



REVIEWS

Citizenship Today: Global perspective and practice

Alexander T. Aleinikoff and Douglas Klusmeyer (editors)

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2001

International Migration Policy Programme, Comparative Citizenship Project, Volume II

PBK: ISBN: 0870031848 \$24.95

pp. 411 (including list of abbreviations, notes on contributors, figures, bibliographical references & index)

This book is the second of three volumes on contemporary citizenship produced by the Carnegie Endowment's International Migration Project. According to one of its editors, Douglas Klusmeyer, citizenship has become 'the primary category by which people are classified' and, thus, provides 'the main thematic link connecting far ranging policy domains' from welfare and multiculturalism to international relations and migration (p. 1). The project is a timely and ambitious programme that not only endeavours to display the wide array of policy areas pertaining to citizenship but also sets out to aid policy making by providing specific recommendations.

The book opens with a general introduction that presents the aims, achievements and future developments of the International Migration Project and explains its topical arrangement into volumes. Then it moves on to illustrate comprehensively the four component parts of this second volume by reflecting on how each thematic unit frames the discussion. This introduction provides an excellent overview of 'the citizenship themes' and leaves the detailed argumentation of the nexus between theory and practice in citizenship to the individual contributors (p. 1). The underlying assumption in the different articles of this volume is that the attribution of citizenship implies a parallel process of both inclusion and exclusion, where narrow and contingent criteria for eligibility to membership are continuously challenged and reviewed by the exercising of citizenship rights by aliens and migrants. In this perspective, each essay in the volume exposes one aspect of the limitations of citizenship in relation to migration and presents it with specific challenges. The thematic areas presented in this second volume are arranged in the following way:

1. Part One illustrates leading policy trends in citizenship policies and migration (access to citizenship, the rights of aliens and the dilemma of the relation between gender and nationality)
2. Part Two locates citizenship in the broader institutional structures (from national to global) that may legitimate or deny citizenship itself
3. Part Three reflects on the different conception of citizenship and their evolving character in their encounter with migration and new forms of transnationalisation
4. Part Four approaches the problem of migrants' integration and citizenship by deconstructing existing conceptualisations in research and policy and by analysing the political power of normative language.

In Part One, Patrick Weil, Joseph Joppke, Alexander Aleinikoff & Douglas Klusmeyer and Karen Knop contend with the growing emergence of plural, or dual, nationality as opposed to atomistic (or state-based) citizenship. Weil's comparative study of twenty-five countries and their nationality laws is supported and followed by Joppke's analysis of alien rights in three interesting laboratories (Germany, USA and the European Union). Contrary to Brubaker's attempt at anchoring citizenship acquisition laws to the particular history, culture and language of a country (Brubaker 1992), both Weil and Joppke discern an international convergence towards an expansion of rights of aliens regardless of existing traditional domestic arrangements. This relaxation of nationally-based and culturally-exclusive citizenship is subsequently demonstrated by Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer

statist notions of international law on the grounds that these notions provided more protection from intervention for weaker states. However, this appears to idealise the Cold War. In that context superpower rivalries were often played out, with devastating consequences for the local populations, on the territory of weak states (e.g. Vietnam, Angola, Syria Nicaragua).

These two criticisms of Chandler's work come to a head in what at times appears to be a suggestion (pre-figured in *Faking Democracy*) that human rights abuses, such as rape in Bosnia, did not really exist, or certainly not on the scale suggested. This would need a stronger empirical basis: does Western interventionist justification in the name of abstracted, nameless 'victims', really mean that there were no human rights abuses, or victims at all? Did Western governments make up all ethnic cleansing and mass rape? If not, who is entitled to intervene?

In conclusion, Chandler's book deserves a read for those who may be complacent about the use and abuse of human rights arguments. However, the critique that was very powerful with respect to the international community's actions in post-Dayton Bosnia, is rather less powerful when rolled out in a broader global analysis.

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'Saviours of the Nation': Serbia's Intellectual Opposition and the Revival of Nationalism

Jasna Dragovic-Soso

Hurst&Company, London, 2002

Hbk: ISBN: 1850655774 £45.00

Pbk: ISBN: 1850654573 £17.50

pp. 293 (including: bibliography and index)

The Politics of Symbol in Serbia: Essays in Political Anthropology

Ivan Colovic

Translated from the Serbian by Celia Hawkesworth

Hurst&Company, London, 2002

Hbk: ISBN: 1850654654 £35.00

Pbk: ISBN: 1850655563 £16.50

pp. 328 (including: appendixes, bibliography and index)

Serbian nationalism and its proponents have been frequently designated as the proximate cause of Yugoslavia's breakup. However, the evolution and manifestations of that nationalism as an analytical unit in itself have received much less attention. Two volumes from Hurst have emerged last year that help fill this gap. Both primarily consider the discourse aspect of nationalism in Serbia.

In *'Saviours of the Nation'*, Dragovic-Soso sets off on a scholarly quest to explain the redirection of the Serbian intellectual opposition's discourse from democratic demands to virulent, paranoid nationalism and the intellectuals' convergence with the Milošević regime. The argument is twofold. The convergence was firstly caused by the type of nationalism that came to prevail among the intellectuals, nationalism based on anti-Serbian victimization, genocide and conspiracy. Secondly, this radical minority view became predominant in the 1980s because of Yugoslavia's systemic crisis, the emergent Kosovo question and Serbian intellectuals' strained relationships with their Slovenian counterparts.



Littered with footnotes, each chapter chronologically follows the development of contributing factors. Chapter 1 discusses Yugoslav dissent up to 1980s, outlining the roots of post-Tito opposition. The next three chapters analyze the above causes of radicalization of Belgrade intellectuals. Chapter 2 follows the breakdown of regime's control over public debate and the emergence of historic revisionist works after Tito's death, an "outburst of history" that reflected divergent national claims about the past within Yugoslavia's republics. Surprisingly, Dragovic-Soso provides only one major example to illustrate the dissolution of Yugoslav historiography. The next chapter follows the shift in Belgrade opposition's focus towards the Kosovo issue, closely linking the influence of real-life events on intellectuals' work. The following chapter, with some unnecessary overlap with the preceding one, documents how the relationship between Serbian and Slovenian opposition deteriorated as their visions on Yugoslavia's future became incompatible. One of the book's most promising observations here is an attempt to demystify the overrated SANU Memorandum and its influence on Yugoslav politics. Chapter 5, which explains the intellectual opposition's shift to Milošević's agenda, is crucial to Dragovic-Soso's argument. Yet the claim that the shift can be attributed to the intelligentsia's preference for solving the national question before instituting democracy does not come as a surprise. Finally, Dragovic-Soso also does not offer much in terms of a conclusion, leaving the individual chapters somewhat untied, and ends up underlining the path-dependent structural factors, namely the deep crisis of the failed federal state.

The book, dedicated "To Tito", is well researched with heavy reliance on numerous original sources. It minutely records and persuasively explains the how and why of the transformation of Serbia's opposition to radical nationalist and in favor of an undemocratic regime. At the same time, the analysis underplays the oppositions' liberal strand that continued holding its pro-democracy stance, albeit from a minority standpoint, perhaps because it may have flawed the book's arguments. Finally, while Dragovic-Soso's is not an alternative explanation of Serbian nationalism, it constitutes a valuable piece in the puzzle of its development and can therefore become an important resource for scholars interested in the role of intellectuals in nation-building.

Colovic's *The Politics of Symbol in Serbia* chronologically resumes where Dragovic-Soso left off. A collection of articles, essays and book reviews, the book documents the next stage in the evolution of Serbian nationalism through reflections of its direct critical observer. The body of the volume, which appears in English for the first time, was written between 1994 and its publication in Serbia at the end of 1997. Colovic suggests that the crucial way to view politics is to track the use and abuse of symbols that pervade public discourses. In Colovic's "mytho-political framework" (p. 9) politics is manipulated as a popular narrative that utilizes the central themes of national myths in order to exert "power over symbols" (p. 1).

The book is organized into four parts. Every essay in Part I is an analytical account of one aspect of the Serbian "political ethno-myth", its sources and usage. The chapter "Story" is an introduction to Colovic's way of conceiving Serbian discourse politics. Other chapters deal with such notions as time, nature, frontiers, Europe, warriors, heroes and national and European identity, each an important element in the Serbian symbolic discourse at the time. Part II attempts to offer an insight into the history of Serbian political mythology by three reviews of early 20th century writings on Serbian myths. Although each review is well-written, the whole part is limited in its scope, dilutes the strength of the book's framework and is a digression from Colovic's main thread of thought. By contrast, newspaper articles assembled in Part III follow up on the opening part. The pieces submit to critical discourse analysis a variety of contemporary manifestations of Serbian national symbolic politics, such as news, articles, books, events, poetry, political rituals and even technology. Often bordering on satire, Colovic's crisp critique unveils his interpretation of the meanings behind the rhetoric. The final part

wraps up Colovic's discussion by way of three longer essays on further manifestations of journalistic propaganda and nationalist politics, and a post-Milošević epilogue on continuing dangers of politics based on images and symbols.

Rather than presenting a concise scholarly argument, Colovic's looser forms that deal with particular aspects of political discourse allow him to imply a sweeping statement about the symbolic nature of politics. The book is a fascinating read on how political power and its associates assume and perform the important role of defining symbolic communication channeled for power-seeking purposes. Colovic's criticism of regime's propaganda and selective use of symbols is insightful, although its focus on politics as symbolic discourse tends to overlook the manifestations of Serbian government's hard power. It is, however, a reassurance that despite the major transformation of former intellectual opposition into Milošević's propaganda machine, sharp critical voices in Serbia persisted in their role as intellectuals. Finally, Hawkesworth's translation is also executed well, though it transcribes the original so closely that the reader may occasionally become lost in the heavier Serbian style.

It remains to be seen how observers of Serbian politics will evaluate the post-Milošević developments of Serbian nationalism. Meanwhile, Dragovic-Soso's and Colovic's volumes will be their worthy academic and essayistic predecessors.

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Irregular Armed Forces and Their Role in Politics and State Formation

Diane E. Davis & Anthony W. Pereira (eds)

Cambridge University Press, 2003

HBK: ISBN: 0521812771 £47.50

pp. 430 (including: diagrams, tables, chapter references and index)

Written after September 11th, but before the war in Iraq, this book provides a refreshing and important look at state formation politics, past and present, across the globe. In doing so it makes a number of vital statements and introduces views which should be read by political decision makers and commentators alike, as it may alter their views on how state, army and irregular forces relate to each other. It appears that in contemporary politics the centralised state and a regular army are the preeminent benchmarks for evaluating a conflict and its participating parties. That is why a 'war on terrorism' can be fought the way we witness it on the daily news. The preeminence given to the centralised state and the regular army in 'regime change' and state re-building is one of the reasons why political decision makers find it so hard to understand or foresee the resistance to state rebuilding. The current situation in Iraq shows how internal dynamics of war as such, no matter the nature of the armed forces involved are misconceived by many actors. *Irregular Armed Forces* sets out to highlight a different dimension of the nexus of state formation and warfare.

The various chapters in the book examine different aspects of the ways in which armed forces - irregular and regular - shape states, either as vital factors for state formation or as obstacle to it. Pereira argues that the classic model, 'war made state and the state made war' (p. 387), is useful but incomplete. It may hold true for the European nation state in its classical era, he suggests, but does not mirror the experiences in Latin America, Africa nor the USA in many respects. The book offers thirteen chapters of theoretical analysis and case studies (plus an introduction and a concluding chapter by each of the editors). The geographical scope of the case studies ranges from Europe to