

THE IMPACT OF THE ARAB SPRING ON THE BALANCE OF POWER IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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Annotation. In 2011-2012, revolutionary events took place in the countries of the Middle East and North Africa, which significantly changed the balance of power in the region. As a result of the revolutions, new political regimes were created in many countries, the result of which was a change in the foreign policy of these countries. Since the beginning of 2011, the political regimes of some states of the Arab world have begun to undergo changes by force. The crisis in the domestic state due to revolutionary political transformation the risks of escalation, as well as the intervention of foreign states and international organizations, have increased the relevance of studying the parameters of the "Arab Spring" revolution.

The article provides clear data on the expansion of Russian and American influence in the Middle East, the fact that China suffered huge economic losses, China was unable to protect its interests in the region due to the lack of effective political and military means.

Keywords: Middle East and North Africa, Arab world, political transformation, revolution.

Basic provisions

The relevance of studying the topic is beyond doubt, and due to the growing contradictions and conflicts of interest of different countries in the Middle East, it is a consequence of the violation of inter-religious and inter-ethnic balance. Determining the impact of the events of the "Arab Spring" on changes in the balance of power in the region is an important factor in resolving these contradictions. The aftermath of the Arab Spring could affect stability not only in the region, but also in Central Asia and Europe.

The destabilization of political systems in 2010 was due to long-term geopolitical and socio-cultural, demographic factors, the impossibility of success of socio-political modernization to copy the Western liberal models. In Egypt and Libya, as a result of Western funding and technical support, Internet technologies play an important role in destabilizing and overthrowing patriotic regimes [1].

As a result of the revolutionary events in the Middle East in 2011-2012, there was a change in the balance of power. This has led to changes in political regimes, the rise of terrorist organizations, and new conflicts in the region, such as the civil wars in Syria and Yemen. One of the largest powers in the region is the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Inequalities in the Middle East in the wake of the "Arab Spring" and Iran's influence (including in conflict zones) would encourage Saudi Arabia to intensify its policies, but would also try to deter Iran.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was active until 2015 and has established close relations with the United States, for which it is the guarantor of the world oil market and stable supplies. However, with the emergence of a new monarch, foreign policy changed. Recently, there have been some tensions in relations between Saudi Arabia and the United States. Saudi Arabia, which aspires to be a leader in the region, is trying to reduce US influence in the Middle East and considers it unacceptable for it to interfere in the region's internal affairs. И. Kryuchkov, in his article "Saudi Arabia's Foreign Policy in the Middle East at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century," argues that "the King of Saudi Arabia's failure to meet US President Barack Obama at the airport on April 21, 2016 is evidence of tensions between the two countries" [2].

Introduction

Despite differences in foreign policy, these countries need cooperation and interaction in the field of economic and military security. The formation of a coalition backed by Saudi Arabia's involvement in Yemen's civil war is clear evidence of the country's crucial foreign policy. Thus, after the events of the "Arab Spring", Saudi Arabia was able to strengthen its position in the Middle East. Strengthening its position, Saudi Arabia began to consider the region as a zone of special influence.

Egypt is also one of the largest powers in the region. It should be noted that Saudi Arabia's policy towards Egypt is aimed at strengthening Egypt's dependence on Riyadh in order to gain a leading position. The country's economy and political reputation have been hit hard during the "crisis" and that Egypt is experiencing demographic unrest. The country needs investments, financial assistance and loans to develop the national economy. These factors force Egypt to maintain good relations with Saudi Arabia, which has large financial resources. Egypt's policy is also aimed at reducing dependence on the United States. Egypt seeks to establish close ties and cooperation with Russia and China in various fields.

In the period from 2011 to 2013, three political regimes changed in Egypt: the regime of Hosni Mubarak, the transitional government formed by the Supreme Army Council, and the regime of Mohammed Mursi. In 2014, Abdel Fattah al-Sisi came to power. During the reign of Muhammad Mursi, the country was significantly weakened both economically and in terms of security. The support of radical Islamism and Salafism by the country's leadership raised the threat of civil war in Egypt. In addition, this has led to the development of a security threat in the region and around the world. The country's authorities took control of the transitional government, which announced the holding of new parliamentary and presidential elections. It should be noted that the army is the main force of Egypt. For more than sixty years, the military ruled the state, and the "Arab Spring" did not contribute to the democratization of the regime, but, on the contrary, led to further centralization of power in the hands of the Mursi and other internal problems.

Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi seeks to reduce dependence on the United States and actively cooperates with Russia and China to this end. He also

returned to Egypt the role of mediator in the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, seeking to establish relations with Israel and the Palestinian government. Al-Sisi is carrying out various reforms to overcome the economic crisis and reduce Egypt's external debt. Thus, despite many domestic problems and foreign political difficulties, Egypt overcame political chaos and embarked on the path of development. Despite its small territory and small population, the state of Qatar is considered one of the most important players in the Middle East. The "Arab Spring" paved the way for regional politics for Qatar, and its ambitious plans influenced the Sunni part of the Islamic world.

Description of materials and methods

Despite the small size of the land and the small population, one of the most important players in the Middle East is the state of Qatar. Qatar seeks to take a leading role in the region and increase the country's prestige. Qatar seeks to influence not only the policies of the countries of the Middle East, but also the policies of other external actors. It should be noted that due to the low political culture of the Qatari population and the small number of Shiites, the events of the "Arab Spring" did not have a significant impact on this country. Stability within the country, great financial opportunities allowed Qatar to change its foreign policy. After the outbreak of the revolutionary events of 2011-2012, Qatar moved from a policy of mediation to a policy of active intervention in what is happening in the region.

In the work "Foreign policy activities of the state of Qatar in the framework of the Arab Spring in the Middle East", A. Demina said: "from the very beginning of all these events, Qatar actively supports various anti-government forces against self-respecting regimes and adheres to its position. The need to change these regimes for example, in Egypt, the Qatari government supported the Muslim Brotherhood opposition party, in Libya, close ties were established with Libyan Islamists, and Al Jazeera was also controlled by Qatar and often provided false information about the population of the Middle East. Thus, During the events of the "Arab Spring", Qatar's foreign policy played a destabilizing role in the Middle East. Summing up the above, we can draw the following conclusions. Saudi Arabia, Egypt and the state of Qatar are countries that play a crucial role in the policy of the Middle East region. Saudi Arabia and Qatar have strengthened their position and increased their influence in the region, taking advantage of the instability of other countries in the region.

Despite the deteriorating economic situation in the country and the difficult political climate, Egypt has not lost its influence in the Middle East. Seeking to take a leading position in the region, these countries seek to reduce the influence of the United States in the Middle East and limit its involvement in internal conflicts in the region. Strengthening Iran's position in the Iranian region is the only country in the Middle East whose territory has not suffered from the conflict. For this reason, many experts consider Iran to be the only regional power that has benefited from the conflict. Iran, like Qatar, has tried to use the events of the "Arab Spring" to strengthen its foreign policy positions. Iran hoped to significantly reduce US influence in the

Middle East region by overthrowing pro-American regimes. Instead, the Iranian government proposed a model of the "Islamic Republic".

Results

The coup that began in Syria in 2011 was a major concern for the country. After all, Syria is Iran's closest ally in the region. A. Kuznetsov wrote in his article "on the role of Iran in the Syrian crisis" that "the strategic partnership between Iran and the SAR began immediately after the victory of the Iranian Islamic Revolution. The alliance between Damascus and Tehran was dictated by the requirement of alauite dogmas to meet the geopolitical purpose, not a religious association, despite its proximity to the Shiga" [3].

Iran provided significant economic, military and political assistance to the Government of Bashar al-Assad, which contributed to the preservation of power, despite increased pressure from the domestic armed opposition and its foreign guardians (the United States, Turkey, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, EU countries). In addition, since May 2013, armed groups of the Hezbollah movement have been actively participating in hostilities on the side of the Government of Bashar al-Assad in Syria. It is worth noting the diplomatic efforts of Iran to resolve the Syrian crisis. K. Truevtsev wrote in his article that "the most important thing in this regard is the success in the negotiations, which took place in May 2017 in Astana, about thirty, that is, coordinated with representatives of all major armed groups of the opposition. As a result, the memorandum on the creation of a conflict reduction zone was published precisely in enclaves controlled by the guarantor countries – Russia, Turkey and Iran. In fact, this means that all enclaves, completely or partially surrounded by Syrian government forces, will become a military and political zone under the control of the process of political settlement, despite the fact that the fight against terrorist organizations will continue" [4].

In Yemen, Iran, on the other hand, had a negative impact on the development of the revolutionary events of 2011. The Republic of Iran provides financial and ideological support to the Houthis, as well as provides military and technical support to their units. In addition, Iran is actively establishing relations with separatists in the south of the country. By fighting terrorist organizations, the Republic of Iran is solving its geopolitical tasks in Yemen. If the Shiite Houthi rebels retain their power in Yemen, it will become the first state with a Shiite elite, which will significantly strengthen Iran's position in the region.

At the same time, if the situation in Yemen does not stabilize, then this country may increase the antagonism between Saudi Arabia and Iran. In his study "prospects of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the context of the Arab Spring", M. Rybalov notes that "a difficult situation has arisen in Bahrain, which, despite the apparent sympathy of the protesting Shiites, the Islamic Republic of Iran must cooperate in the economic sphere" [5]. The increase in Iranian influence in Bahrain will negatively affect this country and may lead to the final radicalization of society.

Iran is also actively pursuing a policy in Iraq. Iran has a strong influence on the official course of the new Iraqi leadership through the exchange of official delegations and the implementation of joint projects to restore Iraq's economy and infrastructure. In addition, Iran conducts "popular diplomacy" in this country, for example, visits to Shia temples, criticism of the occupation of the country, and solidarity with victims of terrorist attacks. Currently, there is a favorable political situation for Iran to establish important positions in Iraq. In this regard, it can be emphasized that one side of the "Arab Spring" is a complex political space, within which it is possible to strengthen the position of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Shiite communities through religious, historical and socio-political ties (for example, Iraq). After the invasion, the United States ceased to be an independent actor in the Middle East and the weakening of its positions in the event of a loss (for example, in the event that Syria was defeated by the Sunni opposition).

Discussion

Currently, there is an increase in the Iranian-Turkish confrontation. Iran has also tried to use the context of the "Arab Spring" to promote its own interests, as a result of which it is faced with fundamental issues such as Syria. Thus, Iran's foreign policy is aimed at strengthening its position in the Middle East region. Unlike Saudi Arabia and Egypt, Iran has great economic and political opportunities, as there is no crisis of political power in this country. In addition, the economies of Saudi Arabia and Egypt have weakened due to revolutionary events.

The inability to fully plan and predict political processes in the Middle East limits Iran's ability to develop long-term strategies. Currently, this country's position in the Middle East is strengthening. Strengthening the unstable position of Israel and Turkey achieved the situation in the region, despite the fact that the Palestinian problem remained unresolved until the events of the "Arab Spring". Israel has concluded peace agreements with its closest neighbors, Egypt and Jordan. Friendly relations with Syria have been established. Israel is in a restless state in the center of the "Arab Spring". However, all participants had certain rules of the game.

The events of the "Arab Spring" contributed to a change in the foreign policy of the largest Arab state – Egypt. The change in Egypt's foreign policy has raised Israeli concerns. After the overthrow of President Mubarak, foreign policy became nationalist and radical. In general, the change in the regional situation for Israel meant the complication of its situation, as well as the level of unpredictability of events. And Turkey is making efforts to play an intermediate role between Europe and the Arab East.

With the beginning of the events of the "Arab Spring", Turkish politics in the Arab world is experiencing serious difficulties. Turkey has developed a foreign policy concept for cooperation with other countries, which is called "zero problems with neighbors". According to this concept, it is necessary to involve all regional forces in the peace process, as well as conduct effective diplomacy in relation to neighboring regions. Before the revolutionary events of 2011-2012, Turkey was able

to establish good-neighborly relations with other countries within the framework of this concept. However, during the " Arab Spring", Ankara made a number of gross mistakes, which led to the loss of its previous achievements in the Arab direction. An example of this is the support and assistance of the armed opposition to Assad in Syria, the sharp deterioration of relations with Israel and other similar things. Thus, the concept of "problems with neighbors" in foreign policy did not correspond to the rapidly changing situation in the Middle East.

Turkey, like the aforementioned states, positions itself as a regional dominant power. This position also causes concern in other countries of the region. The Turkish government sees Egypt as a strategically important ally in the Middle East region. Therefore, Ankara strongly condemned the overthrow of the Mursi rule in Egypt and described the revolutionary events in Egypt as a coup. After the abdication of the Egyptian President, the "Turkey-Egypt axis" established in the Middle East ceased to exist, which, according to the Turkish authorities, was supposed to be one of the strongest alliances in the region. Turkey, which has lost an important ally in the Middle East, has been isolated and has lost its role in the region. In Syria, Egypt, on the contrary, supported the Syrian opposition and opposed the legitimate ruler Bashar al-Assad. Ankara's excessive interference in Syrian affairs and support for the opposition, combined with complaints about the leadership in the region, have complicated the position of Turkish diplomacy.

The division of the Syrian Arab Republic, instability in the country and the emptiness of power have created a dangerous situation in Turkey. In 2013, ISIS took control of the city of Azaz in the Syrian border region with Turkey. According to some sources, Turkey secretly supports ISIS or has closed its eyes to the presence of ISIS cells in Turkey itself.

Turkey's foreign policy is also aimed at strengthening Kurdish militants affiliated with the Kurdish Workers ' Party (PKK) in northern Syria and preventing the establishment of a Kurdish state on the same territory. The Kurdish state can serve as a basis for a terrorist attack on Turkey. Ankara also fears that the Kurdish state may inspire Turkish Kurds to create an independent organization in eastern Turkey. Turkey has made a significant contribution to solving the Syrian problem.

During the talks in Astana, it was decided to establish four zones of escalation of the conflict in Turkey. Turkey is one of the guarantor countries of the ceasefire in Syria. Thus, the events of the " Arab Spring " led to a weakening of Turkey's influence in the Middle East. Turkey's failure to negotiate with other countries in the Middle East, non-attendance of negotiations and support for opposition forces in Syria led to the isolation of the country and the severance of diplomatic relations with a number of countries in the Middle East. However, changes in foreign policy and revision of positions will contribute to improving relations between Turkey and other countries. Support for the talks in Astana will help restore Turkey's image in the Middle East.

Referring to the role of the United States, Russia and China in the Middle East, the vast geopolitical region, including North Africa and the Middle East, is one of the most important foreign policy areas of the world's leading players. The United States is developing various methods and tools for influencing the countries of the Middle

East. At the end of 2013, then-US President Barack Obama tried to replace US involvement in conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa with political and diplomatic means of resolving contentious issues in the region. At the same time, America is constantly focused on preventing the strengthening of Russia's military and political positions in the Middle East.

It is worth noting that the United States intervenes in the internal conflicts of the countries of the region, exacerbating conflicts and undermining interreligious and interethnic relations. The US occupation of Iraq created the prerequisites for the formation of ISIS. US President Barack Obama was forced to admit that the United States was involved in the formation of ISIS: the "Islamic State" is an attack that has been escalating as a result of the attack on Al-Qaeda in Iraq. This is an example of unforeseen consequences" [6]. The Trump administration continued Obama's strategy to combat the "Islamic State" in the Middle East. At the same time, America has made efforts to reduce the responsibility and participation of the United States in the region, while maintaining certain mechanisms for controlling the situation with minimal resources. In order for this aspiration to be productive, Washington is restoring relations with traditional partners in the Middle East.

Another leading global player claiming the status of a great power in the Middle East is Russia. After the outbreak of revolutionary events, Russia announced that it would not allow the United States to strengthen its influence in the Middle East, expand its spheres of influence near the borders of Ukraine and Georgia, as well as create a unipolar world. At the same time, Syria can become a prime example of a conflict of interest between Russia and America, as well as the EU countries. After the outbreak of the conflict in Syria, Russia called for normalization of the situation in Syria through national dialogue without the intervention of foreign powers. But despite Russia's call, the United States intervened in the conflict and contributed to its aggravation. Russia sided with the legitimate ruler Bashar al-Assad, sending troops in 2015 at the request of the Syrian government. Thus, unlike America, by supporting Assad, Russia has a positive impact on the development of events in this country, as it helps in the fight against various terrorist groups.

Thus, we can conclude that the United States and the Russian Federation are expanding their influence in the Middle East. Unlike the United States, Russia adheres to a balanced position of non-interference in the internal affairs of Arab states, does not seek to spread and apply its values, norms and Customs to the countries of the Middle East. For this reason, Russia's influence in the region is greater than that of the United States. On the contrary, China suffered huge economic losses as a result of the events of the "Arab Spring". China has not been able to protect its interests in the region due to the lack of effective political and military tools.

China firmly adheres to several principles in its international policy, the most important of which is the high importance of sovereignty and non-interference in the affairs of other states. These principles of Chinese foreign policy contributed to the fact that China did not take important measures to protect its interests in the Middle East. The Middle East region is strategically important for the people's Republic of

China, as this region offers a large energy market. It is from there that most of the hydrocarbon raw materials are delivered to China. At the same time, for China, the Middle East is considered a large market for goods. China has implemented various long-term economic projects in this region. The sudden revolutions, the instability of the region and the change of power in some countries threatened the implementation of these projects. Egypt has become China's main partner in the Middle East.

President Hosni Mubarak has close and trusting relations with China. Adhering to the principles of non-interference and maintaining legitimate power, the Chinese government expressed its opposition to regime change. However, economic interests came first for China, so it soon recognized the new Egyptian government.

Thus, the Middle East is economically important for China, so China has sought to establish relations with new governments, continue various economic projects and long-term cooperation. Significant changes in the balance of power in the Middle East under the influence of the Arab Spring the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia used the weakening of regional powers to strengthen its position in the region. This creates tension with the United States, which considers itself a hegemon in the Middle East.

Egypt, which is experiencing an economic and political crisis after the " Arab Spring", cannot withstand the influence of more powerful actors in the Middle East. Qatar and Iran, as well as Saudi Arabia, used the revolutionary events to promote their interests. Qatar's foreign policy was aimed at changing the regimes that harmed them. Iran seeks to create a model of an "Islamic Republic" in the Middle East instead of regimes that have overthrown American power. In Syria, on the contrary, the Islamic Republic of Iran supports the regime of Bashar al-Assad, providing them with significant economic, military and political assistance. At the same time, Iran is trying to resolve the Syrian crisis through diplomatic means [7].

Revolutionary events created an unfavorable foreign policy environment for Israel. Changes in the political balance in the Middle East have not yet been completed, and many of them pose a potential threat to Israel. The events of the " Arab Spring " led to a decrease in the influence of Turkey. Turkey's unwillingness to negotiate, negotiate with other countries in the Middle East, and express support for opposition forces in Syria have led to the severance of diplomatic relations with a number of countries in the region. However, the change in foreign policy and the revision of positions will contribute to improving relations between Turkey and the countries of the Middle East. Support for the negotiations in Astana will help to improve the image of Turkey.

Conclusion

Considering the participants outside the region, it becomes clear that after the revolutionary events of 2011-2012, many countries in the Middle East, unlike the United States, have a desire to weaken the role of the United States in the region, to establish close relations with Russia and China. It is not profitable for Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Iran to strengthen the US position in the Middle East, since they themselves require the role of regional leaders. It should be noted that Egypt's policy

is aimed at reducing dependence on the United States. Egypt is trying to establish close ties and cooperation with Russia and China in various fields [8].

Russia and America have expanded their influence in the Middle East. On the contrary, China has suffered huge economic losses. China has not been able to protect its interests in the region due to the lack of effective political and military tools. The change in the balance of power in the Middle East has been influenced by the strengthening of the position of the Islamic State, which since 2014 was declared a world caliphate on June 29, with the Sharia government and headquarters in Raqqa, Syria, on June 29, 2014. The war in Syria led to the transfer of Central Asian militant groups from Afghanistan to Syria. In Syria, they do not exist as separate groups, but must join the Al-Qaeda coalition or ISIS.

For Central Asia, this is a destabilizing factor, as some Asian militants are trying to return to their regions. Thus, the events of the " Arab Spring " had a significant impact on the change in the balance of power in the Middle East. This is due to changes in political regimes, the strengthening of terrorist organizations, as well as the emergence of new conflicts in the region, such as the civil war in Syria and Yemen.

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«АРАБ КӨКТЕМІ» ОҚИҒАЛАРЫНЫҢ ТАЯУ ШЫҒЫСТАҒЫ КҮШ ТЕПЕ-ТЕҢДІГІНІҢ ӨЗГЕРУІНЕ ӘСЕРІ

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Андатпа. 2011-2012 жылдары Таяу Шығыс және Солтүстік Африка елдерінде орын алған революциялық оқиғалар аймақтағы биліктің тепе-теңдігін айтарлықтай өзгертті. Революциялар нәтижесінде көптеген елдерде жаңа саяси режимдер құрылды, нәтижесі осы елдердің сыртқы саясатындағы өзгеріс болды. 2011 жылдың басынан бастап араб әлемінің кейбір мемлекеттерінің саяси режимдерін күштеу арқылы өзгеріске ұшырай бастады. Революциялық саяси трансформация себебінен ішкі мемлекеттегі дағдарыс эскалацияның қауіп-қатерлері, сонымен қатар шет мемлекеттер мен халықаралық ұйымдардың араласуы «Араб көктемі» революциясының параметрлерін зерттеу өзектілігін арттырады.

Мақалада Ресей мен Американың Таяу Шығыстағы ықпалының кеңеюі, Қытай үлкен экономикалық шығындарға ұшырағанын, Қытай тиімді саяси және әскери құралдардың жоқтығынан аймақтағы мүдделерін қорғай алмағандығы туралы нақты мәліметтер келтірілген.

Тірек сөздер: Таяу Шығыс және Солтүстік Африка, Араб әлемі, саяси трансформация, революция.

ВЛИЯНИЕ СОБЫТИЙ "АРАБСКОЙ ВЕСНЫ" НА ИЗМЕНЕНИЕ БАЛАНСА СИЛ НА БЛИЖНЕМ ВОСТОКЕ

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Аннотация. В 2011-2012 годах произошли революционные события на Ближнем Востоке и в Северной Африке, которые резко изменили баланс сил в регионе. В результате революций во многих странах были созданы новые политические режимы, что привело к изменению внешней политики этих стран. В связи с революционными политическими преобразованиями проблемы эскалации кризиса во внутреннем государстве, а также вмешательства иностранных государств и международных организаций повысили актуальность параметров «арабской весны».

В статье рассматривается проблема расширения влияния России и Америки на Ближнем Востоке, описывается как Китай понес огромные экономические потери и также дается информации о том, как Китай не смог защитить свои интересы в регионе из-за отсутствия эффективных политических и военных инструментов.

Ключевые слова: Ближний Восток и Северная Африка, арабский мир, политические преобразования, революция.

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