

EGYIPTOM BIZTONSÁGPOLITIKAI HELYZETE AZ “ARAB TAVASZ” FÉNYÉBEN A MAGYAR KÜLPOLITIKÁRA GYAKOROLT HATÁSÁT TEKINTVE

EGYPT'S SECURITY SITUATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE “ARAB SPRING” AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE HUNGARIAN FOREIGN POLICY

SZABÓ ZSOLT¹

ABSZTRAKT

A modernkori Egyiptom jelenlegi politikai légkörét törékenynek lehetne nevezni. A regionálisan és történelmileg is fontos észak-afrikai régiót ma társadalmi, gazdasági és biztonságpolitikai kérdések határozzák meg, amelyek az úgynevezett “Arab Tavaszban” gyökereznek. A 2011-ben jelenleg is zajló tüntetések, amelyek 2011-ben komoly változásokat kreáltak a kormányban és igazi egységet hoztak létre a civil lakosságban, azonban atrocitásokat is szültek a pártokban, a katonaságnál, a polgárok között, a civil szervezetek és a vallások között. Alábbi tanulmányomban azt szeretném kifejtetni, hogy a tüntetések eleinte demokratikus jellegűek voltak, majd iszlamista irányt vettek, ahogy a történések alatt a Muszlim Testvériség (MT) élt az adódó lehetőséggel, azonban végül a hadsereg tábornoka, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi átvette a hatalmat a Testvériség meggyengült uralma felett, és represszív intézkedéseket vezetett be, hogy megerősítsék vezető szerepüket. Írásomban igyekszem mind regionális, mind nemzetközi szempontból áttekíteni a helyzetet, mivel Egyiptom fontos ország a világ nagyhatalmai számára, amelyek szeretnék bebiztosítani érdekeiket a régióban.

Kulcsszavak: Egyiptom, iszlamizmus, biztonságpolitika, katonaság, Magyarország

¹ zsolt.sza86@gmail.com | ORCID: 0000-0002-6226-2626 | doktorandusz, Eszterházy Károly Egyetem Történelemtudományi Doktori Iskola

ABSTRACT

The political environment in contemporary Egypt can be called fragile at the moment. The regionally and historically important country of the North African region is defined today by social, economic, religious and security issues that originated in the so called "Arab Spring". The still ongoing demonstrations that started in 2011 created major shifts in the government and produced significant unity among the civilians, but it also caused atrocities between parties, the military, islamists, civil organizations and religions. In this article, I would like to conclude that at the beginning, the rallies were of democratic nature, then they took an islamist turn, as the Muslim Brotherhood² (MB) grabbed the opportunity during the movement, but finally the army and general Abdel Fattah el-Sisi took over the Brotherhood's weakened political rule, and established repressive measures to ensure its power. I will try to assess the question from both regional and international sides, since Egypt is an important county for the global powers, which would like to secure their interest in the region.

Keywords: Egypt, islamism, security, military, Hungary

INTRODUCTION

The so called "Arab Spring"³ started in Tunisia with Mohamed Bouazizi's tragic suicide. After the death of the Tunisian vendor and the country's demonstrations Egypt was second in place to witness such a turmoil. The country was baffled at such an overwhelming event, and the government – led by Hosni Mubarak – had to pull itself together before it could react to the situation. In Besnyő's opinion the state's incompetence, corruption and instability led to the recent revolution (2011:59).

The protesters gathered at the famous Tahrir Square in Cairo: they all wanted democratic rights, social-economic reforms, free society and press and equal human rights. Besenyő (2011:59) thinks that the "Arab Spring" took the Egyptian government and the international community by surprise and at first it was a popular movement in which no anti-Western chants were present. Interestingly the Muslim Brotherhood and other movements at first didn't realize the significance of the demonstrations, thus the events could be formed by the civil society. N. Rózsa (2015:124) regards the initial protests in general real democratic changes. As Besenyő and Miletics puts it (2014:190) at the beginning, the whole

² The Muslim Brotherhood is an Egyptian organization, which was founded by Hassan al-Banna in 1929. The Brotherhood has a mainly islamist program, and it started as a social and political movement. It has a lot of supporters in the country. It built mosques and social institutions. Its aim is to promote the Islam as a social and political entity, and achieve political power, which they did in 2012. It has also got a military, more radical wing, which seperated after a time, and has committed a series of attacks on important personalities in Egypt (for example on October 1981 the assassination of President Anwar el-Sadat).

³ The so-called „Arab Spring” is a new movement in the MENA region. It began in 2011 and it is still ongoing. It started as a democratic movement, but there are a lot of opinions about the nature of the demonstrations and the surrounding events. Almost all MENA-countries were affected by its overwhelming effects. It is not yet understandable how will the events turn out.

scenario had a pluralist outlook and an outsider could perceive that a democratic governmental change is to be brought about.

Because of the turmoil the military had to intervene to stabilize the uprisings. Nevertheless in February 2011 after some resistance president Mubarak stepped down from office and a transitional government was formed by the army's representative organization, the SCAF (Supreme Court of Armed Forces). The SCAF organized new elections, and in 2012 the Islamist Muslim Brotherhood had won majority of the votes.

The politically and socially embedded organization had long yearned for political power, but it could never reach it due to its controversial teachings of Islam. The Muslim Brotherhood, and its leader, Dr. Mohamed Morsi were initially supported by the Egyptian people. In the opinion of Besenyő and Miletics (2014:232), after a time it introduced several harsh laws that afflicted the population, and they lost their sympathy because of their failure to govern and their greed for power.

In July, 2013, after a series of protests the army took over, and established a more pragmatic and secular government. However, according to an article of the Reuters newspaper (2018) it had also problems in dealing with the country's issues and introduced repressive measures against its opponents, which led to demonstrations organized by the social media. Tálas and Varga (2012) evaluates that El-Sisi's government is yet to restore Egypt's traditional regional leading role that is beneficiary to the global powers: the United States, Russia and China, which want to strengthen their influence in the region. As Af-tadilian (2017:25) puts it, its role as a mediator between Arab countries could again become reality if it could overcome its recent restrictive politics, economic problems, and with the help of global powers in the fight against terror it could regain its past position as the leading Arab country.

It is also worth to mention – according to the program of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2011:44) – that the Hungarian foreign and security policy is also affected by the ongoing events and the stability of the MENA countries is of great importance to the Hungarian Government and the new "Southern Opening" policies, which articulates the Hungarian role in the regions stabilization.

EGYPT AND THE "ARAB SPRING"

Egypt witnessed a series of unprecedented demonstrations in the winter of 2011. The demonstration started after a Tunisian worker, Mohamed Bouazizi set himself on fire, because of the difficult economic and political opportunities in his country. It was a desperate act to show the difficulties what he and his generation, a young minded and freedom-supporting youth faced all over the region. The problems of the North-African and Middle-Eastern countries have a common ground. The Arabic people in general live under authoritarian governments, which struggle to uphold a balanced economic and social background. The young generation which grew up in poverty but got to know better the western type of democratic thinking via the social media and other means of learning decided to act upon their sudden chance, thus the so called "Arab Spring" began. After Tunisia Egypt was the first country to face the events of the uprisings. From January 25 to February 11 – the ousting of President Hosni Mubarak – onwards the Egyptian society felt to show its dissatisfaction of the ruling regime. The Tahrir Square became the main area of the protests, where the

people gathered and demonstrated peacefully. At the end the protesters reached their goal, and Hosni Mubarak had to go. There are a lot of debates about the nature of the first period of the Egyptian "Arab Spring". Was it in first place really a revolution? Revolutions in the Western sense usually change the ruling regime with its elite. In general it differs what amount of people participates in them and what timeline does it follow. The demonstrations were mostly successful, but the old regime's elite stayed in power. A revolution cannot be called complete only because a dictator was ousted. It is not the clear sign of democratic rule, and it is not freedom as in what we live in the West. Besenyő and Marsai (2012) believes that because the previous elite stayed in power, it could be concluded that in fact it was not a revolution.

After some hesitation the Muslim Brotherhood also took part in the events. The islamist movement is a decisive part of the Egyptian society, and it has deep roots in it. There were also secular elements in the demonstrations, for example Mohamed ElBaradei (the former Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency). After the ousting of President Mubarak the military took its usual role as the settler of internal conflicts, and gained power. It organized a military council, the SCAF (Supreme Court of Armed Forces) which withdrew the constitution and held new parliamentary and presidential elections. Besenyő and Miletics (2014:185-186) thinks that the Muslim Brotherhood's newly organized party, the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) and its leader Mohamed Morsi rose to power on 24 June with 51,73 percent of the votes. Farahat (2011) suggests that the SCAF didn't totally erase its ties to the islamists, which is based on some facts that point to the army's connections with the Muslim Brotherhood (for example involving the sharia in the constitution). Jászberényi (2011) is concerned that the islamists will win the elections, and the people of the street were not so sure what the future holds for them with the islamists: they didn't really trust the movements intentions. Besenyő (2011:64) suggested that the MB's rise to power may cause its radicalization, and after its support for the secular democratic uprisings on the Tahrir Square it can easily shift to its original islamist opinion, and neglect the will of the Egyptian people for a real transformation of the government to a democratic state

From 24 June 2012 to 2013 the Muslim Brotherhood came to power backed by the army. It is debatable, what and how did the MB achieve. The extent of this paper is too short to list all of them, but it is worth to mention some of the views. It is usually agreed, that the Muslim Brotherhood took on an islamist approach to the governing of the country. Before the elections the islamist organization was only a movement, although it had several ties to the society and to the military. (Farahat (2011) relates that it is an Interesting fact, that the roots of the Egyptian military-based governance are intertwined with the Muslim Brotherhood, and some officers of its radical wing, the Misr al-Fatat or Young Egypt were fond of Hitler and Mussolini.) This was the first time in the organization's history that it reached political rule over the country. According to the MB's ideology, it was a rightful fear that the islamist could use their power to install a sharia-based constitution and government, which would lead to the emergence of terrorism. Besenyő (2011:75) suggests that this fear seems to have become reality at the time. The Muslim Brotherhood failed to live up to the expectations of the people. They wanted a secular change in the government, which would have solved their problems. Besenyő and Miletics (2014:191) says that instead, Morsi's government – as it was previously expected – can't be called democratic: they relied mostly

on their islamist beliefs, Besenyő and Miletics (2014:197) suggest that this could be understated by the fact that the islamists persecution of the Coptic Christian minority and their handling of women. Hassan (2013) calls Morsi's rule "ikhwanization", in which the president wanted to apply the MB's islamist opinions on the Egyptian government. Mr. Morsi wanted to adjust the country to his and his organizations islamist beliefs, but in fact he couldn't rise to the level of serious politics. The Muslim Brotherhood made mistakes during its rule, and the FJP's wrong decisions amplified this result. Besenyő and Miletics (2014:227) is on the opinion that instead of reforms it wanted to ensure its position in power. The president himself made errors, for example he couldn't handle the critical journalist. He also suffered from legitimization crisis: his only means were the elections, which were not enough for him to be recognized as the nation's leader. Besenyő and Miletics (2014:227-232) suggests that he didn't mend the country's economic and social problems, so it could be concluded that his rule was unsuccessful. Gömöri (2015:79) is concerned that the main reason for his fall was his yearning for individual rule and his power-hungriness. He committed the mistake of not taking seriously the military. This led to the new revolutions, which cost him his governance.

The new revolutions led to the military-supported rule of General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. He reorganized the government, which he based mostly on the army. He has used repressive methods against the islamist and secular opposition. Abrams writes (2016) that the government arrested several human rights activists, journalists, and it has reacted unfriendly concerning civil organizations. It has made lots of unwelcome decisions, which led to demonstrations. Dawoud (2016) thinks that in July 2016 it gave two of its important islands, Tiran and Sanafir to Saudi Arabia, which led to protest and arrests in the country. Another troubling issue arose from the debate regarding the Friday sermons. The government wanted to impose a state-based religious text-interpretation, while al-Azhar – one of the most prestigious religious and scientific institute in the Arab world – wanted to control the training of preachers. The Arab Weekly (2016) relates that with the imposing of this law the government says it would like to control the country's terrorist threat. Ibrahim (2016) is on he opinion that el-Sisi tried to reassure the demonstrators: he said he will do everything to handle the recent disturbing issues of the country, for example the death of the Italian student, Giulio Regeni and the plane-crash of a Russian plane near the terrorist-ridden Sinai Peninsula. Aftadilian (2017:27) says that if President el-Sisi will be able to control Egypt's troubling issues, the country could again regain its role as a regional power that can handle the issues of the Arab world.

EGYPT'S GEOPOLITICAL AND STRATEGIC SITUATION

First of all the geopolitical dimensions of the MENA (Middle East and North African) region are very complicated. Besenyő thinks The opinion has shifted slightly: Besenyő (2011:53) now thinks that the world is not two-dimensional anymore. Not only The United States and Russia have influence in the area, but new countries appeared in the race of regional competition: for example China, Turkey, India, and Brazil. In Besenyő and Miletics's (2014:201) opinion the new global or regional powers wish to enlarge their role in the geopolitical level. It can be concluded that China is one of the biggest global actor that rose to

eminence in the recent decades, Russia is trying to restructure its positions as a global superpower and Turkey is also yearning to become a regional power in the region.

It's worth to examine the goals of the different global powers during the so-called "Arab Spring". The traditional global powers were the USA and Russia (then Soviet Union). After the end of the Soviet Union it looked like that the USA gathered more influence in the area, and Russia was in formation. It has recovered from its decline. Nevertheless some new global actors appeared on the scene: China, India, Brazil and others. One of the most important is China, which has recently become one of the most prestigious political power in the region. These three are the current superpowers, so it is inevitable to assess their regional importance in the light of the "Arab Spring" and Egypt's turmoil.

Besenyő and Miletics (2014:201) reached the conclusion that in recent years the United States has maintained its global presence in the MENA region, and it looks certain that it will not stop pursuing its goals in the region. Tálas and Varga (2012) suggests that the USA was at first perplexed at the events of the "Arab Spring", and it took for them some time to recover and take part in the events. The USA has traditionally defined itself as the exporter of the democratic thought and governmental form, so it is not surprising that the country wants to continue this approach. Besenyő (2011:61) writes that although temporarily it appears to have achieved some success during the "Arab Spring", after the Islamist governments it seems unclear whether it has reached its goal in exporting democracy to the region. Miletics (2016:255) thinks that the USA had traditionally lots of influence in the region, but this trend seems to change, and the Cold-War-era power-monopoly of the country is in question now as Russia and other powers grow to eminence. The USA and the West has traditionally supported the countries to fight terrorism and promote democratic trends, but with controversial results. In the case of Egypt the USA has a unique relationship with the country and it gives significant amount of support to it in order to help its battle against radicalism. Besenyő and Miletics (2014:244-245) believes This could be beneficial for both Egypt and the United States: Egypt relies on the funds for its economic problems and the US wants it to become regional power in exchange to promote its gains in the region against terrorist activities. Egypt is very important for the US, because – according to research – it could promote its role as a mediator between the traditional Sunnite-Shiite conflict (mainly Saudi-Arabia and Iran). It is in the interest of the United States to help Egypt rise again to its original power in the MENA region, since it could be a good partner of the country in dealing with the sectarian conflict between the Shiite and Sunnite countries. As Aftandilian (2017:29-31) puts it the reasons are clear: it has no Shiite minority, it had no religious – only historical – conflicts with Iran, it is regionally far from the hotspot of the events, it could lessen the sectarian conflict with its moderate approach, and last but not least it has a significant army of 4800 tanks, 1100 warplanes and 470000 soldiers. Gazdik (2011:85) suggests that Egypt's importance is also emphasized by the fact that the USA relies heavily on the use of the Suez Canal and the country's airbases.

The other important country in the region is Russia. Miletics (2016:255) writes that since the end of the Cold War it wants to expand, and sees a lot of potential economic and political value in the area. Its political philosophy has not changed in that it wants to regain some part of its leading role in the region. It's important to note that the MENA region has secondary importance for Russian politics, but it is of considerable importance to the country's economy. As the Soviet Union had fallen, Russia wants to find new allies in the regions,

while holding on to its original partners. These include Saudi Arabia and the GCC-countries, Iran and Israel. It also has geopolitical interest in the region because of its considerable Muslim minority. Russia's political elite has its thought about the "Arab Spring": in Tálas and Varga's opinion (2012) there are three major political views about it in the country: the first group sees it as influence-seeking of the West, the second finds it as the sign of the weakening of the US, and the third is a pragmatic-economical approach: it considers the economic and energetic benefits for the country. According to the scholars, the first and the third is the most apparent view among the opinions. Thus Russia wants to expand its political power and regain its global role in the region.

The new global power in the region is China. The country went through an enormous improvement politically and economically since the 70's. China generally distances itself from the global powers. Regarding the MENA region it usually follows a slower but wise approach: it doesn't show itself as a mediator in the area's events, but its political and economic influence has grown considerably in the region. For China Egypt is of great importance: it has strong economic ties to the country, thus it regards the upheaval important for its foreign policy. Tálas and Varga (2012) supposes that the country could be one of the winners of the "Arab Spring".

After the global powers we can't exclude the assessment of the newly rising regional actors. One of the most important newcomers is Turkey, which had grown relatively well in the region. The country – once the right hand of the West and the USA in the region – has gained considerable independence. This can be clearly seen in the events of 2003, when it didn't let its air-space to be used by the American forces. Besenyő and Miletics (2014:203) thinks this meant that from then on it recognized itself as a sovereign state. Miletics (2016:256) suggests it is obvious from the ongoing politics of the country that it wants to become a regional leading power among the Muslim states. The country wants to extend its bilateral relations with the regional powers, as President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan tries to open new diplomatic relations with the Arabic states. In the wake of the "Arab Spring" Turkey also witnessed a change of thinking – the appearance of a movement which could be called neo-ottomanism. Besenyő and Oláh is on the opinion (2012:139-140) that with Egypt's setback the country had become a real political power in the region. Miletics (2016:257) and Besenyő and Miletics (2014:204) are on the opinion, that if Egypt had also achieved leading role during the "Arab Spring", it could have changed the whole outlook of the MENA region and it would have affected the global and regional powers outlook.. Besenyő and Miletics (2014:203-204) supposes that as well as Russia, China and Turkey also looks at the so-called "Arab Spring" as an opportunity to grow, and use the events to its regional economic, diplomatic and military expansion.

Last but not least let's take a look at another decisive regional power's situation: how did the events of the "Arab Spring" affected Israel? As it was mentioned before, Israel has strong ties with the United States and relies on its help. Nevertheless Israel was neutral in the wake of the events of the "Arab Spring": it did not affect the Palestinians too much and the conflict between Israel and the Palestinian Authority remains the same. The issue Israel is most concerned about is the radical islamist terrorism on the Sinai. According to Eldar's (2003) opinion, the treaties Egypt and Israel had made – the Camp David Accords (1978) and the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty of Sadat (1979) – are not so good for Israel, because the Egyptian government sometimes obstructs the peacemaking process between the

Palestinians and the Israelis. Aftidilian (2017:27) says that of course this is only one side of the opinions, and the issue is controversial and needs a lot of thinking and academic research. As it was mentioned before, it is suggested that if Egypt could improve its regional security policy in the Sinai, it could get political leverage and regain its leading role among the Arabic countries.

EGYPT'S SECURITY POLICY IN THE LIGHT OF THE HUNGARIAN RELATIONS

Arguably the most important part of the ongoing events is the political security of Egypt and its environment. The stability of the North-African countries or the MENA region depends on a lot of issues, which are overly present in Egypt. There are of course lots of hypothesis' about the different movements and governments that have appeared in the shadow of the "Arab Spring". In the field of political security the scholars concentrate mostly on the issues of islamism or islamist governments and their effects on the civil society, radicalism, terrorism, migration and the military's role in the country. Accordingly in this paper these topics will be evaluated in this order, as to make the themes more apprehensible for the general readers.

The first issue is of course the islamist movement in the country. The Muslim Brotherhood has a radical wing, which has ties to terrorist organizations. The islamist organization became a political power, and it realized the opportunity in the ongoing protests. After joining the secular demonstrators, it rose to power and had controversial issues. There is a debate about the MB's rule (2012-13) which is concerning about the country's security outlook. The majority of the scholars think that the FJP and president Morsi adopted an islamist view, which had serious security consequences. Besenyő and Marsai (2012) evaluates that the opinions differ about the nature of the islamist rule and what comes out of it: one opinion after the first elections concludes that the real question is whether the islamist rule will be moderate or radical. Besenyő (2011:63) also states that regardless of which islamist party gets to rule, that will not be good for the country's international reputation and it could cause a security conflict. Gömöri (2015:79) thinks that the failure of the Brotherhood's rule could also pose a threat: if the Muslim Brotherhood has to go to exile, it will definitely return to its original methods, and it is also important, that the radical wing of the organization could legitimize its actions and methods with president Morsi's controversial rule: they will simply say that the islamism can't be implemented in politics, instead it is rightful to use excessive methods to ensure the islamist view's success. Jászberényi (2011) writes that it gives a new light on the events that some of the experts think the islamists and the army are together in the race for power and rule, so that also raises a lot of questions. It is also not very reassuring that according to research the moderate majority of the Egyptian people in general doesn't regard the radical threat as a real danger, and they are not very supportive of democratic tendencies in the country. Auxier (2011) is on the opinion that indeed, the majority of the asked civilians think that the appearance of Islam in the political arena is a positive change in the government's structure. Farahat (2011) relates that of course as much as some of the mainstream Western so-called scholars would like to see them, Muslims are not by nature terrorists or suicide bombers, who aim to destroy the Western civilization.

The second issue in this paper will be about the security threat of the radicalization

of Islam and the ongoing terrorist activities in the region. The main organizations that trouble the international community are ISIS, Al-Qaeda and its affiliates. Besenyő (2011:74-75) believes in Egypt there lingers a security issue: during the Muslim Brotherhood's rule, some Islamist political prisoners got prestigious offices in the government, which foreshadows the reality of the emergence of terrorist organizations, and that could lead to the destabilization of the region.. In Egypt the most troubled part is at the Israeli border on the Sinai Peninsula. In recent times – especially under the Islamist rule – there has been a lot of terrorist activities in the area. Ibrahim (2016) suggests that the now military-led government is said to support the fight against terrorism. Israel and Egypt have common interests: the Sinai has been the epicenter of a series of terrorist attacks and radical atrocities, which affects both countries. It has traditionally been a buffer-zone between the two countries: the events that occur in this place have significant relevance. Miletics (2016:257) says it is inevitable to note that the Egyptian army is one of the guarantees to ensure the peace in the region, since it controls the terrorist activities in the hotspot. It is also worth mentioning one of Egypt's most prestigious ally's, the US's opinion: its security policy focuses on the fight against terrorism after the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the country. Aftadilian (2017:xiii) thinks the fight against groups like ISIS is a complex issue, and it doesn't only require military support, but also a long-term ideological program. Aftadilian (2017:25) is on the opinion that the most important goal of the incoming American funds to the country is to make sure that the state doesn't destabilize.

Next let's examine the ongoing trends of military activity, national and international conflicts and the problem of migration. The ruling military elite is now in power, and it has a lot of responsibilities. Besenyő and Miletics (2014:193) writes in these last phases of the turmoil it is very important for the military to take control of the state, or else it could destabilize and even a civil war could break out.. Besenyő and Miletics (2014:245) suggests it has been mentioned, that the Egyptian army is one of the most competent powers in the region, so it has a lot of responsibility regarding security issues. The Egyptian army also needs international support: its incoming funds from the United States help it to stabilize the Sinai Peninsula from the terrorist attacks. There have been some disturbing security leaks in the country's defense. One of them is the crash of a Russian civilian flight that caused many deaths. The Russian authorities stated it was a terrorist attack, after an affiliate of ISIS took responsibility of the actions. The Russian government stopped its tourism in the country which severely damaged the Egyptian economy. The other issue that caused international concern is the death of the Italian student Giulio Regeni. He was found tortured to death on the roadside. Ibrahim (2016) states that Egypt's official reaction is that they do everything they can to mend the diplomatic conflict. Of course it can't be ignored that one of the biggest problems the European countries and the EU currently faces, the continuous flow of migration to the continent caused several troubling problems for the European nations. One of the most important problems in Egypt about migration is of the Coptic minority, whose situation deteriorated a lot under the repression of Morsi's government. It is noteworthy that the migration has started even before the "Arab Spring", but not with the Muslims. Besenyő and Gömöri (2013) proposes it was the Christians who first migrated from Egypt because of the atrocities committed against them by the Islamists.

Last but not least it is important to present Hungary's foreign and security policy in the light of the ongoing events in the North-African or MENA region. The official view of

the Hungarian Government that the region is very important for the Hungarian-North African relations. We can assume that the Hungarian diplomacy – at the height of its presidency of the European Union – was first perplexed, but it was in control of the situation. It can be emphasized that the handling of the Libyan crisis was outstanding. Our foreign policy's concerns are: the strengthening of the regions peace, security policy and our energy politics. The stability of the region is in fact very important for the country because of the global migration emerging from the area. We are eager to take part in international military missions (for example UN). Hungary has unique relations to the region because of its family ties to the country. The policy of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2011:43-45) concentrates on the expanding of our foreign investments, so in general we can conclude that the region is of great importance to Hungary.

CONCLUSION

In the light of the gathered facts it could be concluded, that the "Arab Spring" and its ongoing movements are still not over. The "Arab Spring" brought about a change in the approach to the Egyptian politics, with a democratic younger generation. However the islamists appeared on the scene and won the elections. Their rule was controversial and their islamist approach frightened the Egyptian civil society. Consequently the military took over, and president el-Sisi established an autocratic but somewhat democratic military-led rule.

Egypt's geopolitical issues are very complex and they can be summarized as the country struggles to regain its previous role as the mediator between the Arabic states. The Egyptian state faces a lot of internal and external security problems: democratic change, islamism, radicalism, terrorism, migration and military security issues.

It is important that the country is very important for the Hungarian foreign policy, which recently announced its "Southern Opening politics", and is eager to expand its political and economic relations with the region.

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