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Never Ending Revolutions

A Review Essay on *Handbook of Revolutions in the 21st Century. The New Waves of Revolutions, and the Causes and Effects of Disruptive Political Change* edited by Jack A. Goldstone, Leonid Grinin and Andrey Korotayev (Springer International Publishing, 2022)

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New Wave of Revolutions in the MENA Region: A Comparative Perspective edited by Leonid Issaev and Andrey Korotayev (Springer International Publishing, 2022).

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Introduction

In the 1990s, Francis Fukuyama's concept of the 'end of history' (Fukuyama 1992) was a dominant perspective in the Social Sciences. While Fukuyama's idea was criticized by many scholars, it still managed to fascinate scientists, politicians, businessmen, and artists for varying lengths of time. Despite early criticisms, the idea had a strong influence and even infiltrated the field of revolutionary studies. Thus, although the theory of the 'end of history' is no longer considered viable, its influence is still evident in the Social Sciences. One of the examples of such influence is the concept of the end of revolution, which needs to be addressed without delay.

The core idea of the end of revolution is basically summarized in the article "The End of Revolution?" by Robert S. Snyder. Snyder suggests that the revolutions in the Eastern Europe are the last of its kind (Snyder 1999). He states that revolutions are always conducted against the neopatrimonial or colonial

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regimes. Thus, the spread of liberal democracy after the end of the Cold War suggests that revolutions are likely to slowly decline. However, Snyder acknowledges the uncertainty of the future and recognizes that predicting the absence of revolutions is presumptuous. Therefore, he suggests that revolutions which are “fascist-like, urban-based revolutions of cultural and national restoration” are possible in the future (Snyder 1999: 26). However, he firmly supports the idea that the circumstances necessary for revolutions, as understood by scientists in 20th century, will become increasingly rare.

The concept extends beyond this particular article. It is actually significantly developed in the works of Jeffrey Goodwin, and in 2003 he writes that “the ballot box has been the coffin of revolutionaries” (Goodwin 2003: 67). Goodwin’s argument is that revolutions are yet to happen in a democratic environment. Liberal democracy is intended to alleviate negative effects that often serve as triggers for revolutionary movements. (Goodwin 2003). In general, this argument was quite popular in academia in the 1990s which can be clearly seen by several academic publications of this period (Castañeda 1994; Halliday 1999; Nodia 2000; Goodwin 2001).

Is the argument about the end of revolutions credible nowadays? To begin with, it must be acknowledged that there have been no revolutions in the majority of consolidated democratic countries thus far. However, there were multiple revolutions around the world, and democratic countries too were affected by the revolutionary events and processes. And in order to criticize the argument about the end of revolutions properly, two problems should be considered. Firstly, the assumption that revolutions are meant to improve regimes, making them more liberal or significantly altering society, forms the basis of the notion of the end of revolution. Secondly, the argument is based on the democratization trend of the 1990s, when many countries sought to emulate Western democracies. Both assumptions nowadays can be clearly perceived as false. Revolutions are not always social revolutions, nor do they always bring about positive changes. Moreover, they often fail to achieve even the minimum of their promises. In the 1990s, political scientists wrote extensively about democratization. However, in the 2010s, democratic backsliding became a significant issue. Therefore, even if we assume that democracies do not experience revolutions, it is evident that there is still a possibility of revolutions occurring in the modern world. In fact, since the supposed ‘end of revolution,’ there have been multiple instances of revolutions.

This essay will review two books that describe and explain modern revolutions. First one is Handbook of Revolutions in the 21st Century. The New Waves of Revolutions, and the Causes and Effects of Disruptive Political Change edited by Jack A. Goldstone, Leonid Grinin and Andrey Korotayev. The book is a

massive collection of 41 diverse chapters from numerous contributors. The book takes on almost every aspect of revolutionary theory and addresses quite a few of very recent revolutionary events, as well as many older ones. Second book is *New Wave of Revolutions in the MENA Region. A Comparative Perspective* edited by Leonid Issaev and Andrey Korotayev. The book contains 12 chapters from various contributors, each dedicated to a revolutionary episode in a country from the Middle East and Northern Africa region. The book provides an overview of the revolutionary processes in the region that shook the world several years ago with its rapid and unexpected domino-like revolutions. The book demonstrates that revolutions are ongoing in this part of the world.

There is no common understanding of revolution in the modern world. In the last decade following the Arab Spring, there have been numerous revolutionary movements such as the Occupy movements, Black Lives Matter, Yellow vests, and a wave of coups in Africa. However, at first glance, it appears that these processes are not revolutionary, as they do not bring about the significant social changes that are characteristic of social revolutions. This theoretical problem is addressed by the introductory chapter of *Handbook of Revolutions in the 21st Century*. Jack A. Goldstone, Leonid Grinin, and Andrey Korotayev define revolutions as complex phenomena that evolve over time and in response to historical contexts. The issue is not the absence of definitions for revolutions; in fact, there are numerous definitions available. However, as noted by authors, new forms, types, and features are dictated by time and historical contexts. The description of revolution has four main components, as suggested by the authors: anti-government mass actions, the aim of overthrowing or replacing existing government, seizing power or providing conditions for certain forces to come to power and making significant changes in the regime, social or political institutions. The primary component is essential, while the other three may only be partially present or have specific variations (Goldstone, Grinin and Korotayev 2022a).

The authors propose a new typology of revolutionary phenomena, and there are three types that are particularly relevant to contemporary political circumstances. Firstly, there is a 'revolution analogue' that includes all the previously mentioned components, but mass mobilization is either legal or occurs after elections. In these cases, significant revolutionary changes occur after elections. Secondly, the authors discuss the concept of 'revolutionary movements without revolutions' (RMWR). These movements possess all the necessary characteristics of a revolution, but instead of aiming to overthrow the regime, they focus on specific institutions, protecting or empowering certain social groups, and even opposing new laws and political initiatives. Finally, Goldstone, Grinin, and Korotayev suggest a particularly interesting type of revolution: the

'revolutionary epoch'. 'Revolutionary epoch' refers to a prolonged period of change in a country's history, which may include revolutionary episodes, revolutions, and counterrevolutions. This term is the most appropriate illustration of the evidence that revolutions are not instantaneous. Although it may seem possible to identify the precise date or moment when a revolution occurs, in reality, revolutions are often prolonged processes that can span entire epochs (Goldstone, Grinin and Korotayev 2022a).

The Handbook not only introduces new concepts but also provides numerous examples of them. To properly address the novelty of the typology and the book's findings, one should also consider the second chapter, which is also authored by Jack Goldstone, Leonid Grinin, and Andrey Korotayev. In this chapter dedicated to the theoretical foundations of revolutionary theory authors address the previous achievements and current developments. After summarizing four universally acclaimed generations of the theory of revolution, the authors identify several major recent achievements of the theory. Firstly, the findings on intra-elite conflict and its ability to impede power relations within a country, as opposed to previous evidence on conflict between elites and the state. Secondly, the authors emphasize the prevalence of non-violent revolutions and non-violent tactics in protests, while acknowledging that violence remains a component of some revolutions. The Handbook emphasizes treating revolutions as occurring in global waves rather than isolated domestic affairs. This emphasis on waves is crucial, as they are a significant subject studied in the Handbook and are currently the most intriguing dimension of revolutions. In fact, the empirical foundation of the Handbook is based on three waves of revolutions, as framed by authors in the introductory chapter. The first wave is the wave of color revolutions from 2000 to 2009. The second wave is the Arab Spring and its aftershocks from 2010 until 2013. Finally, there is a third wave which lasts from 2018 until present day but does not have a distinguished name yet (Goldstone, Grinin and Korotayev 2022b).

The first two chapters of the Handbook provide theoretical and empirical grounds for understanding modern revolutions. They include new definitions and typologies, a summary of the latest and most prominent findings in the field, and an overview of the three large empirical frames, which represent the three waves of revolutions. The Handbook covers almost every important revolution and revolutionary phenomenon of this century, providing a solid foundation for testing and understanding new theoretical developments. In this essay, I will address several chapters in chronological order, beginning with revolutionary waves and their characteristics. Secondly, I will cover several cases from the color revolutions wave, the Arab Spring, and the most recent wave to convey

novel characteristics of this century's revolutions. Finally, I will discuss the future of revolutionary movements and their potential characteristics.

What Makes a Revolutionary Wave?

In their recently published book, 'On Revolutions: Unruly Politics in the Contemporary World,' a group of well-known authors in the field discuss waves as one of the four units of analysis of revolution, alongside events, campaigns, and countries. The authors argue that scholars of revolutions in the 20th century, including Skocpol, overlooked waves and instead focused on individual countries. The authors point out that Skocpol has not considered the impact of the American Revolution on the French Revolution, the creation of a new revolution model in Russia, and the role of the Chinese Revolution in the global shift towards constitutional democracy (Beck et al. 2022, p. 161). However, although this argument is convincing, the authors do not specify the characteristics that constitute a wave. The Handbook addresses the problem of wave characteristics, dedicating a separate section of the book to this topic. Nikolai S. Rozov's chapter provides a detailed analysis of this subject (Rozov 2022).

Rozov begins the chapter by defining revolutionary waves as a "series of revolutionary events that occur close in time in different (often neighbouring) societies, moreover these events are causes for each other or have common causes." Revolutionary events are defined as protest activity and a political crisis that threatens current powerholders. A wave includes an original revolution, subsequent revolutions, and a closing one that stops the process. The roots of understanding waves go back to Marxism, however, as Rozov states, interest in waves has appeared after waves of 'Velvet revolutions' (1980s-1990s), color revolutions (2000-2009), and Arab revolutions (2010-2013). Rozov's analysis convincingly demonstrates that this phenomenon has existed throughout history, dating back to at least the early modern era. Waves are not simply a series of coincidental revolutions occurring within a few years. To be classified as a wave, all revolutions within the supposed wave must be linked by at least one of the mechanisms demonstrated by Rozov. Typically, multiple mechanisms are involved in a wave (Rozov 2022).

Firstly, there is a domino effect. This effect begins with a revolution in a donor society and has a strong emotional impact that can transcend borders. This mechanism was evident during the Arab Spring, when the powerful image of protests in Tunisia and Egypt inspired other Arab societies. An induced wave occurs when organizations, institutes, and strategies are deliberately transferred from one society to another. Communist revolutions are a prime example of this phenomenon, with the Communist International directly sponsoring and assisting various revolutionaries in their struggles around the world. Ideological

waves are based on similar slogans, religious ideas, ideologies, and social and political beliefs. Constitutional movements, communist revolutions, anti-colonial revolutions, and anti-communist revolutions are all subject to this mechanism. Polemogen waves are waves of conflict that occur in societies that are involved in wars. A classic example of such a wave is the revolutions that occurred after WWI. Structural waves, on the other hand, are based on various conditions such as socio-economic, technological, and geopolitical factors (Rozov 2022).

The mechanisms mentioned above are clearly present in the revolutions of the 21st century. For example, in the Arab Spring, we can observe four mechanisms of this diffusion. The domino effect is exemplified by the strong impact of the Tunisian revolution. Specifically, the outrage was sparked by the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi. The induced wave is evident in the fact that the Arab world has had and still has numerous common political organizations, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, which actively participated in the revolutionary events in Tunisia and Egypt. Ideologically, the events of the Arab Spring were similar in that they were pro-democratic and against personalist rule. Additionally, Arab countries share common structural characteristics, particularly in terms of demography and economics.

Why are waves important for discussing modern revolutions? The concept of the end of a revolution implies that the country's regime is the primary predictor of the revolution. Liberal democracies (or any other regime, for that matter) are believed to be revolution-proof, as they can mitigate certain revolutionary aspects. However, waves and their ability to diffuse clearly demonstrate that stable domestic politics alone are not enough to prevent revolutions. One donor state that has a revolution with strong emotional or ideological effects can ignite a chain reaction of revolutions. For instance, the 'Occupy' movement in 2011-2012, inspired by Egypt, spread across predominantly democratic countries. It began with the 'Occupy Wall Street' protest in New York and then spread to Spain, Canada, Israel, Portugal, Greece, and many other countries (Rozov 2022). The spread and impact of the 'Occupy' movement suggest that no regime is safe from revolutionary waves and, therefore, from revolutions.

Cases of Revolution in 21st Century

The Handbook not only focuses on theory but also provides empirical cases of revolutions. It includes sections on color revolutions, the Arab Spring, and other revolutions beyond those two initial waves. While it is impossible to cover every chapter, skipping them all would be a shame. Chapters on specific revolutions and waves not only describe them but also reflect trends in revolutionary studies. They provide insights into what each revolutionary event contributes.

As Lincoln A. Mitchell writes in his chapter in the Handbook, “the Color Revolutions receded into history relatively quickly, but their impact was significant” (Mitchell 2022: 435). In the 21st century, color revolutions were the first revolutionary events on a large scale. They can be considered a wave with similar ideas, organizations, and aims. However, modern revolution theory no longer focuses on them, as many scholars shifted their attention to the Middle East and the Arab Spring by 2010 and beyond. Color revolutions are an intriguing subject for research. The revolutionary wave they represent is a unique moment in geopolitical history, induced in part by the Bush administration's prioritization of democracy promotion (Mitchell 2022: 442). These revolutions were significant in changing our understanding of revolution. Color revolutions were not social revolutions that severed connections with the past, but rather cycles of regime formation and collapse. Color revolutions are relevant for our understanding of modern politics as they are able to bring about change without completely altering the status quo (Mitchell 2022). As the author notes, these were not merely labeled as revolutions for political sensationalism, but were actual revolutions, even if they were not social in nature.

In the context of color revolutions, the revolutions in Kyrgyzstan are often overlooked. The eponymous chapter by Yevgeny Ivanov analyzes the Kyrgyz revolutionary events and demonstrates the essence of a color revolution in a brief and coherent manner. The revolutionary events in Kyrgyzstan began in 2005, after the Georgian and Ukrainian revolutions had already been completed. During his presidency, Askar Akayev banned several opposition leaders from participating in elections and promoted his relatives to positions of power. This led to widespread protests throughout the country, which, with the organizational support of opposition movements, ultimately forced Akayev and his family to flee the country. In 2010, a new revolution resulted in the resignation of President Kurmanbek Bakiyev after five years of ruling. The protests were mainly due to suspicions regarding the results of the presidential elections and the increase in utility tariffs throughout the country (Ivanov 2022). Both revolutions are considered to be prime examples of modern revolutions due to their political nature, swift execution, and concentration in urban areas. They resulted in political changes, but did not significantly alter the societal structure.

After 2010, the Arab Spring gained prominence in studies of revolution. The cases of Arab revolutions are well-known and well-researched. It is worth noting that some Arab revolutions became what Goldstone, Grinin, and Korotayev refer to as a revolutionary epoch (Goldstone, Grinin and Korotayev 2022a). For example, Libya remains in a state of post-revolution turmoil and power vacuum. The Arab Spring is significant because it coincided with the rise of studies on non-violent revolution campaigns and heavily influenced them. A considerable body

of literature in this field suggests that non-violence is a successful strategy for revolutionary movements. However, the Handbook's chapter by Rasler, Thompson, and Bou Nassif presents a slightly less optimistic outlook for the non-violent strategy. Scholars of revolutionary campaigns often overlook military and security forces, focusing more on opposition strategies. The analysis suggests that non-violent revolutionary campaigns are more likely to succeed when the military either permits or outright supports such a campaign. The Arab Spring provides a clear example of this, with Egypt. More recent examples include Sudan and Algeria in 2019, where the military also supported non-violent campaigns of opposition (Rasler, Thompson and Bou Nassif 2022).

Color revolutions and the Arab Spring are events of the past. They will always be the subject of revolutionary theory and a characteristic of the beginning of the 21st century. However, as Goldstone, Grinin, and Korotayev (2022a) state, we are currently experiencing a third wave of revolutions. Although the Handbook expands upon this wave, the book *New Wave of Revolutions in the MENA Region* is solely dedicated to recent revolutions in the Middle East and Northern Africa. It provides new insights into the most recent revolutions, their causes, and why revolutions are unlikely to end anytime soon.

The introductory chapter 'New Wave of Revolutions' by Leonid Issaev and Andrey Korotayev provides an overview of the wave of revolutions. The authors cite a chant of opposition in Lebanon during the October Revolution in 2019, which mentions Hong Kong, Chile, Algeria, Sudan, and other countries. This chant demonstrates how revolutionary events have spread globally. The Middle East and Northern Africa have once again experienced an extreme concentration of such events. This new wave has affected Tunisia, Sudan, Algeria, Jordan, and Lebanon, with aftershocks in other countries in the region as well (Issaev and Korotayev 2022). Unlike previous waves, this one was less idealistic, with revolutionaries protesting more against the governments than for democracy.

Anna Kashina analyzed the case of Tunisia in a chapter titled 'Revolution of Ballot Boxes', which was also referenced by newly elected President Kais Saied to describe the presidential vote of 2019. The phrase can be perceived as a play on words, referring to Jeffrey Goodwin's phrase cited above, in which ballot boxes become coffins to revolutions. For Tunisia, ballot boxes were critical to the revolution. As Kashina notes, moderate Islamists governed Tunisia for a decade following 2011, but failed to effectively address corruption and improve government institutions. As a result, Tunisian citizens opted for an independent candidate, Kais Saied, rather than the ruling party. However, the revolution was not limited to a simple protest vote. In 2021, Saied concentrated all executive power in his hands and halted the work of the parliament in order to take actions against the Islamist Ennahda party. Supporters of Saied across the country were

protesting for this 'constitutional coup' (Kashina 2022). The situation in Tunisia still has potential for various transformations, and protest activity in the country has proved to be very persistent.

Although the third wave of revolutions is still ongoing, it has already significantly destabilized the region. For instance, the case of Sudan is still ongoing, and as of 2024, it has entered a phase of civil war. Additionally, the Sahel region appears to be undergoing revolutionary regime transformations. The events in Mali, for example, demonstrate revolutionary mobilization, which motivated the military to overthrow the government (Korotayev and Khokhlova 2022). Bahrain and Kuwait are among the few countries in the Middle East that have remained stable during this wave of protests. Although they experienced protests in 2011, there are currently no signs of revolutionary processes. The opposition in these countries is not unified, has experienced repression from authorities, and has not been able to create meaningful political organizations (Melkumyan 2022). Thus, reality proves another foundation for the end of revolutions wrong. Bahrain and Kuwait are monarchies that resist transitioning to liberal democracy, and it appears that revolutions are bypassing these countries. Additionally, like other Gulf monarchies, they are aware of the potential for Islamist revolutions, similar to the Iranian one, and are constantly at risk of such revolutionary processes (Shults 2022).

The Handbook extensively covers the topic of the third wave, with its global impact and transnationalism serving as the best illustration. Christopher Chase-Dunn, Roman Stabler, Ian Breckenridge-Jackson, and Joel Herrera's chapter in the Handbook thoroughly researches this theme, focusing on the study of international networks of radical social movements. As authors state, the world-system approach employs term "world revolution", which is considered to represent a powerful threat towards "great powers" and global elites (Chase-Dunn et al. 2022, p. 943). The New Global Left is considered by authors to be a force that represents this threat. It is a global constellation of NGOs, movements, and individuals who are actively opposing global capitalism, specifically neoliberalism (Chase-Dunn et al. 2022, p. 951). The movement is decentralized and not affiliated with any particular government, but its representatives worldwide share common values such as peace, human rights, feminism, and climate justice (Chase-Dunn et al. 2022). This transnational network is affecting revolutionary processes worldwide.

In summary, there have been multiple recent revolutions and revolutionary movements that challenge expectations and alter revolutionary theory. The full impact of these waves on history, sociology, and political science is still not fully understood. However, it is certain that the perspective on revolutions will never be the same as it was at the end of the 20th century. Moreover, the cases above

demonstrate that revolutions not only persist but are intensifying in the form of global and transnational movements.

The Future of Revolutions

Forecasting the future is often an impossible and ungrateful task. However, in the case of revolutions, it is somewhat more feasible. As shown above, modern revolutions consist of numerous revolutionary events and come in waves. Since revolutions occur in the form of processes, we can observe current trends, political movements, and long-term decisions that could potentially lead to revolutions. And the future of revolution has its own section in the Handbook, concluding the book.

The concept of the end of history heavily relies on the presumption of a stable world and trouble-free globalization. However, this presumption is incorrect as the world is rapidly changing and undergoing reconfiguration. Leonid Grinin convincingly describes this reconfiguration in terms of the world-system (Grinin 2022b) and suggests several types of revolutions that are likely to occur in the future. The author suggests that revolutions may be a viable means of modernization in underdeveloped countries, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa. National and religious revolutions are both possible due to the presence of oppressed ethnic minorities and faith-related issues in many regions. Finally, revolutions as a means of democratization in authoritarian regimes are still prevalent, but they often result in weak and non-consolidated democracies (Grinin 2022b).

As stated in the introductory chapter, historical context often significantly impacts revolutions and their mode of operation (Goldstone, Grinin and Korotayev 2022a). This topic is further explored in the chapter by Christopher Chase-Dunn and Sandor Nagy, which focuses on global inequality and trends in world revolutionary movements. The authors employ a world-systemic approach and observe similarities between the current configuration of the world-system and that of the early 20th century. The authors identify climate change and the consequences of the 'Livestock Revolution' as potential global threats that could lead to future destabilization. They suggest that 2011 could have been a year of world revolution, but it was not the last one in this century. According to Chase-Dunn and Nagy (2022), the New Global Left will have a significant impact on our world in various ways.

In his chapter, Eduard Shults attempts to forecast several cases of future revolutions. As Shults writes, "prospective forecasting is based on the principle of similarities" (Shults 2022: 1027). To select countries that are capable of hosting revolutions, Shults suggests identifying familiar patterns. For example, there are several instances of prolonged civil wars in the modern world, such as Nepal's

Maoist insurgency, Myanmar's military-opposition standoff and multiple separatist movements, and Yemen's never-ending civil war. These countries are all examples of delayed revolutions that have not yet been achieved for various reasons. However, the contradictions upon which they are based are not going away in the foreseeable future. Additionally, many countries have yet to experience any revolutions since gaining independence. For instance, several African countries have not experienced revolutions. However, despite their growth and development, they remain susceptible to revolutionary destabilization. Additionally, Shults suggests that traditional absolutist monarchies are also at risk of revolution. Countries such as the Gulf monarchies, Morocco, Brunei, and even the Kingdom of Bhutan are examples of such nations that have never undergone a revolution before. However, Shults concludes his chapter by suggesting that revolutions are typically unexpected, to the point where unpredictability has become a defining feature of revolution (Shults 2022).

The idea of revolutions being unexpected is brought up again in the concluding chapter of the Handbook written, just as introductory one, by editors Jack Goldstone, Leonid Grinin and Andrey Korotayev. According to the authors, revolutionary waves often occur when experts and scientists are ironically explaining why certain regimes and regions are stable. This was the case with the anti-communist revolutions of 1989-1991 and the Arab uprisings of 2011. Similarly, the idea of the end of revolutions was challenged. Globalization and the worldwide spread of democratization were expected to promote stability and bring about 'the end of history' worldwide. However, the authors state that this approach mostly resulted in a surge of unconsolidated democracies that were extremely vulnerable to various shocks. Today, multiple unexpected shocks or 'black swans' can trigger new waves of revolution. For example, COVID-19 has led to revolutionary events in countries like Kyrgyzstan, Belarus, and Cuba (Goldstone, Grinin, and Korotayev 2022c: 1042). Therefore, the future of revolutions is largely unpredictable, but it is evident that they are not coming to an end. In fact, a severe crisis may result in numerous revolutions worldwide. According to Goldstone, Grinin, and Korotayev, revolutions will only end when countries and their elites provide citizens with a clear and honest system that ensures their happiness and safety. However, since this is unlikely to happen, revolutions are also unlikely to end (Goldstone, Grinin, and Korotayev 2022c).

Conclusion

Handbook of Revolutions in the 21st Century and New Wave of Revolutions in the MENA Region are two books that cover revolutionary events in the ground and accurate manner. One of the strengths of these books is their focus on revolutionary waves rather than just individual cases of revolution in specific

countries. They convincingly demonstrate that revolutionary events transcend national borders. Additionally, the books provide evidence that revolutions do not always result in significant social changes, yet can still be considered revolutions. Finally, they illustrate that global democratization is not a cure-all for instability. Newly established democracies in the 21st century have proven to be more susceptible to revolutions than some autocracies. However, only long-standing and stable democracies remain relatively safe from serious revolutionary events. It is important to acknowledge that revolutions have evolved with the changing world and their role in society is no longer a harbinger of significant social progress (Grinin 2022a). Moreover, living through revolutions can be extremely frustrating (Razeq 2019), which also does not help to paint an objective picture of them.

In conclusion, one noteworthy idea in the book is a strong indication that revolutions will continue to occur. This idea is transnational and globalized character of modern revolutions and revolutionary movements. It can be argued that this idea is fully contained by the concept of waves, however, while waves are more or less sporadic, transnational revolutionary movements are not. Transnational revolutionary movements have plans and goals that they aim to achieve, similar to the communist international movements of the early 20th century. Christopher Chase-Dunn and his co-authors describe the New Global Left as one of these movements (Chase-Dunn et al. 2022). However, it is important to note that these movements are not exclusively leftist. In a 2017 public lecture at the Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, Jack Goldstone presented evidence that right-wing populist movements can also be revolutionary, with dissatisfied masses and anti-liberal elites at their core (Goldstone 2017). This movement is spreading throughout North America and Europe, without being limited by borders. History has shown that right-wing revolutionary waves are also possible (Rozov 2022). Therefore, in our time, we can witness two global revolutionary movements, and more may arise in the future. Even if one country undergoes a revolutionary change, it can trigger a chain reaction with unpredictable consequences.

The idea of the end of history and revolution gained popularity in the 1990s, but as we now know, they were never destined to become reality. *Handbook of Revolutions in the 21st Century* and *New Wave of Revolutions in the MENA Region* are books that illustrate this fact very well: they are rich with revolutionary events and developments of 21st century and they pose complex theoretical and practical questions. More importantly, books do not only show us that beliefs from the past were not true, but that we need to focus more on the future

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