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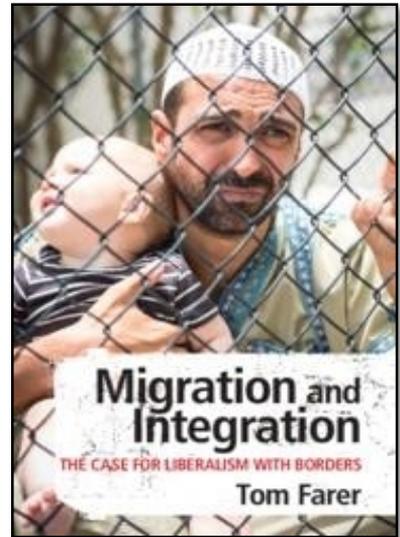
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A LIBERAL APPROACH TOWARDS MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IN EUROPEAN WELFARE STATES

*Renata-Marilena MUSTA**

Review of: Farer, Tom, *Migration and Integration: The Case for Liberalism with Borders*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Migration has always been present in the history of mankind. Harsh living conditions, generated mainly by poverty, exploitation, conflicts and natural disasters, have made people flee in search of protection and better life opportunities in other parts of the world. Many of them have found refuge in Europe, an area of continuous economic, social and cultural development. European leaders have always managed migration as they considered appropriate. In recent years, many European states have signed several documents regarding the protection of human rights such as the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1949 Geneva Conventions and their additional protocols, the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights and the 2000 Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union.



This development in the field of human rights has stimulated migration towards Western European welfare states since the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century. Western Europe has been the destination of many economic and political migrants who left their homes for a more prosperous and secure life. Western European states have managed to deal with migration until now but the massive waves of refugees coming from the Middle East and North Africa and claiming asylum in Europe in the last decade seem to destabilise politically the region as many European citizens begin to perceive refugees and migrants as a threat to their security and many European leaders begin to see them as a burden on the receiving states.

The huge flows of refugees originating from the Middle East and North Africa are the result of large-scale conflicts characterized by high-intensity intra-state violence following the initial pacific popular mobilization against authoritarian regimes in states such as Libya and Syria, known as the *Arab Spring*. These internal conflicts provided the perfect ground for terrorism to emerge and become the greatest threat to human life through the massive atrocities and immense suffering produced to civilian populations. Fearful for their lives, millions of people have fled these countries, many of them seeking refuge in Europe. Confronted with this overwhelming situation, sovereign European states begin to think of their responsibility to protect in other ways.

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On the one hand, sovereignty makes European states' main responsibility the protection and prosperity of their own populations, as they should act as the guardians of their own citizens, and enables them to control immigration through their power over their own territories as they consider appropriate according to their beliefs, identities, capabilities and interests. On the other hand, European states cannot remain indifferent to the extreme human suffering produced to innocent people, regardless of their religions, nationalities, beliefs or other grounds. With so many threats to human security, European states have the responsibility to protect populations at risk as guardians of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Therefore, sovereignty and responsibility to protect should go hand in hand when talking about migration.

The recent massive refugee flows and the spread of terrorism to the international scene have created a series of controversies among the European populations and European leaders regarding the acceptance of migrants and refugees on European territories. While some European leaders, such as the German chancellor Angela Merkel, have mostly been in favour of receiving refugees from the Middle East and North Africa not only for humanitarian reasons but also for economic ones including the labour force brought in and acting as an engine of economic development, other European leaders, such as the Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, have been against their reception invoking security issues.

Political scientist Charles Martin-Shields believes that the European community's migration strategy should be more human-oriented than it is today and should include the creation of places where people would feel like home.

¹Researcher Clare Castillejo thinks that Europe can benefit from labour migration from Africa if the two continents work together. ² Political scientists Annabelle Houdret and Mark Furness believe that the European Union should give more access to North African countries to its single market.³ Nevertheless, researchers Luigi Scazzieri and John Springford consider that the only way the European Union should deal with migration is to further help improve living conditions in the migrants' countries of origin.⁴

In his masterpiece *Migration and Integration: The Case for Liberalism with Borders*, the American author Tom Farer offers a complex analysis of migration and integration in Western European welfare states and possible solutions to their recent problems regarding migrants and refugees. The author sustains his ideas of policies that these states should adopt for the best management of migration and integration with well-

¹ Charles Martin-Shields, "Forced Displacement and Development - Supporting a place to call home?", in *The Current Column*, German Development Institute, 11 July 2018, https://www.diegdi.de/uploads/media/German_Development_Institute_Martin-Shields_11.07.2018.pdf accessed on 13.01.2020.

² Clare Castillejo, "EU Engagement with Africa on Migration: A Change of Approach Required", in *Europe's role in the world: from development policy towards a policy for global sustainable development?*, German Development Institute, Bonn, 2018, https://www.diegdi.de/uploads/media/BP_9.2018.pdf, accessed on 13.01.2020.

³ Annabelle Houdret and Mark Furness, "Germany and Europe cannot give up on North Africa", in *The Current Column*, German Development Institute, 26 February 2018, https://www.diegdi.de/uploads/media/German_Development_Institute_Houdret_Furness_26.02.2018.pdf, accessed on 13.01.2020.

⁴ Luigi Scazzieri and John Springford, "How the EU and third countries can manage migration", Centre for European Reform, November 2017, https://www.cer.eu/sites/default/files/pbrief_amato_migration_1nov17.pdf, accessed on 13.01.2020.

grounded arguments. The book is structured into three main parts dealing with the objects of analysis. The writer declares his liberal position towards mass migration from the very beginning of the book. He justifies his choice of writing about migration in wealthy European states rather than in the United States through a comparison between Western Europe and the United States in terms of identity formation, living conditions and composition of the migration flow.

In the first part of the book, the author uses economic data to show that economic growth has fallen after 2000 in European countries such as France, Germany and the United Kingdom and that there are high youth unemployment rates in European countries such as Sweden and Italy. He is convinced that migration can be restrained and presents some conditions that receiving states might require migrants to fulfil in order to be accepted. There are presented the moral arguments for and against the right to enter of migrants in sovereign states. Some key concepts in Farer's analysis of the migration phenomenon are *nationalism*, *sovereignty*, *responsibility to protect* and *multiculturalism*. The American writer shortly describes the current migration crisis hitting Europe, the emergence of terrorism on European territories, Brexit, the cultural conflict between natives and immigrants over issues of gender, free speech and worship, minority rights provided by the Covenant of Civil and Political Rights and ways of dealing with some minority-community claims.

In the second part of the book, the author presents the cases of five European states: Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the United Kingdom and France, in their management of migration and integration. He shortly describes their recent histories of migration and strategies of integration. While Sweden and Norway have been keener on accepting migrants and adopting integration policies, Denmark has mostly been against the reception of Muslim migrants, it hasn't really welcomed them. According to Farer, integration policies have to serve a fiscal purpose, public safety and defence of society's core values. Britain's approach towards non-Western, especially Muslim, migrants has shifted from a multicultural one in the first years of this century to an anxious one in recent years, migration being one of the main drivers of the 2016 Brexit vote.

France's position towards Muslim migrants is presented through Nicolas Sarkozy's changing attitude towards them. The author makes a comparison between France and the United Kingdom according to their stands towards Muslim migration. For him, distinguishing features include dress-code issues, interest in religion and moment of adoption of anti-discrimination laws, and similarities include reception of post-war migrants from their former colonies and a history of migrant integration and asylum provision. Farer sees British history as one characterised by continuity and French history as one marked by political struggle. He explains the French majority's toxic response to the Muslim minority as a result of the recent terrorist attacks taking place in France.

In the last part of the book, the author mentions the difficulties that need to be address edurgently, including the real causes of Islamic terrorism. He states that his highest priority is that liberal democracy survives and gives some policy ideas that European states should adopt for a better management of migration and integration. For him, communication is a principal mean for eliminating or, at least, easing friction between the native population and the newcomers and make newcomers feel at home in the host country. Farer's plan according to which Western European welfare states should address the current challenges produced by migration is to accept primarily young adults needed on their labour markets, to use a biometric identity-card system to locate individuals present in the country without authorisation and deport them, to establish

special places abroad for entry and asylum applications, to create a migration point system to limit entry, to select immigrants according to their ability to internalise a heroic national narrative, to offer adult immigrants citizenship only if they sign and respect individualised agreements comprising actions they are expected to take, to use schools to inculcate patriotism, to make national service compulsory, to improve the relations between the police and the community and to treat Muslims respectfully.

Tom Farer's book offers a unique view on the current migration and integration crisis that European welfare states experience and some useful advice on the way they should act to deal best with the situation. His bold and challenging ideas maintain the reader's interest and make them question the present migration and integration strategies adopted by several European states. The book is worth reading not only by researchers in the field but also by policymakers for some interesting ideas of policies and everybody interested in finding out different views on the migration phenomenon in European welfare states.

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THE STATE, ANTISEMITISM, AND COLLABORATION IN THE HOLOCAUST: THE BORDERLANDS OF ROMANIA AND THE SOVIET UNION

*Simona BĂLAN**

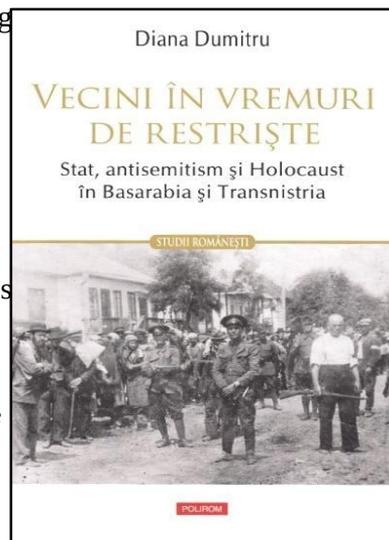
Review of: Dumitru, Diana, *Vecini în vremuri de restriște: stat, antisemitism și Holocaust în Basarabia și Transnistria*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 2019. ISBN 978-973-46-7666-8

The period of World War II was a disturbing experience for the history of all the societies that were involved in this major conflict. The subject of the Holocaust is an inexhaustible one and has been studied by many researchers. Over time, its various perspectives have been captured, but most studies have revealed its historical-political side, of antisemitic political regime.

As the author reveals in the *Introduction*, this book extends the Holocaust research in Romania, researches presented in studies written by, for instance, Jean Ancel, Radu Ioanid, Dennis Deletant, Vladimir Solonari, who analyzed the policies of annihilation of the Jews under the Antonescu regime, but did not emphasize on the attitude and the relations formed among the general population between Jews and other populations or minorities.

Few studies have analysed the interethnic relations formed between the Jews and the other majority or minority populations in the common space in which they lived during, before or after the Holocaust. The present book is one of these studies, in which the author intends to study the relations between Jews and non-Jews during the Second World War in Bessarabia and Transnistria, and especially the factors that shaped these relationships.

The author, Diana Dumitru, is a historian, university lecturer at the Department of History and Social Sciences of the State Pedagogical University "Ion Creangă" in Chisinau. The idea of writing this book came after reading in 2003 a "disturbing book" (p. 11, translated), written by Jan Gross, an American historian of Polish origin, entitled "Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedbawne, Poland", which made her wonder what kind of relations were between Jews and Christians in the place where she was born and why, as a historian, she knows so little about the history of the Bessarabian Jews.



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The book is a comparative study of the interaction of civilians with Jews during the Holocaust in two neighboring regions, Bessarabia and Transnistria, each with its political history, and not a study of the "overall lethality of the Holocaust" (p. 19, translated). Bessarabia and Transnistria correspond approximately to the present territories of the Republic of Moldova and of the southwest of Ukraine, respectively. Transnistria in this study refers not to the current self proclaimed separatist republic, but to the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of the USSR, current territory of today's Ukraine and partly of Russia.

The difference from other similar studies is that it focuses exclusively on the actions of civilians and not those of the state apparatus or in military institutions, army, police or other officials. The study wants to demonstrate the difference in behavior between Jews and non-Jews in the two territories by emphasizing the role of state policies prior to World War II and in "stimulating either animosity or goodwill at the level of various population groups" (p. 17, translated). The author is of the opinion that previous research has not clarified or explained the attitude of the general population in the former Soviet territories, much less to compare them with the neighboring western territories. Although the two groups acted in similar contexts, however, between 1941-1944 there was a difference in how they could exercise their own will in relations with the Jewish minority. The purpose of this study is to understand how they behaved on their own initiative, during the Holocaust "the relatively free agents of society and the factors that determined their behavior" (p. 20, translated).

In the chapters of the book, the author redraws the historical route of the two territories, Bessarabia and Transnistria and presents "their divergent evolutions" (p. 39, translated), chronologically describing the situation of the Jewish minority in these regions starting with the period of the Tsarist Empire, when both territories were under this empire characterized by antisemitism, then the period after the first World War when Bessarabia was united with Romania, Transnistria during this period being under Soviet occupation (the new post-tsarist regime, a Bolshevik communist regime, which implemented policies to combat of antisemitism). In 1940, Bessarabia was taken by the Russians for a short period, and then from 1941 both territories came under the Romanian regime Antonescu, allied with the Nazi Germans, until 1944. It also describes, historically, after a good documentation (archives, documents, testimonies of the survivors or older witnesses, interviews) the evolution of the relations between the Jewish minority and the majority population or the other minorities in the studied region.

The *first chapter* of the book analyzes the period prior to the First World War and the relations between Jews and non-Jews both in Bessarabia and Transnistria, both territories being under the Russian Empire at that time. The Tsarist regime of that period applied contradictory policies towards Jews in these regions, from attempts to include, assimilate or convert them to orthodoxy, to legal discrimination and exclusion, and to force them to settle in an area reserved especially for them somewhere on the western edge of the empire, including in the territories of the future Bessarabia and Transnistria. The period of over a century in which they were under the Tsarist Empire has left its mark on both territories, sharing a similar socio-political history. Being border areas, on the outskirts of the Tsarist Empire, both territories were characterized by ethnic and linguistic diversity: Moldovans, Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, Germans, Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians, etc. The Jews became much more urbanized than the rest of the population, meaning that a large percentage were in Chisinau or Odessa. Being excluded from the state apparatus or public functions, they came to dominate the commerce, the

manufacture, the banks, positions that aroused the envy of the non-Jewish population, largely ruralized and agricultural. Tsar Nicholas I himself (1825-1855) noted in his journal: "The disaster for the peasants in these provinces are the Jews ... They shatter the force of the unfortunate white Russians ... They are permanent lepers and they get involved in these miserable regions to the brim" (p.52, translated), a speech that became common for the autocratic regime. The revolt of the intellectuals but also of the common people against the Jews, the pogroms of that period were condemned verbally by the power, but approved tacitly and unpunished, which intensified the wave of antisemitism and general hatred of the population against the Jews, leading to very tense relations between Jews and other nationalities at the beginning of the 20th century.

The *second chapter* captures the relations between the Jewish minority and the other populations in Bessarabia after 1918, within the Romanian state. The author analyzes the role of the elites, the intellectuality, the political structure and parties in maintaining and amplifying anti Jewish attitudes and feelings within the Romanian society, society and state that were confronted, once the new territories were united, with the problem of socio-cultural integration of the diverse population of these new territories in order to strengthen national identity. In this way, a nationalist discourse was outlined, and the minorities were seen as a threat to the territorial unity of the state, which fueled the traditional Bessarabian antisemitism, overlaid on the "fear of Bolshevik infiltration" of "many communist Jews" (p. 71, translated). In the testimonies of the respondents interviewed by the authors, the non-Jews invoked economic reasons (Jews dealing with trade, crafts and various professions) leading to inequalities between groups and influencing their relations with the Jews. The well-being of the Jews created envy and revolt among the Moldovans. There were major tensions, violence against the Jews, their situation in the interwar Bessarabia resembling their condition in the Tsarist regime. Although Romania's constitution of 1923 guaranteed equality by law, the Jews remained secondary citizens, and they hardly obtained citizenship to occupy positions in the state apparatus.

The *third chapter* provides an image of Soviet integrationist policies, implemented by the new Soviet communist regime, after the fall of the Russian Empire. The new socialist society, under the leadership of the Communist Party, made efforts to integrate minority nationalities, as part of the policies of the new party, especially under "pressure from multiple ethno-national claims" (p. 105, translated), leading a fight against the manifestations of antisemitism, not only for ideological but also pragmatic reasons, many leaders of the Bolshevik state being of Jewish origin. The antisemitic integration policies were carried out in the form of real propaganda through the cinema, newspapers, literature, art, education system, the antisemitic acts being condemned.

The implementation of these policies was slow and difficult, and the changes were not made to each and every individual, but more a general tendency, so that antisemitism was not eliminated, but it was majorly reduced, reaching to amiable relations between Jews and non-Jews, even increasing the number of mixed marriages.

In the *chapters 4, 5 and 6*, the author describes the situation in Bessarabia and Transnistria as it was in 1941, when the two territories came under Romanian control during the Second World War, during the Holocaust. The situation is described by a comparative study of the relations of Jews with the majority Christian population in the two regions. The Romanian politics, under the Antonescu regime, allied with the Germans, was a supporter of the antisemitic struggle, through mass killings of the Jews or their imprisonment and deportation to Transnistria.

These chapters encompass *the very essence of the study*: the comparison of the interethnic relations between the general population towards the Jews in Romanian Bessarabia, and in Transnistria, which came out from under the Bolshevik regime and joined, for a short period, Romania, and the possible factors that shaped these behaviours.

From the analysis of the documents, archives, but also from the interviews applied to the survivors, both Jews and non-Jews, it appears that the general public treated Jews differently in Bessarabia compared to Transnistria. If in Bessarabia, there were still violent and powerful antisemitic attitudes, which under the Antonescu regime, allied with the Nazis, intensified, in Transnistria the population was more reserved to anti Jewish actions, both because of the fear of the return of the Soviet regime, which condemned antisemitism, and especially as a result of the integration policy of the Jews carried on for two decades, which had a positive effect. The book shows the results of these Soviet policies and their contribution to establishing better interactions between Jews and non-Jews.

In Bessarabia, when the Romanian and German troops entered, the civilian population plundered, killed Jews and even killed them in groups (the so-called pogroms).

The study is well designed and documented with the testimonies of the survivors. In Transnistria, the surviving Jews remember the civil attitudes towards them differently from those in Bessarabia. Even though the regime persecuted them, most of the ordinary people, often their neighbors, helped them by providing food and clothing to the deportees, sometimes even hiding them, risking their lives. The study recounts the "absence of pogroms" (p. 152, translated). in Transnistria in 1941 or later, different from the experience of the Jews in Bessarabia. The archival materials and the hundreds of testimonies of the survivors do not indicate episodes of anti Jewish public violence initiated by the civilians in Transnistria after the invasion, as opposed to the attacks in Bessarabia in 1941 against the Jews. One of the participants in the 1941 pogroms from Hirova associated these attacks with the political environment and the xenophobic ideology of the interwar period. He explained his participation in the Jewish massacre as follows: "During the whole [interwar period] the Romanian government educated the population, including myself, in the spirit of hostility and hatred towards other nationalities" (p. 154, translated). The difference in Transnistria was precisely the education of the population during the Bolshevik regime towards the acceptance and inclusion of the Jewish minority. A possible explanation could also be the fact that the Ukrainians in Transnistria during the Bolshevik regime went through hunger and suffering, the Soviet power taking their assets and properties, which formed an attitude of pity towards those who suffered as they suffered.

The author points out that the implementation of state policies regarding the integration of minorities may have a beneficial effect, but at the same time, it does not deny the faults of the Soviet regime and that it has persecuted other minorities. It highlights the role of the state in interethnic policies, which demonstrates the constructive character of antisemitism and that state policies play an important role both in enhancing animosities between populations and minorities, as well as in minimizing conflicts and improving relations between them.

Other researchers also noted that Soviet civilians generally did not participate in anti Jewish violence, unlike populations in neighboring eastern European territories (especially those the Soviet Union had recently occupied). For example, as noted in the book, Yitzhak Arad, believes that in the regions that have been under Soviet rule for 23 years "civilians were less hostile to their Jewish neighbors" than in the territories acquired in 1939 and 1940 (p. 229, translated). Also, Jan Gross, an American historian of Polish

origin, believes that "the role of the neighbors, of the locals, was a crucial factor in the genocide committed on the Jews" (p. 231, translated).

The present study, unlike other researches on the problem of Jews and the Holocaust, analyses the interethnic relations formed during the Second World War between the populations present in these territories and the Jewish minority, and especially the behavioral differences of the inhabitants of these two territories, explaining the factors that may have shaped these different attitudes. Comparing the interethnic relations among common people between the majority population and the Jewish minority in the two regions, the study reveals some basic tendencies and common features of the categories of population, some general patterns, however not applicable to each individual.

In the end, the research offers possible explanations of the differences in attitude towards the Jews in the two regions, showing that hate speech and exclusion have negative effects on interethnic relationships, and inclusive discourse can improve interethnic relationships. But the public discourse is not enough, however, it must be implemented through integration policies, which the Soviet Union made during the interwar period in its territories. The fact that the communists in the Soviet Union took over the properties and the assets of the Jews (expropriations) may have smoothed the envy and resentment of the poor. As Jan Gross points out the intentions of the Communist Party only at the level of discourse were not sufficient to counteract the antisemitic acts done by the inhabitants of Poland immediately after the war and this because they were not "accompanied by application procedures", remained at the stage of intention and minimal gesture (p. 242, translated). However, after the World War II, antisemitism flourishes in the area, under the effect of Nazi propaganda, the Soviet states following their own antisemitic course.

And as for the situation in Romanian Bessarabia, at the beginning of the 20's, the Romanian state did not have the major cultural influence in the newly allied territories, even though it had the political power over the entire population. The nationalist ideology of that period for the preservation of national integrity led to actions of expulsion or restriction of national minorities, especially of the Jews, the most urbanized ethnic group in the area, the cause for which it was seen as far more threatening, so that "antisemitism was in the center of Romanian nationalism" (p. 244, translated). The poverty of the Romanian peasants had the effect of resentment towards the more wealthy and urbanized Jews, which somehow explains the thefts and robberies of the Romanians against the Jews, which Diana Dumitru calls a "mental mechanism" (p. 246, translated) that justifies attitudes and behaviors. which in other situations would be condemnable.

In conclusion, the book is a well-documented study (archival documents, interviews, surveys, memoirs, other studies and analyzes), using comparison as the main method of analysis. The study reveals possible unpleasant truths about the history of the Jewish minority in Eastern Europe, perhaps more difficult to admit and digest by certain historians and researchers and remained partially unknown to the general public, whose image of Jewish persecution remains centered around German Nazi policies, being demonstrated, however, the extended size of this problem in Europe or Eastern Europe. Of course, the study leaves room for other possible interpretations as well, I would say perhaps even wider interpretations of social psychology than the ones that are mentioned and described here.

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BOOK REVIEW: NEW RESEARCHES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Bogdan RUS*

Review of: Melania-Gabriela Ciot, *New Researches in International Relations (Coordonator)*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2018, ISBN: 978-606-37-0394-2, 238 p.

In an increasingly interconnected world with an exponential changing pace, where a tremendous amount of data is flowing in real time to any individual that holds an internet connection, the complexity of any large segment across the globe has reached a level above any human understanding. In such an overwhelming context, many of our daily areas have started to suffer as a side effect of this inability to control all our running and upcoming processes in an effective manner, and let to many disputed situations – among them, the human relationships themselves. Whether we're talking about large societal groups, main economic sectors, political spheres with their intra or inter-state relations – they are all facing new challenges with each passing day. Now it would be easy to blame technology with its capitalist and political interests, or the abusive regimes and the civil wars, or even the terrorist and their extreme actions; but unfortunately that is not all, and to some extent we are all contributing to many of these factors – such as the environmental and climate change, for example. But as dramatic as it may seem, all these issues have a solution that eventually finds its answers in the political field, where only the appropriate support and legislation are the key tools that can really make things right.

Therefore, to objectively address a contribution to this domain, deeper studies of the current situations are often extremely useful, and the scholars and academic researchers can clearly bring a decisive participation share to it. In this regards, Associate Professor Dr. Melania-Gabriela Ciot brought through her book *New Researches in International Relations* – where she owned the role of coordinator – an exceptionally wide perspective into the International Relations field, by bringing together the researches of eleven doctoral students and managing to cover several specific topics, such as: *idiosyncrasies of decisions made by political leaders, decision-making models identified*



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*in certain decisions, the role of culture in the future of Europe, case-studies of leadership models and so on.*¹

Melania-Gabriela Ciot (born in 1975) is an Associate Professor at the Faculty of European Studies of Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca – one of the leading universities of Europe – and also the Director of —European Paradigm Doctoral School within the same faculty. Throughout her career, she published ten books as sole author, three books as coordinator, over 30 studies with the recognition of prestigious national and international publishing houses and over 50 articles indexed in the international databases.²

The current volume is structured on 10 chapters, each one of them containing a research from up to two doctoral students, elaborated during their first year of study within the European Paradigm Doctoral School.

The first chapter is written by **Alexandru C. Apetroe** and approaches the topic of **North Korean’s decision-making process: Is Kim Jong-un a rational leader?** In his research the author is analysing the North Korean leader’s brutal dictatorship actions in relation to Donald Trump’s administration and tries to portrait Kim Jong-un from the *rational leader*³ point of view, based on his actions during the 2007 nuclear crisis on the peninsula. His arguments are also pointing to the entire region perspective, addressing not only the US relations, but also South Korea, China and Japan ones, where the North Korea’s actions were actually part of a greater plan that deliberately inflated the situation in the first place, in order to reach a quick de-escalation process through the already known measures of diplomatic protocols, and eventually settle to a safe zone in relation to all these international players – actions mainly inspired by the nuclear crisis situations of his father (2002) and grandfather (1993-1994).

The second chapter highlights **Emmanuel Macron vs. Jean-Claude Juncker** topic, written by **Andreea Stretea**. In focusing on two of the most important figures of nowadays European political arena – such as the President of France and the President of the European Commission – the author took the challenge of debating how their decisions (especially from an idiosyncratic point of view) can make an impact or even decide the future of a Union and eventually of a whole community. Her article approaches the perspective of both *rational model* and *psychological profile*⁴ analysis of each leader and reaches throughout her argumentation to an objective description of the key roles these figures play in reforming the complex structure of the European Union. The need of such a research comes in the context of UK’s decision to leave the Union and also holds as a base the number of public interventions made by these two leaders.

The third chapter was elaborated by **Evangelos Liakouris** containing the **Culture and its role in the future of Europe** topic. His research is structured on three main topics and tackles the European Union existential crisis:

1. *The evolution of European cultural policy*
2. *The “White Paper on the Future of Europe”*
3. *Justifying the absence of culture in the 5 scenarios*⁵

¹ Melania-Gabriela Ciot, *New Researches in International Relations*, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2018, p.10

² *Ibidem*, cover description

³ *Ibidem*, pp. 15-39

⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 45-73

⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 77-105

The main focus of the study remains the culture and the future of the European culture in the context of economic priorities and stresses the importance of the immediate intervention of the European Union into this sphere, to continuously aim for its own sustainable future.

The fourth chapter, written by **Ioana Constantin Bercean** tackles the theme **High representative, high expectations: Federica Mogherini's rational behavior on Iranian nuclear deal**. The study is very a comprehensive one and presents the EU's top diplomat Federica Mogherini playing fully rational in the Iranian nuclear deal, *by maximizing the EU's power as a global actor and protecting the JCPOA accord*⁶. Her step-by-step analysis of the costs and benefits of each action confirmed her diplomatic abilities, particularly because she needed this success since she was facing her second international crisis, after the Middle East and Africa migration issue.

The fifth chapter, President Charles de Gaulle's decision-making model by **Claudiu Degeratu** offers a very interesting analysis on NATO's worst crisis – the withdraw of France from the Alliance, in March 1966, with its focus on the President Charles de Gaulle and his anti-Americanism attitudes and measure. The approach uses the *rational actor model*⁷ framework and aims to conclude if those measures brought back France among the great powers of the world and reduced the American hegemony.

The sixth chapter is written by **Iulia Anamaria Ghidiu** on **Political leader Theresa May in the context of Brexit negotiations**. Her study focuses on the British Prime-Minister Theresa May's speeches and aims to reach a reasoned opinion on her negotiation style – since she *pledged to accomplish both and economic and illiberal, cosmopolite elite, inflexible to alternative perspectives*⁸ – especially throughout all the theatrical attitude that the British parliament is also asking in relation to Brussels' negotiations.

The seventh chapter, Decision-making models - an analysis of 2007 cyber-attacks in Estonia by **Radu Constantin Muresan**, approaches the very controversial situation that Estonia faced within the 2006 - 2007 period, by offering a view point on how seriously this situation has actually impacted governments, businesses, media of even common people, and how the *political leader's rational pattern managed to diminish these effects*.⁹ The study also rises the awareness on the significance of such attacks and how they can lead not only to huge amounts of money and data losses, but also to human chaos situations.

The eighth chapter, containing **Mihai I, King of the Romanians. The decision from 23 August 1944** topic was written by **Adrian Tolca**. In his study the author approaches four main areas to structure his argumentation:

1. *The national and international time context;*
2. *Who Michael the 1st is from different perspectives: origin, education, leader in training, cognitive and personality abilities;*
3. *The analyses of the Kings' decision-making process, taking into account the context, the psychological perspective, time, complexity and his capacity and the identified idiosyncrasies;*

⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 109-124

⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 127-138

⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 141-158

⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 161-175

4. *Sentence regarding the correct interpretation of the decision-making process and different opinions regarding the national political context, repercussions of the truce between Romania and the Allies.*¹⁰

Through this approach, he reaches a strong standpoint over the idiosyncratic typologies that influenced Kings' decisions, especially the one from 23rd of August 1944.

The ninth chapter, Anca Anda Sîrca – An evaluation on the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan offers in the first part a very wide perspective over the concept and general rules of leaders and leaderships, based on Max Weber's views – such as *Political Dimensions, Political Image and Leadership Typology in the Context of Power and Authority*.¹¹ The second part of the research focuses on 15th of July events in Turkey and argues on how Recep Erdoğan, the president of the Republic of Turkey, managed to use his skills and charisma along with all its available tools in order to handle the *July 15th coup attempt process*.¹²

The tenth chapter, the last one, is written by **Diana Gligor and Dacian Pustea** and approaches the subject: **Idiosyncrasies in the foreign policy of the leaders Angela Merkel and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan from the perspectives of parliamentary elections in Germany 2017**. The study is centered on the communications process as a whole, but also on the personal attacks made by Recep Erdoğan, the president of the Republic of Turkey, against the chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Angela Merkel. With no coincidence, the period matches with the election period for the members of the parliament (September 2017), when Recep Erdoğan intervened in the process by trying to block the re-election of Angela Merkel. Throughout their argumentation, the authors succeed in highlighting the idiosyncrasies of the actors, where Erdoğan acts as an *imperialist that communicates only with a strong sense of personality (like a self-centered actor)*;¹³ while on the other part Angela Merkel manages to remain a rational actor that communicates only at a state level, using different diplomatic tools.

In concluding our review, we claim the volume to be a very comprehensive one – especially from topic coverage point of view, well-structured and entirely specific oriented. The arguments sustaining the research are also objectively elaborated and always backed up by recognized academic bibliography. By pursuing such an approach, the authors succeed in offering a broad perspective over specific events that occurred in the European political arena during its recent past.

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¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 178-198

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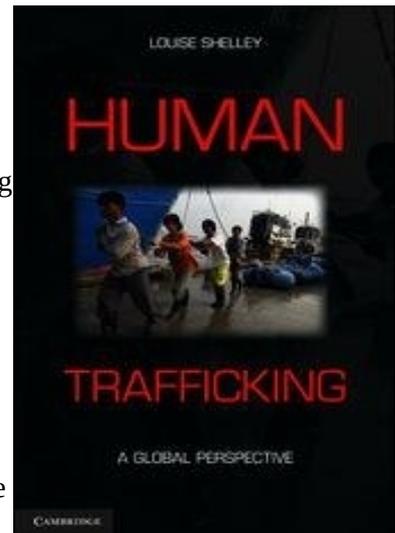
HUMAN TRAFFICKING. A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Anca IUHAS*

Book review of Louise Shelley, *Human Trafficking. a Global Perspective*, Cambridge University Press; 1 edition, 2010, ISBN-13: 978-0521130875

Louise Shelley's book on the subject of human trafficking, *Human Trafficking – A Global Perspective*, was published in 2010 and is still an invaluable source of insights into this global issue.

The book examines all forms of human trafficking and smuggling on a global scale, focusing mainly on sex trafficking, but also touching upon labor trafficking, child pornography and other forms of trafficking. It analyzes the operations of the trafficking business and the nature of the traffickers themselves, as well as the causes and consequences of human trafficking from a social, political, health and labor point of view. The author makes a historical and comparative in-depth analysis, describing the different ways that this phenomenon has developed across the main regions of the world, dedicating separate chapters to each region: Asia, Eurasia and Eastern Europe, Europe, United States, and lastly, Latin America and Africa.



The main point of focus in this book is that there is more than one business model of human trafficking and that there are enormous variations in human trafficking in these different regions and, therefore, solutions that have worked for one region will not necessarily work for the other. One sensitive aspect she explains is that, especially in the former communist states of Europe, high law enforcement officials in source countries are protecting criminal groups and supporting human trafficking, which is one of the main problems of combating human trafficking. She militates for a multilateral perspective, combining united efforts from the part of the business world, national governments and international bodies, the civil society, the academic world, and even the consumers, providing several examples of best practices and giving suggestions of possible solutions.

Dr. Louise Shelley is a University Professor at George Mason University and an expert on the relationship between terrorism, organized crime, and corruption as well as human trafficking, transnational crime, and terrorism. She is in the Schar School of Policy and Government and directs the Terrorism, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center (TraCCC) that she founded. From 1995-2014, Dr. Shelley ran programs in Russia, Ukraine, and Georgia with leading specialists on the issues of organized crime and corruption. She has also been the principal investigator of large-scale projects on money laundering from Russia, Ukraine and Georgia and of training of law enforcement persons

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on the issue of trafficking in persons. Professor Shelley also served on the Global Agenda Council on Illicit Trade and Organized Crime of the World Economic Forum (WEF) and was the first co-chair of its Council on Organized Crime.

The author uses a wide body of academic research - actual prosecuted cases, testimonies and fieldwork and interviews conducted by the author over a period of sixteen years in Asia, Latin America, Africa, Europe, and the former socialist countries. The extensive range of sources used also include books, magazine and newspaper articles, films and documentaries, analyses of national governments, parliamentary hearings, publications of multinational organizations, such as IOM, UNICEF and the United Nations Office on Crime and Drugs (UNODC), The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the International Labor Organization (ILO), to name just a few, activities and analyses of NGOs, such as Anti-Slavery and Free of Slaves, research and case studies, as well as numerous interviews with law enforcement personnel, journalists, peacekeepers, policymakers, and activists in the human trafficking area and occasionally with a victim of human trafficking or member of a human trafficking organization.

The author aims to contribute to the issue of human trafficking mainly by researching and describing the role of organized crime in human trafficking, the economics of human trafficking, and the money laundering of the traffickers and smugglers and by insisting upon a multilateral approach to combating this phenomenon on a global scale. One particular area in which the book could be improved would be further explaining the reasons why existing programs and policies of combating human trafficking have failed to work and proposing more specific solutions to the issue.

Dr. Shelley's book offers a timely and invaluable perspective on the numerous aspects of human trafficking, which scholars, policymakers and practitioners in this field could widely benefit from.

¹ *Louise I. Shelley*, Schar School of Policy and Government, George Mason University, <<https://schar.gmu.edu/about/faculty-directory/louise-i-shelley>>

UNCERTAINTY: STRATEGIC THINKING AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN 21ST CENTURY

Lucia PANTEA*

Review of *Uncertainty: Strategic Thinking And International Relations In 21st Century* By George Cristian Maior, Editura RAO, București, 2014

Clearly analyzing the context of the present world, the author brings several definitions, concepts and approaches regarding the development of international relationships and he uses conceptual expressions such as network-state, non-state, post worlds by analyzing certain events that have influenced the historical paths from different perspectives.

As George Cristian Maior is a career diplomat and he used to be at some point secretary and head of the Department for Euroatlantic Integration and Defence Politics within the National Defence Ministry, as well as head of Romanian Information Service, the topics of his book are approached from the perspective of his experience and his practice. This is the reason why the conclusions are well anchored in reality and his proposals for the development of international relationships are pertinent within the context of uncertainty notion, and the possibility to discover what is hidden behind the appearance leads to possible to be applied solutions.

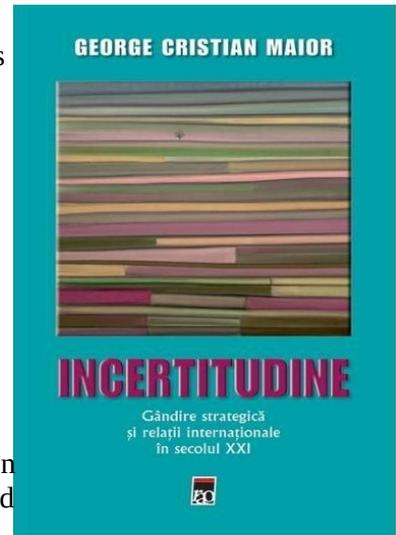
The tone of the book is an open one, touching the human nature of the reader through cited literature in connection with the topics of the chapters. This helps to reach a heartfelt participation in understanding the described situations.

At the very beginning of this edition, in the introductory part, the author offers quotations from David Mitchell: —What wouldn't I give now for a never changing map of the ever-constant ineffable! To possess, as it were, an atlas of clouds!.

The author presents three maps representing the fundamental problems of the main strategic challenges Europe and the whole world has confronted, in three different moments of the history: first and second World Wars, The cold war and Globalization. Anyone can clearly see the difference between traditional strategic thinking and the diversity of globalization era.

Idealism has manifested itself during the freedom dreams of individuals and collectivities in 1989 revolution. The idealism is content within the much awaited changes with beneficial consequences and it has led to the idealization of transformation of the international political universe.

Realism has arrived with the 9.11. attack from 2001, when a non-state organization was able to attack the most powerful state in possession of supremacy in all



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points of view: political, technological, cultural and military. This situations lead to creation of new alliances and to proclamation of —global war against terrorism‖ as a common purpose.

The greatest paradox of 21st century reside in the fact that as much as technology, knowledge and progress offer more and more opportunities, all these bring also more vulnerabilities. Life during this century is one with a higher potential of unpredictability and unknown and this uncertainty reflected in intellectual world, will lead to a different strategic thinking, to new and diverse approaches. Some of these thinking ways could be scenarios and possibilities based on accurate, actual and precise information.

The dynamic universe in unforeseen. The post notion – such as post Cold War epoch, post 9.11., post-industrialization, post 2008 financial crisis – has found its use as a conceptual instrument for exploring the international political universe as a result of a certain situation. Fareed Zakaria's book —The Post American World‖ has lead to a series of debates regarding the theory released by the author. Zakaria supports the fact that there were three major changes within international relationships world, as follows: increasing the influence of Western world (15th century), the imposition of America as a global power (19th century) and the decline of the power of America and the emergence of new powers-Europe, China, India and Brazil (21st century). The author's scenario is presenting a new world that is not anti-American but one in which in many areas (industrial, financial, cultural, educational and social) the power is getting further from the —American domination‖.

The Europe of the European Union has succeeded to replace the power politics with consensus politics, a notion explained as —the paradox of willingness of a state to give up some of traditional attributes of sovereignty, in order to become stronger in promoting purposes related to the interests of the society which it governs‖.

Development of the technology, access to information and to the most recent discoveries in all domains as forms of progress, did not necessarily lead to moral or politic progress within the international relationships.

It's more and more difficult for the states to control transmission of ideas, goods, people over national frontiers. The role of traditional state can be transformed, as Manuel Castells theory states, in a network-state generating a —complex structure for communications, built around objectives that ensure the purpose unity and its adaptability to the operational environment‖.

There are already some networks created which develop accordingly to their purpose, level of interest, level of content. These networks are international, with the main interest in their development and easily exceeding the physical borders between states, i.e. cultural, art, internet for communication, scientific and technological networks.

For instance, the social media such as Facebook or Instagram have transformed any user into an information source, even into a reporter or influencer.

Any formation, organization, entity that are not politically or strategically defined, that do not have the powers of a state, without a physical definition and that represents the common interests of individuals could be assimilated to the notion of —non-state‖. International relationships were based in the past on similarity, rules, stability codes, diplomatic codes, cooperation and reason. After the emergence of the non- state identities, these international relationships have changed. The non-state identities are not respecting any rules, create international tensions and their actions are violent and unforeseen. Terrorist attacks have existed before but they were smaller sized. In the present, globalization has lead to greater influence of these kind of attacks and greater impact.

Within the new configuration of the new international relationships, the roles of diplomats, soldiers and strategists are changing. The soldier's role becomes more complex because he is the one who carries out an order in direct connection with the citizen. So, it is necessary for him to be aware of more details, to be trained regarding his behavior mode. In the same way, the diplomats have to change roles with strategists and the strategists with the diplomats, all of them have to dispose new abilities. Different countries have different approaches. For instance, regarding the military diplomacy, France embraces a wider vision of maintaining the peace, whereas Denmark and Switzerland promote stability and security.

The important thing is that efficiency should be offered by the general reaction capacity, by approaching and creating mixed capabilities to ensure, in crisis, managing the situation, even in new situation where the roles and risks can change permanently, where the information and knowledge are vital.

Europe and America represent an alliance between two worlds that are thinking their mission and identity differently, within the international context. Europeans prefer negotiation, the diplomacy and dealing with politics for international issues, and this is an ideational approach. Americans consider that the best approach is based on using their very big power and force to deal with problems. The alliance between them is possible due to the fact that, treated with wisdom, their unification of forces leads to a very powerful united capacity.

Is it possible to foresee the future, taking in consideration all factors involved, those that are known and those that can occur, so that we could be prepared with scenarios and possibilities for all the unpredictable?

The book written by George Cristian Maior ends with a very suggestive quote: —You don't have to predict the future. Just choose the future—a better future, a useful future— and make that prediction that will alter the emotions and the human reactions so that the future you've predicted will actually happen. It is better to build a good future than to predict a bad one.

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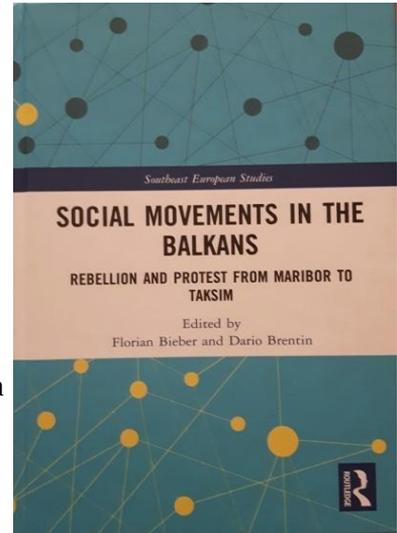
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POSTCOMMUNIST SOCIETAL CHANGES IN THE BALKANS

*Dan APĂTEANU**

Review of Bieber, Florian and Dario Brentin (eds.) *Social Movements in the Balkans. Rebellion and Protest from Maribor to Taksim*. New York: Routledge, 2019, ISBN 978-1-138-05214-7

The first chapter belongs to Heiko Wimmen, *Divided they stand: peace building, state reconstruction and informal political movements in Bosnia-Hertegovina, 2005-2013* (Wimmen, 2019, pp.9-29). After the 1990s, there was the conception that liberal democratic systems are the best remedy for post-conflict societies; hence there were international attempts to intervene in these societies to prevent them from falling into violence. Bosnia-Hertegovina represents such a case where there was external intervention for the democratic state reconstruction. By the mid 2000s, civil society organizations have been developed and were involved in the governance process. They tried to generate a broad bottom-up involvement of the people in the public affairs, through initiatives such as GROZD - Citizens organize for democracy, that tried to move the focus from the nationalist rhetoric to public policies. A new generation of activists have also been involved in the public sphere. The recent events in BiH show that there is a normalization of civic life, with many non-formal political movements.



The second chapter is *Maribor's social uprising in the European crisis. From antipolitics of people to politicisation of periphery s surplus population*. It analyzes the mass uprisings that were in winter 2012-2013 in Maribor, city coined as a periphery, that should be seen as a sign that questions the case of Slovenia as a «success story». Maribor was already a city where protests broke during the communist regime in 1988 announcing the end of the regime. Again, more than two decades later, the author suggests it might happen the same as the people are disappointed with the post-socialist transition and the changes it brought. The author shows that the mass uprisings in Maribor were unexpected, using Ranciere political theory of dissensus and *demos*. The political discontent generated a crisis of the existing political representation on one hand, but on the other hand, it led to the formation of new political parties and groups (Kirn, 2019, pp. 30-47).

Valentina Gueorguieva, in her article *The „stronger' state and counter-democracy. Bulgarian street protests, 2012-2013, in the accounts of participants*, makes a chronology of the civil society manifestations against some decisions of the authorities, that transformed eventually into a critique of overall activity (Gueorguieva, 2019, pp. 48-65). The movements experimented with different forms of organization and expression, hence

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there is no standard form for their involvement in the political process. However, their actions began as simple intentions to stop a certain decision or law but afterwards it transformed, seeking measures and policies that they were trying to be accepted by the authorities. The methodology of the study includes in-depth interviews and anthropological observation, with data collected between 2009 and 2014. The text analyzes the concepts of the state, the public good and the citizens control, in light of the Bulgarian reality, showing that the protesters demand a stronger state to defend the public goods.

The spaces of social mobilization in Greece by Kostis Plevris presents the social movements from Greece in the last decade, that arose especially from the economic crisis, or against the restraint of domestic liberties, oppression or fascist views in society (Plevris, 2019, pp. 66-78). The author does not simply describe the manifestations, but tries to interpret them. The social mobilizations had a strong spatial analogue regarding the way they were expressed. The development of human society takes place in space and time, hence they are being connected. Understanding how space is produced is connected to the comprehension of the social activities but, on the other hand, we should not regard it as an independent factor. Social claims have been historically developed in spaces that played an important role. The author analyses the connection between space and human activity in the case of different Greek places.

In the article *At the crossroads of cultural and ideological exchange - behind the visual communications of 2012 - 2013 Slovene protests*, Ksenija Berk presents how the visual communication - such as posters, flags, banners, puppets, masks and artworks - transmits the ideological message of the protesters (Berk, 2019, pp. 79 – 95). This was comprised from elements of the national history, stemming from revolutions and from the socialist period, forming a unified message that criticized the corrupted politicians. To analyze the visual material, the author uses a diverse research methodology, from areas such as aesthetics, political theory, visual culture, history of art and design.

Lekic-Subasic shows the importance of Web 2.0 - Facebook, Twitter and Youtube - usage in the organization of the protests in Southeast Europe (Lekic-Subasic, 2019, 96-112). The content uploaded on these websites have been analyzed in order to investigate their role in social movements. Social media and new media technologies brought concrete changes in people's lives. However not all researchers agree with this idea, pointing towards the *slacktivism*, referring to political activities that have no impact on real life politics, serving only to increase the feel good factor of the *activists*. The author presents a case study on the «baby revolution», the protests that took place in 2013 in Sarajevo and other towns in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in 2012 in Slovenia, as a response to the actions of the Maribor mayor. Social media - especially Facebook - was crucial in spreading information and organizing protests.

Chiara Milan and Leonidas Oikonomakis analyze the transition from single-issue protests to mass-movements in Greece, Turkey and Bosnia-Herzegovina, trying to determine its causes (Milan and Oikonomakis, 2019, pp. 113-130). These movements have similarities as participants expressed dissatisfaction with the political system that did not represent them or the fact that they were triggered by one event such as the austerity measures in Greece - named the Movement of Squares in the 2011 summer, Turkey's Occupy Gezi Park in May 2013 and the #JMBG movement in Bosnia-Herzegovina in June 2013. But they evolve differently as those in Turkey and Greece transformed into large movements protests, while that in Bosnia-Herzegovina did not. The authors argue that this can be attributed to the resonance of the overarching frame with the target group

and society culture and to the lack of experienced local and transnational movement networks.

Marius Tătar tackles the issue of protest politics in post-communist Southeastern Europe (Tătar, 2019, pp. 131-157). He is offering a theoretical perspective, that conceptualizes and explains the protest participation, as a way to influence the decisions perceived to be negative for themselves or for the society. There are perspectives from different areas, such as political sciences, sociology, political economy, social psychology or history. The author underlines that most protest events are not solitary acts, but rather collective actions. He is analyzing European Values Survey and World Values Survey datasets to measure the involvement of people in protest activities. Country-aggregated levels of economic development and quality of democracy are not good explanatory variables for the level of protest actions. When it takes into account socio-demographic and cultural variables, most of the predictors of protest activity have an equal influence in the East and in the West; what performs as explanatory variables are interest in politics, threatened values and mobilizing contexts.

The international context of mass political unrest in the Balkans is analyzed by Mark Kramer. Many studies have shown the importance of the mass media in framing the goals and activities of the protesters. In general, these studies have been focused on the media within the countries where protests took place, but we should also consider foreign media. Western government agencies, NGOs and social groups have provided training and assistance to NGOs, informal groups and individuals in Balkan countries, that could be used by anti-government protesters. The literature on transnational advocacy networks show how transnational activism affects and is affected by domestic political opportunity structures. The international dimension of mass political protest can be seen in the cross-national spread of social movements, the external diffusion of protest speech and the potential for cross-border *demonstration effects*. International organizations have an important influence on political protests from one country (Kramer, 2019, 158-187).

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