the cooperative security arrangements[21] was to prevent successful aggression even before they were executed. Thus, the cooperative security arrangements can stop war and the states that are involved in the arrangements can also obviate their rival states counter preparations.

Cooperative security changes the most important part of security plans. According to tradition, the centerpiece of security planning is to be prepared for counter-attacks in order to prevent possible threats from escalating.

Meanwhile, the most important step is to make the preparations for counterattacks difficult, as this blocks aggression. This step means that deterring aggression is more difficult than preparing to organize an attack.

This process allows the potential destructiveness of military conflicts to be weakened by using mass destruction weapons. The cooperative security framework should then provide a guarantee to its members.

In conclusion, the new definition of cooperative security is different than the traditional idea, and it was designed to ensure any large-scale opponent groups couldn't initiate a strike.

In the meantime, the arrangement of collective security creates a common threat to opponents to deter their possible attack. This stage could be the intellectual basis of the initiative, and the idea is mutually reinforcing.

[21] Carter, A. B., Perry, W. J., & Steinbruner, J. D. (1992). A New Concept of Cooperative Security. The Brookings Institution: Washington, DC.

III. SECURITY ENVIRONMENT IN THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA REGION GENERAL OVERVIEW

III.I Historical, Cultural, And Political Backgrounds

Countries around the Baltic Sea region have a lot of historical and cultural features in common. European countries, such as Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Cyprus, France, Greece, Italy, Malta, Montenegro, Slovenia, Spain and Turkey have dominated the region.

At the same time, the Middle Eastern and North African countries, including Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Syria, Israel and Lebanon are located in the region. Thus, there is a strong interlinkage and mutual dependence between these countries. [22]

The region of the Mediterranean Sea, which is a body of water that is almost completely surrounded by land, includes several different political and cultural dimensions.

It is a bridge between three continents: Europe to the north, Asia to the east and Africa to the south. It stretches over 2,500 miles (4000 km) from Gibraltar to Israel. The Mediterranean Sea is also connected to the Atlantic through an 8.7 mile (14 km) wide strait, where Europe and Africa merge. The Sue Canal that links the Eastern and Western worlds is also located in the region.

The Mediterranean Sea is surrounded by eight EU member states that always actively participate in the region's issues, not only because of their locations, but also due to the interest of other nations towards the sea.

European countries, especially EU member countries with their special historical identity, can be described as the core of the region.

Germany, Belgium, France, Holland, Italy and Luxembourg signed the Treaty of Paris on April 18, 1951. The body was called the European Coal and Steel

[22] Nosotro, Rit. 2005. "British paternalism compared to French assimilation." http://www.hyperhistory.net/apwh/essays/comp/cw31britishfrenchcolonies.htm (accessed September 26, 2017)

Community; it aimed to increase economic expansion, employment growth, and improve standards of living after World War II.[23]

The European Union's milestone was The Maastricht Treaty. With this treaty, the Union's rules for the future currency, foreign and security policy, and cooperation principles were determined. Under the treaty, the body's name was changed and it is now called the "European Union".

The Mediterranean Sea region countries that were located in Europe attended the Union in different years. Greece joined in 1981, Spain in 1986, Slovenia, Malta and Cyprus in 2004, and Croatia became the 28th EU country in 2013.[24]

Meanwhile, France has traditionally and politically been a great regional power in the Mediterranean Sea region, and it has influenced the history of the North African countries that were located in the region.

France had colonized three Maghreb countries: Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, but its involvement in the region after the late-1950s is not directly related to its own primary political goals.

The sub-region of Maghreb is located in North Africa and is considered the most western part of the Arab world. It shares close geographical proximity with Europe and has a common history with them.

The central Maghreb area comprises Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Libya and Mauritania, which also links the region to Sub-Saharan Africa.

Despite its strong ties with Europe, the Maghreb has also the same cultural, linguistic and social background as other Arab countries; the Arabic language and the religion of Islam are two common elements[25] (Planet Contreras, 2007).

French troops landed in Algeria in 1827, which began the process of colonization, and it was also the beginning of France's control over the entire Maghreb region. After France's conquest of Algeria, the imperialist movement

[23] Pederson, Nicholas. 2000. "French Colonialism in Africa Post-WWII." The French Desire for Uranium, http://www.acdis.uiuc.edu/Research/OPs/Pederson/html/cover.html (accessed September 26, 2017).
[24] EU official website: http://www.euintheus.org/who-we-are/timeline/ (accessed September 26, 2017)
[25] Contreras, A. I. (2008). Recent History of the Maghreb: A Sociological Approach. University of Alicante: Spain.

started and continued well into the 20th century, not ending until after World War II.

In 1956, The Battle of Algiers began and the chaos erupted into violence. The French government's failure to suppress the revolution storms for eight bloody years caused the French government to declare a cease-fire, and an independence referendum was held in 1962 in Algeria.

A group of French settlers colonized Tunisia in the late of 1880. They began their business activities and exerted Western influence. However, the traditional Tunisian leader was still considered the country's nominal ruler. In 1878, during the Berlin Congress, the participants decide to give Tunisia to France.[26]

For more than seven decades, Tunisia was colonized by France. It had negative feelings against the French authorities, and eventually Tunisia gained its independence in 1956.

In 1860, the Moroccans and Spanish fought and then signed a peace treaty. However, in the early 1900s, the two Moroccan crises arose and they were solved in 1912 after signing an agreement for Morocco to become a French Protectorate.

Thus, Morocco was divided into different zones: French Morocco, the international zone, a southern protectorate of Morocco and the Spanish protectorate of Morocco.

During the 1940s, a nationalist movement emerged that caused them to gain control in 1956, so the French protectorate of Morocco became independent.

Western countries, such as Great Britain, adopted a way to implant their influence into their colony to create a relatively autonomous but productive territory. However, France used its power to assimilate these folks[27] (Tarwater, 2005).

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[26] Burke, E. (1998). "Theorizing the Histories of Colonialism and Nationalism in the Arab Maghrib – Beyond Colonialism and Nationalism in North Africa." Arab Studies Quarterly (Spring).

[27] Tarwater, A. (2005). French Colonization in the Maghreb: A Central Influence in Both Regions Today. *Cultures of the Middle East,* Howard University.

France attempted to create loyalty within its colonies and shared the same ambitions about its nation as it shared with the French people. Thus, the countries colonized by France had become fully dependent on the French government.

Algeria is an example of full dependence on France during the colonization period, although Morocco and Tunisia did not match this tendency and they were autonomous colonies.[28]

However, the countries of the Maghreb, especially Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco are still influenced by France, despite nearly 50 years of independence. It appears that they cannot break all ties with the French existence and have yet to become stable, self-sufficient nations.

The Mediterranean Sea region also consists of four Middle Eastern countries: Egypt, Lebanon, Israel and Syria.

Egypt is almost 5500km (3417 miles) away from Brussels and it is more than 1500km (932 miles) away from the EU member state of Cyprus.

Additionally, Egypt is the largest Arab country and it is also located in an African continent. In modern times, it has played a central role in Middle Eastern politics with its large population, Arab boundaries, and ancient history with the region.

During the Arab Uprising, Egypt was one of the most important countries that saw mass protests to overthrow the 30-year Hosni Mubarak regime in 2011.

However, the transition period was not easy for Egypt, as it was subjected to another military coup in 2014 and the army chief, Abdul Fattah al-Sisi, became president.

According to the European Commission and the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy report (ENP Progress Report), EU and Egypt have now faced some major challenges[29] (Of et al., 2011).

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[28] Beaver, Elijah. (2001). "A brief history of Algeria." http://www3.baylor.edu/~Elijah_Beaver/algeria.htm (accessed September 26, 2017).

[29] ENP Egypt Report: http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/enp/pdf/2015/egypt-enp-report-2015_en.pdf (accessed September 26, 2017).

The report indicates that the three main problems are the fight against terrorism and Islamic radicalization, human trafficking and economic instability. Stability in Egypt can be achieved through proper economic, security and social reforms, the report adds.

Lebanon is another Middle Eastern country that shares borders with the Mediterranean Sea and was recently faced with a Syrian migration issue.

As a result of the Arab Uprising in 2011, Syrian opposition took to the streets to protest the government; unfortunately, the fights have increased day by day and Syria has been in a civil war since 2011.

Syria, another Middle Eastern country that shares a border with the Mediterranean Sea, has become a collapsed state and many Syrians have fled to neighboring countries, including Lebanon.

According to the EU migration report, many Syrian refugees are now living in Lebanon, primarily in refugee camps with terrible conditions.

Due to bad conditions, some refugees attempt to migrate illegally to Europe to build a better future, which involves a dangerous trip across the Mediterranean Sea from Turkey to Greece.[30]

Due to the Syrian migration problem, Lebanon's security situation remained highly volatile and even escalated.

Additionally, extremist groups, including Daesh from Syria, started to attack the security forces in August 2014, mainly in the northern and eastern border areas.[31]

Lebanon increased its engagement with the international community, including, UfM, EU and UNHCR to fight terrorism and to strengthen its border security.

According to the UN, about 11 million Syrians have been displaced from their homes and another 4.8 million refugees have been forced to seek safety in neighboring countries.[32]

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[30] EU official website: http://syrianrefugees.eu/ (accessed September 26, 2017).
[31] ENP Lebanon Report: http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/enp/pdf/2015/lebanon-enp-report-2015_en.pdf (accessed September 26, 2017).

There is no doubt that Syria is the most badly affected country after the Arab Uprising. In 2011, President Bashar al-Assad's government opened fire against opponents on the streets, and nationwide protests demanding President Assad's resignation soon turned into a crisis.

Opposition also began to take up arms, first to defend themselves and later to gain control from regime forces in their local areas.

Still, the ongoing Syrian civil war is the biggest conflict not only for the Mediterranean Sea Region but across the world.

The only Jewish country in the Mediterranean Sea region, Israel, has good relations with EU countries while Israel and its Arab neighbor countries have been arguing about several topics since Israel was founded in 1948.[33]

The main conflict between Israel and neighboring Arab countries is the Israel-Palestinian conflict. Since Israel declared its dependence in the Middle East, Arab countries claimed that Israel occupied Palestinian territory illegally and still continues its illegal resettlement.[34]

Additionally, the 1967 Arab-Israeli War or the Six-Day War also resulted in Israel's occupation of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, Gaza and the Syrian Golan. The main consequence of the Six-Day war was the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians and Syrians.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has caused massive human suffering and economic deprivation.

A two-state solution, which has been the normative approach for decades towards an elusive peace agreement, was recognized in 1947 under UN Resolution 181.[35]

Besides, Israel has been fighting to take control of the Mediterranean Sea border, which is rapidly becoming as volatile as its eastern cousin.

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[32] UNHCR official website: http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php (accessed September 26, 2017).
[33] European Union, (2001): "Presidency Statement at the first EU-Israel Association Committee".
[34] Bremer, J. (2001): "Israelis face Choice between a Strong Jewish Israel and Binational State", *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.*
[35] UN Resolution website: https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/7F0AF2BD897689B785256C330061D253 (accessed September 26, 2017).

Exploratory reserves of natural gas in the Mediterranean Sea near the coasts of Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey have started new conflicts between those countries. All countries have claimed the rights to drill the natural gas and the tensions over sovereignty and maritime borders have been raised.

The new security threats would only be resolved by other initiatives that could be given by Mediterranean powers; otherwise, this disagreement will be difficult to resolve.

The EU and Israel have signed the EU-Israel Association Agreement in 2000, which is the legal basis of their relationship. This primarily includes political dialogue and the strengthening of economic and social cooperation. The agreement indicates that the Israeli government will show respect for human rights and democratic principles. These are the two essential elements of the agreement.[36]

The non-EU members, Albania, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, are also located in the Mediterranean Sea region.

These Western Balkan countries have recently been faced with major illegal migrant flows that have threatened the region's stability and security in recent years.

In 2003, the Thessaloniki Summit of the EU and the Western Balkans was held.[37] The conclusion declarations stressed the membership perspective for the countries of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro.

The summit started European Partnerships to prepare the Western Balkans to join the EU in the following decade.

[36] Asseburg M., 2003: "The EU and the Middle East Conflict: Tackling the Main Obstacle to Euro-Mediterranean Partnership", *Mediterranean Politics, 8,* p.174-193.
[37] EU official website: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_PRES-03-163_en.htm (accessed September 26, 2017).

The relations between Turkey and EU begun in 1963 by signing the Ankara Agreement.[38] The first major development was spotted in 1996 after the Customs Union was entered into between Turkey and the EU, and Turkey assumed "candidate status" three years later in 1999.

The accession talks were launched in 2005. Turkey needed to imply reforms and adaptations of European standards, which includes 35 policy chapters, to gain membership.

As mentioned above, Turkey is one of the main roads for illegal immigrants to access Europe. The impact of the ongoing migrant crisis has been felt across continents, in countries such as Turkey, Lebanon, and European Union member states.

Due to the refugee crisis, the European Union and Turkey's relationship have been severely affected and Turkey's EU accession talks were also cancelled.[39]

The EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan (JAP) on refugees heightened tensions between the EU and Turkey. JAP was signed in late 2015.

According to JAP, the EU Commission pledged 3 billion Euros of financial assistance to Turkey for Syrians to receive temporary protection within Turkey.[40]

III.II Unpredictable Libya

There are some historical challenges that make Libya's political behavior unpredictable. Libya differs politically from other Maghreb and the surrounding

[38] EU official website: http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2003/december/tradoc_115266.pdf (accessed September 26, 2017).
[39] Taşpınar, Ö. (2014): "End of the Turkish Model" *Survival, Vol. 56, No. 2*, p 1-16.
[40] Turkish Foreing Ministry website: http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-the-european-union.en.mfa (accessed September 26, 2017).

countries on the Mediterranean Sea. It has practically no democratic traditions and has survived many strong autocratic rulers.[41]

Despite other Maghreb countries, Libya was colonized by Italy in 1911 and existed through 1942.

Italy, which had come to the land during the Ottoman rule in the early 20th century, conquered Libya through the Balkan Wars.

In the beginning of the Second World War, Italy was losing dominance in the region and eventually gave its place to the allied forces.

The allied forces continued to rule the country between 1945-1951, and Libya declared its independence under the leadership of King Idris, a Senusian leader.[42]

Through this entire process, Libya has been economically enriched with oil in the north of the country, which was a landmark for the country's future. With the discovery of oil in Libya in 1959, a very poor desert country became a very rich western protectorate.

After oil was discovered in Libya, King ldris of the Senussi tribe allowed most of the oil profits. Due to unfair distribution of income from the oil profits, the Libyan people started an uprising against King Idris' regime during the late 1960s.

The anti-Italian riots, World War II, international pressures during the Cold War, and complex relationships with Arab and African neighbors have developed a new era in Libya.[43]

However, the Libyan army, led by young Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, made a military coup and overthrew the Idris's government while he was in was in Turkey for medical treatment in 1969.[44]

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[41] EEAS official website: EU Border Assistance Mission (EUBAM) in Libya. Fact Sheet. http://www.eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions_operations/eubam-libya/eubam_factsheet_en.pdf (accessed September 26, 2017)

[42] Gaub, F., 2013: "Libya: the struggle for security", *European Union Institute for Security Studies, 2013*, p.1-4

[43] Vandewalle, D. (2012). A history of modern Libya. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[44] Lobban Jr. R., Dalton C., (2014). "Libya: History and Revolution", *Praeger Security International,* p 1-56.

During King Idris era, United States and European companies shared huge stakes in the extremely lucrative petroleum and banking sectors, but Gaddafi immediately nationalized all companies and oil wells. Muammar al-Gaddafi seized important government institutions in the eastern city of Benghazi and abolished the Libyan monarchy inside the country on September 1969.[45]

Gaddafi and other coup plotters did not face strong resistance, and this allowed them to gain control of all the state institutions.

The leadership of the Movement, known as the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), established a powerful authority and governed the activities of a new cabinet.

The RCC also affirmed Libya's Arab and Islamic identity and renamed the country as "The Libyan Arab Republic". The RCC declared that Gaddafi would serve as commander in chief of Libya's armed forces.

Gaddafi and other RCC members were supporters of pan-Arabist and socialist ideologies. Besides, The United States did not oppose the 1969 coup because RCC declared that they were anti-Soviet and held a reformist platform.

However, Gaddafi immediately nationalized all companies and oil wells. This decision was not approved by the country's western allies and Libya soon became another U.S. 'enemy' or 'rogue' state that sought autonomy and self-determination.

Libya took a chance on its previous vision of supporting Islamic states and turned its attention to Africa during the 1970s. In particular, Gaddafi sent humanitarian aid to many countries in the south part of Africa to establish warm relations with them.[46]

After the 1980s, relations between Libya and the U.S. were tenser than before, and the Gaddafi regime was unable to prevent the U.S. air strikes in 1986. This attack made the two countries relations even worse.[47]

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[45] Paoletti E., (2011). "Libya: Roots of a Civil Conflict", *Mediterranean Politics, vol. 16, no.2,* p. 313-319.
[46] Ogunbadejo, O., (1983): "Gaddafi's North African design", *International Security, Vol. 8, No. 1, MIT Press Journals,* pp. 154-178.
[47] St John, R. B., (1987): "Qaddafi's World Design: Libyan Foreign Policy 1969-1987, Saqi book.

The second big incident between Libya and the U.S. happened in 1988; a plane crash occurred in the U.S. town of Lockerbie.

The incident was a milestone for Libya, and Western countries began to apply economic and military sanctions against Libya and its economy, which depends heavily on oil for success. 80% of its exports were badly affected.

However, in the late-1990s, Gaddafi and other state leaders took little steps towards reconciliation. The new policies they developed worked quite well, and in 2006, sanctions were lifted and Libya started to improve relations with the western countries.[48]

However, the new resistance wave erupted in a Benghazi police situation after the arrest of a prominent government critic, human rights activist and lawyer in 2011.

The Arab Uprising affected Libyan people who were under a strict regime for almost 40 years.[49]

Many people saw this arrest as a starting point, and more than one thousand people took part in the overnight protests, which were forcefully quashed by security forces, allegedly killing dozens of people.[50]

In addition to this, Gaddafi's opponents had existed before the Arab Uprising. From time to time, they tried to hold small street demonstrations but were often under heavy pressure. At this point, the 42-year-old power-struggle brought an end to the Gaddafi administration.

When the regime wanted to suppress the demonstration using force, the people organized a "Day of Anger" on February 17, 2011, and it was the turning point of an anti-regime revolt in Libya.

The civil war started after the "Day of Anger", and Gaddafi lost control in Benghazi. After this point, Gaddafi did not successfully maintain control over the

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[48] Phillips, J. A., (1984): "Moscow's thriving Libyan connection", http://www.heritage.org/research/MiddleEast/bg362.cfm, pp. 1-12, (accessed September 26, 2017)

[49] Hilsum, L. (2012). Sandstorm: Libya in the time of revolution. London: Penguin Press.

[50] Massad, J. (2011). Arab revolts, past & present. Al-Jazeera English, http://aljazeerait.net/indepth/opinion/2011/11/201111181025921594O.html (accessed September 26, 2017)

country's important regions when strong tribes raised their voices against him.[51]

In addition, a new umbrella organization that was formed by all opponents emerged in order to help the opponents coordinate their efforts. It was called The International Transition Council (ITC), and it was officially established on February 27, 2011.

Even though the opposing forces gained some important cities from Gaddafi, they did not succeed entirely against the regime forces and Gaddafi reclaimed those regions with his military and weapon advantage.[52]

Due the seriousness of security and stabilization concerns in Libya, the United Nations Security Council voted to impose a no-fly zone over Libya after a long debate on March 19, 2011.

Gaddafi did not give up his power and threatened the UN by saying: "We will find you in your closets. We will have no mercy and no pity."[53] The resolution called for international military action to protect civilians, enforced primarily by NATO. On October 20, 2011, Gaddafi was captured and killed by rebel fighters in the city of Sirte.[54]

Despite all of the revolts and conflicts, Libya still has two different governments and it is now even harder to establish the country's stability in the post-Gaddafi era.

Since the toppling of Gaddafi, Libya has been divided into two rival governments and dominated by dozens of armed militias.

The country is not any closer to making permanent reconciliation or national reconciliation and economic stability.[55]

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[51] Masalha, S. (2011). Recent revolutions are neither Arab nor spring. Haaretz, http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/opinion/recent-revolutionsare-neither-arab-nor-spring-1.399552 (accessed September 26, 2017).

[52] BBC News, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12477275 (accessed September 26, 2017)

[53] Reuters, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-idUSTRE7270JP20110317), (accessed September 26, 2017)

[54] FRANCE 24, http://www.france24.com/en/20110216-libya-violent-protests-rock-benghazi-anti-government-gaddafi-egypt-tunisia-demonstration (accessed September 26, 2017)

[55] Al- Monitor, http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/06/libya-new-un-envoy-mission-mistakes-peace.html#ixzz4liWAg6gz (accessed September 26, 2017)

At the moment, Libya has three different governments. The last established one, The Presidential Council, was founded in March 2016 and initiated by the United Nations that is based in Tripoli and headed by Fayez al-Sarraj.

The umbrella group that has been officially recognizing many Western countries, including the U.S. and U.K, held the country's governmental bodies with a base in Tobruk.[56]

However, since 2014, another rival government emerged in Tripoli.

Just one year later, in December 2015, Libya's two rival governments signed a UN-backed deal to rebuild a unity government in Morocco, but majority members in both parliaments did not back the resolution and the country now has three governments.[57]

A month later, the new UN-backed national government announced that they will continue their parliamentary process, even though Libya's two parliaments have not signed on.

[56] BBC News, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-24472322, (accessed September 26, 2017)
[57] UN News Centre, (2015). "UN welcomes 'historic' signing of Libyan Political Agreement". http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=52845&Kw1=Libyan+Political+Agreement&Kw2=&Kw3=#.WcocbhO0PeR (accessed September 26, 2017)

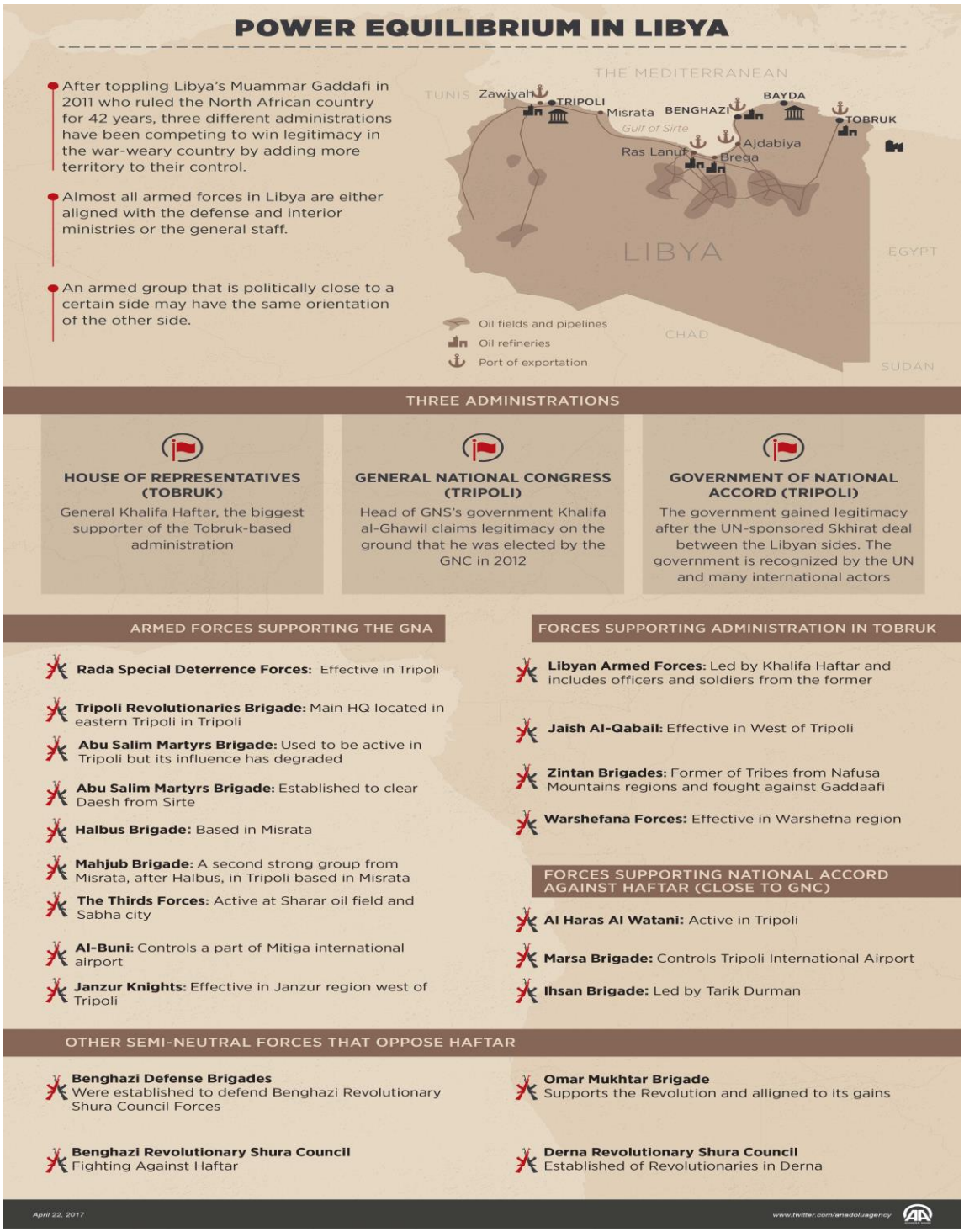


Figure III.I Power Equilibrium in Libya[58]

[58]Anadolu Agency, http://aa.com.tr/en/info/infografik/5738 (accessed September 26, 2017)

III.III. Libya: Failed States, Security Crisis

Gaddafi's 42-year dictatorship started Libya's spiral into a failing state, and after his era, Libya became a collapsed state with three different governments.

Overall, vulnerability to political violence, delegitimization of state, group grievances and economic decline badly affect the Mediterranean Sea regional security.

Libya can be described as a state failure in the post-Gaddafi era. According to Robert Rotberg, demolishing authority completely within the state can lead the state's vanishing, including geographical disappearance, and it is possibly the next step for failed states.[59]

Libya's direction, which fits Rotberg's definition, does not look positive as it is now faced with state collapse. When dealing with state failure or collapse, internal and external factors emerge for consideration.

Societal instability and institutional inability are two significant factors for the internal dimension, while the external dimension reflects spreading security threats to neighboring states.[60]

According to IndexMundi[61], which is a data portal to gather a country's facts and statistics from multiple sources, Libya's economy is almost entirely dependent on oil and gas exports.

The conflict between the two governments arose in 2015, and both rival forces tried to control the country's largest oil terminals, which decreased Libyan crude oil production. It is accurate to say that oil feeds the Libyan people, and it is the only resource that can keep the country united and stable.

Considering these circumstances in the country, Libya as a failed state poses a security threat in the region. There is a serious security threat in the Mediterranean Sea region because Libya's only resource, oil reserves, is

[59] Rotberg, R. (2002). The New Nature of Nation-State Failure. *Washington Quarterly, 25*, p. 85.
[60] Hamchi, M. Libya as a Collapsed State and Security in the Sahel: More Fuel to the Fire? University of Oum El Bouaghi.
[61] IndexMundi website: http://www.indexmundi.com/libya/background.html (accessed September 26, 2017)

competing and non-stabilizing, posing internal and external threats in the post-Gaddafi era.[62]

It appears that Libya's security problem is confusing, not only for Libya's future, but also at a regional level. As a failed state, Libya has become a strategically important part of the world for criminals. The country is the crossroads between Europe, Africa and the Middle East, with a coastline 1,770 km (1100 miles) long.

However, Libya cannot control its costs and patrol its borders in recent times. During the Gaddafi era, Libya was effectively a police state and the regime suppressed all opponents by using indefinite detention: torture. This immoral behavior was at least an efficient deterrent to many destabilizing plans.

There is no doubt that Gaddafi was an unpredictable dictator, but his boundary and kinship belonged to his own soil. He knew his country's and neighbor countries tendencies and regional dynamics, and he brought authoritative power to the complex environment of North Africa.[63]

The opponents did not suggest an effective leader when the Day of Anger was started in 2011. Therefore, Gaddafi's death left a chaotic hole within a very volatile region. The citizens also did not know how to act as free people without suppression from authorities. Thus, the only action that they knew was to gain control over the entire state.

Since 2011, the Mediterranean Sea region was subjected to very challenging and dangerous periods. The big area that was struggling for stability became overrun by uprisings, terrorist groups and smuggling networks.

The Arab Uprising has negatively affected the North African countries, which was worsened by the former weak regimes and political upheaval.[64]

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[62] Ahmida, A.A. (1994). The making of modern Libya: State formation, colonization, and resistance, 1830-1932. *New York: SUNY Press.*

[63] Khoury, P. S., Kostiner J. (1990) Tribe and state: Libyan anomalies.
(Eds), Tribes and state formation in the Middle East, Berkeley:
University of California Press, p. 288–302.

[64] Gaub, F. (2013). Libya: The Struggle For Security. *European Union Institute for Security Studies, 25*(24).

III.IV. Daesh in Libya

"Probably failing to plan for the day after, what I think was the right thing to do, in intervening in Libya", former U.S. President Barack Obama shared one thing he regretted about his presidency terms.[65]

During Gaddafi's strict regime, the leaders of Libya's three key Islamist movements, including the Muslim Brotherhood, the Salafists and the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, agreed in 2006 to abandon violent opposition to Gaddafi in return for their survival.

As a result, Islamist fronts and jihadist militias were initially slow to attend the uprisings in 2011. However, when they did join in, they all claimed their own leadership.

As U.S. former President Barack Obama mentioned, after Gaddafi was overthrown, neither international actors nor other states were prepared for Libya's complicated Islamist fronts and different tribes.

The outbreak of the Arab Spring in Libya and military interventions enabled extremist movements to carry forth attacks to gain control. The chaos led to the emergence of historical ethnic divisions, tribal conflicts, and confrontation between two opposed governments claiming to rule the country.[66]

Thus, Daesh found fertile ground to enter into ongoing conflict as a third actor and gained control over the Libyan city of Sirte.[67]

Despite Daesh partially being evicted from Sirte in the beginning of this year, the city's future remains uncertain. The city is surrounded by oil-rich facilities and Daesh still holds them. As mentioned before, oil is Libya's only resource and the economy depends on it.

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[65] BBC News, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-36013703 (accessed September 26, 2017)

[66] http://eyeonisisinlibya.com/isis-in-action/action-3-november-2014/ (accessed September 26,2017)

[67] Associated Press. http://bigstory.ap.org/article/195a7ffb0090444785eb814a5bda28c7/how-libyan-city-joined-islamic-state-group (accessed September 26, 2017)

Therefore, controlling the oil-rich region provides a valuable political advantage. This oil reaches facilities that are now managed by Daesh, and they are a strategic frontline between rival political factions in the country.

As a regional approach, Libya is located between North Africa and Europe and has easy access to both zones. The political turmoil in Libya badly affects Mediterranean Sea countries on the subject of security, economically and politically.

At the same time, essential parts of the Mediterranean Sea region security dilemma are connected to Libya's internal and external instability.

The primary threats against establishing a stable environment in the Mediterranean Sea region are Post-Arab Uprising trauma, political instability as a failed state, struggles for power among jihadi groups, failed estimations of the political environment after Gaddafi, and control over oil reserve facilities.[68]

To sum up, the Mediterranean Sea countries should rethink these ongoing problems in the region as they consider what is taking place in Libya.

[68] Gulf News, http://gulfnews.com/news/mena/libya/key-facts-about-daesh-in-libya-1.1942949 (accessed September 26, 2017)

IV. THE UNION for MEDITERRANEAN (UfM)- A FORMULA OF REGIONAL COOPERATION

IV.I. Background

The importance of establishing stabilization in the Mediterranean Sea region by far transcends the interests of European states and their Mediterranean partners.

The convergence of stability across the Mediterranean Sea has become a critical issue of global security in dealing with the challenges of a post-Arab Uprising.

The European Union power plays a major role in the creation of security communities in the Mediterranean Sea region.[69]

According to Emanuel Adler, one state's security cannot be recognized from other states that are located in same region.[70] Adler adds that cooperative security is based on confidence and cooperation, the peaceful resolution of disputes, and mutual agreement to reinforce multilateral institutions.

The EU has adopted this model of security and constituted the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) and Barcelona Process in 1995.

Thus, the development of security communities requires collective understanding, collective projects and common institutions. The multidimensional nature of cooperation includes politics, security, culture and human affairs created by the Partnership Project in order to make the Mediterranean Sea region stabilized politically, socially and culturally. The

[69] European Commission. (2008). ''Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council 'Barcelona Process: Union for the Mediterranean', Brussels: Commission of the European Communities".

[70] Adler, E. (1998). Seeds of Peaceful Change: The OSCE Security Community- Building Model. Cambridge University Press.

Partnership aimed to build a zone of prosperity, stability and peaceful relations between the partners.[71]

To achieve this goal, the European Union created the Med-partners to respect norms and practices needed to achieve economic growth, political stability and peaceful conflict resolution.

IV.II. Barcelona Process

The negotiations started on October 30, 1991 during the Peace Conference in Madrid to complete the Madrid Framework for bilateral and multilateral negotiating tracks.

The first result came just one month after, and the first-ever direct talks between Israel and their immediate Arab neighbors occurred on November 3, 1991.

The first Arab-Israel negotiations focused on arms control, refugees and economic development, as those are the key issues for the Middle Eastern and North African countries.[72]

As a result of these milestone talks for the region, the first Euro-Mediterranean Conference of Foreign Ministers of the future EMP states was held in Barcelona in November 1995.

The Euro-Mediterranean Conference of Foreign Ministers strongly underlined the starting point of the Euro-Mediterranean Sea Region Partnership (EMP).

During the Conference, the participant countries decided to redefine a common area for peace and stability through political and security dialogue in the region.[73]

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[71] Nadal M. (2003).“The Barcelona Process: Background and Vision,” *Euro-Mediterranean Security and the Barcelona Process Strategic Yearbook*, Swedish National Defense College, p.19–27.

[72] Veit W. (2003) “A European Perspective for Israel: A Key to Solving the Middle East Conflict” *Herzliya, Israel: Friedrich Ebert Foundation,* p.11.

[73] Yenel S. (2002) “Creating a More Viable Mediterranean: Regional Efforts, Difficulties in Cooperation and Future Prospects”, *13th Euro-Mediterranean Seminar, MEDAC, Malta.*

The countries stressed the importance of economic and financial partnership and the gradual establishment of a free-trade area as well as the rapprochement between different, diverse communities to encourage understanding between cultures and exchanges between civil societies[74] (Horizon, 2020; Bulletin, 2005).

As a result of the conference, EMP was composed of EU member states and ten Mediterranean Partners, including Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia and Turkey.

The EMP was designed as the Mediterranean region-specific program of the broader European Neighborhood Policy (ENP). The EMP was mainly based on political, economic and cultural integration between EU and Mediterranean Sea countries.

The EMP or Barcelona Declaration was comprised of three chapters, including political and security, economic and financial, and social, cultural and human affairs. The declaration aimed to establish peace and security, create shared prosperity and develop understanding between cultures.

Meanwhile, the declaration could be a solution for the security dilemma in the region that witnessed several severe conflicts, including Israel-Arab, Libya, civil wars, nondemocratic governments, and ethnic conflicts.[75]

On the issue of political and security partnerships, the EMP stressed an immediate need for enhanced political dialogue, progressive development of partnership-building measures, peaceful relations between neighboring countries, implementing rule of law and strengthening cooperation against terrorism in the region and regional cooperation.

[74] European Commission website: enb.iisd.org/download/pdf/sd/ymbvol120num1e.pdf (accessed September 26, 2017)
[75] Gabriel S. (2002) "The Middle East: Partner for Europe" Herzliya, Israel: Friedrich Ebert Foundation, p. 18- 19.

IV.III. Reestablishment of Union for Mediterranean

The Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) was created on the 13th of July, 2008 at the Paris Summit for the Mediterranean.[76]

The 43 Euro-Mediterranean Heads of State and Government launched the new structure as a continuation of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (Euro-Med), also known as the Barcelona Process, which was established in 1995.

UfM Heads of State and Government organized The Secretariat of the Union for the Mediterranean on November 4th, 2008 in Marseille, France.

Senior Officials of the UfM Member States adopted The UfM Secretariat's Statutes on March 3rd, 2010. The UfM heads and the Spanish government signed another agreement to place a UfM headquarters in Spain, and the government guaranteed the Secretariat that they would receive the privileges and immunities of an international organization under Spanish law.

The UfM framework, which is considered the next step of the Barcelona Declaration, includes political, economic and social relations between the European Union and the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries. The UfM's main goal is to create an area of peace, stability, security, shared economic prosperity, and full respect for democratic principles and fundamental freedoms.[77]

In explaining why the EU's outcome-oriented evaluations fail most of the time, Mathias Albert and Thomas Diez discussed how the EU is not a singular, holistic actor, but rather a combined set of actors within an institutional and discursive framework (Diez et al., 2008).

However, according to the European Council's Action Plan for Civilian Aspects of ESDP, which was published in 2004, the EU says that they are ready to share

[76] EU official website: https://ec.europa.eu/research/iscp/pdf/policy/paris_declaration.pdf (accessed September 2017)
[77] UfM Official website: http://ufmsecretariat.org/history/ (accessed September 26, 2017)

responsibility for global security ("European Council's Action Plan for Civilian Aspects of ESDP", 2017).

According to Albert and Diez, the EU cannot be a successful global actor; in order to achieve the desired results, the EU should urgently fix the weaknesses of its non-singular structure. Despite this discouraging statement, the EU has the potential to make a constructive contribution to the problematic structure that has failed to produce results by the UfM.

The fact that the UfM is focused on tangible projects can lead to the achievement of the desired results, such as sustainable development, combating climate change, renewable energy, eliminating conflicts and dominating tolerance.

Therefore, the UfM suggests that concrete projects will be a good fit for people in the Mediterranean region. Moreover, the concrete results of tangible projects will contribute to the perception of the EU as a global actor.

The most important precondition for making this potential real is that the member states support the institutional and discursive framework of the EU with the belief that there is no "acceptable alternative" (Turner, 2010, p. 181).

IV.IV. UfM Projects

According to EU's Employability in the Mediterranean Region Project, the region's youth unemployment rate is 25%, which is the highest average rate of youth unemployment in the world.[78]

Within this context, the Secretariat of the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) has been conducting specific projects and initiatives. The UfM's project areas are categorized into six different subjects: Business Development, Transport and

[78] European Union Agency of The European Training Foundation Youth Employment Report, http://www.etf.europa.eu/webatt.nsf/0/5549444CC756B126C1257C2100341361/$file/Youth%20employment_EN.pdf (accessed September 26, 2017)

Urban Development, Energy and Climate Action, Water and Environment, Higher Education and Research, and Social and Civil Affairs.[79]

The Business Development projects are mainly focused on youth and women to encourage women's socio-economic empowerment and to enhance youth employability.

The projects give priority to micro, small and medium enterprises for innovation and economic growth in the Mediterranean region.

The Mediterranean Region is surrounded by the sea that is used as one of the main maritime routes for shipping, commerce and exchange all over the world. The UfM concluded that its projects on Transport and Urban Development could lead to safe access of goods and people over land and sea. Through the Mediterranean Sea, the neighboring countries can improve their relations and enhance regional trade. As a result, the prosperity and development of the region will be boosted.

The Secretariat of the Union for the Mediterranean has implemented construction of motorways projects and begun the modernization of railway systems to develop logistic platforms and motorways in the region.[80]

Regarding Energy and Climate Action, The Union for the Mediterranean determined that the secretariat members have been facing climate challenges and energy desire.

The Mediterranean Sea region's countries have natural oil resources; however, this resource needs to be promoted. With some concrete projects, the region countries have now gained opportunities to promote energy cooperation and fight against climate change in order to reduce energy vulnerabilities.[81]

The lack of water resources is another major problem for the region. According to the UfM, the Mediterranean region now faces environmental threats, including water scarcity and droughts.

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[79] The UfM Secretariat 2016 Annual Report, http://ufmsecretariat.org/ufm-annual-report-2016/ (accessed September 26, 2017)
[80] UfM official website, http://ufmsecretariat.org/transport-urban-development/ (accessed September 26, 2017)
[81] UfM official website, http://ufmsecretariat.org/energy-and-climate-action/ (accessed September 26, 2017)

Based on this point of view, The Secretariat of the Union for the Mediterranean tried to develop a major impact project, which is named "The protection of the marine environment".[82]

Based on chapter three, The Mediterranean Sea region countries have been facing a lack of education during civil wars and an unstable political climate since the mid-1950's. Due to political instability, many poor families cannot provide education to their children.

The Secretariat of the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) contributes to the project of Euro-Mediterranean Higher Education and Research Area, as higher education and research are the most important keys for enhancing stability, development and creating a brilliant future the region.[83]

The last project area is Social and Civil Affairs, and the UfM works closely to respond to social and economic development for the region with its projects to promote human progress. The main goal is to establish youth employability in order to meet both labor group and employer demand.

Due to this aim, the UfM Social and Civil Affairs projects give resources to women as well as youth to provide gender equality and to build a fair society.[84]

However, the UfM needs to find an effective way to reach a consensus between countries with so many different interests.

Besides, the three main goals of the new entity of UfM are promoting peace, stability and prosperity throughout the Mediterranean region.

The three main pillars can be summarized as boosting equality among the members, developing effective joint action, and adopting an intergovernmental approach. These actions are based on political realism and focus on well-planned economic and social projects, which are expected to strengthen political dialogue and promote political cooperation across the region.

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[82] UfM official website, http://ufmsecretariat.org/water-environment/ (accessed September 26, 2017)

[83] UfM official website: http://ufmsecretariat.org/higher-education-research/ (accessed September 26, 2017)

[84] UfM official website: http://ufmsecretariat.org/social-civil-affairs/ (accessed September 26, 2017)

European financial crises and the Arab Uprising badly affected the results of UfM operations, which have yet to create the desired outcomes.

On the other hand, the intentions behind creating the UfM were positive, and it still attempts to develop a high-level partnership between North Africa, the Middle East and Europe.

As a result of these outcomes from the UfM, the membership countries should work more closely with the initiatives that were already planned and they should refrain from alienating Libya, which will cause more security dilemmas in the region and raise more questions for its future prospects.

IV.V. Going Ahead

Further developments of the UfM seem to play a key role in adjusting both fronts of this process for the Mediterranean Sea countries and Libya. This process should only continue in order to guarantee rational use of political and security assistance, and it should involve a border security dimension, including border protections.[85]

The primary goal of the UfM is to establish political stabilization and solve ongoing problems between Mediterranean Sea states, which can help promote democracy, stability, and cooperation across the Mediterranean Sea region.

There are two ways to further develop the UfM. First, the UfM should focus on regional security by implementing the Barcelona Process and reaccepting the EMP agreement to strengthen the regional security and defeat radicalization. Second, the UfM is also a forum for political consultation with the goal of elaborating common understanding about various defense related issues.

However, the UfM initiative also represents a positive example of cooperative efforts on migration, money laundering, organized crime, and security that

[85] Seeberg P. (2010). Union for the Mediterranean— Pragmatic Multilateralism and the Depoliticization of EU-Middle Eastern Relations, *Middle East Critique Vol. 19, No. 3,* p.287–302.

brings countries with different institutional backgrounds together in creating a stable security environment in the region.

Additionally, the program fits the political needs of the modern era described in the first and second chapters. If there is a concern about security in the Mediterranean Sea region, this may solve the respective security dilemma.

V. CONCLUSION

The analysis indicates that security cooperation could play a significant role in avoiding future security dilemmas. The purpose of regional comprehensive cooperation is, first, to establish a stable security environment and, second, to build up effective cooperative arrangements. The post-Arab Uprising security dilemmas in the Mediterranean Sea region are greatly related to the security environment since the Arab Uprising. There are three main security concerns in the Mediterranean Sea region.

First, European and Arab security cultures are very different, and strong cultural, linguistic and religious factors are related to the Middle Eastern and North African Arab people across state borders. However, these differences do not match European security approaches.

Second, instability in Libya is probably one of the biggest security concerns in the region. Compared the Syria, Libya is not as chaotic, but if democracy and a united government allow Libya to become a more stable country, a second civil war disaster could be avoided.

Third, radical terrorism in Daesh targets the international community, which is related to present and future geopolitical order and the security of the West. The military capacities of Daesh are a big threat to the survival of the open and democratic model of our society.

Escaping from the security dilemma depends on the successful planning and development of diverse security arrangements in the Mediterranean Sea region.

This thesis analyzed a specific framework that offers opportunities to promote collective and comprehensive arrangements.

The initiative started with the Barcelona process in 1995 and then continued in the Union for Mediterranean secretariat in 2008. The UfM has now 28 EU Member States, the European Commission and 15 Mediterranean countries. The senior officials of the UfM also called League of Arab States to participate in meetings.

In recent years, various comprehensive cooperation agreements have developed in the Mediterranean Sea region. Besides the regional cooperation of the African Union, Arab League, and bilateral agreements, new multilateral cooperative or security arrangements have emerged.

The development of special programs aim to guarantee the security of the Mediterranean Sea region states. The UfM's different projects supplement these efforts with a security policy dimension and help to coordinate multinational cooperation. These efforts protect security, boost defense and ensure stabilization in the Mediterranean Sea region.

Cooperative security dilemmas in the region need a strong solution through a stable security environment. The security dilemma can also be overcome by strengthening collective and cooperative security arrangements. Each Mediterranean Sea country's security is dependent on the security of others. Therefore, security is a sum of the concerns of all the Mediterranean Sea countries and no country should be alienated, including Libya. If any state considers itself to be isolated and destabilized, instability in the region increases.

All countries in the region, except Libya and Syria, can be considered independent states and they can survive with their current situations. The European Union is one of the most powerful guarantors of democracy and regional peace. Therefore, if the spread of democratic institutions to the countries of the Mediterranean Sea region is stopped, it could cause other states to collapse or fail. Thus, the excluded states from the UfM could create more insecurity across the region.

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