

**DRAGAN SIMEUNOVIC, „NATION AND GLOBALIZATION“,
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The book „Nation and globalization“, written by prof. Dr Dragan Simeunovic, is addressing the very important issues in the field of the relation of nation and globalization. The book is presented on 155 pages (with a preamble written by the academician Vladeta Jerotic) and it consists of following chapters: „Nation“, „Global“, and „Global and national“. The book is covering the most current and most complex issue of the relation between nation and globalization, i.e. globalism, including the perspective of those relations.

The author approached that issue authentically, which makes this book interesting, since that kind of books, by the chosen topic, the objective analysis and successful synthesis, are not present in our country. While observing it, in comparison with similar books, this very complex topic is processed at a high intellectual level.

This book is not far behind similar studies conducted in the more developed countries, which means that, by its ideas and analytical elaboration, it is contemporary and allows theoretical insight into the current issue of the relation between nation and globalization.

The scientific contribution of the author has come to the fore throughout all the chapters of the book, which means that the author described the relation between nation and globalization and made such an analysis that exceeds the former contributions on this matter among us. The author has succeeded in giving an intellectual synthesis and a successful valorisation of those processes in the relation between globalization and anti-globalization, which, for its part, enables a realistic assessment of the social, economic and political anatomy of the world and its sustainable development. That classifies this book as an extremely valuable scientific paper.

The contemporary world is confronted with massive economic, political and social changes and development problems. The challenges of the modern time, among others, are identified as increasing the gap between the rich and the poor, but in the range of individual national economies. The process of liberalization of the economic crisis is intensively happening, opening and weakening the role of state union, as is the process of denying and relativizing the state sovereignty and

putting the economic factor in the position and function as a centre of the international relations in total.

Within these processes, in the theoretic and historical framework, and especially in the context of the nation and globalization, and all the changes - the world socio-economic and social crisis, indebtedness of the world countries, the conditions of war, instability of the financial market, new geopolitical maps of the world which show different potentials of growth – cause the changes in the global world positioning of the state unions.

With the appearance of new technologies, the world of mobile capital, globalization of market, fast communication, more or less open borders have been made, but in return, it has departed from the world that was advocated in the past by liberals or statistes, apart from what their political idea was.

Today, as a consequence of the previously listed changes, it is far more difficult for the governments of some countries to govern people and its resources. In front of them, there is a challenge of respecting human rights, prevention of corruption and crime. The critics of the globalization point out that this process did not solve the problems of poverty, and some also see it in the fact that integration in the international economy leads toward disintegration of the national economies. Others yet point out that globalization brought up a new international division of labour, but also a new form of colonization, and they are joined in this point of view by some sociologists, who are pointing out the domination of the ideology of the economic neoliberalism.

Because of the advent of globalism and „market fundamentalism“, the problems of illegal migrations, integrations, and also the national identity in the world become more and more conspicuous. The Anglo-Saxon model of multiculturalism and consumer society is stimulated by the idea of overcoming nations in Europe, which follows interests of the big capital and the need for cheap manpower and consumers. Making ideologies of the modern processes and the international relations, international law, and the international legal regulative all affect the forming and maintaining a modern state as a community of people.

The modern world is permeated by many tensions and conflicts: religious, ethnic, national, political and economic. It is more and more actualized the issue of the relation between nations and modern processes, and also as a potential conflict in the process of globalizing the world.

The problem is the acceptance of the “ultra-liberal” market model, whose rules are not regulated, which contributes to escalation of competition, reduction of the

work values and the collapse of social structures, which all lead towards strengthening xenophobia and racism. Therefore, the so called “invisible hand of market” which is not regulated also brings definite bigotry between nations as a form of “new totalitarianism”, i.e. fundamentalism, about which wrote Nobel prize-winner Joseph E. Stiglitz.

Theoretic and empirical facts are pointing towards the domestic and foreign connection and the inconsistency of the capital as a social relation, whose essence is the unity of the world system. High technology accelerates the development of market, its widening and the processes of integration on the world-wide level.

Due to the technological and financial power in the world, the institutional framework has been set up, in which IMF, WB and WTO act in the interest of the big capital, strengthening the globalization, and in the same time set the conditionals in the field of finance and foreign trade by affecting the national economy in the area of economy and development policies.

One of the consequences of globalization is the potential endangering the national sovereignty, not only economic, but the political one as well, and especially if a country is technologically dependant and socially divided, of which the events in North Africa (Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, etc.) are narrating.

The consequence is that the position of work is getting weaker and weaker, more spread and disorganized, with excessive migration motion, and the position of capital becoming stronger and more organized. The trends of spreading poverty among the majority are continuing, with which the big problems of sustainable development of the modern world are getting harsher.

The crisis resulting from deepening the differences in the field of economy and social development is manifesting through the extreme forms of diversions and terrorism. The creators of the global politics must be aware that the global security cannot be achieved, due to the fact that some regions are characterized by violence, poverty and corruption. Globalization and new technologies are enabling faster transfer of the instability, uncertainty and terror throughout the world.

The balance between the benefit of globalization and the protection of risks it produces is necessary. Political and economic issue should be the fight against poverty, since the economic development, among others, represents the best medium for prevention of all the crisis and confrontations.

Those are the problems pointed out even by the biggest moral-politic institutions of the modern world, among which are the International Labour Organization (ILO), and other agencies of the United Nations.

Since the political ideas are tied to the character of the national identity, the author methodologically correctly scientifically visualized the problem of development in the historical context of connection of the analysis of the national state as a political and economic community, and the analysis of the uneven development of the world system as a field of competition and the source of life for modern states. More precisely, this book contains a scientific analysis of the creation and conservation of the nation in these new circumstances, and conservation and creation of the national identity and nationalism as a scientific problem in modern conditions.

In the chapter called „Introduction – New bugaboo is circling the planet“, are principally explained the big changes in the world politics after the Cold war and the end of the bipolar division of the world. Insisting on the development of democracy, human rights and minority rights are becoming just a good excuse for rearranging the world map in accordance with the interest of the big capital, transnational companies and world centres of power.

According to the author, “*the subjects of politics* are more and more becoming the international and inter-governmental, as much as non-governmental organizations and multinational corporations“. Surely, even „the national states“ are indubitably „subjects of the international politics“, though, in the new international conditions, their influence and power depends of the economic strength and institutionalized polity.

It is a fact that economic growth and social development are related for the overall chance of one nation to increase production, employment and life standard, and to also improve its technological, social and politic state. Thus, economic power, and by that also the independence are the basis of both legal and state sovereignty.

From the mid 1970-s, the power of supranational institutions is more and more growing. Some theoreticians of the international law in the West are seeing the phenomenon of sovereignty as something old, and they see the country as a „unit of the political division of the world“. But the role of state in the modern informatics society is growing more and more important. Firstly, the adoption of law since good legal projects, are important both for the society and the economic growth. Secondly, the states are vouching for the national identities, and as the world becomes more and more „globalized“, people are more and more relying on

that identity. Third, every country has monopoly over the legitimate appliance of force that is needed for fighting crime and keeping the functional safety.

After the fall of the Berlin wall and stopping the bipolar structures of power, optimism emerged, as the time of stability, peace and development has come. But, even after that the world of risk, conflicts and potential dangers remains.

The ideology of neoliberalism has caused that it does not include only the positive effects, but also a line of risky situations. World conflicts, epidemics, financial crashes, etc., can all cause fear and insecurity. And still, the wars are on-going in some parts of the world.

Safe-keeping of national interest is always important, but are more and more difficult to accomplish. It is a fact that democracy namely inspires quality leadership of a country and helps the social evolution and prosperity. But that should be a true democracy that consists of a legal state with the reduced use of power, and building of the state of prosperity. Also, a stable international order has to be based on respecting the people and the national states. National pride, preservation and uprising of the national being and the national institution are the best basis for a functional democracy.

According to this author, “everything but *nation* is falling apart in front of the attack of *globalization*”, and also, the main opponents of globalization, are nation and *nationalism* as an ideology that is inspiring „the creation and conservation of the national states and their sovereignty“.

The author is asking the right and concrete questions: “Can nation and globalization go together? Will the globalists annul everything that is national...? Will one language become common for the entire planet? Is there a world Government, and is its existence even possible? What can an individual get form it? Is terrorism, if not the real, but at least the only answer to the issue of the big global overrule?”

Marxism, as a political philosophy that started from the manner of bringing together the workers and the manner of production as a basic element for understanding the nature of every type of production, has stopped existing during the 1980-s. It identified the idea of globalization in the field of production and spending, but also in the non-material forms, that with industrialization gained an international position. Even though it has recognized the advanced side of globalization, it harshly opposed the rule of the capital, no matter if it regarded the framework of the state union or international relations. A big difference is seen between globalization as an objective process of the world integration and globalism as a policy and ideology of the world domination.

Neoliberalism is not an advanced ideological structure and cannot have a wider support. But, capital is striving towards solving the crisis in its advantage, to move its own risks onto the society. Since the industrial revolution, the relevant world statistics have not shown bigger differences in the level of the average income per habitant between states, or the difference in the level of development of the developed and less developed countries.

In the chapter of the book called „Nation“, the author is rightfully starting from the fact that “globalization and globalism attack the nation as its natural opponent that is keeping the division of the people and the world“, and in reality this can be seen in the conflict between “the two principles, the principle of generality, which is simplifying what globalization is advocating, and the principle of uniqueness and conservation of ownership of any nation and national state”.

Since „as a term, *nation* has often been, in the last few decades, mixed and equalized with the term *ethnicity*“, the author has taken a task of defining them as terms. Since the period of the ancient Greece, the term „*ethnos*“, as the time passed by, „became the label for those nations, and in general all communities that lived in poleis and that the ancient Greeks regarded as barbaric“, i.e. since that period, „the only important feature of ethnicity, *non-political* feature as a result of not having a state, i.e. a polis, will remain its long-lasting label to the present days“. The term *natives*, „has from the beginning had a meaning of not only *being united by birth*, but also that by this act they were immediately *separated from others*“. At the same time „in the USA, term *ethnicity* is used for marking the groups that do not belong to the white race, i.e. Anglo-Saxon group“.

According to the author, both „nation and ethnos are characterized by a collective identity that is being confirmed through the same way of living and the culture, the common language, fate, history and tradition, and as much as possible through the common territory and faith“. Though, „what is distinguishing them is the *political feature of the nation*, i.e. *non-political feature of the ethnos*“.

According to some theoreticians, „in order to have ethnos or a nation grow into a nation, it is necessary to have a strong bond with its history, to have a cultural elite and ability to conquer“, and also that, according to the author, „that elite must have self-consciousness and political ambitions, which includes also a clear political vision regarding the form, borders and the goals of the ruling over the just created nation“.

Regarding the nation and nationalism, there is a strong concurrence present about the fact that the French revolution played a great role. Since that period, neo-Nazi

ideology is becoming the ideology of the European model of the industrial society and the way of living.

According to the author, „*important features* of the national ideology are *the ability to initiate and keep the spirit of collective* as a basis of every kind of *national solidarity* and some kind of *elitism*, which is expressed in two ways: first, as defining its own nation as a naturally or historically conditioned to an elite position *in comparison to other nations* and, second, regarding the relation of the national leadership *towards their own national masses*“. Thus, according to the author, „the basic features of this ideology are: national interest, national symbols, national tradition and customs, national history, national identity as a collective identity, national unity and national state“. The basic postulate, i.e. „the stronghold points“ of any kind of nationalistic ideology is, according to author, among others, also the „highest possible evaluation of the national community as a biological and interest community, to whose affirmation of importance is getting only by a status of special, national statehood“.

Thus, „nationalism as an ideology *that contributes to creation of the new national states*“. According to the author, „the creation of the national state has progressed as a relatively slow process of the unequal rate and in unequal rates in different environments finding, at the same time, justification in the different theoretical settings“.

According to the author, „we can talk of at least two different modern types of the national state – of the old national states caught in the contemporaneity, and of the just formed ones, i.e. the emerging national states“.

The author is noticing the causes of breakdown of the federations and formation of the new national states. „It is undeniable that the main driving force and the spiritual driver of the new, usually anti-socialist social turning points in the countries of the Eastern Europe, in SSSR and SFRY, was *national-socialism*. All those states were federations formed on the fragile constructions of unity of diverse ethnic groups and nations, and based on „good will“. According to the author, „former socialist states, and also the ones built by its decay, opted for the political pluralism, democratic polity and a legal state“. Still, as the author points out, „the praxis has in the last few years shown that even among them there are big differences when speaking of realization of the proclaimed democratic principles“. Namely, some of those states kept the majority of „the totalitarian features of the former regime“, or have made a hidden, „new form of totalitarianism“. What is, according to the author, „characteristic for new totalitarianism, is also *insisting*

on the democratic image at any cost“. Also, „the novelty was that now predominantly young, economically undeveloped nations”, which are characterized by „neo-totalitarianism“, want to immediately gain a modern and strong state“. As the author correctly notes, it is „reflected even in irreverence of the legal state and its untruthful creation. Since in the name of the state every kind of procedure is allowed, as long as it is in that way, the legal state cannot be established“.

The problem is the still unsolved issue of refugees and the internally displaced persons in the region of the former SFRY. For example, the problem is the return of the refugees from the R. Croatia, which basic and personal rights are not regulated, and the conditions for their sustainable return also are not provided. It is considered that the solution of the refugee crisis in the region is not a matter of the state's agreement, but the return of the individual rights, wherein every country is obliged to face their responsibilities.

Many theories about the nation and nationalism, but also about the phenomenon of ethnos and ethnicity, and the identity in general, still have a mutual basis in the fact that “the creation” of the nation is most often searched for and found in the field of human conscience and spirituality.

According to one definition, “the nation is one soul, one spiritual principle”. Two phenomena, which are basically as one, make this soul and this spiritual principle. According to that, the nation is one *big solidary community*, overwhelmed with the feeling of sacrifice that is being given and the one that is yet to be given.

In the process of gradual development of the comprehensive national community and state, based on the information technologies, the self-identification of people is changing, i.e. their awareness of that community is changing. There has always been solidarity, awareness and special “feelings” among people connected to the community they live in.

It is a fact that the structure of the society is determined by: legal norms, social relations and the connection between people. Even though it is accepted in science to understand the national identity explained as crucial feature of a man, there are many other theoretical approaches present in the world that emphasise the variable function of the national identity.

Some theoreticians have, during the middle of the last century, foreseen that the 20th century will be the century without nations, the century during which the national identities and states will be cancelled, and during which multinational and multi-ethnic societies will rule, and the world will be politically and economically globalized. However, the reality has shown completely the opposite. The

processes of creation of the super-state (the state consisted of several other states) is forming of the EU, which has mutual institutions, currency, and in some ways also the mutual politics. However, not even this successful political community, with the treaty of Lisbon, has succeeded in annulling the individual national identities of the each state.

What is giving the primacy to the national identity over all other collective identities? Why is, at the same time as the economic processes of globalization, also occurring an adverse process of stronger binding of the individual to his own nation?

Many authors make a difference between the nation and the national identity by defining the first one with objective political indicators, and the second one with the subjective indicators. That subjective belief in the common origin is the essential feature, no matter if it is real or not. As the nation gets more and more economically and politically strong, the relation between the nation and the state grows stronger too.

The important issue of defining nationalism is whether it represents an outstanding national identity, and is differing from it only by intensity, or are those two different phenomena that are qualitatively, and not quantitatively different. It is believed that nationalism appears only if by the process of identification a nation as a group becomes too important for an individual, more important than any other type of identification. The nation is seen as a collective identity that is being transferred through common history, language, etc.

In the second chapter of the book, called „Global“, the author believes that „*globalism* is an example of a particular ideology emerging from the general one“. Thus, globalism „is nothing else but one variety of liberalism“, i.e. „economic option of neoliberalism“ which is “concentrated on the use of those political principles that provide economic gain, i.e. profit“. The opening of the national economies to the world market is becoming a problem in the domain of competition.

Given that the world is ruled by selfish interests and the politics of power, “the new world order“, or the transcendent order, as a „reflection of dual morality“, is established by the most developed countries and it is always serving their interests, and not the interests of the majority states of the world. Starting from the neoliberal concept of values and of their own interests, USA believes that „they should endeavour to change the world in the spirit of American liberal values that are growing into the universal ones“.

That is pointing to the historical fact of spreading the world market and the function of the big capital that is, thanks to the new technologies, producing resources

and at the same time reproducing deep economic, political and cultural consequences.

The only thing left to the developing countries and countries in transition is adjustment of their socio-economic structures to the new world processes. Hence, the spreading of the international trade is reflected in the dynamics of the capitalistic way of production in its basic initiator – the profit, and also in the methods by which the search for profit is setting the behaviour of the capitalistic economy. The appearance and dynamics of globalization as a process is linked to the appearance of the informational technologies, deregulations, migrations in the world etc. According to some, globalization is “a process of overcoming the historically created borders and weakening the sovereignty of the national states” and leads towards departure of the market economy “forming moral rules and institutional relations of society”.

According to the author, “globalism differs from other ideologies by its emphasized orientation towards *pragmatism*. Its most important goal is to create *a world without borders* (or at least without solid borders) in order to enable free fluctuation of goods and to have a world become one *large free market* playing the role of transnational corporations. The author indicates that “political order of such established world should be a *new worldwide neoliberal order*”.

However, “what is bothering globalism and what it is not reconciling with it is insisting of some countries on a national, i.e. *state sovereignty*, which represents a serious barrage to globalization. Hence globalism narrates of the era of *post-sovereignty* in which the states will be stripped of their rights to be guardians of nation and religion, by which the care would be transferred into the hands of the international community”, the author believes.

In the modern literature regarding the nation and nationalism, two approaches are present. One is regarding the modern turn in studying the nations and nationalism, and the other defined the theory which is criticizes constructivist assumptions of the new approach.

The thesis of „the end of a nation“, is consisted in the basis of the modern paradigm, and different „modern approaches“ are only tightening it by believing that it is exiting the modern conception in action, which as a consequence, among others, has the entrance in the new, „post-national era“. Therefore, researching the contents of past tends towards affirmation of unity, autonomy and identity of someone’s own nation in comparison to the certainty of the beginning of the post-national era, which is presented by the world elite of globalization.

The nation is the community of people, whose members are connected among each other by the sense of solidarity, common culture and national consciousness, i.e. the nation is a socio-politically organized community that is again and again renewing the structural system – creating of political parties, leadership and state institutions.

The instability of the market system is the cause of the emergence of the global economic crisis. That is the proof that the market alone cannot always provide a high level of the total economic activity. It is considered that the enormous budget deficit, as well as too big military engagement of the USA, among other, has led to separation of financial and real flows in the world. It is a fact that the USA tend to have dollar as a main indicator of other currencies' value and the source of international liquidity, which is one of the causes of the world economic crisis. The world financial economic crisis has lead towards bad consequences in all aspects of the society.

Surely, political elites have had a crucial role in the processes of integration and disintegration in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The creation of the Yugoslavian state in 1918 has provided one special process which was conditioned by actions of several national movements. In addition to international distrust and conflicts, the political situation got even more complicated with the beginning of the Great economic crisis of 1929-1933.

Politics has always influenced national, religious and other forms of conflicts. Processes similar to the “divide and rule” policy have brought to the decay of SFRY. The paradox is in the fact that the West has taken down Yugoslavia, and is now creating the West Balkans. Therefore, Yugoslav-hood did not succeed in becoming a nation and a connective tissue of the national identity and national sovereignty. Those factors definitely, apart from internal and external factors, drove up to the decay of the SFRY, which was a relatively successful and stable state.

It was a state that did not know how to offer a solution to the great economic crisis of the 1980-s, nor to find the answers to the European decision for ending communism and creating a new East. Irresponsible management of economic and social resources weakened the economy. Among the political elites, no one except Serbia advocated Yugoslavian integrity with the thesis for entering European integrations, an attempt to overcome internal differences and a way to act as one country.

The consequences of the Yugoslavian crisis and the decay of SFRY were felt by all the countries which were born in the region of the former Yugoslavia. Transition, and especially privatization, legalized plunder of the public property, political

separation, crime, corruption, decline in living standards; those are all characteristic for the region of former common state. Privatisation was conducted without any clear vision or economic strategies. Deliberating any aspect of the real life would show an emphasis of the negative attitudes in the “post-Yugoslavian nightmare”.

Apart from the economic and political sanctions imposed by the international community onto our country, a powerful military alliance has attacked the sovereign state without any decisions of the United Nations Security Council, and based on false reports.

Since the beginning of the democratic changes and the introduction of the market principles of business, transition in Serbia followed the neoliberal model. In state institutions the control of transformation flow has not been adequately encouraged, which especially negatively reflected in the process of privatization. Some are pointing out that the biggest mishit of the privatization was inaction of controlling the “money laundering”. The growth of capital more and more went into the hands of bad businessmen and criminal groups, while in state budget deficit was growing. As an effect of such transition was a poorly set investment program, and instead of influx of capital for opening new jobs, the rate of unemployment has risen. All those factors negatively affected the life standard and the quality of citizen’s lives.

The perspectives of relation between nation and globalization are shown in the third chapter of the book called „Global and national“. According to the author, “mass formation of new national states..., even though in many ways insufficiently legitimized..., but still, relatively stable relation of distribution of nations and other ethnic groups into states and their current borders will not last long, and the state of moderate satisfaction of the ethnicity due to ethnic safeness is more and more transforming into a state of ethnic dissatisfaction and possible nationalistic explosion...”.

Also, the author is emphasizing that “*the conflict of global and national* is in fact a conflict of *general and special*. Hence, in case there will be no political will and sincere wish to universally institutionally improve the international relations in the modern world and to set balance of conditions for sustainable development, it is a question how should we think of conserving and hoisting the national identity in today’s globalized world.

There is no world leadership, since according to some opinions, there is no world nation, world political identity, world public opinion, nor are there global police

units or global military, due to the fact that such institutions cannot be democratically legitimate.

However, all relevant international institutions should return to their original principles or transform and be put under the wing and supervision of the United Nations. According to the United Nations Charter: “The purposes of the United Nations are: to maintain the international peace and security, to foster cooperation in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems, to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for everyone, no matter what race, gender, language group or religion that individual belongs to“.

The author has confirmed his proven as an eminent scientist and renowned university professor with this very important book for the science and society, which content has an interdisciplinary character, and which is open to all social sciences. According to the author, “*terrorism* yet cannot defeat globalization, nor can it protect faith and nation, and it wouldn’t be good if terrorism guarded them”. International system should enable suitable development, guarantee sovereignty of the state, and the functional capacities of the national states should be improved, as the author emphasizes.