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> BELGRADE 2008



Sarajevo have produced Vojislav Šešelj, a communist turned Serb extremist who threatened his hometown with destruction during the last war. Finally, could Sarajevo have produced Alija Izetbegović, a tacit supporter of the fundamentalist Young Muslims (Mladi muslimani) during the Second World War and a lifelong advocate of an Islamic state? In his Islamic Declaration, used as his electoral manifesto in 1990, Izetbegović wrote: "The first and foremost conclusion is certainly the incompatibility between Islam and non-Islamic systems. There can be no peace or coexistence between the Islamic faith and non-Islamic social and political institutions... By claiming the right to organize its world by itself, Islam clearly denies the right of action on its soil to any alien ideology. There is no secular principle, then, and the state should be an expression and supporter of the moral concepts of religion" (A. Izetbegović, The Islamic Declaration: A Programme of the Islamization of Muslims and Muslim peoples [Sarajevo 1990], 78 p.; cf. also his other pamphlet with similar threathening messages, Islam between East and West [Sarajevo 1988]).

All these political figures were products of Sarajevo's intellectual clime at different times. What they had in common was their powerful influence on the public. Had Sarajevo really been a society committed to protecting each individual, would it not have been able to curb the activity of such harmful individuals in an organized way? None of these questions is answered by Robert Donia. In a simplified black-and-white perspective, Donia puts all blame for the suffering of the citizens of Sarajevo during the latest civil war on Serbian nationalists round the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), without so much as mentioning the crimes against the Serbs of Sarajevo or other crimes perpetrated by Muslim forces across Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in doing so, he makes use of information that have remained controversial until this day.4 This too suggests that the purpose of this biography of Sarajevo is political rather than scholarly: it calls for revising the 1995 Dayton Agreement in line with a unitary Bosnia and Herzegovina, purportedly the only state model capable of sustaining the traditional cultural diversity of Bosnian society.

Reviewed by Aleksandra Kolaković*

The Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, more specifically its Department of Historical Sciences and the Committee for Compilation and Publication of Documentary Material on Foreign Policy of Serbia 1903–1914, have started in 1972 a project of systematic compilation of relevant material of diplomatic and political significance, and publication has begun in 1980. Projects of that kind require systematic and painstaking search through

⁴ Donia presents as fact that the Army of Republika Srpska fired grenades on the queue for bread on Vase Miskina St, killing several people, and that Serbs killed a number of people at the Markale market. To judge from many reports by observers, however, there is no conclusive evidence as to the culprit in either tragic event.

Dokumenti o spoljnoj politici Kraljevine Srbije 1903–1914. Knjiga II za 1906. i 1907. godinu [Documents on the Foreign Policy of the Kingdom of Serbia 1903– 1914. Book II for the Years 1906 and 1907]. Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2004 and 2006.

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different archives in order to collect documents from which a proper selection can be made. In this case, one should bear in mind that portions of the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia were seized in both world wars. Apart from the correspondence between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia and its diplomatic offices in 1903-1914, documentary material originated by other departments and ministries have also been included if its nature is foreign political. The series Documents on Foreign Policy of the Kingdom of Serbia 1903-1914 should be regarded as a significant contribution to the historical science given that this is the first time that all Serbian documents relevant to elucidating and interpreting Serbia's foreign policy towards the states of the Balkans, Europe and the world are to be assembled and published in their unabridged original form.

Book VII, which was the first to appear, contains 1447 documents of 1914.1 Most of them pertain to relations between Serbia and Austria-Hungary, either directly or through some issues of interest to both countries, such as the so-called Eastern Railway. Another group of documents concerns interstate relations in the Balkans and the peace negotiations between Serbia and Ottoman Turkey. Book VI, with 1770 documents originated in 1913, sheds light on the political consequences and implications of the First Balkan War (1912-13)² The majority of the documents relate to the Serbian-Bulgarian dispute over Macedonia, the course of the Second Balkan War (1913), the peace conferences in London and Bucharest, and the issue of Serbia's borders with the neighbouring states. The year 1912 is covered by Book V, bringing a total of 2017 documents.3 The material originated by the Political and Political-Educational departments of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia and its diplomatic offices pertains to Serbia's relations with the great powers, the turbulent events in the European part of the Ottoman Empire in the spring and summer of 1912, the work towards creating a Balkan alliance, and the first meeting of the London Conference of Ambassadors. The documents reflecting Serbia's foreign policy in 1903 and 1904 are published in Book I.4 Its largest portion comprises the correspondence between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its diplomatic offices, thereby giving a picture of Serbia's attitude towards major European powers, especially as regards their reform action in the Ottoman Empire, as well as of Serbia's position towards Ottoman Turkey in connection with guerrilla (chetnik) actions in Old Serbia and Macedonia. Most of Book II has been published,⁵ with the exception of Volume 4 for July-December 1907 (forthcoming) and Appendix 1 for 1903-1905 (to be published in 2008). Twenty volumes have been brought out so far and

¹ Dokumenti o spoljnoj politici Kraljevine Srbije 1903–1914 (hereafter Documents), Book VII, vols. 1 and 2 for 1914, eds. V. Dedijer and Ž. Anić (Belgrade: SANU, 1980).

² *Documents*, Book VI, vols. 1–3 for 1913, eds. D. Lukač and K. Džambazovski (Belgrade: SANU, 1981 and 1983).

³ *Documents*, Book V, vols. 1–3 for 1912, ed. M. Vojvodić (Belgrade: SANU, 1984, 1985 and 1986).

⁴ *Documents*, Book I, vols. 1 for 1903 (Belgrade: SANU, 1991) and 2 for 1904 (Belgrade: SANU, 1999), ed. A. Radenić.

⁵ Documents, Book II, vols. 1 and 2 for 1906 (Belgrade: SANU, 2006); vols. 3 and 4 for 1907 (Belgrade: SANU, 2004); Organizacija Srpska odbrana, Appendices 2 for 1906 (Belgrade: SANU, 2006) and 3 for 1907 (Belgrade: SANU, 2007), eds. Lj. Aleksić-Pejković and Ž. Anić.

the series is expected to be completed soon. Preparation of Volume 3 of Book I for the year 1905 (ed. A. Radenić) and of Book III in four volumes for the years 1908–1909 (ed. M. Vojvodić) has entered the final stage of preparation. Publication of volumes 1 and 2 of Book IV for the year 1910 has been delayed due to the death of the editor (K. Džambazovski). Book IV in four volumes for the year 1911 (eds. Lj. Aleksić-Pejković and K. Džambazovski) is currently being printed.

* * *

The last two years have seen an enormous effort being put into completing Book II for the years 1906 and 1907 under the editorship of Ljiljana Aleksić-Pejković, of the Historical Institute, Belgrade, and Života Anić, former Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Diplomatic Archive. The source material selected comes from several archives: Archives of Serbia, Archives of Yugoslavia, Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and the Archives of the Military-Historical Institute, Belgrade, but those from the Archives of Serbia account for more than eighty percent (record groups of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia (Ministarstvo Inostranih Dela Kraljevine Srbije, hereafter MIDKS): Political and Political-Educational Department (Političko Odeljenje and Političko-Prosvetno Odeljenje), Highly Classified Documents (Strogo Poverljiva Arhiva), and Diplomatic and Consular Offices Archive. Other MIDKS record groups have also been included: Commercial-Political Department (Trgovinsko-Političko Odeljenje), Prime Minister's Office, as well as the personal archives of Milovan Dj. Milovanović and Jovan M. Jovanović Pižon. Especially important among the selected material from the Archives of Yugoslavia is the personal archive of Jovan M. Jovanović, containing not only the records of the Serbian Embassy in London for the year 1907, but also his personal correspondence with a number of fellow diplomats. The Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts have supplied documents from the legacy of Mihailo Ristić, who served as consul at Skoplje, and of Milan Rakić, who served as vice-consul at Skoplje and Priština. The editors have warned that a military archive for the year 1907 is virtually nonexistent, and that neither the personal papers of Jovan M. Jovanović kept today in Skopje nor the relevant record groups of the then Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Montenegro (Ministarstvo Inostranih Dela Crne Gore) have been accessible, but this fact has no bearing on the comprehensiveness of coverage offered by Book II.

The technical editing of documents conforms to the publisher's rules set for the whole series. All transcripts and concepts of official reports are marked in the top left corner, while the necessary explanations, as well as the signatures (numerations) of the previously published original documents to which the main document is referring, are given in footnotes. No alterations to the original texts have been made, with the exception of minor corrections (added in square brackets) in case of obvious misspellings or omissions. Apart from the editors' foreword, each volume of Book II contains a list of abbreviations, a list of all documents, an arrangement of documents by subject, a glossary of less-known words, historical terms and institutions, an index of personal names, and an index of geographic names, countries and peoples. At the beginning of each volume there is a list of documents, with all necessary information, including a brief summary. The documents follow a chronological order, and their dates are given according to both the Old and New Style calendars.

Book II contains a selection of documents relating to the events that took place in 1906 (Vols. 1 and 2) and 1907 (Vols. 3 and 4). Volume 1 contains 701 documents created from 1/14 January to 30 June/13 July 1906 and the following appendices: Nasilja nad Srbima u Bitoljskom i Solunskom vilajetu, Skopskom sandžaku i reonu Prištinskog konzulata (Violence Against Serbs in the Monastir and Salonica Vilayets, the Sanjak of Uskub [Skoplje] and the consular jurisdiction area of Priština Consulate); Izdaci Kraljevine Srbije za poverljive prosvetno-političke poslove u Turskoj za 1906. godinu (Expenditures of the Kingdom of Serbia on Classified Educational-Political Actions in Turkey for the Year 1906); and Raspored učitelja u Raško-prizrenskoj eparhiji 1905–1906. godine (Teacher Allocation in the Raška-Prizren Eparchy in 1905–1906). Volume 2 contains 544 documents created between 1/14 July and 31 December 1906/13 January 1907. Volume 3 contains 743 documents created from 1/14 January to 30 June/13 July 1907, while forthcoming Volume 4 contains 570 documents created between 1/14 January and 31 December 1907/13 January 1908. It is important to emphasize that Book II brings an appendix containing documents relating to Srpska organizacija za odbranu interesa srpskog naroda u Staroj Srbiji i Maćedoniji (Serbian Organization for the Defence of the Interests of the Serbs in Old Serbia and Macedonia). Some of these documents were of interest to the neighbouring countries, while some were important only to Serbia, but both reflected Serbia's foreign policy. Rather than being important only in Serbian history, those years marked a turning point on the international political scene in terms of the ongoing regrouping of major European powers into rivalling blocs. This became clear as early as the 1906 Algeciras Conference, where the major powers played a role in resolving the First Moroccan Crisis, while the agreement between Russia and Great Britain in 1907 finalized the creation of the Entente bloc. This period witnessed significant events in the Balkans, in part connected with the developments in Europe, and in part local in nature. Obviously, the editors of Book II have sought to make a selection of documents which would be able to give a picture of or indicate the directions of Serbia's foreign policy, and not only in terms of her relations with the other Balkan countries, but also with the major European powers.

The main characteristic of the international position of Serbia at the beginning of the twentieth century was a hostile neighbourhood. In 1906 Serbia became involved in the so-called "Tariff War" with Austria-Hungary and found herself under strong economic pressure from the northern neighbour. As a result, during 1907 Serbia sought to find and explore new markets. Hence a series of commercial negotiations resulting in agreements signed with Bulgaria and Ottoman Turkey, a number of honorary consular offices opened in overseas countries, the old railway project of connecting the river Danube with the Adriatic Sea brought back to life, and her participation in the Balkan exhibition in London. On the other hand, the Principality of Bulgaria had territorial aspirations to the larger part of Ottoman-held Slavic areas, and the Serbs in Old Serbia, and especially in the eastern part of the Vilayet of Kosovo and in Macedonia, were under constant pressure and terror by the VMRO/IMRO (Vnatrešna Makedonska Revolucionerna Organizacija/Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization). At first spontaneous, the self-defensive action of the Serbs was during 1906 and 1907 unofficially supported by Serbia. In the second half of 1907 this action was suspended as a result of energetic pressure and opposition by the major powers. Serbia was careful not to engage in an armed conflict with Bulgaria, but even so overtly claimed her historical and political rights to and interests in those areas. This difficult situation was additionally burdened by the state of anarchy in those areas coupled with the religious fanaticism of the local Muslim population. The selected documents also reveal the continuous effort of the Serbian government to improve the position of the Serbs in Old Serbia, especially in the Vilayet of Kosovo and in Macedonia, who were constantly exposed to violence by Albanians, Bulgarian guerrilla and the Ottoman local authorities and regular army. Serbia endlessly appealed to and protested with the Ottoman authorities and the civilian representatives of the major powers, demanding recognition of Serbian nationality in the Ottoman Empire and the inclusion of the Kosovo Vilayet in the international reform action. Pursuing the improvement of the position of the Serbs in religious and educational matters, it was demanded that a Serb be appointed as head of the Veles-Debar Metropolitanate and that the Serbian ethnic structure of the monastery of Chilandar (Hilandar) on Mt Athos be strengthened.

Book II brings two appendices, 2 and 3, entitled Organizacija srpska odbrana 1906-1907 (Serbian Defence Organization 1906–1907), with 587 documents portraying the organization, objectives and actions of the Serbian chetnik (četnik) faction, as an important segment of Serbia's foreign policy directed towards parts of Ottoman-held Old Serbia and Macedonia. Appendix 1 (edited by Ljiljana Aleksić-Pejković) covers the period 1903–1905, and with its 450 documents rounds off the account of this organization whose activity had a significant impact on the Serbian Question in Old Serbia and Macedonia. The volume brings out for the first time the original versions of some little-known documents from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia, such as highly classified archives of the Executive Committee

of the Serbian Organization in Vranje, comprising the correspondence between the Committee and local subcommittees, between guerrilla leaders (gorski štabovi) operating on the left and right sides of the Vardar river, and their correspondence with Serbian government bodies, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the consulates at Uskub [Skoplje] and Monastir [Bitolj]; as well as the action orders, encrypted reports of guerrilla leaders and their local civilian supporters. The Serbian Defence Organization grew spontaneously, "on the ground", as an effort to offer resistance against Ottoman and Albanian violence, and against forced Bulgarization carried out by guerrilla squadrons of Bulgaria and the IMRO. From mid-1904 the Serbian Ministry of Foreign Affairs became involved, cautiously and covertly, in this defensive action, from 1903 promoted by distinguished individuals and organizations, such as Milorad Godjevac, head of Belgrade City health service, the Serbian-Macedonian Board (Srpskomacedonski komitet), the famous painter Nadežda Petrović or the humanitarian organization The Circle of Serbian Sisters (Kolo srpskih sestara). In 1905, the Serbian Defence Organization was given its final shape and placed under the control of a special body of the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia. Taken as a whole, the three appendices offer a rather complete picture of the actions of the Serbian Defence Organization aimed at providing protection to the Serbian population in the mentioned area. The Appendix for 1906–1907 follows its work on strengthening and consolidating Serbia's influence in the Serb-populated areas, the purpose of which was to secure a basis for partitioning the territory among Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece in case of the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire.

The selected documents created in 1906 and 1907 make it possible to un-

derstand more easily the difficulties that the young Serbian state and its diplomacy were facing and to build a more complete picture of the directions taken by Serbian diplomacy in the years preceding the Annexation Crisis and the Young Turk Revolution. It is observable that the diplomacy of Serbia headed simultaneously in several directions, as evidenced, for example, by the effort to persuade the Western powers into supporting Serbia's national and political position. So in 1907 Serbia took part in the international conference at The Hague, and in the second half of the same year, Serbian diplomacy sought to re-establish commercial relations and negotiate a new agreement with Austro-Hungary. The selected documents offer the scholars interested into this period, particularly those who are not able to consult the material kept in the Serbian archives, the possibility of taking a more complete look at the international-political developments in the Balkans in the early twentieth century. The series Documents on the Foreign Policy of the Kingdom of Serbia in 1903-1914, therefore, is a highly useful tool for studying Serbia's international position in the period covered. In spite of many scholarly, methodological and organizational problems, inevitable in working with scattered and damaged archival materials, the editors have succeeded in making a comprehensive and methodologically well-structured collection of important diplomatic and related documents available to the public.

BLACK LAMBS AND GREY FALCONS: WOMEN TRAVELLING IN THE BALKANS. ED. BY JOHN B. ALLCOCK AND ANTONIA YOUNG. NEW YORK, OXFORD: BERGHAHN BOOKS, 2000. PP. 308.

Reviewed by Sanja Lazarević Radak*

This edited volume, first published in 1991, is devoted to women travellers and their role in creating the image of the Balkans through travel writings. The editors John B. Allcock and Antonia Young present fifteen articles emphasizing the female perspective in creating the image of the Other. This volume also has a relevance to the complex question of the socialization of women in different epochs, from the Victorian age to the mid-1950s. The European patriarchal system, with its restrictive regulations and pressure of conventions, gave rise to a particular kind of women travellers. Seeking to break the patterns of their own cultures, they became explorers and "escapists". The perception of the Other is seen as a construct influenced by priorities of one's own culture and its symbolic system of ideas, its norms and values. With every culture having its own ideas of what is strange and exotic, a multitude of perceptions are

possible. "Feminine culture", if there is such a thing, is a culture of the Other, but travelling is not only a masculine business. Therefore, the essential question is "What is a specifically female contribution in writing about the travel experience and what is specific about female emotions, imagination and ideas?"

This book brings information about Rebecca West, Mary Edith Durham, Emily Balch, Flora Sandes, Rose Wilder Lane, Margaret Masson Hasluck, Louisa Rayner, Mercia McDermott and other women travellers. As Allcock remarks, there is no doubt that these women significantly influenced the popular perception of the Balkan region and its culture.

The authors suggest that the notion of "Balkans" burdened with negative connotations suggested a contrast to a traveller's homeland. Perceived as epitomizing a

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