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throughout the second part of the twentieth century.

Roughly speaking, the aforementioned parts provide an overview of the history of nationalism from its emergence until the beginning of the twenty-first century. The texts are organized with an ambition to cover the global history of nationalism and can be deemed successful in that respect. The regional approach is applied to suppress methodological nationalism which puts nation-state as the ground principle of analysis that offers much more precise analysis of various nationalist movements.

The next three parts cover the second theme of the book aimed at exploring relations of nationalism and its place in a world dominated by the paradigm of the nation-state. The fourth part comprises chapters dealing with the relationship between nationalism and state sovereignty, self-determination, international interventions, fascism, racism and its role in everyday life. These thematic chapters offer an insight into the contemporary role of nationalism in the world today. The two concluding parts are dealing with various challenges that nationalism faced or is facing. It particularly concerns socialist internationalism, religion, pan-nationalisms, pan-Islamism, and globalization. Cemil Aydin addresses the Pan-Nationalism of Pan-Islamic, Pan-Asian

and Pan-African Thought. Jürgen Osterhammel's chapter on Nationalism and Globalization argues that nationalism has been challenged but not replaced by globalization as an emotional counterpart, and that it nonetheless "has lost its prestige as a form of politics that was 'natural' and unaccountable to any higher authority".<sup>3</sup>

The final part of the book *Nationalism and Historiography* is actually a single chapter that deals with the relationship between nationalism and history writing. Its author Paul Lawrence underlines the important connection between the emergence of historical profession as such and the appearance of nationalism in world history.

In its scope, the book is an impressive project. Global research range, although it must be said there are expected omissions, offers the most worthy undertaking promised by the editor in the introduction. Nevertheless, it can be recommended to all who are interested in the studies of nationalism, even more so because this is the first single-volume book on the history of nationalism.

<sup>3</sup> Osterhammel states that national sovereignty is no longer absolute as it has been undermined by "humanitarian" interventions, "... although in many other cases regimes were left undisturbed to commit crimes against their own population".

ULF BRUNNBAUER, *GLOBALIZING SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE: EMIGRANTS, AMERICA, AND STATE SINCE THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY*. LANHAM, MD.: LEXINGTON BOOKS, 2016, 357 p.

*Reviewed by Aleksandra Djurić Milovanović\**

Migration from Southeastern Europe to the New World is hardly a new phenomenon. The historian Ulf Brunnbauer, Director of the Institute for East and Southeast European Studies and Chair of Southeast and East European History at the University of Regensburg, points to the continuity of

migration from this part of Europe in his most recent book published by the renowned publishing house Lexington Books. Brunnbauer offers a comprehensive analysis

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of the historical and socio-political circumstances which have often been the cause of migration, and of different migration policies. His book is a unique case study which is of interest for scholars studying migration from different disciplinary perspectives. Owing to several years of extensive archival research, Brunnbauer's well-documented book includes material from major archival centres of Southeastern Europe. Continuing the tradition of other Western scholars interested in migration history, such as Tara Yakra, Nancy Green, Adam McKeown, and Theodora Dragostinova, the book spans the period from the late nineteenth century to the late 1960s.

The book opens with an introduction, followed by six chapters and a conclusion. The author describes his book as an attempt to put emigration from Southeastern Europe into a broader socio-economic and political context, arguing that it has had a significant influence on migration policies in the region. In his view, "Southeastern Europe's past cannot be understood without exploring the experience of migration" (p. 2). From the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire to the newly-created independent states, migration has ever been present in the lives of various ethnic groups both in the multiethnic empires and, later, in multiethnic states. The main focus of this book is not the identity of migrants or the migration history of any one particular ethnic group, but rather the relationship between migration, state-building and nationalism in Southeastern Europe. Going beyond "methodological nationalism" in migration studies, Brunnbauer's perspective on development and migration processes demonstrates an innovative approach both in theoretical and in methodological terms.

The first chapter, "Overseas Emigration from the Balkans until 1914", provides a detailed introduction to the main research questions and explains the socio-economic context of the early phase of overseas migration. Southeastern Europeans began to

emigrate at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but the biggest wave occurred between 1880 and 1914. The beginning of migration across the Atlantic was mainly economic. In the first chapter, the author provides details on the book's methodology, framing it in terms of the social history of emigration and the history of public responses to and perceptions of emigration. Therefore, this study is not just one more history of the "diaspora" of a particular Southeastern European ethnic group. Contextualizing early emigration history across the Atlantic, the author points to the tradition of so-called seasonal labour migration (*pečalba*, *gurbet/kurbert*), which was very much present in the Balkans.

"To Make a Living in America – and at Home" is the title of the second chapter which seeks to answer the following questions: How many people left? Why did they leave? By what means did they leave? (p. 27). Brunnbauer offers a valuable quantitative aspect of overseas emigration and its geographical variation. Following the First World War, the flow of immigrants lessened: along with the literacy requirement issued by Congress in 1917, the Quota Act of 1921 marked a turning point in American immigration policy. After large waves of immigrants before the Great War, after 1918 US immigration policy became more selective and restrictive. However, emigration had a strong impact on Southeastern European societies because transnational links existed from the early migration phase.

The third chapter, "The Politics of Emigration", starts with the experience of coming to the United States and disembarking on Ellis Island, followed by immigration control. An emigrant's journey did not end with the arrival on Ellis Island; it continued as a long encounter with a new life and culture, and with various challenges. The author focuses on the areas which had relevance for transnational connections: economic conditions and emigrant self-organization. Emigrant conditions in America

had a significant impact on the solicitation of further migrants from their home regions (p. 28). Brunnbauer seeks to provide an answer to the question: What were the socio-economic and cultural effects of emigration for their “home” countries? Arguing that emigration was not a one-way process, the author stresses “because emigrants were socially important for their native societies, they became a matter of political concern [...]. Emigrants were addressed by their home countries with certain policies that tried to ascribe dominant ideologies and identities” (p. 135). Policy makers discovered that emigration could be useful for economic development and foreign policy. In an effort to increase state intervention in emigration processes, governments established a new group of professionals – emigration agents. The most significant change in the interwar relationship between the state and migrants was the creation of a loyal diaspora among emigrants and the strengthening of their national identity.

The relationship between nationalism and emigration is analysed in the fifth chapter, “Nationalism, the State, and Migrants in the Interwar Period”. Focusing on the interwar period (more precisely, on the creation of the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918; from 1929 the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), the author argues that it was an idiosyncratic country. He shows that “Yugoslav policy makers and emigration activists devoted substantial thought to how to turn the – in their estimate – more than one million *Yugoslav* emigrants abroad into a useful resource of the new state” (p. 30). It was a complex period of nation-building and of creating a new Yugoslav identity, since the state was predominantly South Slavic but also included sizable non-Slavic minorities. The most significant change in emigration patterns, according to the author, was a shift to European countries, which became prime destinations in the early 1930s because of the difficulties associated with settling in North America (p. 217). Return migration has not

been neglected in this study. The number of returnees significantly increased after the First World War. Therefore, Yugoslav governments set up specialized institutions in order to establish control over emigration and return. In 1921, the Law on Emigration imposed strict regulations on the transportation of emigrants (licensed transportation agencies, etc.). One interesting conclusion of this chapter is that the “the goal of building a Yugoslav diaspora helped to translate nationalism into a program of global outreach, while at the same time linking emigration with internal nation building” (p. 247).

The sixth chapter, “The Emerging Communist Emigration Regime”, is concerned with the communist era, especially the 1960s and 1970s. The author notices that despite the ubiquity of the migration phenomenon, there is no comprehensive analysis of the Yugoslav *Gastarbeiter* experience. This chapter focuses on the first two decades of communist rule in Yugoslavia and the dynamic period of “open” border emigration policies that emerged in the 1960s. *Gastarbeiter* migration, according to Brunbauer, can be seen as a “revival of nineteenth century migration patterns” (p. 30). In this process, transnational links had a significant role in terms of continuity and networks that encouraged emigration in the communist period as well. Applying a similar pattern of emigration policy in order to strengthen political ideology through diaspora communities, Yugoslav policy makers gained important insights into how migration functioned (p. 31). Facilitating the positive effects of labour migration, the significant shift in migration policy was towards the liberalization of emigration and the establishment of associations in the Yugoslav republics to maintain contacts with emigrants.

In the “Conclusions”, Brunnbauer underlines once again how Yugoslav communist-era migration represented continuity with the old waves of migration that were a significant part of the history of Southeastern Europe. Offering a comparative perspective

with Greece, Bulgaria, Albania and Romania, he summarizes the impact of migration on these societies in the dynamic period of nation-building and border changes. Using Peggy Levitt's concept of transnational village, he argues that "Southeastern Europe is a transnational village on a large scale". The relevance of migration for the region is both from the diachronic and from the synchronic perspective. Choosing the region of Southeastern Europe as "a perfect laboratory for migration studies research", the author offers a detailed analysis of migration and its

social, political and economic dimensions for "home" societies. Observing migration and its long-term consequences for such societies, Brunnbauer's book provides a new transnational perspective on migration and the role of the nation-state in building "diasporas" across the Atlantic. Including Southeastern Europe in a much larger context of global migration history, Globalizing Southeastern Europe is a pioneering work and a valuable case study in the modern history of immigration into the United States.

JOHN PAUL NEWMAN, *YUGOSLAVIA IN THE SHADOW OF WAR. VETERANS AND THE LIMITS OF STATE BUILDING 1903–1945*. CAMBRIDGE: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2015, 287 p.

Reviewed by Anja Nikolić\*

John Paul Newman, lecturer in Twentieth-century European History at Maynooth University, states in the "Preface" to his *Yugoslavia in the Shadow of War. Veterans and the Limits of State Building 1903–1945* that "this book is a study of consequences of the Great War on the people who fought it and on the states to which they returned once the fighting was over". Newman's main focus is on interwar Yugoslavia, which he has chosen because it "was formed in the aftermath of a protracted period of conflict during which many of its subjects had been mobilized in opposition to each other" (p. 2). He further explains that there were in interwar Yugoslavia tens of thousands of men that had served in the Serbian army and also tens of thousands of men that had been soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army. The author centres his book on patriotic organizations and veterans' associations, and the story of them is used in describing "the downfall of liberal state". As the author himself puts it, "this book uses Yugoslavia as a case study in how and why liberal institutions, installed throughout the new states of central and eastern Europe at the end of the war,

collapsed almost uniformly in the years after 1918". A second important topic for the author is the remobilization of South-Slav war veterans in the Second World War. Newman is aware that only a minority of those who had served and fought in the Great War returned to the battlefield in 1941. However, he argues that "those that did played a pivotal role in the establishment and ideological organization of groups contested the civil war in Yugoslavia from 1941 to 1945" (p. 3). He finds it important to explain the motivations behind the decision of former Austro-Hungarian officers of Croat descent to make an important contribution to the programme of the Croatian fascist Ustasha movement. In the same context Newman writes about "nationalist veterans of Serbia's wars from 1912 to 1918" who "would radically restate their nationalizing agenda in the "Yugoslav Army in the Homeland [...] after 1941". Putting them in the same context completely misses the point of the two phenomena.

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