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The book is based on extensive research in Serbian and Russian archives and a vast body of literature. The fact that the book is exclusively based on sources from the communist parties, although understandable, has on few occasions led the author astray. Had he consulted sources from the Yugoslav police, he could have avoided taking Stalinist paranoia about police agents and spies within the party ranks for granted (cf. pp. 47–50). The Yugoslav kingdom was limited in the sphere of foreign political espionage, and therefore usually relied on the initiative and capabilities of diplomatic personnel abroad. In the light of police and security service practices in interwar Yugoslavia, the notion that several Yugoslav communists were turned into double agents and sent to the USSR (without an embassy to oversee their activities) to spy on the Soviet government in 1929 seems quite improbable at best. It is quite questionable whether there were paid double agents abroad at all. The most thoroughly analysed Yugoslav foreign espionage network organized in Berlin in

the late 1930s by the military attaché V. Vauhnik did not include a single paid operative. Despite a thorough bibliography, some key works about the interwar Yugoslav communist party are missing. Most notably the official party history (*Istorija saveza komunista Jugoslavije*), but also other important work by B. Gligorijević, K. Nikolić, B. Petranović, S. Cvetković and others.

In conclusion, the book is well written and easy to follow. It is both thorough in narration and unencumbered by unnecessary examples. The readers are drawn into a world of conflicting agendas and characters, as they follow the main protagonists who battle over a party in crisis. The ominous shadow of Stalin and his NKVD looms over them, threatening not only their positions within the party but also their very lives. Overall, the book is a well-researched and well-conceived attempt at shedding light on an often overlooked, yet quite important part of the history of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

CATHERINE HOREL, *L'AMIRAL HORTHY. RÉGENT DE HONGRIE*. PARIS: PERRIN EDITIONS, 2014, 467 p.

Reviewed by Andjelija Miladinović Radonjić*

The contrasted history of Hungary in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is embodied in the controversial figure of Admiral Miklós Horthy, the hero of the book by Catherine Horel, a renowned French specialist of the history of countries that were a part of Habsbourg Empire. In the foreword, Horel deals with specific issues of Hungarian historiography such as available archives and biographical tradition. She points out that Hungarian history has often been instrumentalized and that the biographical genre has only recently experienced some changes. The dominant narrative on the nineteenth-century Hungary is focused on

the differences between István Széchenyi and Lajos Kossuth. Horel uses the river Danube as a vivid metaphor: just like the country is divided physically by the river, so is Hungarian historical consciousness divided between the *labanc* – allies of Austria personified by Széchenyi, generally Catholic, and the *kuruc* – rebels, generally Protestants, foes of Austria such as Kossuth. Since the end of the seventeenth century, this distinction has grown stronger, becoming ever powerful

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in the national consciousness, so the main problem was achieving the synthesis of these two currents.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part is concerned with the life of Admiral Horthy in the period of his education and service in the Austrian-Hungarian Navy until 1918. The Horthies were a Transilvanian nobility and they took part in the ever-shifting political life of Austria-Hungary. Miklós Horthy, a young officer who dreamt of embarking on a world tour, likening himself to Ulysses, showed a great deal of loyalty and admiration for Emperor Franz Joseph. Horel shows that this period was crucial for Horthy's political and ideological views. Although his first years as a naval officer are relatively poorly documented, she succeeds in constructing a demythologized narrative of Admiral Horthy's naval career, from its beginning in Pula until the end of the First World War.

The second part deals with Admiral Horthy as head of the Hungarian state in the interwar period. Horel pinpoints the main problems which Hungary faced in the aftermath of the Great War: the political turmoil of 1918 and 1919, the Treaty of Trianon, the issue of restoration, repression against the communists, socialists and Jews. She engages in thorough research on the mechanisms that created the myth of Horthy as the saviour of Hungary. Horel explores propaganda methods used and highlights the moment of shifting the focus from sea to land as crucial in the creation of the myth. The exaltation of the land meets several objectives: it constantly reminds of the amputation of territories considered as being Hungarian, it denies the contribution the Jews have made to the national community by refocusing it on the patriotic rural world. She draws parallels with Petain's propaganda and regime and provides an important insight into the events that paved the way for Hungary's entry into the Second World War and examines Horthy's role in the genocide of the Jewish population.

The third part of the book deals with Horthy's life in exile, in Germany and Portugal, the Nuremberg trials, and his legacy. The occupation of Hungary by the Nazis and Horthy's arrest followed by the arrival of Soviet army was a disaster for Horthy and his family. Their fortune turned in 1945 owing to a prevailing anti-communist climate, the backing of the circle of political emigres that the Horthy family joined and the support of the former US ambassador John F. Montgomery. During his exile years in Portugal, Horthy wrote his memoirs under the name Nikolaus von Horthy, which provide an account of the events from his youth until the end of the Second World War. This is one of many historical sources that Horel puts to the test with her sharp focus and critical analysis and succeeds in demystify its apologetic tendencies.

The final chapter explores the ways in which the memory of Admiral Horthy found its way into the political currents and collective memory of Hungary after his death. His reburial in his hometown Kenders is pinpointed as the key moment in which the post-communist narrative began to shape the apologetic and revisionist cult of Admiral Horthy. Horel concludes the book by stating that Horthy, contrary to the myth built around his personality, is neither a conquerer like Árpád, nor a legislator like Saint Stephen. Nor is he a founder like Széchenyi, and even less a rebel like Rákóczi, Thököly or Kossuth. She also states the paradox, the reforms for which he gets praise, so-called, "sacrifice of Horthy", is annihilated by Hungary's entry into the Second World War. She sees his life as a long series of defeats disguised as victories: even though his desire to save Hungary was genuine, his desire for power was far greater, and so he is not a hero, much less a king or a saint. The German occupation of 19 March 1944 is a revealer of the degree of anti-Semitism in society for which Horthy bears, among other things, the responsibility. Horel also uses these conclusions to warn of the dangers

that lie with the hagiographical approach to this controversial figure that hides revisionism and political agendas behind it. Therefore, this critical study not only sheds more light on Admiral Horthy's figure but also places it into a broader perspective of the past, present, and future of Hungary, thanks to Horel's impeccable work.

Horel's detailed knowledge of Hungarian history and the interwar period alongside her thorough research and critical approach resulted in a very important study.

The image of Admiral Horthy shifted from demonization by the communist regime to exaltation which culminated with the admiral's reburial in Kenderes in September 1993, during the period of democratic transition. The author disagrees with the conclusions of both communist and revisionist historians, and underlines the dangers of revisionist tendencies in the contemporary Hungarian government; Horel explores all mechanisms of this revival in the climate of anti-communist obsession.

ETHEM ÇEKU, *KOSOVO AND DIPLOMACY SINCE WORLD WAR II: YUGOSLAVIA, ALBANIA AND THE PATH TO KOSOVAN INDEPENDENCE*.
LONDON – NEW YORK: IB TAURUS 2016, 206 p.

Reviewed by Igor Vukadinović*

The book of the historian Ethem Çeku *Kosovo and Diplomacy Since World War II: Yugoslavia, Albania and the Path to Kosovan Independence* provides a historical account of the Kosovo and Metohija question and the Albanian national movement in Yugoslavia between 1945 and 1980. It is focused particularly on the diplomatic aspect of the issue and on an analysis of the state policies of Yugoslavia and Albania, and follows the role of major foreign political players in this matter. The book is intended primarily for Western readers and evinces the author's effort to elicit empathy and solidarity with the Albanian national movement in Kosovo.

The book is organized into nine chapters combining chronological and thematic approaches. The first chapter offers a brief overview of the Balkan policies of the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain during the Second World War. The second chapter analyses various plans for Kosovo and Metohija within the framework of special relations between Yugoslavia and Albania and the negotiations of the two communist leaderships about the unification

of their countries between 1945 and 1948. The third chapter follows the evolution of the Kosovo and Metohija question from the outbreak of the conflict between Yugoslavia and the Cominform in 1948 to the split between Tirana and Moscow in 1960. The fourth chapter is devoted to the constitutional status of Kosovo and Metohija from the end of the Second World War to the adoption of the 1974 Constitution of Yugoslavia. The following three chapters deal with the growing internal crisis in Yugoslavia in the 1960s and 1970s and the establishment of closer ties between Albania and the leadership in Priština, which was a symptom of the Yugoslav crisis. The last two chapters are devoted to the violent demonstrations in Kosovo in 1981, which Çeku sees as the highpoint of the Albanian national movement and the turning point of the Kosovo question. This interpretation of the demonstrations may in part be explained by the personal perception of the author, who was their active participant.

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