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TOPIC: Comparative analyses of US, EU, Turkish approaches to the Arab Spring.

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Abstract

Arab spring –revolutionary wave of demonstration, protestation, rebellion and revolution starting in Arab world in 2011, January 14. Revolutions took place in Tunisia, Egypt and Yemen Arab Republic; civil wars in Libya, Syria, Iraq, Algeria and Sudan; civil rebellion in Bahrain and Oman; and protestations in Kuwait, Mauritania, Saudi Arabia and West Sahara, including accession to power of social-democrats in Morocco.

During steps of protestations it was employed common methods of civil resistance movements in long-running companies: labor troubles, demonstrations, corteges and meetings, including internet as interprocess communication and agitation facility. Most of demonstrations were met with violent reaction of authorities, along with pro-governmental militias and counter-demonstrators. The basic war cry of demonstrators in Arab world was “Nation want fall of the regime”.

Under the influence of financial crisis of 2008 year it was happened the price increase for food products, also as oil price downturn. In such a manner poor people of Arab states could not allow themselves expensive products for a long time and the governmental economy on social sector gave a rise to quick devastation of nation.

The huge gulf between poor and rich people in the aggregate with the growing protestations brought socialist revolutions in some countries. But in others, influence of totalitarianism and corruption sparked the bourgeois-democratic revolutions.

In this paper the main idea is about US, EU and Turkey's different approaches regarding to the reasons and consequences of this ongoing process.

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1.Introduction

Integration processes - one of the main directions of the new world order. A number of countries in Europe, Asia and America have long passed the initial path of economic integration, and some regions have not yet approached him. At the turn of the XXI century these processes gradually develop into a super integration, which will open a lot of new and unexpected for both national and international development.¹

The integration process takes place in the Arab world. The Arab countries immediately after getting independence began to develop various schemes of all-round cooperation, starting with the concluding bilateral military, political and cultural agreements, ending with subregional agreements on pan-Arab collective level. However, between Arab cooperation it was proved unstable and was not brought the desired results. In connection with this analysis of the formation of practice, development, state of inter-Arab integration process and the reasons preventing it, was extremely necessary and urgent.

It should be noted that in recent years the volume of research and scientific work on the integration of the Arab world had increased, however, so far there was no clear analysis of the ongoing processes in the region. They are studied mainly from the perspective of the role of the subjective factor, the conscious intentions of those or other social groups, but they do not stand out patterns, trends, objective factors, circumstances.²

The Arab world and, in particular, the Middle East and North Africa are perceived as unstable zone, where at any time you may experience the war, bloody conflicts and other shock. In this respect the revolution and the civil unrest of 2010-2011, known as the "Arab Spring", fitted into the story of the tumultuous events in the region.

¹ East/West: Regional subsystems and regional issues of international relations, MGIMO, RUSSESP, 2002, pg.16

² World Millennium (the world economy forecast to 2015), 2001, pg.59

The unrest and mass protests had affected more than a dozen Arab countries, and the large-scale clashes occurred mainly in the following countries: Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Yemen, Bahrain, and Libya. It was discussed a lot about the key causes of the revolutionary unrest in these states. Among them it was called corruption, stratification local societies of rich and poor, large-scale unemployment and lack of social "elevators" for the younger generation, social networking, tenure of dictators, the activities of religious extremists and other factors.

Consequently, the reasons were reduced mainly at internal character, although some analysts discovered the unrest in the Arab world "machinations" of the imperialists, multinational companies, which was committed a similar way to impose their interests in this part of the world. From the point of view of the Arab scholars, the revolutionary movement in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Libya, the Arabs returned to their former historic track, and before that the "Arab Spring" in the habit of the majority of the peoples at the mention of the Arabs were expressions such as backwardness, division, and terror. Given the fact that the revolutionary clashes in some Arab countries, still, continue, and the consequences for the economy and the policy were adopted globally, research topic is very relevant.

First spark which "burnt the fuse" of revolution five years ago, happened in Tunisia, after that, spark was spreading apart to other Arab countries. What is achieved on this day and how much do these achievements satisfy the nation of these regions?

About during five years after nation revolution getting the name "revolution of freedom and dignity", which one began in Tunisia after that young man from Buaziz set himself on fire. Now the country leans to gain the democracy, from the opinion of some observers not only inside the Arab world, but also beyond that.

In a time of transition period, which lasted more than they guessed, the country met with many disagreements and hindrance, which they could take away the new experiment, if only no perseverance of political leaders, who brought it to this stage. In such a way, Tunisia became the only country, where “Arab spring” blossomed and yielded its “logical” fruits.

Such revolution resulted with the deposition of Hosni Mubarak and succession to War Council in Egypt. After a year and a half it was elected new president, who was Muhammad Mursi –the first president, not reporting armed forces of the country (first civil president all the time of independent Egypt).

After a year Muhammad Morsi –representative of “Muslim brotherhood” – was brought down in consequence of revolution.

Company on human rights reported that the number of violation in the range of human rights and liberty of speech went on to increase in the country.

In Yemen, getting through many civil revolutions, governance rule was passed from the hand of Ali Abdulla Saleh, according to the effort suggested by the countries of Arab bay. Variety of political forces entered into an international dialogue, but the results were not put into practice.

In Libya international interventions, as consistent with resolution of UN Security Council, which were accepted month after beginning of the civil commotion, assisted to fall of the regime of Gaddafi and likely his death. However violent conflict inside the country, which was built up during five years, “pushed the nation to there, there is no way come back”, according to speech of representative of UNSC in Libya. In political relationship the country divided into two parliaments and two governments, and each of them constituted themselves legitimate.

In Syria rebels could not bring down the regime of Bashar Asad with military or political way. Rather the country was changed to battle –field, where

the fighters divided into two groups as for present regime or against it. Albeit all these what was said about influence of external players in the area of Syria, was considered that coalition beginning on battle with DAESH for battle with its fighters, does not facilitate the situation inside the country, but make it to become more harder.

As the comparative analysis, according to all these, opinion of the experts is more important and useful.

In accordance with the thoughts of the politic Saber Ayyub, at first glance Arab countries locates in one region, have the similar history, the same religion, talk in one language, at the same there is the big difference between the nation of Arab countries and between the societies of Arab countries. For example, Libya, Syria –the old name as “Shamma” (Levant) differs from Arab countries “Maghreb”. Maghreb countries are not Egypt and not the countries of Arab bay. There are the differences in culture, education, social development, political life, and also at degree of modern development. The countries of Shamma region are famous of development of ancient civilization in their area, as the same countries of Maghreb which met with the rise and fall of Andalusia.

The nation of Arab Maghreb differs to each other. That is why the revolutions in various countries differ, in spite of the fact that they copied something from each other at the beginning. Revolution suffered setback in Syria against current regime there.

Revolution brought some positive results in Tunisia. It was associated with that the last dictatorial regime could make civil association on some levels similar to West society during four or five last ten years, mainly in the period of Burgeb governance. Arab nation do their best to make a society like the west one, but they have no possibility as the west.

Citizens of Tunisia in spite of the fact that Tunisia passed away the democratic experiment, was in progress side. But according to Tunisia revolution there are some questions to Taeb Galufi, political analyst of Tunisia.

-why not to return and not to judge the ousted president of Tunisia like in Egypt?

- how could live worthy under these hard economic conditions?

-what did they gain who came to power after deposition of Ben Ali, where is their advances?

- the direction on which Tunisia is going, differs from other Arab countries.

What is the reason? Maybe the main reason of the basic one which made the Tunisia experiments better than others – this was the strong civil society in Tunisia which could minimize polarization state as in Egypt. For example, the idea of quad of Social dialogue –it is the approximate intervention to civil society, including organized labor, Union on human rights in Tunisia, businessmen unity, and this civil society helped to run away the strong polarization in Tunisia, however it could be brought disruption in the country.

In the other way, new powers of political revival did not want to come to the country in the period of loss of only revolutionary formation, accordingly all political layer of Tunisia society came to a solid decision that only elections in the country would be insufficient. It was said that Tunisia need the governance “Amity” and legality of “amity”.³

For an adequate understanding of the socio-political crisis that has gripped in 2011, many Arab countries (Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Bahrain, Yemen), named as the "Arab Spring", it is necessary the adoption of several cognitive prerequisites.

³ "The fruits of the Arab Spring: analysis and prospects", A.Ramdan, 2014, December 22, Yemen

First, the social crisis, like any other, has profound internal causes and cannot simply be inspired by the actions of external forces. Second, social, ideological and political forces involved in this crisis, should be considered with the "inside" position, analysis of the situation of internal crisis participants should not be confused with the analysis of the situation of external players. Only by moving away from the politicized and ideologized approaches is possible a deeper knowledge of the social reality.

The prototype of the "Arab Spring" as a profound crisis of the social structure of a number of Arab States are the events in Algeria at the turn of 1980 - 1990-ies. Exactly the development of the social crisis in Algeria, the most modernized for that time of Arab country (a consequence of the influence of French colonialism and the policy of the ruling party "National Liberation Front"), had become a model for the come after two decades of full-scale crisis in other countries of the Arab world. The first phase of the crisis - it is the growth of social tension in society and the mass popular demonstrations with the requirements of social justice and political freedom. The second stage – is the highlighting of Islamist movements, which the program meets the mood of the "Arab street".

The third stage - is a sharp conflict between the Islamists acting with democratic requirements and the military-bureaucratic elite, seeking to preserve their privileges. The fourth stage - is the beginning of the armed conflict between the Islamists and the army, the split among the Islamists, highlighting among them the radical wing that refuses democratic demands and leads terrorist struggle. The fifth stage - is a paralysis of government agencies, the disintegration of the state and society dive into chaos.

What are the deep roots of this crisis of social development faced by Arab countries? The obvious reason is problems related with social modernization. The experience of staying in power in the Arab countries regimes based on the

ideology of "Arab socialism" did not lead to a significant transformation of social structures based on traditional relations of patronage and clan loyalties. Being the carriers of progressive ideology in the middle of the XX century, half a century later the military were supporters of the preservation of traditional authoritarian management system society, in the frame of huge masses of people felt them deprived of access to material goods: power and property.

In an attempt to implement a genuine modernization and democratization turns to protest folk movement, which can be called "revolutionary". That speech of the Arab masses against authoritarian regimes, the first of which occurred in Algeria in the late 1980s which escalated in 2011 that became known as the "Arab Spring", it can be called the first Arab revolutions, in contrast, is officially called "revolutions" military coups of 1950 - 1960.

A similar movement spread in the Arab world in 2011, taking the nature of the pan-Arab revolution.

However, anxious mood associated with the prospects of interfaith war (the Sunnis against the Shiites) and the collapse of the states on the Lebanese model gave the place to the original rosy expectations of the victory of democracy, even if it is in the "Islamic guise" (like Turkey). Lebanon virtually disintegrated during the Civil War 1975 -. 1990, became the first in the modern history of the nation-state, temporarily ceased their holistic existence and disintegrated into a number of territorial entities, built mainly on the basis of ethno-religious. The reasons for the crisis in Lebanon were other than Algeria, and were connected, first of all, with the crisis imposed on the French model of "religious democracy". However, the origins of this crisis are rooted more deeply, namely, the crisis of the model of the nation state, adscititious imposed from the outside and in societies whose identity is based on other grounds. Further according to the "Lithuanian model" it was happened the disintegration of statehood during the conflict in Somalia, Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and later - in Libya, Syria, Iraq. Thus, the

"Lebanonization" a number of Arab countries had become an objective consequence of the ensuing structural social crisis.

The revolutionary events in the Arab countries have come under the geopolitical and ideological polarization in the region. Geopolitical and ideological forces participating in the "Arab Spring" can be grouped into five blocks:

1) a conservative Sunni block: Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain. It is closely associated with Israel and the United States. Egypt's top military (CC mode), the movement "Dignity of Libya" (Gen. Khalifa Haftar), the regime of the ousted Yemeni President Mansour Hadi Abd Rabbo and forces of the Syrian opposition are on its direction.

2) Reformed Sunni (moderate Islamist) block: Qatar, Turkey. Contacted with the US, opposed to Israel. Movement "Muslim Brotherhood", movement "Dawn of Libya," the Syrian opposition forces, the Palestinian movement "Hamas" are on its direction.

3) Radical Sunni (radical Islamist / radical Salafi / jihadi) block: "Islamic State" (Caliphate). Originally it took extraterritorial character and was presented motions to position itself as the regional branches of the "Al-Qaeda" ("Islamic State of Iraq", "Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula", "Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb," the Syrian "Dzhabhat en -Nusra "). Jihadists linked with the countries of the other two Sunni blocks. The jihadists were fighting with the Syrian government since January 2012, and in December 2013 became the main force of the Sunni uprising in Iraq. June 29, 2014 on the basis of the breakaway from the "Al-Qaeda", "Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant" was proclaimed the Caliphate, sweeping controlled group in Syria and Iraq. Thus, the jihadist camp had become the subject of political relations, though it was unrecognized legally. Creation of provinces (vilayets) of the Caliphate was proclaimed also in Nigeria, Libya, on the Sinai Peninsula, in the Northern Caucasus and Afghanistan. From the

"Islamic State" it had been distanced other jihadi forces associated with "Al-Qaeda".

4) Shia block: Iran, Iraq, Syria. Shiite movement "Hezbollah" (Lebanon) and "Ansarullah" (Yemen) and the Iraqi Shiite "Citizen Militia", the main Shiite opposition party in Bahrain "Al-Wefaq" and the Palestinian movement " Hamas" are on its direction. This unit is connected with Russia and China, but also with the United States (Iraq). At the beginning of the "Arab Spring" Iran made to the concept of "Islamic awakening", but in the end force the Sunni Islamists were hostile to him allied regimes in Syria and Iraq. As a result, the main emphasis was placed on the support of Iran's anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist and anti-jihadist movement in the framework of the "axis of resistance". In this regard, this unit supports left-wing intellectuals of the West (Thierry Meyssan).

5) Secular democracy: Tunisia, Iraqi Kurdistan. In addition, they participate in the political process in Egypt and Libya, respectively, on the side of SISI regime and General Haftar movement, as well as in the civil war in Syria (Independent Syrian Army and the Syrian Kurds). It is guided by the United States and the European Union, but also receives support from the countries of the conservative Sunni block, as opposed to Egypt and Libya moderate Islamists from among the "Muslim Brotherhood". This camp is represented by two forces: the Russian liberals and Kurdish nationalists. They shared a commitment to the values of a secular democratic society. Regional cooperation between secular democrats (with the exception of the Kurdish nationalists) but it is obvious that they had a particular ideology and geopolitical subjectivity due to the rise to power in several countries.

The alignment of forces in the chess game called "Arab Spring" is extremely complex. As it could be seen, the interests of the two opposing ideological orientation camps (secular democrats and conservative Sunni) actually meet in terms of support for traditional top military in Egypt and Libya,

acting as the main opponents of democratization of society. Another example of partnership in these camps -it is the fight against the Assad regime in Syria, which is the traditional military-bureaucratic dictatorship based on the rule of the Alawite minority over the Sunni majority. In the fight against the Assad regime identifies themselves four blocks, but for the fifth block, led by Iran, the preservation of this regime is a matter of high priority. On the other hand, the expansion of the "Islamic state" as opposed to radical jihadists like the other four blocks, and the jihadists, who did not recognize the declaration of the caliphate (which include "Dzhabhat en-Nusra" and other forces associated with "Al-Qaeda").

The main issue facing the Arab society today can be summarized as follows: to be or not in the Arab world "Islamic democracy" in the Iranian or Turkish formats? This path is a compromise to solve the main problem of the Arab society, the transition to a democratic form of organization of social life. The remaining options in the form of establishing a secular democratic regimes, storage of military-bureaucratic regimes and their corresponding absolutist monarchies or conversion of the region in the space of a terrorist "Caliphate" or unrealistic, or doom the region's countries to further social stagnation, or lead to the establishment of a new militant type of authoritarianism that threatens in a different world regions.⁴

What is a modern Arab state from point of view of power organization and political identity? Is it possible today to diagnose the crisis of nation-states in the Arab world, or more accurately recognize the immaturity, hypoplasia of the modern political forms?⁵ After all, the development of internationalized formula of nation-state in the non-European society – is a complex, lengthy and painful process. It came to the Muslim East as a result of colonial pressure, cultural diffusion and imitation.

⁴ O. Komolov, "The headwaters and participants of Arab Spring", 2015, July 18

⁵ Nuamkin V.V. "The problem of identification of civilization and nation-states crisis", 2014, pg.5–20.

The dramatic events in the Middle East, initiated by the "Arab Spring» 2010-2011 were turned to the viewer different facets. This was mass democratic impulses, and the rise of political voice of Islam, and the change of long-term leaders, and civil wars, and the interference of external factors. Such a wealth of political facts of life often prevented to understand the nature of changes that occur within the Arab States and in relations between them.

1.1 Structure of the thesis

Thesis starts with an abstract .

Then it follows with *1st Section* an introduction which include some historical background, describe object and subject of the research and literature review, theoretical background . Also it show the primary and secondary sources and structure of this thesis and answer the questions that which methods should we use during the research.

2nd Section is about US approach to the Arab spring events-its ability for effective global leadership.Starting point in formation of new concept of US position concerning "Arab spring" became the arrival to the post as national Security Advisor of the USA President Susan Rice in July of 2013 year. It is important to underline that with a glance to changing in the global energy market; US turned to the world's largest oil producer and became less depending from import of Middle East's oil. Estimated by analysts of Strategic Studies Center on energetic and economy, requirements of the USA in oil import decreased to 60 percent, including affected to the political changes of US in Middle East. according to speech of Obama, the USA President on session of General Assemble UN, taking into account in perspective their possibilities and especially the present situation in the region, USA focuses power to discussion about nuclear agreement with Iran, mediation in making peace between Israel and Palestine and searching solution of the crisis in Syria, "all other" problems receded into the background. In a word, today US experience extremely painful process of adaption of their position concerning "Arab spring" under the conditions of quick changing balance of power in Arab world, growing animosity

between different groups and alliances, difficulties and less than lethal of Islam democratic project. What will Obama team gain at the end? – Only time will tell.⁶

3rd Section is EU's approach and reasons for joining the process and events of Arab spring. Phenomenon of Arab revolution going firstly through a serious test for external policy of European Union detected direct defects. In particular these are damages for all European interests which penalize formation of European Union in the quality of key players in spite of enunciating principle of solidarity. EU strategy, probably, will undergo the change –EU will become to pay special attention to bilateral relations with the countries of region, with a condition of arab countries interest, realization of one external policy together in default of common stand. For achievement exact balance in relations in the frame of EU, the countries should harmonize essentially their interests intensifying and consolidating partnership in the area of anti-crisis reaction at both institutional and collegial level.

Nowadays, when the conversation drifts to the event “arab spring”, EU policy as the answer to late changes are understood as situational and ineffective. Generally European politicians accused of being not ready to wide scale changing in the region.

4th Section is the Reasons that make Turkish approach inevitable according to Arab spring. During last ten years Turkey made real progress at profile reinforcement of regional power. Justice and Development Party made a talk with the conception of “no problem with neighbor” and suddenly became one of key players in Middle East. “Arab spring” brought Turkish government to do more resolutely, that; however, it did not always lead to success. At the result “no problem with neighbor” occasionally became a “great deal of trouble” for Turkey in the current world political environment.

⁶ “Arab Spring" and the modern Middle East US strategy”, 2013, November 25

Winds of change in the region, on the one hand offered opportunity for Turkey to play an active role and consolidated influence there, however, on the other it was a risk of relation with some countries. So Syria became the most of all critical country which got the winds of “Arab spring”.

Turkey got the acting role at the campaign against Assad regime in Syria, and alignment in this area is highly effective pressure.

It should be stated that, on the one hand, it could be talked about well-known successes of Turkish foreign policy during the "Arab Spring", about empowerment and popularity of Turkey in the region. So , as a result of a public opinion poll, conducted in five Arab countries (Morocco , Jordan , Egypt, the United Arab Emirates and Lebanon), a Washington research center "The Brookings Institution" and the University of Maryland, in November 2011, the country played a very constructive role in the Middle East respondents called Turkey -50 % .

It is only natural that as a result of the existence on the territory of the whole army of Syrian refugees in Turkey, country could face economic and social problems sooner or later.

5th Section describe comparison of this three approaches (USA, EU, Turkey) regarding to the Arab spring. Thus there is no concrete research on this side of the topic.

And finally **6th Section** conclusion summarize all these written ideas. And describe the expected and unexpected results of the Arab Spring.

1.2 The object of study

The object of study is the “Arab Spring” itself: To characterize the motive and the reasons for that answered for the beginning of the revolutionary events of the "Arab Spring", to describe the political consequences of the "Arab Spring". Some scholars see Islam as a major reason , while others claim that the nature of the governance of Arab countries caused revolution. “Arab spring” began with the demonstration against protest, breaking out in the middle of December 2010 in Tunisia and the reason of few days left falling regime of the President Ben Ali, who ruled over government about twenty years. Then it was the term of Egypt regime- Hosni Mubarak, who was the head of country about twenty years and after him there were Libya, Yemen and Syria.

Convulsions, overtaking Middle East, on serious way were the crisis aspect which went through Arab world in some ten years back to back. Convulsions organized young generation-at the result the fact growth of nation in the second part of twenty century. In the beginning of 1960’s nation of Arab countries were 100 million people. In the beginning of 2011 during “Arab spring” 400 million people lived in Arab countries, but for 2050 year their number might be 700 million. For fast growth of people it was not found any resources letting them assure well-deserved mood of life.

“Arab spring” was accepted with unveiled pleasure, with a view to youth generation collecting in Tahrir square and other places, could beside or overleap the gulf separated Arab world from West countries and economic prosperity, democratic facility would be assured. Enough Israelis joined to this pleasure affirming that Israel had to inquire in the line with regional process, but not to make head against it, otherwise they admonished Israel would be considered as who took up wrong place on the map changing to Middle East. They maintained dictator regime which dejected nation with an iron fist, but now they found themselves dropped to garbage heap of history.

Thus, Middle East was changed. Old discipline was collapsed. Worse yet, Arab government and nation gave their place to ethnic groups, gentes, tribes and radical Islam movements endangering to resist all Arab nation to hundred years ago.

1.3 Subject of research

The subject of the research is defined approaches of US, EU and Turkey to the Arab Spring. Approaches of the US, EU and Turkey regarding the reasons and outcomes of the “Arab Spring” should be compared.

Some politics think that against revolutions and protestations it was called superpowers, however there is no direct fact in evidence of that process.

On the eve of the first free parliamentary elections in November 2011 "The Brothers" had created a pre-election coalition - the "Democratic Alliance for Egypt". As a result of the presidential elections held in May-June 2012 (in which participated 13 candidates), won by Mohamed Mursi, one of the leaders of the "Muslim Brotherhood", chairman of the "Party of Freedom and Justice".

In fact, America, and the European Union quite satisfied presidents of Tunisia and Egypt, respectively, Ben Ali and Hosni Mubarak, which occurred the first mass anti-government demonstrations that led to their displacement. In Tunisia, they began spontaneously in December 2010, it was provoked youth in January 2011 in Egypt and then began to take place on the basis of the demonstration effect: in Jordan, Mauritania, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Syria, Algeria, Libya, Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, Lebanon, Western Sahara ... not all have succeeded, as in Libya, Yemen and Syria, spilling over into civil war.

Regarding Turkey's situation on this process is defined quite different. This "Arab Spring" does not give rise to new "Turkey", Norman Stone, well-known British historian wrote in the pages of The Times. In 1923, Ataturk proclaimed the Republic of Turkey and started to modernize, to our time in Turkey "is well established democracy, the economy has reached the level of Mediterranean Europe in many respects". Looking at these achievements, outside observers argue that the "Turkish model" - a model for Egypt and other Arab countries.⁷

1.4 Literature Review

There are pretty much books, articles, interviews about the Arab Spring.

This topic makes some difficulties during the research. The main reason was that there are lots of sources about the Arab spring. Which include below sources.

Book of *"Arab states before and after the "Arab Spring", by Kudryashova I.* explores the viewpoint, that the unrest, which led to a change of the political regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen and Libya (and in the latter - and to foreign military intervention) in 2011, destabilized the situation in this strategically important region and have had a measurable impact on what is happening in the world. Rating of the full extent of this influence is not easy, because the events were developing dynamically and in other countries, not only in the Middle East.

But the continuation of the event was not lightened in the story of author. As the political future of the countries emerging from these upheavals are still vague, but already one after another it was formed new centers of conflict. The war in Syria. Unrest was continued in Bahrain. South Sudan stayed with the

⁷V.A.Avatkov, "The interest of "Arab Spring" events in the region of Turkey's foreign policy context", 2012, pg.89

northerners on the eve of the war, in 2011, broke away with the active support of the West of the northern part of the Republic of Sudan.

The question of "*Transformation in the Middle East: Comparing the Uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt and Bahrain*" by Robert H. Pelletreau is possibility of growth events in other countries of world according to the similar screenplay. But it was not highlighted in this book. For all the originality of what was happening in a particular, country could identify general trends that allow us to understand the causes of these conflicts and to assess their implications that going far beyond the region.

"*Revolution in the Arab World: Tunisia, Egypt, and the Unmaking of an Era*" written by Marc Lynch, Susan B. Glasser, and Blake Hounshell: development of the protest movement the most active force in certain countries (especially Egypt and Tunisia) was the young, mostly educated, but had not found a decent job, the owner of the new information technology and consolidated through social networks of the Internet. This segment of the population had given the dynamics of the protest movement. It was noteworthy that in recent years, the share of "strata of youth" in the total population was growing not only in the Arab countries. Demographers often call this phenomenon of youth rebellion.

It was the first level of Arab spring, but the second one was in short supplied. As the baton from youth activists was intercepted by representatives of more organized and politically experienced Islamist movements that they were the main beneficiaries of the change of power after the parliamentary elections in Egypt and Tunisia in late 2011 - early 2012.

In the tumultuous events in the Middle East regional powers had played a leading role along with Western. And if Iran had a deterrent effect on the revolutionaries to cool them down, in particular in Syria, and Israel inclined to unusual role of an observer, Turkey and some Arab countries such as Saudi

Arabia and Qatar, and put the burden of responsibility for the current events by actively participating in them.

The role of Turkey here was special. So the wave of Arab revolutions in North Africa and the Middle East led to the strengthening of the regional role of the country and had led to a change in its foreign policy in the East. This information is related to *Walid Phares, book of "Coming Revolution: Struggle for Freedom in the Middle East"*. In accordance with the story of this book, at the same time Turkey's ambitions are already facing with new challenges.

Author did not touch the main concept, as in recent years, and up to the "Arab Spring" Turkey's foreign policy was based on the concept of "strategic depth", the basic principle of which is "zero" problem with its neighbors and the establishment of stability and security zone in the immediate vicinity. Following in the line of these principles, Turkey was able in a short period, if not solved; at least smooth existed for decade's problems with Syria, Iran and Iraq, and to strengthen ties with the Middle East. Turkey managed to gain popularity in the "Arab street", and among the political parties and leaders in the region who were considering the experience of the modernization of the country and in strengthening its role on the world stage as an example to follow.

But there are no particular sources about the different approaches regarding the Arab Spring. Also it is difficult to find sources about comparison of various approaches.

And taking into consideration that the process is ongoing and there are always new events day by day it makes some difficulties to summarize the facts.

However all measures forced to analyze and compare the approaches of superpowers regarding to the Arab Spring.

1.4.1 Primary and secondary sources

Primary sources are collected when the secondary data doesn't provide enough information. For primary sources include unpublished data collected by the researchers themselves. They are obtained by means of observation, experiment.

The information about Arab spring from CNN, BBC, eye witness accounts, historical and legal documents, statistical data, results of an experiment, art objects, pieces of creative writing and other interviews about the definition of this event are included to primary sources of the thesis.

Secondary sources - this is the data collected previously by any other organization for the purpose. It focuses on internal and external sources.

There are the sources taken from the books written by authors-historians, well-known professors; the short information-comments, interpretations, or discussions about Arab spring from exactly web links and other sources in written form. These all are concerning to secondary sources of the thesis.

1.5 Theoretical background

Idealism and Realism in International Relations admits the given that idealism and realism draw up the basic principle axis of demand. Idealism (political idealism) –it is a scientific direction about consideration for international phenomena, from the standpoint of abstract morally-ethical idealists and legal norms. As the main delegates: J. Perkins, D. Fosdick, F. Tannenbaum, W.Lippmann, T. Murray etc. They declared that the government had to be in agreement with specification requirements (morally norms) and control national egoism. They considered presumable and indispensable to end worlds wars with the way of legal regulation.

In the eyes of idealists government between themselves should be ruled by such norms as respect for the obligations and validity. The framework of the validity becomes defense of human rights that provides “humanitarian intervention” in the case of its contravention.

The main problem considered by idealists is the formation of collective security system in terms of voluntary conventional disarmament and mutual rejection of wars as conflict resolution unit.

Among idealistic conception it could be –communitarians in line with political entity (government, nation) who is holder of rights and obligations in world community; cosmopolitan, relied on idea about that moral arguments should be called upon humanity or individuals.

The other theory is Realism (politic realism). It is a scientific way which is the strong-arm approach rests on positive philosophy and pragmatism.

The origins of realism stands to American theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, who preferred to divide moral from politics; American historian Charles Bird, examined the history of international policy in the light of national interests; geopolitics Nicholas J. Spykman and other historians. The main category of realism in their words is national interest and power.

Present situation at Middle East is instructive. “Arab spring” was greeted with enthusiasm as regional revolution, which under youth administration and is ruled by liberal-democratic principles. But revolution is effectual when the large matters run into one stream for social unrest. Process is accompanied by violence and by no means automatically makes tradition of civil tolerance and private human rights; at the best case the question is only about the head of way to ambition.

For a number of reasons, how does “Arab spring” unfold? There are many questions. Does the world have any preferment which of groups will be come to

power? According to perspectives –idealism and realism of international relations, which side does “Arab spring” choose?

“Arab spring” did not abrogate traditional reality of politic life and did not eliminate freestanding (seperata) groups on society, living in revolutions. That’s why; it inspires the most confidence approach which supposes readiness forward to world’s force for more evolutionary ways.

According to an American diplomat and political scientist-Henry Kissinger’s opinions for The Washington Post the United States welcomed the demonstrations in Tahrir Square in Egypt. Feeling uncomfortable for prolonged cooperation with the undemocratic leader, they are called to fall of Hosni Mubarak's regime. But he had to leave, as it turned out, that the heritors did not become the demonstrators, triumphing in respect of his overthrow. Instead, the country was headed by a representative of the Islamists who have no democratic traditions, but traditionally hostile to the West -and despite the fact that the Islamists have promised not to seek the presidency. They are opposed by the military, former pillar of the old regime. Secular democratic element was subjected to marginalization. Where are these going?

Contrary to the belief, widespread until recently, the United States has never had the opportunity to determine the internal structure of Egypt. The millennia governance belonged to monarchs and autocrats – military. In 1970, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat broke the alliance with the Soviet Union created 20 years before by the military regime of Jamal Abdel Nasser. Sadat made peace with Israel under the mediation of the United States. These events contributed to the change in the course of the “cold war”. They reflected a sober assessment of all parties to the relationship of forces that emerged after the Arab –Israeli war of 1973. Sadat was assassinated in 1981 by Islamic extremists, and just under the pretext of combating terrorism its predecessor, Mubarak maintained a state of emergency situation.

All this time, Egypt and its government were the facts of international life. The US administration, both democratic and republican, acting in a "cold war" and ongoing prospects of the conflict in the region, considered a vital partnership with the leading Arab country, ready to take on the risks associated with the maintenance of peace. As the confirmation of Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton during a press conference in Cairo: "At that time we cooperated with the government".

At what point did United States, faced with the first Soviet adventurism, and then - with the consequences of the collapse of the Soviet Union, begin to consider the possibility of direct intervention in the internal politics of the region? US presidents from Nixon to Clinton inclusively believed that the risks of such a course outweighed the benefits. But the administration of George W. Bush demanded from Mubarak of multiparty elections and criticized the repression of dissent; a similar course taken at the beginning of his administration and President Obama. US foreign policy is neither the cause nor the solution to the problems of government in other countries - particularly in the Middle East.⁸

"Muslim Brotherhood" and the military are fighting for control of key institutions, and the electorate is made up of supporters of two radically different visions of the future of the country, the Egyptian revolution is far from complete. The US policy was torn between two competing imperatives. "Muslim Brotherhood" came to power at the result of the electoral process, to which called the democratic values and the military was in favor of this state of affairs, which was closer to the American understanding of international security (and possibly pluralism in domestic policy). If during the "cold war" the US made the mistake of over-relying on the element of security, today they are at risk to adopt a religious populism for democracy.

⁸FawazGerges, "Obama and the Middle East: The End of America's Moment?", Palgrave Macmillan, UK, 2012, pg.110

At the background of these shocks it was again ignited the debate about the decisive factors in US foreign policy. Realists evaluate the events from the point of view of security policy; Idealists believe their ability to promote democracy. But the choice is not in between strategic and idealistic. If it could not be combined both elements, it will not be achieved either the one or the other.

In this context it is necessary to respond boldly to the following questions: Was it kept away from these internal processes or tried to influence their course? Is one of the competing parties carried or elective procedures maintained (knowing that it can ensure strategically unacceptable result)? Could the commitment to democracy be escaped from religious absolutism based on managed plebiscites and one-party rule?

In the case of Egypt's support of the military council, consisting predominantly of associates of Mubarak, it offends democratic sentiments. The postulation of common values with explicitly Islamist party, which for several generations stood for anti-Western course for the whole region, is a replacement for experience hope. Military regimes have repeatedly proved their fragility; organization, guided by ideology, enjoyed democratic institutions in non-democratic purposes and to change the order in the region. USA needs to be open about the true moderation exhibited by ideological opponents. But it should not be hesitated to defend its interests in the field of security. Sailing on so narrow passage, American policy should not be deceived believing that the key players are waiting for their instructions.

In Syria, there were still more complex dilemmas. In our public debate the crisis in Syria is usually described as the struggle for democracy, the culmination of which was intended to be the elimination of Bashar Asad. In fact, it was a struggle for influence between the Alawite Assad, supported by the representatives of many other Syrian minorities and the Sunni majority.

Assad himself became leader almost by accident and was known for its indecision. At the time, he settled in London as a practicing ophthalmologist - this profession rarely attracts the power-hungry - and in Syrian politics was involved only after the death of his elder brother, who was considered the official successor of their powerful father. Therefore, the conflict in Syria is likely to continue - and perhaps even worse after the desired and almost inevitable removal of Assad. After the departure of the leader of the clan Assad and the Alawite minority, whose members dominate the armed forces of Syria, can be in a struggle for physical survival.

Creating a political alternative to the Assad regime would be even more difficult than the course in Egypt and other countries of the "Arab Spring". Their boundaries are less clear, but differences are serious, because there many warring factions here. Without creative leadership , aimed at creating a political order that includes all political forces - and not at all obvious that any of the warring parties to pursue this goal - Syria could disintegrate into ethnic and confessional education, confrontation which may subsequently spread to neighboring countries in which reside the same ethnic religious groups.

On whichever side of the Syrian conflict not discussed the commitment of its members to democratic goals and match their interests with the interests of the West were unproven at best. Now the conflict had entered "Al – Qaeda" - in fact, on the side on which it was asked to enter the United States. In such circumstances, the United States were dealing not with a choice between "realistic" and "idealistic" outcome, and between rival imperfections, between thoughts and strategies of government. In the case of Syria, it was stymied because the strategic interest in the rupture of the alliance between the clan Assad and Iran, although it did not wish to recognize this interest, and at the same time pursuing moral purpose - saving lives - to achieve that through the UN Security Council seems impossible.

According to the opinion of Yevgeny Primakov, Russian politician and diplomat, after the end of "Cold War" it was begun to replicate the idea of interfaith, eventually as a civilizational contradictions to determine the development of the world situation. At the same time force imposition of democracy has become a hallmark of the American expansion in the Middle East.

It was widely spread conclusion about the clash of different civilizations, especially Islamic and Western. In today's world it was really accumulated a lot of events that could be considered in favor of this conclusion. Many terrorist organizations were painted in Islamic tone. Process goes too slowly and very contradictory. The result is natural integration of millions of immigrants from the Middle East and Africa to the European society. Periodically it was flashed bloody clashes between Muslims and Christians in Egypt. Many years of struggle of people dividing along religious and ethnic lines, had already led to the section of the Sudan to the Arab-Muslim north and a new state - South Sudan town Nilotic Negroid tribes, some of whom profess Christianity, and the other - the Gentiles. However, whether the events illustrate the development of inter-civilization conflicts?

Forceful imposition of democracy has become a hallmark of the American expansion in the Middle East.

Perhaps the most important process in the Muslim world today has become a so-called "Arab Spring" - in early 2011 the revolutionary wave swept over Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain, Syria. Bursts of waves reached to some other Arab countries. But the "Arab Spring" confirms the failure of the collision theory of civilizations as the principal contradiction in the world today.

This theory, which was the founder of American scholar Samuel Huntington, in fact it ignores the convergence of civilizations, cultures growing under the influence of globalization. Civilizational ground is not in the least form

now in terms of technical and technological breakthrough in an interconnected world.

Different civilizations, preserving the basic features of identity, became involved in the overall flow, changing the foundations of life of people, their livelihoods. How does all this impact to the "Arab Spring"? It is no coincidence that public TV created a system of "domino" - the revolutionary events in Tunisia soon spread to Egypt, and later in other countries. The main driving force behind these events - youth - was able to organize itself for anti-regime performances through the Internet, which is especially appeared in Egypt.

It is important to note also that the requirements set forth in the Cairo square, "Al-Tahrir" and in other Arab countries, and cities, were not religious, not hostile to other civilizations and common human nature - fair elections, freedom of speech and demonstration, the rejection of authoritarianism, an implementing corruption in every pore of the social and economic life. Even in Bahrain, where clashes between the two Islamic trends - the Shiite majority and the Sunni minority in power, the events did not take religious painting: it came down to the equality requirements of non-discrimination, the fight against corruption.

Anti-regime forces in the various Arab countries differ from each other. But in none of these countries, the demonstrators headed by Islamic extremists, were not put forward demands rejection of the secular character of the state, the introduction of Sharia principles in judicial practice, the public life. This does not mean that Islamic organizations, such as the influential Egyptian "Muslim Brotherhood", turned into something marginal. They retain their important position, which in one form or another will emerge in the future. But today we can come to two conclusions: firstly, the Arab world's transition to a new stage of development - as well according to most observers - not happening under Islamic banners and not caused by inter-civilizational contradictions. In fact, this conclusion could be retroactively extended to the second half of the XX century, when Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, came to power revolutionary

nationalists that meant the end of the colonial stage. Second, the "Arab Spring" could not act on themselves and Islamic organizations, creating a strong impetus for their differentiation, strengthening moderates. "Muslim Brotherhood" in Egypt events pushed aside mainly constitutional and political activity.

According to the followings above, in any case not to deny that there were contradictions and impact of religious and cultural character. However, they were not an indicator of "insurmountable antagonism" between two civilizations - Western and Islamic, but represent a crisis of dialogue between them.

Undoubtedly, both parties beard the blame for this crisis. Politician Primakov does not want to measure the degree of guilt or trying to determine who carries out the initial actions, and who is responsible for them. But it was clear that the dialogue between the two civilizations driven into a dead end was trying to spread the power of the Middle East and North Africa, the model of democracy that has taken root in the West - without civilization, traditional, historical features of the Arab world, and the mentality of its people.

Forceful imposition of democracy was not just the hallmark of American expansion in the Middle East, but also its ideological justification. Especially clearly it was showed during the Bush administration, to take military action in Iraq. Rejected irrefutable reality "arguments" that Iraq allegedly threatened the United States, so it produced a nuclear weapon or had close ties with "Al-Qaeda", organized the terrorist attack on the United States on 11 September 2001, were immediately replaced. The reason for armed intervention was declared the need to bring in democracy of Saddam's Iraq.

What in fact was brought to Iraq? It was showed by more than 8 years of American occupation. Shiite-Sunni relations resulted in continuing bloody clashes. As a result, US military and internecine actions interfaith struggle for 8 years killed over 1 million Iraqis; about 5 million have left the country. To this day, there was an explosion on the Iraqi streets, taking dozens of lives. There is the Islamization of state structures - all the Shiite parties that occupy the leading

position in the Baghdad government and the parliament, religious persuasion. Iraq is on the brink of territorial disintegration.

President Obama announced and began to implement the withdrawal of US troops from Iraq. However, it was difficult to assume that with the termination of the occupation of Iraq would be able to for a number of years to gain stability and peace - had reached such a scale chaos into which Iraq has plunged since 2003.

Obama administration until coming to power in the US officially said Washington's approach to foreign policy. Through the words of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton acknowledged the existence of a multipolar world order. It could not be regarded as a departure from the non-conservative claims of a unipolar world. More emphasis than under Bush Jr., is on the use of military force is not theirs, and allied with Washington's continuing leadership. There was the US interest in the UN legalization of NATO military action, which was not under the former president, or present to a much lesser degree. US Secretary of State called for contacts with the Egyptian "Muslim Brotherhood", which was listed by the State Department as a terrorist organization. But could it be considered that already planned exit from the crisis, which plunged the dialogue among civilizations?

Obviously, to make such a conclusion was at least untimely. It was saved large debris on the way out of this crisis. One of them - was the lack of settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The last meeting of "quartet" mediators (US, Russia, EU, UN) holding in Washington, ended without result. The main reason for this - was the US position, which was not ready to be a decisive activity to achieve a compromise between Israel and the Palestinians. Arriving at the White House, Obama declared position, which many rightly described while equidistance from the parties to the Middle East conflict. Soon this equidistance was crossed - Washington returned to traditional pro-Israel line.

Defusing tensions between the West and the Arab, wider - Islamic, the world did not, on the contrary, in the end, would increase as a result of actions taken by NATO in Libya. It created a dangerous precedent, when a military unit led by the Americans, going beyond the UN Security Council mandate, was open to use military force in support of one of the parties involved in the civil war. And the Arab League and the African Union, both Russia and China, and many others, including some NATO members, were the opponents of power solutions, for finding a political solution, especially when it was clear that half, if not more, of the Libyan population supported the regime in Tripoli. Of course, the bombing of Libya did not bring the dialogue of civilizations, but it was vital.⁹

Since the beginning of the uprisings in the Arab world have fallen four governments, and several experienced severe test. The United States felt obliged to react to the drama, and from time to time to participate in it, but they did not answer the fundamental questions about its direction.

The United States could and should assist other countries in formation of a society based on tolerance and civil rights of the individual. But this could not be done, perceiving each conflict in purely ideological categories. It is necessary to put our efforts in the framework of the strategic interests of the US, which should facilitate the determination of the magnitude and nature of US participation. Promotion to the world order, a democracy of participation and international cooperation, requires stamina, which helps to go through the intermediate stages. In addition, it requires that the various forces that seek to a new order in the Middle East recognized that contribution of US to their efforts will be measured by their compatibility with our interests and values. It should therefore be to reconcile realism and idealism, which now seem to world population as incompatible.¹⁰

⁹Y. Primakov, “ Arab Spring and theory of civilizations clashes”, Moscow, 2011, pg.14-16

¹⁰The Washington Post, “Arab spring-US participation”, 2012, August 3

Syria is the most damaged country of this “Arab spring”. The Syrian uprising represented a shock that hit Syrian society and undermined its long-standing stability that, for many, was based on “corruption, humiliation and repression as well as on a system that relied on the destruction of political life and civil society institution”¹¹. Today it is clear that the struggle in Syria seems to be produced by the huge gaps between the different classes, where by the power has long been in the hands of the few, who alienated a large section of the population.

The outcome of the Syrian uprising remains uncertain. From all the media and news reports that have been covering the uprising in Syria, it is important to note the following:

It seems protestors are mainly focusing their protests against one person – Assad –without looking beyond the demise of his regime. They are getting angrier by the day perceive President Assad as being arrogant and in denial.¹²

No alternative regime or system has been called for. So what is the real purpose of the uprising? The uprising did not expose the real problems. None of its slogans called for clear demands that the new system or should adopt and provide. The slogan “freedom” was not enough to define the alternative. There was no reference to civic engagement, improvement of livelihoods or ending corruption. The uprising seems without any clear purpose. At the same time, the oppositions seem scattered and unorganized. There are an internal opposition, an external one, independent protestors and armed gangs. Many of the protestors are weary of the external opposition considering it as being backed and supported by foreign powers.

Generally approach of US seems more idealist than EU and Turkey. The idea of “Democracy” brings more and more anti-humanist results to this region.

¹¹WahibGhazzawi, “The Syrian Intifada: Reality and Prospects”, 2011, pg.72-74

¹² Interview: Independent activist. 2011, September

EU and Turkey showed and still show more realistic approach to the revolution because of that possible and harmful impacts of the region.

1.6 Methodology

In order to make the thesis useful and clarified much more books, journals , web sites analyzed about the Arab Spring and US, EU and Turkish approaches to it. Taking into consideration the huge gap of comparative analyses of this revolution this study consist comparative analyses.

Research methodology of this thesis is carried out on the following criteria as:

1. Methods should be adequate to the subject and object of study, its objectives and the collected materials.
2. They shall comply with the principles of modern scientific research.
3. To be predictive, that is scientifically sound. The researcher must be completely sure that the selected methods will give them reliable, the new results.
4. The methods must comply with the logic of a comprehensive review and be interconnected with others.

Along with the special techniques general methods are used and the used throughout the research process a variety of sciences. They are divided into theoretical, practical and comparative. Practical or empirical method allows capturing and describing the phenomena, facts and connections between them. With the help of theoretical method it is carried out a detailed analysis of the different facts, revealed significant patterns are formed mental models, used hypothesis.

Comparative method as general applying is relating to general scientific method of researching. According to its functional duty and ways of using, it is empiric. The row of its form differs at practice. For example, comparative-competitive, comparative-historical-typological, comparative -genetic and others.

Successful using of the comparative method implies the alignment of work receptions, including standardization of benchmark and receiving results.

According to comparative analysis on Arab spring, there are many researches about Islam world, showing the short steps bringing to revolutions or other events years ago.

One of them Elie Kedourie, who is the famous with his works about Islam culture against democracy. His book named as “Democracy and Arab Political culture” (1992) is about specification on that the political culture Arabs is the Islam culture. Kedourie informed the reader historical samples about the results of various passing trials to democracy in Arab world. To put away the social and political covers of these samples, to equalize all these to Islam political culture, the responsible of unsuccessful democracy samples is Islam culture.

What are the reasons of low degree democracy of Arab countries in accordance with other Muslim countries?

In such point Alfred Stepan, comparative political scientist; and Graeme Robertson, associate Professor of Political Science noticed that not Islam, but specific features of Arab political culture play a role in democracy of these countries.

For this thesis, it is important to create a research question which will help to answer in the following sections. The main research question to be answered within this thesis is as below:

How US, EU and Turkish approaches differ from each other and what is the reasons of this difference?

In order to answer the main research question, the research hypothesis will be as following:

US has more ideological approach than EU and Turkey .

The following sections are going to answer the questions and explain the origin of hypothesis.

2. US approach – test of its ability for effective global leadership

Over the past 5 years one of the discussed themes on expert field became the present position of the USA in the point of those large-scale transformational processes in Arab world, which got the name “Arab spring”. Attention is drawn to the changes in this strategy, which are difficult enough and contradictory of the present stage of “Arab spring”. Incapacitation of “Muslim-Brotherhood” in Egypt and brutal military coup d'etat, brought to deprivation of Muhammad Mursi elected in public, thickening of politico-military situation in Syria, evolving new balanced forces and Arab alliance configurations –these and other most important aspects of the present stage of Arab revolutions affected to US strategy in the region and gave rise to define qualification.

The arrival to the post as national Security Advisor of the USA President Susan Rice in July of 2013 year. It was made group from five experts – Ph.Gordon, coordinator of national Security Advisor on Middle East and North Africa, deputies of S.Rice –B.Rhodes and A.Blinken, US vice-president advisor concerning national security J.Sullivan, president advisor on counterterrorism L.Monaco, and specialist on economy affairs C.Atkinson. Ph.Gordon noticed that “we did our best to be honesty and realistic”. Correction of the American strategy as for “Arab spring” was carried out utilize analysis of following problems: What are the main points of US interests for Middle East? What upheaval in the Arab world had changed the position of the US? What could Obama really get in the Middle East? What is beyond his reach capability?

New Middle East strategy of US had been called as a "gentle (modest)". What lies behind this definition? First of all, according to the explanation of S.Rice on the interview for newspaper “The New York Times”, the group’s first aim was to run out of “absorption of international summon” of B.Obama with the present events in Middle East, so it was happened with the ex-president of the US –George Bush jr. “We could not be busy with same region 24/7 in a week, -

explained S.Rice. –“President Obama decided that it is the right time for the step back, to look critically and opened, as how we imagine this region”.

It thinks just exactly there is meaning in the last words that according to “Arab spring” correction in the US dollar comes in which direction nowadays.

B.Obama the president of the US and his team look to avoid of major mistakes of G.Bushir, decided that to be in charge to all problems of Middle East region within US scope of abilities. But as it turned out, it is not so. US overreached to this opportunistic approach. Only one Iraq adventure of United States stood in some thousand ruined lives of American soldiers, hundred thousand Iraq people, more trillion dollars direct military spending, so at the result –tragic fall of position and authority of the US in Arab and Islam world, including visible reinforcement position of their main competitor in the region – Iran, escalation of sunni-shia religious strives.¹³

Lessons of Iraq ended with decisive influence to US position at the beginning of September, 2013, when after large-scale chemical attacks of Syrian regime, US faced a choice to deal a military strike to Syria. B.Obama took some decision from US politic according to Syria at his speech on session of General Assemble UN on September 25, 2013. He noticed that there was contrary of humor and opinion at world political level, in the region and in the United States; Somebodies (military forces) disappoint with the unwillingness that US use military potential for Bashar al-Assad’s deposition. They guess that it says about weakening of American determination in the region. Others say that US readiness for terminated military strike because of not to let farther use of chemical weapons, - testifies that US did not draw a lesson from Iraq and US went on to get the control over Middle East pursuing own benefit.

¹³FawazGerges, "Obama and the Middle East: The End of America's Moment?", London, 2012, pg.118

Obama noticed that these conflicting sentiments impacted on approval of American citizens in US participation in region affairs and let the leader of the region also all international society try to keep aloof from solution of hard problems.

In this way, Obama recognized –the americans trod a maze and cobwebs of Arab area and Middle East region, wanted to paused, looked around, make an inventory of its problems and priorities.

Aside from that, explained S.Rice, USA switched over South-East Asia more and more. “Allover the world is there.And we have interests and opportunities in this world” –the National Security Advisor of the USA President noticed.

Especially large debates in American administration are connected with specification of US policy concerning Egypt. Present Egypt, which one of the center support of the US external policy and its main teammate, also is in the group of “all others”. Many American analytics are agree with that USA concentrated on Iran and Middle East peace processes, but mount in the point of lessening role of Egypt, which in spite of all its present problems stays as the main American teammate in the region. According to the words of Richard N. Haass, present president of Council on Foreign Relations, Egypt stays the main test of possibility of peace policy transformation in Arab world yet. But the administration keeps silence and doesn’t know what to do.

On 3rd November, 2013 Secretary of State of the USA –John Kerry started his official travel to 9 countries of Middle East and Europe. The first point of this travel was Egypt. He was only 6 hours in Cairo. J.Kerry’s travel to Egypt happened a day before beginning of trial of the president M.Morsi who deposed forcible in July of 2013.

The visit of American state secretary to Egypt stays the strategically partner of USA and at the same time showed that United States aimed to put

pressure on Egypt authority with the purpose of repression cancellation according to political opponents. That was why J.Kerry assured that supply arrests of some kind of arming and total volume of military assistance were not ‘pain-infliction’, but Washington kept its “friendship and partnership” for Egypt. From the other side Kerry paid attention to Egyptian side that “partnership between USA and Egypt would be ever strong, while Egypt would be presented democratic chosen government, predicated on the principle of laws and orders, defending freedom causes and motivated with the purpose of construction of open and competitive economy”. In common according to analytics United States and Egypt “did brave face in front of strong degenerating relationship”.

Characteristic that in present complex conditions of realization of US external policy in Middle East, blow against Obama administration was launched by senator-republicans J.McCain and L.Graham who appeared with critical essay “Obama suffers defeat in the Middle East” from American newspaper “The Washington Post”.¹⁴ While recounting all the present, in their opinion, failures and setbacks of the US in Middle East, senators came to conclusion: “United States experience very deep failure in their policy and loss of authority in Middle East. Events in this region are getting grown to dangerous vector, and practically no reason to expect that there is strategy interests and treasure of US in Obama administration according to this critically important part of the world.

In such a manner, republicans tried to dictate with USA restitution to that policy when USA aimed with the help direct military affairs for realization of infamous conception “democracy promotion” in Middle East. Obama enough steadily answered back that neo-imperialist “visionary”, who wished about restitution to the policy “big stick”.

In accordance with problems of democracy development, observance of human rights and principle of open market, he noticed that “these goals can

¹⁴The Washington Post, “Arab spring-US participation”, 2012, August 3

hardly attain unilateral actions by the United States, in particular the military. Iraq showed us that democracy was not fixed by force. Mentioned goals could be gotten in partnership with international society, countries and nation of the region.

2.1 Does USA blame for the Arab spring?

First of all, the Arab Spring has internal reasons, and the reasons are different everywhere. A lot of difficult aspects, but among them there are a few basic. The first - the internal tensions, the general discontent of people, the second - the overthrow of the secular authoritarian regimes, the influence of Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Turkey on these processes. And the third - it is the effect of the United States, which has not been proactive and reactive, they react to the growth of contradictions and play their geopolitical allies. US made a terrible mistake by supporting those of their allies here, and the mechanism of error is approximately the same in all countries. America formally supported democracy, moreover, confident in his omnipotence, Americans supported the change of regime, and too much trusted in their geopolitical allies, but that trust was largely financially corrupt, because so many American politicians were corrupted by Saudi money. Therefore, the United States played a really big role in the Arab spring, although it must be said that the European Union has played a major role, but that role has also been secondary.

Events of the Arab Spring came as a surprise to the United States, at the same time to other leading countries of the world. In general, they were surprise for the Arab countries themselves. The change of power, the rejection of dictatorship, freedom from the dictators was a condition for the country's development and advancement of its citizens. Of course, the reasons for this phenomenon brewing for a long time, and, generally speaking, something like that predicted including some American analysts. And, for example, in Egypt, the Americans prompted President Mubarak, it is necessary to liberalize the country's electoral system, allow the opposition to be present to them, in order to prevent

the looming massive explosion, and to ensure stability in the country, Hosni Mubarak responded positively, and this was done. The United States did not have to do with the Arab Spring. The fact that American foreign policy involves the movement for democracy does not mean that it is done anytime, anywhere, and on purpose. This slogan is largely rhetorical. For example, the Americans are not trying to impose democracy in Saudi Arabia.

What motives could move the US for participation in the events of the Arab Spring?

The First: vendibility of American politicians with Saudi and Chinese money. The second: the fact that they believe that change of regime - is, in principle, a good thing since it will be in their favor, and they will be able to control this process. The third: they believed that once there is a dictatorship, that those who are against dictatorship are democrats and less in need of support. This is a very ideological approach that prevents them from engaging in politics.

From other side oil does not have these issues irrelevant. At that time, Americans were sufficiently provided with their own oil. It was just about to secure democracy and escape from dictatorial regimes to pluralistic forms of government, as demanded by the people who took to the square. Naturally, the Americans could not ignore it and supported the demands of Square.

Before the question “Why does the US President Barack Obama, in spite of the evidence, including, of Wikileaks (WikiLeaks is an international, non-profit, journalistic organization, that publishes secret information, news leaks and classified media from anonymous sources) documents deny US involvement in the Arab Spring?”, it must be informed about U.S. President Barak Obama speech about Arab spring in Cairo in 2009.

“We have to confront violent extremism in all of its forms.... America is not — and never will be — at war with Islam. We will, however, relentlessly confront violent extremists who pose a grave threat to our security — because we reject

the same thing that people of all faiths reject: the killing of innocent men, women, and children. And it is my first duty as president to protect the American people.”
--President Barack Obama, Cairo, June 2009.¹⁵

And now the answer to above question according to his speech.

Everyone understands that the Arab Spring - is a failure, and it is normal for a politician not to take responsibility for bad policies. In addition, Obama is well aware that the US was not an active party. In addition, Obama is an enemy of the Saudi lobby, and tries to fight against corruptness with the Arab money.

And what does "participation" of USA in Arab spring mean? Naturally, it is talked about the normal operation of the US embassies in these countries, which tracked the events of this magnitude and tried to smooth their sharpness, offering advice and specific expertise.

Of course, the United States took part in these events, but for the sake of easing, rather than as a provocative that either party. Participation took all the embassies, who worked in a normal mode. The United States, by virtue of immersion in the relations with all these countries, except, perhaps, Libya, have been in contact with all the major powers in the "top" and the opposition.

2.2 Should the Syrian war be considered consequence of the Arab Spring?

Considering that foreign policy factor plays a greater role in the Syrian events this part is fully fitted into this section.

The answer is partly yes. Just several conflicts were overlapped in Syria, but the first was the conflict of the Arab Spring. Itself Arab Spring in Syria was a popular mass movement for democracy. This movement was suppressed by the

¹⁵<http://www.clarionproject.org/analysis/nytimes-obama-jump-started-arab-spring> -"NY Times: Obama Jump-Started Arab Spring" by Barry Rubin, 2013

blood, and gradually it turned into a confrontation between the opposition and the government of al-Assad. The war in Syria even began with the fact that the Arab Spring was started to play by kids in the south of Syria. They began to write anti-Assad slogans, for his seized. Later they took to the streets of their parents, and, accordingly, all this has got a wide response and resulted in a civil confrontation. By the way, the first six months the confrontation was peacefully, and then it was armed.¹⁶

3. EU's approach and reasons for joining the process

In recent years, domestic and foreign press have written a lot about the acceleration of economic growth of a number of Arab countries, thanks to the rational use of greatly increased revenues from the export of their main natural wealth - oil. Revenues from oil supplies to major industrial centers of the modern world - Western Europe, Japan and, to a lesser extent, in the United States opened up rich Arab exporters to effectively solve many difficult social, economic, and with them the political problems. In some of these countries there were major oil refineries and other industrial facilities equipped with the latest technology. However, the Arab oil has not yet given its producers solved the main problem. They could not, using their own, albeit huge oil revenues to make the leap into the post-industrial era, if not eliminate, at least to reduce the technological and informative gap in the development of two civilization types, formed more in the era of the colonial and semi-colonial dependence of modern historically young Arab. In this light, it is thought that it is reasonable to state that today the Arab countries, having passed a difficult path of independent development, achieving significant success in strengthening economic sovereignty. They are facing an even more daunting task - the task independence of science and technology,

¹⁶The New York Times, "Does USA blame for the Arab spring?", 2015, February

which would lead to fundamental changes in the economic structure of the region. Its position in the global division of labor would be spared the Arab countries of continuing one-sided raw specialization of their exports.¹⁷

At the same time, EU countries could rethink their regional policy and established the new one more bottom-line essences of cooperation under the principle of “more for more”. However, according to these, EU will sustain partisanship of democracy norms and reinforcement of relationship of new declared regimes with Europe.

Over the period about two decades EU play the main role in the region of North Africa and Middle East. Differential characteristic carried out by EU policy is the accent for soft power utilization, factor practice of its economic and social allurements in the quality of exact factor of hardening of position in the region.

Year by year EU policy updated and got the new forms of intercommunions (European Neighborhood Policy), which resulted as more closed partnership with autocratic, but at the same time directed to west arab regimes. As the result, this policy was targeted to stability and security saving in the region and served the interests both as EU countries and arab governments. Their recognition legality from west side on the level of investment advanced nation would ever be important foreign policy challenges.

Waves of protests of Arab spring, in the result they were deposed longstanding dictatorial regimes, were laid down at stake future outlook formed by regional EU policy already more or less. Initially confusion in Tunisia, then subsequent events in North Africa found EU in the moment of internal crisis structure, which was induced formation of new institutions, in particular European services of foreign-policy activities. In such a manner, foreign policy

¹⁷"Arab countries of West Asia and North Africa (Contemporary history, politics and economics), Issue 6, 2012, pg.20

communities in European Union was not ready to the full and respond to swift-flowing events of Arab spring in time. It must be assumed that Arab revolutions was special examination for stability of all European external policy and acceptance of coordinated full decision, indeed alike destabilization in the region. This destabilization was interested by EU countries more, and gave the chance to the countries-member of European Union for stability of their political position not only in the region of Mediterranean, also all over the world.

Actually, European new external political institutes met with strong challenges in view of the name as Arab revolution. In spite of progress in the field of reinforcement of relation between different structures of EU, effectiveness of action and EU crisis reaction were broken by unilateral actions of some kind of countries –members of EU. Thereby incoordination between EU countries continues to stay one of basic factors delaying EU formation in the quality of high-powered international member.

Materiality of Arab revolution, as the following above, concludes in effectiveness consideration and sequence of post-Lisbon external policy of EU and it's the basic institutes. This united policy, as expected, might be based on principles of confidence and solidarity. However just so highly appreciated confidence and solidarity in European Union practically turned out high voidable elements of new process of integration. Waves of protest and further political crisis in North Africa weakened enthusiasm of EU members quickly to searching of united approach and strategy.

Arab spring started in winter of 2010-2011 years with the jasmine revolution in Tunisia, became a unexpectedness not only for EU, much more –not only the world around, also for them, who was covered with wave of protests immediately. At the end of December, 2010 Algeria was out with together Tunisia, but at the beginning of next year unprecedented in the scale of action of nation, making a stand against dictatorial and corrupt regimes, against

lawlessness and poverty circulated in fact to all region, including Egypt, Yemen, Libya, Syria. It was enveloped 19 of 22 agitations placed in North Africa and Middle East of Arab governments with the total population about 350 million people to the end of February, 2011. According to these, it was happened revolutions and civil wars resulting with hundred and thousand sacrifices among demonstrators and innocent population.

So the problem is not so much that how these events turned out to be unexpected and unpredictable, it is that how far EU could and ready to be responsible for them.

Absolutely, the main difficulty for EU was the achievement approved and at the same time flexible position according to revolution process. The beginning of Arab spring in Tunisia threw Brussels into a dilemma: or realized waiting realpolicy, estimating dynamic situation, or traditionally followed the policy clarifying rules and value of democracy. In the course of sequence of events in Tunisia EU was held on first version only assessing the character and scale of revolutionary sentiments which brought to patchy response and critics from the side of European Parliament and other European structure. In turn inaudibility and deliberation of external political institutes demonstrably showed that fact that EU reaction was not answerable to dynamical current events. For only after the escape of Ben Ali from Tunisia, EU formulated the main issues being the goal of help in democracy formation and general transformation in Tunisia. So it was formed related consensual strategy with the aid of constitutional reform in the region. Further, as the events general position of EU according to Egypt was much more balanced in terms of consistency of the European Union's foreign policy. It was subjected to condemnation of derogation of human rights and authorities of regime, and how the result in accepted declaration of five countries of EU (Italy, Spain, Germany, Great Britain and France) was marked as the necessity of reforming of political order, however, at the same time this was not

related with the departure of Mubarak, keeping the same place for further diplomatic maneuvers.¹⁸

From other side it is true, but from another side both USA and Russia was not ready for this changing too. It could be assumed that, these events were a big surprise for most countries of Arab world. Accordingly the question about effectiveness/ ineffectiveness of EU policy is not so urgent in the point of questions about impression of these events. Because of that how “Arab spring” and followed it, political and economic crisis perceived as political elite of Europe and would depend on that which actions EU would take in this direction.

At large EU was able to formulate its political position as soon as possible. EU not only got going dialog with new heads of governments, but also helped someone to take over the government. However generally events in Arab world are perceived in EU, and it is looked through clearly by rhetoric of responsible person as “democratic wave” regardless of that new political elite run to political weapon. One of examples is –Libya and Syria where EU got and is getting the main role in revolution events.

EU policy in the point of Libya was formulated in little time and stated nearly in a certain way: nation of Libya have a right to elect their head of government but Gaddafi has to stop bloody repression and quit the political stage as the legality losing one. The political vector stayed the same in the event of Syria, but there was a different: in this case a military solution to the conflict had not been taken into account European politicians; however, possibilities of military operation in Syria became extremely indefinite for EU that increased the risk of unjustified high material, financial, human loss.

The EU chose a strategy of pressure through sanctions, including an arms embargo as well as the recognition of the loss of legitimacy of the Assad regime.

¹⁸“European Union in search of response of the Arab spring challenges”, D.Danilov, Moscow, 2012, pg.108

Waves of refugees from Arab countries swept the European Union. According to rough, or rather cautious estimates their number is now approaching one million people. Some European countries have already publicly protested against their admission to its territory. In a hurry they finished building protective fences, closed borders, and hissed tear gas to Syrians, Iraqis, Libyans, and Yemenis. Other hitherto friendly went into open conflict with each others, indulging in blaming immigrants, instead, they said to themselves to solve the problem.

3.1 The refugee crisis in Europe

For the first time after many years, Europe has faced a real migration of peoples. Hundreds of thousands of immigrants from the Middle East were forced to leave their homes and gone in search of salvation. Refugees in Europe hid from the wars that flooded the Middle East region.

The influx of a large number of migrant workers in Europe was caused by the war with a terrorist organization "Islamic State" and protracted revolutions in the region. Experts explain that the flow of migrants to Europe began in 2011, however, when the influx was not so catastrophic. So the cause of the influx of refugees in Europe has become a volatile situation in Libya. And the main reason - not the overthrow of the Gaddafi regime about the events of the past years.

Libya is the main sea route getting migrants to Europe. Even after the fall of Gaddafi in Libya it was continued to operate state. However, last year, it fell apart, there were two competing government, some areas were dominated by armed groups, including the Islamist orientation. This opened the way to Europe for refugees.

Why had the European continent chosen as rescue workers? Europe - is the most accessible and welcoming region for migrants.

"On the one hand, due to the geography of the refugees it is not so easy to get from Syria to wealthy Persian Gulf monarchies. On the other hand, there is

strict control at borders and migration legislation, " - said the expert comments in the " Arguments and Facts ".¹⁹

United Arab Emirates and other Persian Gulf countries are also helping refugees from the troubled Middle East region, but they prefer to do it at a distance of: sending humanitarian assistance, finance refugee camps, but do not let migrants to their home countries.

Faced with the immigration crisis, European politicians and society have reacted ambiguously. On the one hand there were calls for the need to take the refugees, on the other hand concerns voiced in the address condescending policies of Brussels.

Throughout the year, the Europeans staged rallies against the EU migration policy and its support. Against refugees protests in Europe were happened in Rome, Berlin, Dresden, and Cologne. Activists frightened by the danger that carry with them immigrants from the Middle East. The most acute opponents of migration policies had responded to the attacks, which took place in Paris on 13 November.

With the same activity supporters of EU migration policy performed. Procession in support of refugees took place in Paris, Vienna, Stockholm and other European cities.

The people's opinion was the same with the opinion of politicians. The loudest anti-refugee policy is the countries of Eastern Europe. Against quotas for migrant reception was by the President of Poland Andrzej Duda. The Polish president stressed that refugees in need of assistance, however, distributing arrivals, Brussels should take into account the particularities of each country.

¹⁹“Great Migration, Refugees in Europe”, K.Roman, London, 2015, pg.45-66

The President of Romania made a speech to the EU leaders with harsh criticism. Klaus Iohannis refused to comply with Brussels' decision on the admission of new immigrants into the country.

"In no case Romania does not agree with the additional mandatory quotas," - said the president.

Its neighbors as Hungarian and the Czech Republic leadership joined to her decision of their neighbor, while also Czech President Milos Zeman accused of systematic violation of the rights of migrants.

The main defender of refugees in Europe is the German Chancellor Angela Merkel, who for her position it was forced to pay for the loss of ratings and accusations on the part of party members.

Germany, all these months of "the Arab invasion" showed the wonders of tolerance, was forced, in spite of the Schengen area, resumed entry border control. Passport control was also restored at the borders of Hungary and Austria.

Thousands of streams of fleeing war and in search of better people from the Middle East - was a great chance to earn good money for someone. Prices for a place in the rubber boats and longboats, ferrying refugees by sea to Europe, grew with each passing day.

The influx of migrants threatened united Europe on several fronts. One of the most common fears that wandered among the European society - is the threat of terrorism. Europeans are concerned that the continent under the guise of refugees had plenty of Daesh terrorists, threatening peace. After the terrorist attacks in Paris, Brussels decided to strengthen anti-terrorism measures aimed at protecting the external borders of the Schengen area.

So shortly after the terrorist attacks in Paris on 13 November 2015, 21 November, Prime Minister of Belgium Charles Michel said the threat of major terrorist attack in Brussels. At the same time the danger level was raised to

"serious and imminent". But on March 22, 2016 there were 3 terror attacks in Brussels airport.

The second danger –is the collapse of the Schengen area. The first step in this process was taken when the European Union decided to tighten control at the external borders even for citizens of member countries of the Schengen.

For the year of migration the EU crisis repeatedly suspended the activities of "free boundaries." Time control with Austria has introduced Germany, closed its borders after the attacks and France. These measures were temporary, but experts fear that all the time may soon become permanent.

4. Rationale for the Turkish approach

Recent decade of global political development was characterized by significant changes that led to the transformation of the world in integrity. As a result, the world has undergone significant changes that need for a comprehensive analysis. There were essentially new trend of world development, associated with the strengthening of cooperation between all countries and peoples.

However, the Arab states have not moved in the last decades with the regional periphery closer to the center of the world economy. This is largely a consequence of the external to the Arab with world globalization processes, the formation of transnational and trans-regional economic relations, the emergence of new parameters of international relations. The integration process takes place in the Arab world. The Arab countries immediately after getting independence began to develop various schemes of all-round cooperation, starting with the concluding bilateral military, political and cultural agreements, ending with subregional agreements on pan-Arab collective level. In connection with this analysis of specificity, structure, problems, features and prospects of inter-Arab integration process and the reasons preventing it, it is extremely necessary.

Arab nations have to solve the same problems associated with the need to overcome the economic and social backwardness, cultural underdevelopment, and thus confront the numerous external challenges. In this regard, it is increasing the need to strengthen the interaction of Arab States, to find such forms of cooperation that would contribute to their overall success of the current resolution set a historic milestone tasks.²⁰

Firstly it was warm warning from the side of Ankara in the shadow of Syrian events, then insistent demands went on, so “bridges were blown up” and

²⁰ "The Arab world has not overcome immaturity ", V. Gusarov., 2009. January, pg.202

Ankara began to act with Washington together. Turkey afforded its blank area to Syrian military for training and started to give ammunitions.

Ankara's expectation about the regime of Assad that it wrecked for less time was not realized. In addition, Iran continued to support Assad, but if to add the support of Russia and China in UN Security Council, situation would become sounder.

Turkish politician I.Yuzel notices that Turkish-Syrian relation will be more difficult, linking this situation with that Turkey pursues following policy in context of USA.

The Syrian question creates tensions between Turkey and Iran. It is known that the Iranian government is determined to keep Assad in power, which is its closest ally, and Ankara stands for the overthrow of Assad.

Besides that divide subject matter between two countries is ideological definition of "Arab spring". Turkey considers the national movements as a period of transition from autocratic regimes to democracy and freedom. But Tehran regards these movements as the Islamic revolution. "Arab Spring", which would be an obvious consequence of the transformation not only of the political regimes, but also regional subsystem of international relations in the Middle East, opened up the possibility of the active participation in the formation of a new order in the region from opinion of the Turkish leaders.

In first foreign trip after triumphal elections in 2011, prime minister of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan visited the countries "winning Arab spring" – Egypt, Tunisia, Libya. However after some hours being in Cairo, it was clear for Erdogan that he found himself surrounded by not local democrats, but military - recent Mubarak's close supporters. But the signed agreement with Egypt about strategic partnership of two countries –it was not military alliance. So the only place , where the Turkish Prime Minister got the opportunity to fully develop their "theses", it was a meeting of the ministers of the foreign affairs of the Arab

League. In an effort to attract the sympathy of the population of the Arab countries - the logic of which is guided by Turkey during the "Arab Spring", Erdogan used such a win techniques as distancing from authoritarian regimes and criticism of Israel.

At the same time, the Turkish prime minister barely started in Cairo talking about the successful «Turkish model» greetings to the «fighter for Palestine" quickly gave way to listless. “We want a government stating based on Islamic law”-the words of Erdogan -was an intervention at inner arrangement of Egypt.

Turkish politician Ali Birand noticed that latest events raised the relation between Washington and Ankara to unseen level, and the position of West changed the next five steps of Erdogan.

At the Libyan campaign Erdogan, acting firstly with some fluctuations, joined to the Western camp. He gave permission to placement in the frame of NATO BDM system in Turkey area, it seemed clearly, whose supporter (Iran or USA) Turkey was, and it changed USA approach.

On the other hand, it is not all that simple in view of what is happening in Turkey. Not new and accusations of interfering of Turkey in internal affairs of Syria, and they come not only from the Syrian authorities. Dissatisfaction is also expressed by Iran and Iraq, who accuses Turkey of supporting the armed opposition in Syria.

At first glance, the Turkish model with its emphasis on secularism and democracy is clearly attractive to the region, which had suffered from decades of despotism. However, historical experience and political developments in Turkey are quite different from the Arab countries, which made this model unviable for them.

Turkey continues to experiment for embedding in Islam Western lifestyle. This quite a long time, no less than recent period of Ottoman Empire and differs

country from many other Muslim countries in Middle East, which are going down in the swamp of traditions without any political renewal. It is impossible not to agree with the political expert opinions, expert on Turkish foreign policy «RAND - Corporation» Stephen Larrabee that the history of the Turkish model in its present form is from the leadership of the founder of the Turkish Republic – M.K.Ataturk. In such a manner, in the Turkish political life for decades, there are important elements, among them - the figure of the leader and the continuity of the idea of Westernization. There are not corresponding precedent conditions in Arab Middle East. Most countries in the region have no independent political institutions and traditions on which to build a democratic political system.

Overall, 2011 would be remembered in connection with the radical political transformations in the Middle East in the history. Ongoing events represent prominent possibilities of Turkey and hold great promises.

The Republic of Turkey is fully capable of achieving their goals while maintaining a balanced policy based on common sense, rather than populist rhetoric.

Turkish Objectives of the "Arab spring" can be formulated as follows:

- a) To change of elites in the conflict zones, the coming to power of new subjects such as Islamic, under the control of Turkey , the ability to obtain polnomochiyaot US Process Management, up to determine the extent of the depth of the Islamization of the new elites;
- b) to ensure preservation of the territorial integrity and reformat the card of project "Greater Middle East" –due to American projects implementation according to change of outdated modes while maintaining and increasing their real accountability and thanks to agreement of performance in this context, of role of self- Right Hand of the USA,
- c) to enhance its role as a power not just a regional and supra-regional level , as a power, able to meet the challenges of a global nature,

- d) to show real US commitment and willingness to act in the framework of their policies for the benefit of conservation of relative sovereignty and for the sake of retaining the ruling elite in power,
- e) to extend the possibility of using all types of existing "forces", among which the main role is played by religious and ethical (ideological), personified in particular Tariqa Islam (the sect), "Nur",
- f) to prepare the base for promotion to leading positions in the framework of the process of recognition of a Palestinian state, including the conditions of marginalization in international relations and the expansion of controlled anarchy,
- g) to strengthen its territorial integrity and to prevent the spread of " spring" into its territory,
- h) to protect the interests of its own citizens,
- i) to take out the state property of the conflict zone.²¹

The Persian Gulf countries are rich in oil. Oil gives them almost the world's highest per capita incomes. At the same time, millions of Syrian refugees took the place in overcrowded camps of Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey, or they were trying to reach Europe with the risk of their lives. The ongoing armed clashes in Syria have led to the fact that more than 1.6 million Syrian refugees have sought refuge in neighboring Turkey.²²

According to the Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (AFAD) in Turkey, the content of Syrian refugees has been cost Ankara \$ 5.5 billion. In the camps of Syrian refugees in Turkey live about 300 thousand people. The rest are scattered throughout the Turkish provinces, and 40 thousand refugees from Syria live only in Istanbul now.

²¹"The interest of "Arab Spring" events in the region of Turkey's foreign policy context", V.A.Avatkov, 2012, pg.145

²²BBC London, "Syrian refugees", September 9, 2015

One of the serious problems in this area - is the issue of Syrian refugees, who is engaged in begging. Despite the fact that this problem has been partially solved, within the context of the recent operations against beggar's refugees in the nine provinces of Turkey, more than 30 thousand people have been detained.

Recently, the Turkish government issued a statement that Syrian refugees will be able to work in the tourism sector of the country.

It is possible that, as the Syrian refugees are cheap labor for the work they will receive the minimum wage, which it is 949 Turkish Liras in Turkey.

It can also lead to an increased demand for workers among the Syrian refugees and it cause another round of unemployment in Turkey.²³

According to statistics Syria is in the first level related to its 4 million refugees in world history.

4.1 The Syrian crisis following the 'Arab Spring'

1. Bashar al-Assad's government brutally suppressed mass protests which began on 15 March 2011. The violent response sparked the region's most severe armed conflict in which more than 250,000 people have been killed, according to the UN.
2. Since then, more than 11 million people have been forced from their homes, including around 7 million people within Syria and more than 4 million who are now refugees abroad, mostly in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan.
3. Government forces have repeatedly shelled and bombed civilian areas using indiscriminate weapons, including barrel bombs. They've also bombed hospitals, targeted medical workers and mounted long-running sieges of opposition-held areas, depriving people of food, medicines and other necessities.

²³BBC news, "Turkey preparing for large numbers of Syrian refugees", 2011

4. According to the Syrian Network for Human Rights, approximately 65,000 people have been arrested by government security forces and are now missing in a network of unofficial detention centres. Others have been jailed for helping people forced from their homes by the fighting, or for speaking out about the situation in Syria.
5. Intelligence agencies and other government forces continue to use torture on a massive scale. Thousands have died in custody since 2011 due to torture and other factors, including lack of food and medical access.
6. The armed group calling itself the Islamic State (IS) has shelled civilian areas and killed scores of civilians and prisoners.
7. Other armed groups including Jabhat al-Nusra have also attacked civilian areas, abducted suspected opponents and killed captives.
8. Russian air strikes in support of the al-Assad government have killed hundreds of civilians and struck medical facilities.²⁴

²⁴<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2016/01/arab-spring-five-years-on/-> "The Arab spring: Five years on", 2016

5. Comparative analysis of US, EU , Turkish Approaches

Such a term as “Arab spring” joined to global political lexicon and fixed. The political implication expressed by this term, someone sees with hope, and others- with disappointment, as called " Arab Spring "process can lead to changes in the vast geopolitical space. At the same time these events can be seen as a link appearing at various levels of geopolitical, military and energy factors. Exactly, they provided complexity and contrariety current problems. What, then, could be the possible geopolitical consequences of the "Arab Spring"?

Authoritarian rulers in North Africa and the Middle East, the throne under which staggered, were trying to pass the popular uprisings of foreign conspiracy. According to the media sources, in this case USA and EU cautiously looked at the revolution, which at a certain level were promoting the main Western values. Echoes of revolutions even went to the Central Asian dictatorial regimes. Can the "Turkish model" become a model for Egypt and other Arab countries?

In accordance with confirmation of reviewer of “Financial times” –Gideon Rachman, for the West, the "Arab Spring" – was a good and bad news at once. “The good news is in that, it is arabian 1989 year. But the bad one is in that we act in the role of Soviet Union”.

For America, the unrest in Saudi Arabia and the strengthening of "Al-Qaeda", or Iran - the worst nightmare, but the coming to power of the moderate forces in Syria -pipe dream. "The Israelis, soothing the disappearance of their main enemies, agree with the creation of a viable Palestinian state", - the author believes.

William Dobson in The Washington Post blog called conspiracy theory as the last refuge of dictators. In last week Syria President Bashar Assad joined to procession of Arab rulers, resorting to such rhetoric: in a highly anticipated

speech, so nothing clarified, he declared the conspiracy theory - as early done by Ben Ali, Hosni Mubarak, Abdullah Saleh and Gaddafi.²⁵

“Coming under rising pressure of society, demanding political reform, Arabian autocrats have to resort to the most desperate arguments to explain to compatriots the reasons for the chaos”. Afraid to admit the true roots of the revolution, dictators try to put peaceful protesters in the wrong light, the author writes.

Another important element of the Turkish model –is the religious life strictly controlled by central agency dictating even the mosques architecture. The big question is whether Turkey is humbled with such a system in the Arab world”-N.Stone noticed. However, the President of Turkey -Recap Tayyip Erdogan - a moderate Islamist and his appeal to the brotherhood of all Muslims is not addled pated. But the Arab-Turkish relations are never really warm: many Turks despise Arabs, and many Arabs despise the so-called Turkish model "- Stone indicated.

In addition, today the Turkish model demonstrates its drawbacks: Turkish secularists are concerned about the spread of Islam. But if it will be any friction between nationalism and Islam, nationalism is certain to win. Turkish model will remain as purely Turkish "- the author concluded.²⁶

The socio-political processes, caused by the "Arab spring" of 2011-2012 are in constant dynamics. This stage can be defined as a transition. It is characterized by the destruction of the old power structures and by extension to the forefront of public and political life of political Islam movements.

5.1 Two different types of social and political changes

- under the influence of mainly internal factors (Tunisia, Egypt)

²⁵Lindsey Hilsum, "Sandstorm: Libya in the Time of Revolution", London, 2012, pg.56

²⁶CNN news, "Tasks and responses of the "Arab Spring"", 2012

- as a direct result of outside interference and attempts to use the discontent and protest of certain social groups in order to achieve external actors their political aims (as happened in Libya and in Syria)

As the parliamentary elections in Tunisia, which scheduled for March 2013, grew contradictions within the ruling coalition. A manifestation of the internal crisis was the criticism of Prime Minister Hamadi Jebali at the Congress president's party CDR. In addition to claims for economic policy, he was accused of extradition at the request of Libya, the current leadership of former Prime Minister of Libya Al-Mahmoudi. This step Jebali was apparently dictated by economic considerations, as Tunisia is dependent on energy supplies from Libya.

Coalition members also disagreed with the definition of foreign policy, which would stimulate the future economic development of the country. Marzouki was a supporter of the traditional orientation to the Tunisian partners, primarily in the European Union. Jebali offered to diversify foreign policy and to focus on the Sunni monarchies of the Gulf (in particular Qatar). Another point of disagreement - is related to the Salafis, which recently increased its influence in the country. It was defeated of the Salafist Group for government buildings, as well as bars and hotels in the resort towns. In the capital of Tunisia in summer of 2012 there were the supporters of the Salafi demonstrations with the requirements of the introduction of Sharia law.

These demonstrations greeted Az-Zawahiri, the leader of "Al-Qaeda", calling to establish in Tunisia "a truly Islamic state". Demonstrations led by Salafi sheikhs movements. Islamization causes a rift in Tunisian society, as evidenced by the protest demonstrations of those who see in strengthening the role of Islam, attacks on democratic rights won in the time of the first president of independent Tunisia, Habib Bourguiba. These demonstrations, in particular, carried by the supporters of the opposition party "Call", led by Al-BejiKaid Al-SEBS, associate of Bourguiba, former Prime Minister. Protesters opposed to

some points of the draft of the new constitution, which they believed infringe on the rights of women.²⁷

In Egypt, after the collapse of the president Mubarak regime "Muslim Brotherhood" became the most organized and influential political force. They posed themselves as the moderate Islamists whose political program proclaimed the general democratic goals.

In foreign policy, Morsi is aimed at rapprochement with the US, as well as the Persian Gulf monarchies after elections.

This is evidenced by his first visit - in Saudi Arabia and in the United States, as well as performance at a high international forum - the summit of Non-Aligned Movement (Iran, August 2012), where Morsi criticized the Syrian president, calling his regime "illegitimate" actually sided with the position of the West and the Gulf countries. During his visit to the United States, inter alia, stated that he "has no problems with the peace treaty with Israel," concluded in 1979, that is not going to reconsider it. In domestic policy, Egypt's growing role was played by Islamic values - how (in varying degrees) in all countries of the victorious of "Arab Spring". In matters of public life of Mursi was continuing consultations with the leadership of "Muslim Brotherhood". The important point, causing criticism of the President and an active discussion in the Egyptian social and political circles was the development of a new constitution. According to Morsi's affirmation, the draft constitution should be completed by December 12, 2012. More of the items of the draft reflected the Islamist ideology. This caused a sharp criticism of Morsi opposition parties and movements.²⁸

In Libya began in mid-February 2011 protest demonstrations against the 42-year rule of Muammar Gaddafi quickly escalated into an armed uprising, actively supported by the naval blockade and air strikes of NATO. The members

²⁷Al Murid, "If Arab spring is tomorrow", 2013, pg.112

²⁸Toby Manhire, "The Arab Spring: Rebellion, revolution, and a new world order", Wellington, 2012, pg.58-59

of the Gaddafi family, in turn, filed a lawsuit in the International Criminal Court in the NATO alliance accused in the murder of Gaddafi, which they qualify as a "crime against humanity".

Protest demonstrations against the 42-years rule of Muammar Gaddafi beginning in mid-February 2011 in Libya, quickly escalated into an armed uprising, actively supported by the naval blockade and air strikes of NATO. The members of the Gaddafi family, in turn, filed a lawsuit in the International Criminal Court in the NATO alliance accused in the murder of Gaddafi, which they qualify as a "crime against humanity". Nevertheless, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen called the operation in Libya, "one of the most successful in the history of NATO" and said that the organization "will continue to assist the new Libyan authorities." Currently, the new government was not able to completely control the situation in the country, in spite of the election of the parliament. In Libya, there were clashes between supporters of both Gaddafi and the authorities and between the militias of various clans and tribal groups. Many of those who fought against Gaddafi 'rebels' professed radical Islamism. After the fall of the Latvian prisons, hundreds of radical Islamists had been released, including members of groups those close to the "Al-Qaeda". It is noteworthy that during their stay in the prison of their interrogations are often conducted jointly by the Libyan secret service and the CIA, which the Security Service Gaddafi actively cooperated in the fight against "international terrorism."²⁹

In Syria, civil conflict continued from March 2011. In it, on the one hand, it served the ruling elite under the leadership of President Bashar al-Assad, who was completely loyal to the law enforcement agencies and the army. President actively or passively supported the most of Syria's population (according to various sources, from 60% to 75%). On the other hand - the armed opposition groups, mainly represented by radical Islamists, many of whom were mercenaries from the Arab-Muslim countries and the Muslim Diaspora in Europe, including

²⁹Vijay Prashad, "Arab Spring, Libyan Winter", Delhi, 2012, pg.113-118

the militants, "Al-Qaeda". Active assistance in their training, financing and arming was provided by Persian Gulf monarchies, Turkey and the leading NATO countries.

The media is often said that the "Arab Spring" was conceived by US. It was confirmed that "Arab Spring" fit into the American strategy of "controlled chaos". Controlled chaos - it is difficult, almost a chess combination in which all carefully calculate in advance. And that seems, did US figure out their military operations in Iraq or Afghanistan and receive the expected results?! Here is the statement according to this regard -American scientist Gregory Goza.³⁰

In article entitled as "Why had researchers of the Middle East problems missed the Arab Spring. Myths about the stability of authoritarian regimes" published in «Foreign Affairs» magazine, he wrote: "For the experts on the Middle East such as surprise were the Arab uprisings, as for the man in the street. All the past decade proving the stability of the local authoritarian regimes, they underestimated the latent powers of the coming changes. Once they remove the veil from their eyes, they will understand the need to revise their forecasts on the situation in the Arab world ". Moreover, even in the course of the conference in Middle East Institute in July 2011, in which experts-Arabians from more than twenty American research centers have participated, it has been made a key conclusion: "The Arab Spring demonstrated the limited capacity of the American state to influence events in the Middle East. The United States has no authority and resources to exercise a dominant influence in the Middle East ..."

Initiator of mass action was educated youth - "Generation Internet". They saw that in developed countries, people's lives differently arranged: there are exchangeable power, free media, legal actions of the opposition, respect for human rights, trade unions protect the interests of working people, no beggars, etc. Therefore, it is necessary to ensure that similar orders were in their country.

³⁰The New York Times, "Does USA blame for the Arab spring?", 2015, February

Especially that there were reasons for dissatisfaction with the existing order of things: the power is doing violence to people, suppresses opposition, and suppresses dissent. Additionally there is corruption, electoral fraud, a big gap between rich and poor, and in many countries - and the mass poverty and huge unemployment, especially among young people, the educated youth. And there has been a violation of the rights of ethnic and religious minorities. Particularly it was annoyed young people long stay of the first persons in power.

So, at the beginning of the "Arab Spring" Ben Ali ruled Tunisia 23 years, Hosni Mubarak in Egypt - 30 years, Ali Abdullah Saleh in Yemen - 30 years, Hafez Assad and his son Bashar - respectively 30 and 11 years, Muammar Gaddafi in Libya - 42 years. And Gaddafi and Mubarak is prepared to replace the currently sons.

It is not difficult to guess that the young people mechanically transferred to the other country-level realities of the highly developed countries, which have been made painstaking efforts of many generations and decades, if not centuries. And the long-term residence of the first persons in power, and even the transfer of power from father to son are not always evil. For example, in democratic India, Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister handed over power to his daughter Indri Gandhi and her - her son Rajiv Gandhi, and after his death, the Prime Minister could be Rajiv's wife Sonia. But being Italian (Sonia Main), she refused to take the place of the deceased husband. Moreover, we must emphasize that all this happened on the will of the people, as a result of the parliamentary elections.

So what is the role of the West in the course of the deployment of anti-government protests in the Arab countries? For the most part it was destructive. Politicians and political scientists of the European Union, particularly from liberal fundamentalist camp, encouraged the initiators of the Arab Spring, to fight for democracy, for the removal from power of authoritarian rulers.

On the one hand Washington rushed between the preservation of its strategic position in the region, and from its side as the world's chief advocate of democracy and human rights - on the other. The most obvious was its throwing against Egypt in the midst of the "Arab Spring" and after coming to power legally Islamists. However, the strategic mistake was direct military intervention in the fight against Gaddafi supporters and opponents France and Britain, and the United States. Without such intervention Gaddafi hundred percent would have remained in power.

Gaddafi not only suppressed the radical Islamists in their own country, but also kept under the control of the vast territory of the Sahara, preventing the penetration of flows of people from other countries to the Mediterranean. To do this, he had branched armed forces: Revolutionary Guards Brigade, mass guards, the revolutionary committees of defense, border guards, the guards deserted, international battalions, the battalions of African, Arab battalions. After his elimination, roughly speaking, Libya changed into a thoroughfare. And not even seen the power that could limit outflows to Europe through Libya.

It is said that shortly before his death Gaddafi said in an address Western countries whose planes bombed positions of the Libyan government, "You do not bomb Libya; you bomb the wall, not to miss the Africans and terrorists in Europe."

But we put the question: did the West win by that supported anti-government demonstrations under the banner of the "Arab Spring"? Definitely, not. And what did this "spring" bring the Arab peoples, without economic losses? Libya as a state disintegrated. Syria ruined and lost hundreds of thousands of human lives. Related to this loss carried Yemen. In some countries, the power of the secular forces passed to the Muslims, even moderate. The terrorist attacks of the Islamists now and then happen in Tunisia and Egypt, where this "spring" began.

5.2 The negative consequences of the Arab Spring

In its development the nation passed the stage of development - from the primitive, primitive - to developed and highly developed. And each stage in its development corresponded to a particular type of political system, some form of democracy. Tribal democracy, slave-owning democracy, a class of feudal society, democracy and representative democracy industrial and postindustrial society was known to mankind years by years. And trying to impose on the countries of tribal and feudal society, even the western type of democracy, as was often practiced the West, meant not to know not only the history of other nations, but also their own history.

Europe had become the heir of the achievements of the ancient Roman civilization. It was no accident in England already in 1215 adopted the so-called Magna Carta, which limited the rights of the king and gave some privileges to the top of society and the city. In European countries there were independent city, these cities were used by broad autonomy guild of craftsmen, traders and so on. However, in the nineteenth century the right to elect and to be elected to parliament, it was used a less than ten percent of the adult population, and women in general were deprived of the right to vote. And the United States could take in the whole democratic constitution (1787) at a relatively low level of development just because the majority of immigrants came from England. But do not forget that for nearly one hundred years in the United States remained enslaved blacks, and in the middle of the twentieth century, the rights and freedoms of citizens in Western countries were limited to all sorts of restrictions. It was only after the so-called student revolution of 1968, they gained further development in France.

P.S. "If the stars are lit - the poet said - then it is someone who needs it."

Reinterpret these words, It could be said: if in any country ruled by authoritarian or ethnic or confessional minority, so there were objective reasons, and it is not necessary to break it from the outside, or incite people to a breakdown within.

And to think: better to be at the same time by the "liberated from tyranny."
It is a fact that, for example, Iraq people think that life under the dictatorship of
Saddam was a hundred times better than the current "democracy" .³¹

³¹BBC, "Victims of the "Arab spring", 2015, March

6. Conclusion

The mass protests that swept the Arab world in 2011-2012, raised a number of countries in North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula and the Middle East. The results of these social movements, which are called "Arab Spring" began the overthrow of regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, wreck itself in Libya, a significant change in the ruling elite in Yemen and the ongoing confrontation between the authorities and the opposition in Syria. But if in Tunisia, Egypt and Yemen, the main causes of anti-government protests began internal factors - socio-economic crisis, the corruption of the ruling elite, the absence of real democratic freedoms, ethnic-religious conflicts, in Libya and Syria (in the presence of, although to a lesser extent, similar problems) a decisive role played external factor - the support of the opposition forces from the outside.

Briefly analyze the results of the "Arab Spring" in Tunisia and Egypt, then first of all it should be noted that the changes affected only the upper echelon of the power elite. Events in Tunisia and Egypt could be defined as a social protest directed against the corrupt authoritarian regimes with a quasi-democracy front. This protest Islamist component was only a part of the general movement, but at the end was able to take a leading political position. At the same time, the structure of power in these countries to date had not undergone major changes, as well as no significant reformed of the socio-economic sphere. Such an outcome was clearly not happy with that part of society that had actively participated in the overthrow of the former regime, but received no tangible dividends.

Over a six-month military confrontation resulted in many respects to the destruction of the country's infrastructure and the disruption of the work of all the institutions of power that virtually created anew. At that time emigration from Libya grew up, including illegal, to neighboring countries and the West. A major problem was the large number of weapons from the population; it's getting into the hands of extremist groups and spreading to neighboring regions.

As the part of the forces that came to power in Libya, it was obvious the presence of Islamists, including radical. It is also known that in Libyan prisons under Gaddafi were serving sentences of up to 600 Islamic militants convicted of terrorism. Now, according to reports from Libya, they were all released. Already the first acts of the Libyan authorities confirmed that the legal framework of the country becomes Shariat. In particular, it repealed the law banning polygamy, and passed a law prohibiting divorce.

In Yemen, anti-government protests began in February 2011. Their reasons were mainly internal factors: worsening of social and economic problems, suppression of democratic freedoms and longstanding (since 1990) authoritarian rule of President Ali Abdullah Saleh and his closest clans. The problem that caused the protest movement in Yemen, continues to exist, and even exacerbated, which can lead to further destabilization of the situation in the country.

Currently in Syria it is implemented the plan of socio-economic and political reforms proposed by the government. In accordance with the new law on multiparty system, the process of creation of new political parties is going on. It is the party representing the liberal-democratic circles, the interests of the Kurdish community, the left movement, positioning themselves as the patriotic opposition. In contrast to the "Istanbul", they are ready for a constructive dialogue with the authorities and put forward a number of demands and proposals. February 26, 2012 in Syria it was held a referendum on the new draft constitution for the approval of which 89.4% voted in favor.

In Syria, there is mass support for the country's leadership on the part of most of the population. Despite all the difficulties associated with the fight against anti-government armed groups in the country is a democratic process, involving the main political forces in society.

It should be noted that the objectives of the different groups of countries to sign a statement against Syria, strongly disagree, if not diametrically opposed.

The objectives of the Russian and Chinese diplomacy is to prevent foreign military intervention, political resolution of the conflict by finding a consensus between the Syrian leadership and opposition, the preservation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Syria. Approximately the same position was occupied by, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, Algeria, part of the social and political forces of Jordan. The objectives of the leading NATO countries and Israel is the elimination of the regime of Bashar al-Assad, a change in domestic and foreign policy of Syria, and possibly its dismemberment by ethnoreligious principle. From the position of these countries identify themselves Turkey and the Persian Gulf monarchies. Thus, in the face of Syria will be removed an ally of Iran and radical Palestinian groups, there will be conditions for a military strike on Iran, as well as the weakening of the Shiite influence in Lebanon and Iraq. These intentions suggest to meeting of April 1, 2012 in Istanbul, the so-called "Friends of Syria" (NATO countries, the Persian Gulf monarchies, Turkey), where it was decided to extend assistance to the Syrian opposition, including radical and recognition of the SNA " legitimate representative of the Syrian people. " At this meeting (as in the first meeting of the "Friends of Syria" held in Tunis in February 2012), Russia, China and the representatives of the Syrian leadership did not participate.

Summing up the preliminary results of the "Arab Spring", it is possible to select multiple options. First - Tunisia and Egypt, where the overthrow of the ruling regime was due to internal factors. (At the same time the Tunisian and Egyptian cases each have their own characteristics.) The second - Libya, where there was a military intervention of external forces, which led to the collapse of the regime and the actual disintegration of the state, which caused further armed confrontation of different clans and political factions. Third - Yemen: as a result of internal confrontation and external pressure has been a significant change in the balance of power within the ruling elite, which, however, did not lead to political consensus and resolve internal problems. Fourth - Syria, where the main

factor destabilizing the internal situation, was the support of the radical opposition from the outside, largely formed as external forces. It is worth noting also the fifth, Bahraini variant: here protests were harshly suppressed by a foreign military intervention, caught in this case, unlike Libya and Syria, on the side of the regime.

It is noteworthy that the weak link among the countries affected by the "Arab Spring", were some of the most loyal allies of the West - Tunisia and Egypt. In their social and economic crisis, authoritarian rule and corruption manifested most clearly. At the same time, countries such as Libya, Algeria (where there have also been protests), Syria, initially follow different forms of socialist orientation, were more resistant to "spring wind". Sufficient resistance also showed Arab monarchies. But the situation here, especially in the Persian Gulf, cannot be called stable.

An important result in almost all countries affected by the "Arab spring", was the strengthening of the role of Islam and movements professing political Islam (Sunni). And in "Arab revolutions" interfaith and, in particular, the Sunni-Shiite conflict played a minor role. They were important as an external factor. The talk is about support for "revolutionary movements" countries of Sunni Islam, particularly Persian Gulf monarchies.

The socio-political processes in the «post-revolutionary» Arab countries are in constant development and apparently are still far from complete. Apparently, the opposition will continue in Syria, destabilizing processes in Yemen, and (especially) in Libya and its neighboring regions. At the same time in the "Arab Spring" is actively trying to engage the democratic forces. Emerging from the wreckage of authoritarian states, new political regimes will be no longer unequivocally pro-Western, which will create a new political configuration in the

Middle East and the impact on the situation in Europe and, to some extent, the whole world.³²

Thus, it could be talked about that Middle Eastern events (revolution, riots, unrest) are in large-scale in nature, reflecting to:

- Searching of democratic societies circuits
- Society is becoming increasingly complex, it cannot be reduced only to some simple one-dimensional measurements and requires a different management system, rather than the elite with their corruption and closeness
- Rapid population growth and, consequently, the emergence of a significant layer of youth cannot be a long time to get on with obsolete, outdated political structures.
- Internet space creates a new field of social technologies; there is a technology of "virtual indirect aggression."
- Lost its former importance of traditional international institutions.

The socio-political processes in the "post-revolutionary" Arab countries are in constant development and far from complete. Considering that Arab Spring is the ongoing process it is hard to state more accurate ideas regarding the consequences of this process and approaches to it . However today US's approach is more idealistic because of its geo strategy. The idea of "democracy" have not yet brought good results to the region. But it has not much destructive impact to the USA. Also USA does not meet with the refugee crises.

Despite of USA, EU and Turkey could not be idealistic . Their approach is more realistic. It is understandable, because the revolution is closer to Turkey and Europe than US. And of course its impact is more dangerous to EU and Turkey. First there are security threats as terrorism, territorial integrity and etc. Second there is social threats as refugee crises.

³²""Arab Spring": results and aspects", B.Dolgov, 2012, Moscow, April, pg.52

Scientific approaches to this process are pretty different. Some of scholars claim that the main reasons of the whole process are internal problems. However others maintain that the fact of external impacts is significant. But there is no any fact to prove it. Even if it is true, neither US nor EU and Turkey expect this kind of large scale outcomes of this process

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