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elite to grapple with high politics on a European scale, supported by the Serbian army's outstanding war effort. These skills of Serbian elites had for the most part been built in Serbia's close relations with the French Third Republic. Pašić was not merely a contemporary of Clemenceau and Poincaré; he was their Balkan counterpart. In this respect, Pavlović shares Bataković's views. If Serbia was on the same side with France in 1914, it was not by chance: French culture made a lasting imprint on Serbia's politics, society and culture through processes which had been taking place for a century. In the end, Pavlović concludes that the Radicals lost the battle with history. After the war ended in 1918, they were old and unwilling to change and adapt. There is some irony in the fact that they shared the fate of their French political allies.

A century later, it is easy to see that almost all features that made up this turbulent period of history are gone. French interest in the Balkans had its roots in romanticism and, at least in scholarly and intellectual circles, drew on the tradition of the Illyrian provinces. French universalism, which was not just Enlightenment-inspired but had

its origins in the epoch of classicism, had a magnetic attractiveness for small European nations. France as a beacon of liberty carried with itself a civilizing mission and liberal ideas. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, anti-German sentiment and Franco-Slavic rapprochement only coalesced with these already established processes. Simultaneously, the development of French Slavic studies and of the so-called *science de l'étranger*, and the growing importance of academic forums and journals, allowed a more immediate contact with hitherto little-known European nations.

Only liberal and democratic ideas have stood the test of time, but nowadays even they appear in new guises and overshadowed by a deep crisis. The Franco-Serbian alliance from the time of the Great War may also be seen as a *diplomatie de l'esprit* in which France generously offered the world her visions, and Serbia gave Europe the best part of herself. But a dialog with seemingly forgotten topics from the past, is it not also a road to a new understanding of the world which we all share? We can hardly find a better signpost than the books reviewed here.

A SCHOLARLY PROJECT OF NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE ACCOMPLISHED.
DOCUMENTS ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE KINGDOM OF SERBIA 1903–1914

Vasilije Dj. Krestić*

From 1964 the publication of the *Documents on the Foreign Policy of the Kingdom of Serbia 1903–1914* series was overseen by a committee of the Department of Historical Sciences of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA), which was headed successively by Petar Popović, Jorjo Tadić, Vasa Čubrilović and Radovan Samardžić and, after them, by Vasilije Krestić as series editor. The editors of individual volumes were renowned historians, members of the SASA, senior fellows of its institutes or

senior archival specialists: Vladimir Dedić, Života Anić, Kliment Džambazovski, Mihailo Vojvodić, Andrija Radenić, Dušan Lukač and Ljiljana Aleksić-Pejković.

The aim of the project was to collect and prepare for publication the documents received or produced by the Kingdom of Serbia's Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The Ministry's archive suffered much damage,

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often irreparable, in both world wars. It was seized by the Austro-Hungarian and German occupation authorities respectively, taken out of Serbia and distributed among their archives and museums in order for the documents to be used to prove that Serbia and Serbian people were to blame for the outbreak of the First World War.¹

From the middle of 1970 the Committee established collaboration with what then was the Diplomatic Archive of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, from 1982 with the Archives of Serbia and the Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, where the material was finally deposited and where it is still kept, and with the Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

The chronological starting point for the series is the year 1903, in many ways a landmark year for the situation in Serbia and her twentieth-century politics, for the history of other Yugoslav lands, and for some countries which were Serbia's enemies in war. The period from 1903 until 1914 is covered by seven books, each in one, two or several volumes, and each of the books in 1000 or more pages. The series for the first time brings – in their original form, without any alterations or additions – all surviving Serbian diplomatic documents of significance for Serbia's wars for national liberation in the twentieth century prior to the outbreak of the First World War. Most of the material comprises diplomatic correspondence between the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia and its diplomatic missions: its legations and diplomatic agencies in the capitals of major European powers (London, Paris, St. Petersburg, Rome, Berlin, Vienna) and Balkan states (Constantinople, Bucharest, Athens, Sofia, Budapest) and its consulates in Turkey-in-Europe

(Skoplje, Salonika, Bitolj, Priština). It is supplemented with a selection of foreign policy documents originated by other ministries and their local bodies, as well as parts of the correspondence maintained between important actors of Serbia's foreign policy. Also included are various diplomatic acts and related correspondence presented to the Serbian government by foreign states as well as the Serbian government's aide-mémoires and analyses in French, German, English and Russian language.

The collected material sheds light on the international position of Serbia at the beginning of the twentieth century. She was under severe pressure from two hostile neighbouring powers, Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire, whose numerous Serb subjects naturally hoped for unification with Serbia as their mother state, which both empires endeavoured by all means to prevent. At the same time, the chaotic situation in Turkey-in-Europe, the religious fanaticism of local Muslim population, especially Albanians, the actions of Ottoman authorities, overtly or covertly supported by Austria-Hungary, were used in an organized manner to wipe out the local Serb population. Moreover, the Principality of Bulgaria had, ever since the 1878 Treaty of San Stefano, been harbouring pretensions towards the Slav-inhabited areas south of Serbia's border known as "Macedonia", and sought to annex them. Consequently, it denied the local Serb population, with the exception of those in the region's western part, the *vilayet* of Kosovo (Old Serbia), all historical or national rights and used terror, as did the IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) with the same goal, to force them into declaring themselves as Bulgarians.

The collecting and publishing of the diplomatic records is of paramount scholarly value for the recent history of the Serbs, the more so because many countries participants in the First World War had done the job long ago. Serbia was not able to do it earlier for a number of reasons, to mention

¹ For more on the subject see Vojislav M. Jovanović – *Marambo, Potraga za ukradenom istorijom* [The quest for a stolen history] (Belgrade: Jugoistok, 2010).

but the fact that her diplomatic records were an object of seizure in both world wars, by the Austro-Hungarians and Germans respectively; quite illustrative in that respect are the minutes recorded by the commissions set up immediately after their troops entered Serbia: the occupiers systematically collected Serbian archival materials and transported them to Austria and Germany.

Even during the First World War each warring side began to publish documents with the view to laying the blame for the outbreak of the war on the other side. Since Germany and Austria-Hungary were declared responsible for the outbreak of the war by the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, which they denied, they published selected pre-war diplomatic and political materials in order to justify their foreign policy.

Serbia set out on such a project with a great delay, partly because of the fact that her seized records were scattered in German and Austrian repositories. Many documents were lost, many damaged. The sorting of the material that was returned to the country in the state of disarrangement was a time-consuming and painstaking process. The situation was made more complicated by some internal political factors in the period after the Second World War. When, in the early 1960s, the materials kept in various repositories were at long last transferred to the Yugoslav Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, its Diplomatic Archive had a discretionary power to deny access to "dangerous" documents, i.e. those testifying to Serbia's national liberation policy, and it tended to exercise the power mostly to debar Serbian historians.

In 2014, the year commemorating the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War, this major project was finally brought to completion. The series consists of seven books in forty-two volumes. Those who are concerned with studying the history of Serbia, her aspirations and aims, her role, place and significance in the important period between 1903 and 1914, or with establishing

whether Serbia wanted war or struggled to avoid it, whether she was responsible for its outbreak or not, will not be able to do it seriously and scrupulously without consulting the published corpus of Serbian documents.

The publication of the *Documents on the Foreign Policy of the Kingdom of Serbia 1903–1914* is one of the biggest and most important scholarly projects of the Department of Historical Sciences of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts since its inception. The work took thirty years and two generations of historians to complete. All those who worked on it, and most of them are no longer with us, deserve our acknowledgement and respect. This acknowledgement goes also to members of the Academy, Milorad Ekmečić and Vladimir Stojančević, and to Dr Danica Milić, whose expert reviews and pertinent comments and suggestions greatly contributed to the quality of the series. With this series, Serbian historians fulfilled not only an important scholarly duty but also an important national duty. I would like to offer special gratitude to Dr Ljiljana Aleksić Pejčević of the Historical institute in Belgrade who persevered in her selfless effort, hard work and expertise even when some colleagues lost their physical strength along the way and were unable to carry their share of work through. It is owing to her remarkable energy and her sense of professional responsibility that the series was carried out to its completion. It is my pleasant duty to express gratitude on behalf of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts to all those who financially supported the publication of the series, and they were not few. I should not fail to mention our very good collaboration with the Archives of Serbia, which provided all necessary assistance to our authors during their archival research. It is also my pleasure to express our gratitude to the Academy's publishing service, notably to Aleksandra Tomašević and Miljanka Zebić, who put much effort into freeing this multi-volume series from typographical errors.

The impressive set of forty-two volumes (now also available in digital format at: <http://diplprepiska.mi.sanu.ac.rs/>) stands as convincing evidence of an outstanding

scholarly achievement made possible by the collaborative effort and under the auspices of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

THE SERBS AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR 1914–1918, ED. DRAGOLJUB R. ŽIVOJINOVIĆ.
BELGRADE: SERBIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS, 2015, 474 p.

*Reviewed by Dušan Fundić**

The book *The Serbs and the First World War 1914–1918* edited by Dragoljub R. Živojinović, one in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts Department of Historical Sciences Series, is the proceedings of the International Conference held in Belgrade, 13–15 June 2014. During this three-day conference papers were presented by participants from several countries, including Serbia, Greece, Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Germany, Italy, France, the United Kingdom and Russia. As stated in the opening address by Dragoljub R. Živojinović, the main goal of the conference was to “study the place and role of the Kingdom of Serbia and the Serbian people in general in the Great War”.

The book assembles articles by thirty-four authors organized in the order of their presentation at the conference, but they will be reviewed here grouped in three blocks according to their related subject matter. The first group of texts deals with a number of particular issues concerning Serbian history during the First World War.

Milorad Ekmečić offers a new reading of Renouvin’s “triple conspiracy” and seeks to trace the motives of Young Bosnians for organizing the Sarajevo assassination. According to his interpretation, one of its causes was an organized colonization of Bosnia and Herzegovina with settlers from Austria and Galicia. This colonization went hand in hand with the steady emigration of Muslim population, which threatened to change the status of native local inhabitants.

In his text “The Serbs in Hungary during the First World War” Vasilije Dj. Krestić describes the situation of the Serbian population in Austria-Hungary, including mass deportations to concentration camps in Hungary. He analyses the question of Austro-Hungarian army deserters of Serbian origin as well as the role of the Serbian elite in the process of taking over of power in the last days of the war. Special attention is paid to the status of labour force and food shortages in southern Hungary during the war.

Mihailo Vojvodić analyses the work of the Serbian parliament and the stances of its members on Austro-Hungarian pre-1914 policy towards Serbia. Basing his contribution on the minutes of parliamentary sessions, he draws the conclusion that Serbian MPs believed that Austria-Hungary had imposed a life or death struggle on Serbia by annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908.

Nikola B. Popović’s contribution on “The Triple Entente and the idea of ‘Greater Serbia’ during the First World War” concludes that Serbia’s goal was a unified South-Slav state, as laid out in the Niš Declaration of 7 December 1914, whereas the Entente, interested in attracting Bulgaria as an ally, considered the post-war creation of an enlarged, “Greater Serbia”.

In his article “Young Bosnia and the ‘Black Hand’” Dušan T. Bataković explores entangled relations between the two

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