



ECONOMIC ANNALS-XXI
ISSN 1728-6239 (Online)
ISSN 1728-6220 (Print)
<https://doi.org/10.21003/ea>
<http://www.soskin.info/ea/>

Volume 184 Issue (7-8) 2020

Citation information: Kakhovska, O., Skyba, E., Popova, D., & Tyshchenkova, I. (2020). Demythologization of the «controlled chaos» as a tool for geopolitical war: economic and sociocultural markers. *Economic Annals-XXI*, 184(7-8), 94-106.
doi: <https://doi.org/10.21003/ea.V184-09>

UDC 339.9:327.8



Olena Kakhovska
D.Sc. (Economics), Professor,
Department of Economics and Entrepreneurship,
Prydniprovsk State Academy of Civil Engineering and Architecture
24a Chernyshevsky Str., Dnipro, 49600, Ukraine
olenakakhov@ukr.net
ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6235-968X>



Eleonora Skyba
D.Sc. (Philosophy), Associate Professor,
Department of Social Sciences and Humanities,
Dnipropetrovsk State University of Internal Affairs
26 Gagarin Ave., Dnipro, 49005, Ukraine
eleonora.skiba@gmail.com
ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6364-5207>



Diana Popova
MA (International Economic Relations), MA (International Law),
PhD Student (International Economic Relations),
Department of International Business,
Institute of International Relations, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv
36/1 Yuriy Illienko Str., Kyiv, 04119, Ukraine
diannap1995@gmail.com
ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8099-0109>



Iryna Tyshchenkova
PhD (Law), Associate Professor,
Department of General Law Disciplines,
Dnipropetrovsk State University of Internal Affairs
26 Gagarin Ave., Dnipro, 49005, Ukraine
tishchenkova@ukr.net
ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0323-5035>

Demythologization of the «controlled chaos» as a tool for geopolitical war: economic and sociocultural markers

Abstract. Through the example of ten countries of Asia, Africa and the former Soviet Union, where the so-called «color revolutions», coups d'état and civil wars occurred in the past decades, the inconsistency of particular foundations of the theory of «controlled chaos» have been ascertained. The reasons for prolonged social turbulence in these countries are, in the first instance, intrinsically conditioned. They are related to existing fundamental social and economic problems within these countries. The role of the external interference in the matters of sovereign states in the contemporary political discourse is grossly exaggerated.

A particular interest for our research presented a «decade of revolutions» - a time of growth, culmination and decline in the social tension. Chronologically, the revolutionary «outbursts» are arranged as follows: Ukraine - 2004, 2014; Armenia - 2018; Georgia - 2003; Kyrgyzstan - 2005, 2010; Lebanon - 2005; Syria - 2011; Egypt - 2011-2013; Tunisia - 2010-2011; Myanmar - 2007; Vietnam - 2018.

«Controlled chaos» is an exquisite yet paradoxical and utopian in its substance metaphor which disguises a natural human striving to put the blame for their misfortunes on anyone else except themselves. A search for an external enemy, which represents a historically well-proven political technology, averts the public attention of the country, which remains in a turbulent condition, from real issues and allows corrupt elites to continue satisfying their materialistic aspirations thus plunging the country into the state of decline.

Keywords: Theory of «Controlled Chaos»; «Color Revolution»; Elite; Economic and Political Crisis; Social Turbulence; Coup d'État; Civil War; «Decade of Revolutions»; Corruption

JEL Classification: D74; F35; F51

Acknowledgement and Funding: The authors received no direct funding for this research.

Contribution: The authors contributed equally to this work.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21003/ea.V184-09>

Каховська О. В.

доктор економічних наук, професор, кафедра економіки та підприємництва,
Придніпровська державна академія будівництва та архітектури, Дніпро, Україна

Скиба Е. К.

доктор філософських наук, доцент, кафедра соціально-гуманітарних дисциплін,
Дніпропетровський державний університет внутрішніх справ, Дніпро, Україна

Попова Д. В.

магістр міжнародних економічних відносин, магістр міжнародного права, аспірант,
кафедра міжнародного бізнесу, Інститут міжнародних відносин,
Київський національний університет імені Тараса Шевченка, Київ, Україна

Тищенко І. О.

кандидат юридичних наук, доцент, кафедра загальноправових дисциплін,
Дніпропетровський державний університет внутрішніх справ, Дніпро, Україна

Деміфологізація «контрольованого хаосу» як інструменту геополітичної війни: економічні й соціокультурні маркери

Анотація. На прикладі десяти країн Азії, Африки й колишнього Радянського Союзу, де в останні десятиліття відбулися так звані «кольорові революції», державні перевороти й громадянські війни, нами доведено хибність окремих положень теорії «контрольованого хаосу». Причини тривалої соціальної турбулентності в цих країнах є, перш за все, внутрішньо обумовленими. Вони пов'язані з наявними там фундаментальними соціально-економічними проблемами. У сучасному політичному дискурсі роль зовнішнього втручання в справи суверенних держав надто перебільшена. «Контрольований хаос» – це вишукана, але парадоксальна й утопічна за своїм змістом метафора, за якою приховано таке природне для людини прагнення звинуватити в своїх бідах кого завгодно, лишень не себе. Пошук зовнішнього ворога, що є історично апробованою політтехнологією, відвертає увагу населення країни, яка знаходиться в турбулентному стані, від реальних проблем і дозволяє злочинним елітам й надалі задовольняти свої меркантильні прагнення, тим самим спрямовуючи країну до занепаду.

Ключові слова: теорія «контрольованого хаосу»; «кольорова революція»; еліта; економічна й політична криза; соціальна турбулентність; державний переворот; громадянська війна.

Каховская Е. В.

доктор экономических наук, профессор, кафедра экономики и предпринимательства,
Приднепровская государственная академия строительства и архитектуры, Днепр, Украина

Скиба Э. К.

доктор философских наук, доцент, кафедра социально-гуманитарных дисциплин,
Днепропетровский государственный университет внутренних дел, Днепр, Украина

Попова Д. В.

магистр международных экономических отношений, магистр международного права, аспирант,
кафедра международного бизнеса специальности «Международные экономические отношения»,
Институт международных отношений Киевского национального университета
имени Тараса Шевченко, Киев, Украина

Тищенко И. А.

кандидат юридических наук, доцент, кафедра общеправовых дисциплин,
Днепропетровский государственный университет внутренних дел, Днепр, Украина

Демифологизация «контролируемого хаоса» как инструмента геополитической войны: экономические и социокультурные маркеры

Аннотация. Согласно с теорией «контролируемого хаоса», наиболее весомые геополитические игроки, в частности США, с помощью технологий манипуляции общественным сознанием создают в определенных странах кризисные ситуации, что, в свою очередь, приводит там к массовым протестным движениям. Адепты теории объясняют социальный и экономический хаос в так называемых государствах-мишенях желанием мировых гегемонов завладеть территориями, ресурсами или же дестабилизировать обстановку в том или ином регионе.

В современном политическом дискурсе роль внешнего вмешательства в дела суверенных государств чересчур преувеличена. Экспорт социальных протестов в слаборазвитые страны с дальнейшим уничтожением там государственности является скорее мифом, нежели доказанной фактами практикой. «Контролируемый хаос» – это изысканная, но парадоксальная и утопическая по своему содержанию метафора, за которой скрыто такое естественное для человека стремление обвинить в своих бедах кого угодно, только не себя. Поиск внешнего врага – исторически апробированная политтехнология, призванная отвлечь население страны, которая находится в турбулентном состоянии, от реальных проблем и позволяющая преступным элитам удовлетворять свои меркантильные устремления, тем самым направляя страну к упадку. На примере десяти стран Азии, Африки и бывшего Советского Союза, где в последние десятилетия произошли так называемые «цветные революции», государственные перевороты и гражданские войны, доказано ошибочность отдельных положений теории «контролируемого хаоса». Причины длительной социальной турбулентности в этих странах, в первую очередь, являются внутренне обусловленными. Они

непосредственно связаны с наличием там фундаментальных социально-экономических проблем, авторитарной и коррумпированной власти, а также затяжного кризиса на уровне внутренних элит.

Ключевые слова: теория «контролируемого хаоса»; «цветная революция»; элита; экономический и политический кризис; социальная турбулентность; государственный переворот; гражданская война.

1. Introduction

The crisis of global leadership and international relations, financial and economic cataclysms and shattering of illusions concerning the capability of institutions of international governance to take control of the social and economic processes that are destructive in their nature - all of these factors force the scholarly community to seek out the most efficient «formulae» for recovery from global crisis which has presently affected all the spheres of public life. There is a persisting opinion circulating among the experts and politicians that states that «the world has gone out of control», «the planet is immersing into chaos» and «the global anarchy is imminent». The feelings of desperation and impending global crisis permeate political, military, economic, journalistic and regular daily discourses.

Admittedly, in the conditions of globalization social systems acquired such attributes as openness, instability, unexpectedness and non-linearity of development. Hence the perception of lost control over the situation, instability at all levels of social structure, the sense of chaotic state and uncontrollability of social transformations. Adding up to the acute nature of such attitudes are numerous inter-state conflicts lasting for decades, waves of «color revolutions» which sweep across the globe every once in a while, as well as spontaneous outbursts of social protests even in the countries with relatively conservative regimes.

There exist several high road approaches to clarifying the growing imbalance of power in the geopolitical landscape. One of the most popular of them draws upon the theory of «controlled chaos» which lays the blame for the disintegration of social systems on particular hegemonic states, primarily USA. One of the founders of this theory is Gene Sharp who in 1968 defended a thesis in Oxford titled «The politics of nonviolent action: a study in the control of political power». It is considered that the provisions presented in this work lay the ideological foundations for «student revolution» of May 68 in Paris and further destabilization of the Warsaw Pact countries, disintegration of the USSR and a string of «color revolutions» in post-Soviet countries as well as military coups in the Middle East and North Africa.

With regard to the theory of «controlled chaos» it must be noted that transitioning it from the sphere of physical and chemical processes into the social and economic domain is a bold undertaking however it does not appear to be a sufficiently scientifically well-founded step on the part of its authors. Contemporary international politics and economy constitute an unparalleled synthesis of the rational and the irrational, the regular and the unforeseeable, aimed at development and simultaneously destructive, hence the statement about the control over these processes on the part of some state or inter-state entities is at the very least a wishful thinking bordering on self-deception. We deem it similarly inappropriate to treat with «one-size-fits-all» approach the phenomena of social life, diverse in their origins and consequences, in the countries that are obviously diverging in their historical development and mental «spirit».

Within the scope of this paper we have every intention if not to refute this theory (the scope of the study would not accommodate it) then in the least to sow the «seeds» of doubt with regard to its veracity in relation to an entire string of states.

Beyond all doubt, both developed and underdeveloped (with the latter being a much easier «prey»), irrespective of their will, may become an object of increased interest - economically or territorially induced - on the part of both close or distant neighbors. Furthermore, they can pose a particular problem for them or threaten the interests of local elites. In these conditions, economic and political instability within the country becomes in its own particular way a provocation for such neighboring countries to ensure, at the account of the troubled country, their egotistical interests by means of political interference or military intervention. The history of armed conflicts is overflowing with instances of destruction of sovereign states when they, being torn apart and weakened by internal contradictions, became the object of the encroachment on the part of more geopolitically potent players. Simultaneously, external intervention with securing a certain extent of control over the state is only possible under the condition of actually existing profound internal «rifts» in political, economic and sociocultural dimensions, particularly when these crisis developments have a lasting and permanent pattern.

2. Brief Literature Review

The scientific and theoretical analysis of the «controlled chaos» as well as its tentatively derivative phenomenon of «color revolutions» is conducted predominantly in two mainstream directions.

The first consolidates the authors and the adherents to the theory, in accordance with which powerful geopolitical players (primarily USA) intervene into the internal affairs of sovereign states and with the help of contemporary manipulation techniques achieve a situation of chaos there in order to advance their own interests. One of the most notable proponents of this theory (apart from the aforementioned G. Sharp) is Steven Mann who published an article titled «Chaos theory and strategic thought» back in 1992. Its fundamental provisions come down to the idea of possible artificial undermining of the social system to reach the state of «political criticality» with the aftermath being its plunging into chaos. According to Mann, if USA should use their advantages in communications and growing capabilities of global mobility then the virus (understood as an ideological «infection») would reproduce itself and spread chaotically across the globe.

Mann considered chaos as a tool for ensuring national interests of USA through intensely exploiting the criticality and creating the situation of controlled instability. Chaotization must affect the structures of political and military governance, spiritual, economic and public life of the country. The following are designated as the mechanisms of self-disorganization and self-disorientation of the targeted country: active promotion and support for liberal democracy and market-based reforms, artificial increase in resource requirements, growing living standards among local elites, forcing the traditional values and ideologies out of the public consciousness, reformatting of cultural and civilizational «code» of the society and creating the environment hospitable for various extremist movements (Mann, 1992).

Within the scientific and political discourse, to prove the validity of the presented theory the so-called «color revolutions», having erupted one after another in the post-Soviet countries, are being cited. Their preparation and realization are attributed to USA as the one hegemonic state most interested in the weakening of countries of the former USSR and establishing the unipolar world. A renowned proponent of this standpoint is the British political scientist, writer and journalist John Laughland. His works incorporate severe criticism of the policy of western countries, in particular the US, whom he regards as the principal exporters of «color revolutions» into the countries of the former socialist bloc. Specifically, Laughland calls the Yugoslavian Bulldozer Revolution and the overthrow of the president Slobodan Milošević a «travesty» (Laughland, 2010).

Back in 2015, an American journalist and publicist Wayne Madsen proposed to send to John Kerry, who held the office of the Secretary of State at the time, 64 color pencils - one for each revolution prepared by Washington since the overthrow of Slobodan Milosevic. Madsen provides the list of countries where, in his opinion, coups d'état were carried out, with US backing: the «Rose Revolution» in Georgia, the «Orange Revolution» and the «Revolution of Dignity» in Ukraine, the Lebanese «Cedar Revolution», the «Olive Revolution» in Palestine, the «Tulip Revolution» in Kyrgyzstan, as well as coups in Yugoslavia, Kuwait, Libya, Burma, Tibet, Iran, Armenia and other countries. Attempts at sparking revolutionary coups in Mongolia, Uzbekistan, Ecuador, Bolivia, Belarus and Turkey in his view failed (Madsen, 2015).

Among those criticizing the practices of external interference however generally proving the validity of the theory of «controlled chaos» are D. Goldstone (2001, 2014), S. Lawson (2011), A. Chambers (2015).

It is impossible to accept the standpoint of certain experts who attempt to reduce all «color revolutions» in the post-Soviet countries and the wave of coups d'état, tentatively referred to as the «Arab Spring», to a common denominator. Historical contexts of the countries, in which the revolts broke out over the past twenty years, have drastic differences. The Arab world with its confrontations upon religious and ethnic grounds does not possess an inherent post-imperial agenda that became definitive for post-Soviet countries. Simultaneously, comparing these events may yield a certain heuristic potential taken into consideration the synchronicity of these events. This is pointed out at in the work titled «Peut-on comparer les «révolutions de couleur» et les «printemps arabes»?» by Jean-Yves Moisson and Anne de Tinguy (2016). French researcher J. M. Heurtaux (2016) voices a critical viewpoint with regard to the consistency of such comparison.

Another perspective for interpreting «color revolutions» is taken by the renown professors V. Bans from the Cornell University and H. Hale from the George Washington University followed by the Polish researcher P. Sztompka. They go on to prove that such phenomena are completely

regular for a society at a certain stage of its development of the processes of democratization, liberalization of economy and increase in the overall level of political culture of the population.

Further disproof of the thoughtless disguising of internal problems of undeveloped countries by the «chaos theory» and the straightforward involvement of hegemonic states in inciting «color revolutions» is elaborated by Sonja Grimm and Brigitte Weiffen (2018), L. Bershidsky (2018). We share the same viewpoint of the matter and will further maintain its veracity in the given research.

3. Purpose

The purpose of our study is to prove that public protest movements, particularly in certain Asian and African countries as well as post-Soviet countries, resulted in coups d'état, tentatively consolidated under the definition of «color revolutions», are primarily an outcome of fundamental social and economic issues internally accumulated by those countries, not exported from the outside by concerned geopolitical players through the «controlled chaos».

4. Results

4.1. Discourses of Controlled Chaos: the Arguments «For» and «Against»

One of the first scholars to have implemented the theory of «controlled chaos» for elucidating the social and political processes were N. Eldridge and S. Gould who in their research drew upon the hypothesis of the «saltatory evolution» by O. Shindewolf (1950). This and a number of other works on the issue of evolutionary theory have become a major incentive for further elaboration of methods to manage the events of the «nonlinear revolution» of 1970-1980s in Europe.

Controlled chaos as a conceptual tool of geopolitical players, in the views of the theory proponents, is utilized with the purpose of creating within a country or a group of countries certain social and political, economic and spatial-geographical conditions for establishing control over the activities of the government therein.

The core of the theory is comprised of such a methodological principle as a resonant influence. Within the bifurcation zone, seemingly insignificant digressions may lead to catastrophic consequences which provides multifold opportunities for transformation of the system and gaining control over it. Hence, an artificial incorporation into a public life of a certain «irritant», for instance terrorist activity, ethnic or inter-confessional conflicts or bribing local elites under the conditions of proper organization and well-chosen timing, may substantially alter the vector of society's development. The theory of «controlled chaos» further dwells upon the factor of synchronicity of events, hence ensues the chain-like pattern of protest movements in diverse and often fairly remote territories.

Ergo, which arguments «for» are the most common among the proponents of the theory of «controlled chaos»?

Firstly, the outbursts of revolutions, social protest, civil wars under conditions diverse in their territorial and sociocultural attributes occur, as a rule, according to identical «scenarios» which presents a reason for doubt in the spontaneity. Mandatory elements of such scenarios are represented by the following constituents: 1) postulating the idea of peaceful protest against the corrupt authorities and, consequently, its overthrow; 2) extensive use of visual attributes that must become a specific symbol of the protest movement (for instance, orange scarfs - in Ukraine; roses - in Georgia; tulips - in Kyrgyzstan); 3) rising nationalist sentiments as well as hostility in relation to certain countries, including extensive involvement of mass media. All of these serve as components of the technology of informational and technological control on the international scale with the purpose of disintegration and fragmentation of the traditional society and plunging it into political and economic chaos.

Secondly, «color revolutions» occurred primarily under the pretext of «exporting» the democracy into the countries with authoritarian regimes as well as protecting human rights and freedom there. The slogans for such protests were, as a general rule, based upon universal appeals either for European integration and saving the democracy or for combatting the invader who stifles freedom, or the combination of both ideologemes.

Thirdly, the subjects interested in creating the condition of turbulence and obtaining control over the weakened state provided a substantial financial backing to the opposition, according to the proponents of the theory. This enabled to provide appropriate support to protest movements and their wide coverage in mass media, hence creating considerable repercussions on the international level.

Funding was carried out well in advance and indirectly, through non-governmental organizations and, typically, ceased after the expected outcome was achieved.

Reasons in favor of this theory include the consideration that the economy of hegemonic states has recently been growing primarily not through the intensified domestic production but mostly due to establishment of control over the global financial, military and information resources and redistribution of wealth between strong and weak states. Furthermore, third world countries with volatile democracies and weaker economies become drawn into debt dependence from global financial funds with ensuing privatization and acquisition of national assets, including various natural assets.

These indirect however, at first thought, convincing proofs will be subjected to criticism within the scope of the presented work while the phenomenon of the contemporary so-called revolutions will be scrutinized from a different standpoint - not as a «virus» contracted from the outside, but as a domestic «product».

It is true that political and economic destabilization in the Middle East, similarly to the former Soviet countries, is in line with the interests of certain western countries and USA. The explanation to it is merely pragmatic: Egypt is attractive with its Suez Canal, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Bahrain - with their oil and gas deposits, Jordan - with its geostrategic position; Ukraine - with its land resources, iron ore deposits, etc. At the same time, for the interested parties to seize the assets there exists a range of specific conditions: weakness and corruptness of the authorities; absence of a nationwide leader who would protect the interests of his people; apparent social fragmentation of society on ethnic, religious, social grounds; neglect and disorganization of the armed forces and the police; significant economic decline and corresponding rapid impoverishment of the population.

Further in the paper, based on the example of particular countries, it will be proven that to achieve such a «revolution-prone situation» without considerable level of activity related to the disintegration of the country by its elites is impossible. Only the state weakened by its internal issues may become a target for indirect «soft» colonization by a stronger state or an inter-state association. Nonetheless, we are convinced that the impact of such external control is far too exaggerated - commonly, it serves as a disguise for internal strife between the local oligarchic circles for resources and areas of influence.

4.2. Indicators of Economic and Social Development of the Countries which Have Undergone Revolutionary Upheavals

The majority of the so-called «color revolutions» occurred under the banners of democratization of social relations. Researchers in the areas of promoting the democracy in the developing countries primarily tend to focus upon the external actors thus reducing the activity of internal actors to «implementation», «partial implementation» or «disregarding» of the requirements established by such actors. Accordingly, the role of internal, domestic elites, particularly their struggle for power on the national and international levels, remains predominantly overlooked (Cama & Coticchia, 2019). The given fact may be partially elucidated by the absence of the consensus with regard to the very understanding of the concept of «elites» among the researchers from diverse disciplinary and epistemological circles. Within the scope of their study titled «Domestic elites and external actors in post-conflict democratisation: mapping interactions and their impact» Sonja Grimm and Brigitte Weiffen (2018, p. 261) prove that the term «elites» proves helpful to conceptualize those internal actors that exert significant influence upon the post-conflict transitional period within the society. As a basis we use their definition of elites as « persons who are able, by virtue of their authoritative positions in powerful organizations and movements of whatever kind, to affect national political outcomes regularly and substantially» (p. 262).

Democratization, as is known, stipulates gradual «entrenchment» into the social consciousness of such values as respect for the civil rights and political liberties, as well as an active participation of citizens in the political life of the country. Eventually, however, such political liberalization in the absence of social cohesion and economic growth inevitably leads to profound internal contradictions within the society.

It is possible that since the so-called «color revolutions» were primarily the intrinsically conditioned events (and supported post factum by the interested hegemonic states) and not the insidious «project» of the collectively referred West that their stated objectives did not realize. Among those objectives are real democratization, influx of foreign investments, increase in the level of

prosperity of the population, demographic growth and other indicators of society's evolution. For instance, in the democracy index of the Economist Intelligence Unit the post-Soviet countries which underwent revolutionary events - Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine - are represented as hybrid regimes, not as democracies, even if flawed ones.

We have undertaken the analysis of economic and social development of ten countries which, at various times, went through the revolutionary upheavals or coups d'état, specifically: population; GDP (current USD); total national debt; volume of direct foreign investment; amount of official financial support for development and implementation of reforms obtained from foreign countries. The data employed spans 1990 to 2019 (2020 including, where possible) with intervals of five years (Table 1). A particular interest for our research presented a «decade of revolutions» - the period of growth, culmination and decline in the social tension. In the case of Ukraine, the span of 15 years was analyzed with an account for 2 revolutions having occurred there. Chronologically, the revolutionary «outbursts» are arranged as follows:

- Ukraine - 2004, 2014;
- Armenia - 2018;
- Georgia - 2003;
- Kyrgyzstan - 2005, 2010;
- Lebanon - 2005;
- Syria - 2011;
- Egypt - 2011-2013;
- Tunisia - 2010-2011;
- Myanmar - 2007;
- Vietnam - 2018.

4.2.1. «Revolutionary Boom» and its Consequences in the Post-Soviet Countries

The republics of the former USSR, with the exception of the Baltic states, were destined to become the states with oligarchic authoritarian political regimes. The fall of such imperial construct as the Soviet Union did not signify that the established pattern of public life and mentality of citizens would acquire the same velocity of change. The intentions declared by the then leaders of newly-formed states to build them upon democratic foundations in the long run came down to a mere imitation of certain democratic procedures and institutions, the real composition of which had nothing in common with the civil democratic society.

Transition to the market economy, severing economic ties between the enterprises of the former Union Republics led to a protracted crisis across the entire post-Soviet space. Georgia found itself among the count of the countries whose economy suffered one of the heaviest blows. The country with a population of four million people, Georgia has increased its total national debt from USD 1.82 to 2.25 billion over a period of 2000-2005 (the «Revolution of Roses» took place there in 2004).

Simultaneously, in 2000 direct foreign investments almost doubled - from USD 4.29 to 7.06 billion. The indicators of growth of financial support which the country obtained in that period from the foreign donors for the purpose of reform implementation are as well staggering: USD 171.95-293.33 million. In this way, the hypothesis of the theory of «controlled chaos» proponents with regard to the injection of funds for the purpose of establishing external control is seemingly reaffirmed. However, as of the end of 2019 (15 years after the «Revolution of Roses») the growth of GDP in the country continues to be ensured through systematic financial support by means of concessional loans and grant aids from the countries members of the Development Assistance Committee (further referred to as DAC) and other countries. The foreign debt increased tenfold and currently already constitutes USD 18.6 billion; investment attractiveness is in decline returning to the level of 2005, the number of population in comparison to 1990 dwindled by a quarter.

The Armenian «Velvet Revolution» in April-May 2018 had entirely objective preconditions and was connected with the institutionalization of the mechanism of formation and circulation of the political power resource within political-oligarchic elite. This led to the conservative stagnation in the economy and, correspondingly, to the growth of unemployment, poverty and mass migration.

Decline in investment flows starting from 2010 (from USD 5.71 billion to 1.74 billion) and drastic curtailment of grant aid on the part of the DAC, growth of the foreign debt (in 2018 it

constituted USD 10.84 billion) with a relatively high level of the freedom of speech - all these factors were instrumental to the accumulating protest potential within the country.

It is similarly impossible to prove the involvement of the West in the coups in Kyrgyzstan: neither in the case of the «Tulip Revolution» of 2005 that led to the overthrow of the president Askar Akayev, nor in relation to the events of April-June 2010 leading to the ousting of

Table 1:
Indicators of economic and social development of the countries which have undergone revolutionary upheavals

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2018*/2019
Population (million)							
UKR	51.89	51.51	49.17	47.10	45.87	42.92	41.90
ARM	3.53	3.21	3.06	2.98	2.87	2.92	2.95
GEO	4.80	4.65	4.07	3.90	3.78	3.72	3.72
KGZ	4.39	4.56	4.89	5.16	5.44	5.95	6.45
LBN	2.80	3.52	3.84	4.69	4.95	6.53	6.85
SYR	12.44	14.34	16.41	18.36	21.36	17.99	17.07
EGY	56.13	62.33	68.83	75.52	82.76	92.44	100.38
TUN	8.24	9.12	9.70	10.10	10.63	11.17	11.69
MMR	41.33	43.90	46.71	48.94	50.60	52.68	54.04
VNM	67.98	74.91	79.91	83.83	87.96	92.67	96.46
GDP (current USD, billion)							
UKR	81.46	48.21	31.26	86.06	136.01	91.03	153.78
ARM	2.25	1.47	1.91	4.90	9.26	10.55	13.67
GEO	7.75	1.47	3.06	6.41	12.24	14.95	17.74
KGZ	2.25	2.69	1.37	2.46	4.79	6.68	8.45
LBN	2.84	11.72	17.26	21.49	38.44	49.94	53.37
SYR							
EGY	42.97	60.15	99.83	89.68	218.88	332.69	303.18
TUN	12.29	18.03	21.47	32.27	44.05	43.17	38.79
MMR	-	-	8.91	11.98	49.54	67.82	76.086
VNM	6.47	20.74	31.17	57.63	115.93	193.24	261.92
External debt stocks, total (DOD, current USD, billion)							
UKR	0	8.42	13.91	35.10	124.52	117.45	121.37
ARM	0	0,370	1.01	1.96	6.30	8.93	10.84
GEO	0	1.24	1.82	2.15	8.79	14.37	18.60
KGZ	0	0.60	1.93	2.25	4.11	7.56	8.11
LBN	1.78	2.97	10.07	22.78	47.82	67.70	79.34
SYR	0	21.82	22.23	0	5.27	4.41	4.58
EGY	33.01	33.47	29.23	30.57	36.77	49.84	98.70
TUN	7.68	10.81	11.35	17.94	22.58	27.24	34.66
MMR	5.32	6.25	6.47	7.17	10.15	14.29	14.93
VNM	23.27	25.48	12.84	18.57	44.94	77.82	85.66
Foreign direct investment, net inflows (BoP, current USD, billion)							
UKR	-	0.55	1.90	9.07	4.74	3.35	1.97
ARM	-	1.72	5.45	5.96	5.71	1.74	1.86
GEO	-	0.31(1994)	4.29	7.06	7.52	11.60	7.15
KGZ	-	5.78	-0.17	1.73	9.86	17.13	1.74
LBN	0.22	0.29	5.75	12.20	1113	432	478
SYR	0.32	0.87	1.39	1.73(2007)	-	-	-
EGY	1.70	0.99	1.23	5.99	2.91	2.08	2.97
TUN	0.62	1.53	3.49	2.20	3.02	2.24	2.48
MMR			2.86	1.95	1.81	6.02	1.69
VNM	2.78	8.58	4.16	3.39	6.90	6.10	6.32
Net official development assistance and official aid received (current USD, million)							
UKR	289.00	319.61	514.83	484.63	777.92	1523.31	1221.09*
ARM	0	217.71	215.88	172.61	320.32	347.48	139.08*
GEO	0	209.06	171.95	293.33	588.86	448.93	588.94*
KGZ	0	244.67	193.35	237.87	372.04	774.71	413.61*
LBN	285.68	191.29	201.19	230.72	445.08	965.60	1419.63*
SYR	882.82	355.97	159.76	71.10	131.06	4920.47	9990.82*
EGY	6065.20	2028.06	1370.82	1046.31	5991.59	2524.53	2063.73*
TUN	-	75.38	222.83	368.35	550.15	495.86	805.27*
MMR	154.55	160.44	105.63	144.83	354.92	1168.50	1687.67*
VNM	180.55	777.98	1485.27	1693.47	2769.86	3167.38	1633.34*

Source: Compiled by the authors using data of WDI:

Population: <http://datatopics.worldbank.org/world-development-indicators/themes/people.html#population>;
GDP: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?end=2019&locations=AM-GE-LB-MM-TN-UA-VN-EG-KG&start=1990>

External debt stocks, total / Foreign direct investment, net inflows / Net official development assistance and official aid received (current USD): <http://datatopics.worldbank.org/world-development-indicators/themes/global-links.html>;

Total external debt of Georgia in 2019 <https://report.ge/ru/economics/vneshniy-dolg-gruzii-sostavil-18-6-mlrd-dollarov-ssha>

Kurmanbek Bakiyev. In the first case, the Russian propaganda went on to circulate the storyline according to which there occurred an external interference and anti-Moscow conspiracy. In 2010, on the contrary, the Russian mass media excluded the possibility of foreign involvement, having focused their attention on the internal factors which provoked the public protest.

The country that suffered the most from the revolutionary turmoil is Ukraine, having gone through the «Orange Revolution» in 2004 and the «Revolution of Dignity» in 2014.

Ukraine comprises a unique blend of regions with a fairly distinct historical «fate», ethnic and cultural composition and socio-economic potential. At various times, the territory of the country was included into three empires - The Russian, the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman Empires, and was divided into the Russian-governed Left-bank Ukraine and the Polish-governed Right-bank Ukraine. Another seventy years as part of the Soviet Union preceded the creation of the independent Ukrainian state.

After 29 years of establishment of independent sovereign statehood we may make a rather discouraging conclusion about it staying in the permanent state of crisis. Economic and political crises, often overlapping, sweep across Ukraine every 8-10 years. The reason obviously lies in the combination of two mutually-provoking factors.

The first factor is related to the confrontation between several most influential political and economic groups of elites resulting in the ever-growing potential of these groups while the living standards of the population are rapidly declining. At the same time, the debt dependence of Ukraine from external financial institutions is growing: from USD 35.10 billion in 2005 to USD 117.45 billion - in 2015. Further considering the economic stagnation, the overall decline of industrial production, small and medium businesses, the positive developments in the direction of overcoming this dependence are highly unlikely.

For instance, by the end of 2019, the external debt stocks of Ukraine constituted USD 121.37 billion. Due to the absence of the transparent legal system and the prevalence of corruption the investment attractiveness of the country is in a steep decline. Its highest point was recorded in the aftermath of the Orange Revolution in 2005 - USD 9.07 billion, while presently it essentially equals to the level of year 2000 - USD 1.97 billion. The number of population shrank by 1/5 which does not present an overly optimistic perspective of the demographic situation taken that the nationwide census has not been carried out since 2001. According to the results of the «electronic census», the population of Ukraine as of end of 2019 comprised 37 million 289 thousand people. Systematic financial backing in the form of concessional loans and grant aids from the countries members of the DAC as well as the IMF loans, that allow to maintain the GDP on the viable level, are also gradually declining. Nonetheless, the fight between political and economic elites for resources coming from the EU states, USA, international organizations becomes increasingly vehement.

The second factor which obstructs Ukraine from withdrawing out of the state of turbulence lies in the mental dissociation of the population, which, on the one hand, has its deep historic prerequisites (diverse historical fates of regions were addressed above) while, on the other hand, is artificially forced upon the civil consciousness by the politicians under the guise of irreconcilable internal contradictions of the East and the West. Both factors, combined with the weakness and corruptness of the supreme authority, resulted in the bloodshed during the Revolution of Dignity in 2014, ensuing partial loss of territories by Ukraine and ongoing military engagements in the East of the country.

The analysis of preconditions and outcomes of the so-called «color revolutions» in the post-Soviet countries affirms that all these events serve as an aftermath of profound economic, political and sociocultural crises which enable local elites to carry out coups d'état for their own interests disguising behind the labels of «revolutions as the transition of democracy». Even though after such «political elite related» coups there occurs a change of political figures and institutions, the actual power transfers merely into the hands of another oligarchic clan. The general population is thus used to ensure this transfer. None of these countries saw their revolutions bring about economic upswing or increase in the population's welfare level while the wealth of the ruling elites is consistently growing.

4.2.2. History of Protest Movements in Asia and Africa: a 20-year Review

The «Arab Spring» represents a phenomenon with regard to which the controversies are not ceasing in the scholarly community. Which forces are behind the Islamic revival? What the world

would be after the «revolutionary tsunami» that swept across the Arab countries? It is next to impossible to provide a conclusive answer to these questions. It is nonetheless evident that these social upheavals are consolidated by common underlying «roots» and not by outwardly expressed causes. In the past 20 years there occurs a gradual maturing of the Arab nation and formation of the sense of unity in previously divided nations. The outbreaks of social protests over the past decades are chronologically relatively close, particularly concerning Egypt, Syria and Tunisia. It is therefore within the public consciousness the thought cemented: if we revolted simultaneously, we are one nation. This phenomenon may be considered a posthumous victory of the Egyptian president Nasser with his Pan-Arabism idea. Though in the times of this statesman and political leader the Arab world was still divided, presently due to information technologies its gradual unification is taking place. The cause of concern is the fact that the idea of emergence of one meganation is being exploited for criminal purposes by extremist and terrorist organizations, in particular the «Islamic State». Hence, the intrinsically positive aspirations towards unification in religiously and ethnically heterogeneous eastern world in practice acquire a destructive nature.

The spark that ignited the «Arab spring» is considered to be an act of self-immolation by an unemployed Tunisian. Having obtained higher education, he was living below the poverty line and out of desperation decided to commit a suicide. At the beginning of 2011 mass protests spread across entire Tunisia causing 219 fatalities and 510 injured. At the same time Tunisia is almost the only instance of a country where the «color revolution» («Jasmine» in the Tunisian variety) did not lay the foundation for a prolonged internal conflict. The underlying reasons for this, to name a few, are: firstly, Tunisia is a culturally homogeneous country predominantly inhabited by the Muslim Arabs of Sunni denomination; secondly, it is an agricultural country. Hence, the absence of oil profits rendered it impossible to involve armed mercenaries to solve internal conflicts and forced the central authority to a compromise with the revolting population.

At the same time, after the revolution no economic growth was recorded in Tunisia. Thus, in the course of five years (from 2010 to 2015) when the social tension reached its peak and after the «Jasmine revolution» when the society was expecting changes to the better the negative trends in the economy became conspicuous. As an instance, for the first time ever since 1990 the GDP actually decreased by USD 1 billion, in the next five years (until 2020) - by a further USD 4.4 billion; the national debt of the country increased by USD 4.6 billion; the inflow of foreign investments shrank by approximately USD 1 billion. It is exemplary that in the marked period the volume of financial support from the countries members of the DAC and other countries as well as the IMF loans decreased, however already in 2020, almost 10 years after the revolution, this indicator grew substantially from USD 550.15 to 805.27 billion. This fact contradicts (in this specific case) to the statement by the proponents of the «chaos theory» that covert funding of «color revolutions» is being carried out namely by means of such loans and grants on concessional basis by international financial institutions.

Lebanon and Syria are neighboring countries with genuinely «bloody relations» taken the amounts of blood that was shed from both sides by their citizens. Lebanon is considered to be about the only Europeanized state of the Middle East. It is a secular state where the Christians and the Muslims, the Sunni and the Shia, the Orthodox and the Catholic peacefully coexist. For centuries, Lebanon has been under the occupation: The Ottoman Empire, France, and Syria. From 1970s, a bloody civil war between the Muslims and the Christians was raging. It came to an end in 1990s with no side emerging victorious and a new constitution adopted under the pressure from Syria. The Syrian military were withdrawn from Lebanon only in 2005 namely as a consequence of the so-called «Cedar Revolution». Despite this, Syrian president Bashar al-Assad kept his «second army» in the Lebanese territory. It included «Hezbollah», Syrian intelligence services and radical Palestinian factions.

The success of the «Cedar Revolution» was ensured by peaceful mass demonstration, however instead of carrying the effort over to its logical conclusion the opposition politicians joined the alliance with «Hezbollah» and practically invited a terrorist group to join the government. Until the end of the same year three most influential leaders of revolution had been assassinated. Two years later the «Cedar Revolution» was forced out of all government institutions back in the streets, into the turf of helpless non-governmental organizations. The new president M. Sleiman recognized the power of «Hezbollah» and renewed the former Syrian-Lebanese «negotiations».

An impulse to the Syrian conflict, which transformed into a protracted civil war, became a rapidly deteriorating economic situation. From 2006 to 2011 Syria experienced a drought unprecedented

by its aftermath. Negligence on the part of the national government led to the shortage of water resources and desertification of lands. In some of the regions the drought destroyed 75% of the harvest and reduced the livestock population by 85%. According to the UN evaluations, in 2010 over a million of Syrians were on the brink of starvation and the number of unemployed exceeded 20%. Discontent with the authoritarian rule of B. al-Assad, corruption within highest ranks of the government, religious controversies, and the Kurdish issue - all of these problems combined with the economic crisis became a momentum for a social «explosion». With all the economic difficulties the country could have averted the revolutionary upheavals and a prolonged civil war or sustain minimum damages if it had not been for a continuous inflow of financial support to the forces of opposition. In the past ten years the official financial «injections» alone in the form of concessional loans and grant aids from the countries members of the DAC and other countries increased from USD 131.06 million to USD 9990.82 million.

A significant role in the escalation of conflict was played by a convergence of radical-minded factions in the territory of the country. It must be acknowledged that namely the Syrian regime single-handedly conducted to the formation of radical Islamist movements in the territory of the country - for many years it granted asylum to a variety of extremist and terrorist organizations. In exchange for it the Islamists «did not bother» the local authorities by acting outside the borders of Syria including military actions against the United States Armed Forces in Iraq and against particular Syrian politicians - in Lebanon. With the onset of the «Arab Spring» the jihadists now turned their weapons against the B. al-Assad's regime.

Presently Syria is gradually transforming into the ruined country with millions of its refugees storming the borders of the European Union and extremists having attained an absolute freedom of action which makes Syria a peculiar kind of Middle-Eastern Afghanistan. Neither Assad (whom many experts in the West are already branding «a lesser evil») neither his opponents from the «Terror Incorporated» can achieve a decisive victory in this protracted war.

It must be admitted that unifying factors for a range of revolutions in the Arab world are the poverty of population and food shortages. The majority of Arab countries are situated in the desert which make them dependent on the exportation of vital commodities from other countries. Combined with the demographic boom there originating from 1960s it led to a severe deterioration of the economic situation and, correspondingly, mounting social tension in the region.

In Myanmar the «Saffron Revolution» was similarly caused by economic factors. In particular, in the aftermath of global increase in the price of petroleum products in 2007 the inflation rate in the country constituted 90% according to unofficial sources. Further to it, the increase of salaries for government officials in the same period, followed by reduction of subsidies and quotas, expenditures for ambitious projects (new capital Naypyidaw, information technology center Yatanarpon Cyber City and others) became the «last straw that broke the camel's back» for the population and forced the Buddhist monks of Myanmar to take to the streets with peaceful protests.

Professor at Georgetown University (Washington D.C.) D. Steinberg, who visited Myanmar in October 2007, after the violent suppression of the «Saffron Revolution», and had the opportunity to retrieve the information directly from the protesters, states that the fundamental problem of the country is its low economic level and the majority of population living below the poverty line. According to him, the monks took to the streets because people in large numbers kept bringing their children to the monasteries not being able to afford to feed them. Social upheavals in Myanmar were further aggravated by a natural disaster in 2008 - the tropical cyclone Nargis which resulted in over 180 thousand fatalities or missing and another 2.5 million people rendered homeless. The losses estimated by Myanmar government amounted to USD 11 billion (Steinberg, 2010).

Positive trends in the economic development that are particularly manifested in the GDP growth over the past 10 years (from 2010 to 2019 the indicator increased from USD 49.54 to 76.08 billion) and the accession to power of the democratic opposition party «National League for Democracy» in 2015 could seemingly become a cause for optimism. A systemic and considerable increase in the volumes of financial support in the form of loans and grant aids from the countries members of the DAC partially accounted for the growth of GDP. At the same time, the influx of investments, which increased almost threefold (USD 1.81 billion in 2010 and USD 6.02 billion in 2015) along with the advent of democracy, in 2019 already dwindled back to the figures of 2010.

In Vietnam, the outburst of protest activity in 2018 proved not to be an extraordinary event: it was preconditioned by a range of factors intrinsic in the society for at least the past ten years. Among such factors was the increased nationwide Internet-censorship by the authorities in the

conditions when the Vietnamese population increasingly yearn for transparency and freedom of speech. Popular representatives of the blogger community that criticize the actions of the government recently have repeatedly become subjected to acts of physical violence and criminal prosecution. Another driving force for social explosion became the government initiative with regard to creating free economic zones which would in essence be controlled by foreign investors. They would have the right to apply their norms in circumvention of local legislation and decide single-handedly on the minimum wage therein. For Vietnam the presented issue is extremely sensitive since the labor legislation of the country does not yet conform to generally accepted international standards: key conventions of the International Labour Organization are not ratified, independent labor unions are banned, rights of Vietnamese workers related to protesting activity against labor policy are limited (Pham, Thi Thu Lan, 2017, 2018).

The protest wave was suppressed by the law-enforcement authorities with the implementation of tear gas and water cannons. Among several hundred protesters that were arrested an American of Vietnamese origin was revealed, which served as a pretext for certain mass media to spread the conspiracy theory about involvement of USA in the revolutionary events. Evaluating the social and economic situation in the country, including the amount of financial aid from the countries members of the DAC and the IMF loans (USD 2015 - 3167.38 million; USD 2018 - 1633.34 million), we consider namely the external factors to be determinant. Any «traces» of external interference on the part of foreign countries are non-existent except for the statement by the US Embassy and the Amnesty International with regard to release from custody of one of the protesters - the citizen of USA.

Overall, armed revolts and social protests occurring over the past 20 years in Southern and Southeastern Asia (Indonesia, Myanmar, Nepal, and Sri-Lanka) are subsiding and the countries in the region go through a difficult stage of transition to safety and stability. This transition is ensured by internal actors through the compromises reached between the government and the opposition (which do not lead to the increase in the population's standard of living) as well as repressions against the opponents of the regime (Smith, Waldorf, Venugopal, & McCarthy, 2020).

5. Conclusions

Financial and economic crises, spontaneous outbursts of civil resistance in the countries with even the most conservative regimes, permanent inter-state conflicts as well as the booming economic growth of eastern civilizations which served as an impulse to change the established pattern of global leadership - these and other attributes of chaotization of the world order compel the scholarly community to focus attention upon concepts and theories which in one way or another elucidate the unstable and controversial dynamics of changes across the world. One of such theories - the theory of «controlled chaos» - is founded upon the idea of social turbulence as a result of external interference.

Through the example of ten countries of Asia, Africa and the former Soviet Union, distinct by their territorial, socio-economic, cultural attributes, where the so-called «color revolutions» and civil wars occurred in the past decades, we have ascertained the shortcomings of this theory.

Admittedly, economic and political instability within the country (all the more so when destructive processes there wield a protracted nature and are related to various spheres of public life) becomes a favorable reason for other, stronger states to ensure, at the account of the troubled country, their egotistical interests. Both political interference and military intervention into the matters of sovereign states with the purpose of their further weakening does not represent a novel practice in the history of international relations. At the same time, external interference with obtaining to one extent or another the control over the state is only possible under the prerequisite of existing profound internal crisis conditions in the political, economic and sociocultural dimensions of this country.

Analyzing the state of economic development in the countries swept across by the wave of the so-called «color revolutions» we have determined an inconsistency of certain foundations of the «chaos theory» with the realia of pre- and post-revolution life of these countries.

Countries which became the object of our research manifest the following inherent common traits: fragmentation of society by ethnic, religious and social grounds; poverty of the population; weakness and corruptness of government; authoritarian or hybrid form of government; concentration of natural resources and key production facilities in the hands of oligarchic circles. These factors are sufficient for creating the «chaos» within the country however it remains internal and not a «product» exported from the outside.

References

1. Bershidsky, L. (2018, February, 15). *Why «Color Revolutions» Can't Be Exported*. Bloomberg Opinion. <https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2018-02-15/saakashvili-and-why-color-revolutions-can-t-be-exported>
2. Bunce, V. (2003). Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience. *World Politics*, 55(2), 167-192. <https://doi.org/10.1353/wp.2003.0010>
3. Cama, G., & Coticchia, F. (2019). Political parties matter: a research agenda on interactions among elites in post-conflict democracies. *Contemporary Politics*, 25(4), 373-392. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569775.2018.1552236>
4. Chambers, A. (2015). Quiet Revolutions. *The Journal of the Sylvia Townsend Warner Society*, 16(1), 53-67. <https://doi.org/10.14324/111.444.stw.2015.09>
5. Goldstone, J. A. (2001). Toward a fourth generation of revolutionary theory. *Annual review of political science*, 4, 139-187. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.4.1.139>
6. Goldstone, J. A. (2014). *Revolutions. A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press.
7. Grimm, S., & Weiffen, B. (2018). Domestic elites and external actors in post-conflict democratisation: mapping interactions and their impact. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 18(4), 257-282. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2018.1483556>
8. Hale, H. E. (2005). Regime cycles: democracy, autocracy, and revolution in post-Soviet Eurasia. *World Politics*, 58(1), 133-165. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40060127>
9. Hale, H. E. (2013). Regime Change Cascades: What We Have Learned from the 1848 Revolutions to the 2011 Arab Uprisings. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 16, 331-353. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-032211-212204>
10. Heurtaux, J. (2016). Comparer « transitions » postcommunistes et révoltes arabes. *Un point de vue semi-sceptique*. https://www.academia.edu/33192854/Comparer_transitions_postcommunistes_et_r%C3%A9voltes_arabes_Un_point_de_vue_semi_sceptique_Les_dossiers_du_CERI_janvier_2016_en_ligne_ (in France)
11. Laughland, J. (2010). The Technique of a Coup d'État. *Voltaire Network*. <https://www.voltairenet.org/article163453.html> (in France)
12. Lawson, S. (2011). Surfing on the edge of chaos: Nonlinear science and the emergence of a doctrine of preventive war in the US. *Social Studies of Science*, 41(4), 563-584. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41301948>
13. Madsen, W. (2015, March 6). *Kerry Re-writes History of U.S. Support for Color Revolutions*. Strategic Culture Foundation. <https://www.strategic-culture.org/news/2015/03/06/kerry-re-writes-history-of-us-support-for-color-revolutions.html>
14. Mann, S. (1992). Chaos Theory and Strategic Thought. *Parameters*, XXII, 54-68. <https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a528321.pdf>
15. Moisseron, J.-Y., & de Tinguy, A. (2016). Peut-on comparer les «révolutions de couleur «et les» printemps arabes»? *Sciences-Po*, 1. <https://spire.sciencespo.fr/notice/2441/53b95span38p2bgdd8ijnh2jvp> (in France)
16. Pham, Thi Thu Lan (2017). *Why is always a spontaneous strike?* (Part 1). [http://www.congdoan.vn/tin-tuc/nghien-cuu-trao-doi-524/tai-sao-luon-la-dinh-cong-tu-phat-\(phan-1\)-321313.tld](http://www.congdoan.vn/tin-tuc/nghien-cuu-trao-doi-524/tai-sao-luon-la-dinh-cong-tu-phat-(phan-1)-321313.tld) (in Vietnamese)
17. Pham, Thi Thu Lan (2018). *Why is always a spontaneous strike?* (Part 2). [http://www.congdoan.vn/tin-tuc/nghien-cuu-trao-doi-524/tai-sao-luon-la-dinh-cong-tu-phat-\(phan-2\)-355104.tld](http://www.congdoan.vn/tin-tuc/nghien-cuu-trao-doi-524/tai-sao-luon-la-dinh-cong-tu-phat-(phan-2)-355104.tld) (in Vietnamese)
18. Sharp, G. (1968). *The politics of nonviolent action: a study in the control of political power*. [Doctoral dissertation, D. Phil. University of Oxford].
19. Smith, C. Q., Waldorf, L., Venugopal, R., & McCarthy, G. (2020). Illiberal peace-building in Asia: a comparative overview. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 20(1), 1-14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2019.1705066>
20. Steinberg, D. I. (2010). *Burma/Myanmar: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford University Press.
21. Sztompka, P. (2014). *Sociology of social change*. Aspect-Press (in Russ.).

Received 2.05.2020

Received in revised form 20.05.2020

Accepted 26.05.2020

Available online 10.09.2020