## SERBIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS INSTITUTE FOR BALKAN STUDIES

## BALCANICA XLVII

## ANNUAL OF THE INSTITUTE FOR BALKAN STUDIES

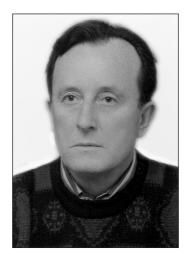
Editor-in-Chief DUŠAN T. BATAKOVIĆ Director of the Institute for Balkan Studies SASA

Editorial Board JEAN-PAUL BLED (Paris), LJUBOMIR MAKSIMOVIĆ, ZORAN MILUTINOVIĆ (London), DANICA POPOVIĆ, DRAGAN BAKIĆ, SPYRIDON SFETAS (Thessaloniki), GABRIELLA SCHUBERT (Jena), NIKOLA TASIĆ, SVETLANA M. TOLSTAJA (Moscow)

> BELGRADE 2016



## IN MEMORIAM



Dragoljub R. Živojinović (1934–2016)

Pragoljub R. Živojinović's research, writing and teaching in the course of his fifty-year scholarly and academic career in history carried on in the best possible way the tradition of Belgrade's school of historiography. A permanent and rigorous examination of primary sources, a historical curiosity, a diversity and large chronological span of research interests, a prolific scholarly production, an open-mindedness to historiographic traditions and trends, these are the most salient features of the legacy that Dragoljub R. Živojinović inherited from his professors and endeavoured to pass on to younger generations. What should be mentioned above all else is his continuous dialogue with world historiographies as his lifelong orientation and as a basis for his own work. The first step in that direction, and undoubtedly the most important, was his stay at Philadelphia University (1962–1964), from which he took his doctoral degree (1966) with the thesis "The United States and Italy, 1917–1919: A Study in the Origins and Development of a Dispute".

Dragoljub R. Živojinović's doctoral dissertation announced a first set of topics on which his further work would focus: the history of the First World War, diplomatic relations between the USA and the region that would be called Yugoslavia, and relations between Italy and the lands that it would be composed of. The search for answers to historiographical challenges he had only touched

upon while working on his dissertation led Živojinović to focus on relations between the Vatican and Serbia, later Yugoslavia as well, on Serbia's and Montenegro's international relations in 1878–1929 and, finally, a biography of King Peter I Karadjordjević. Another two sets of themes he was concerned with were his works on the history of Dubrovnik/Ragusa and on the history of modern Europe. The diversity of his historical interests resulted in an envious production of more than thirty books and three hundred articles.

In the best tradition of Belgrade's historiographical school, Dragoljub R. Živojinović built his research results into the lectures he held at the Faculty of Philosophy of Belgrade University, at first as assistant professor (1967), then associate professor (1973) and, finally, as professor of Modern History (1979). Focusing on the history of modern Europe in the sixteenth–eighteenth century, Živojinović enriched his lectures with the research on Ragusan mercantilism and finances, the relationship between the Republic of Ragusa and the American Revolution, Ragusan seafaring and health care. His lectures not only outlined the history of modern Europe for his students, they also acquainted them with the latest historiographical interpretations which he eventually rounded off in his book devoted to the history of Europe from Guttenberg to the French Revolution.

Professor Živojinović pioneered the teaching of American history at the Faculty of Philosophy. Upon returning from the United States he not only introduced American studies in the curriculum but he also set up a specialist library, offering his students the first collection of reading materials on American history from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. The history of the United States was only a part of the teaching process through which he sought to acquaint his students with the results of Anglo-Saxon historiography, providing them with an insight into the contemporary method of historical research and its focuses.

With the book America, Italy, and the Birth of Yugoslavia (1917–1919) published in 1972 Dragoljub R. Živojinović resumed the dialog with American historiography he had opened during his doctoral studies. His study of the Wilson administration's policy regarding the Italian-Yugoslav conflict in the Adriatic did not go unnoticed by his American colleagues, as evidenced by the reviews published in the Slavonic and East European Review, the Journal of American History, and the Journal of Modern History, where a renowned expert on United States Central and Eastern European policy, Victor S. Mamatey, described Živojinović's book as a significant contribution to the history of American diplomacy during the First World War and the Paris Peace Conference. The next chapter in that dialogue was a book published by the Colorado University Press in 1978, The United States and the Vatican Policies: 1914–1918. That his analysis of the relations between the Vatican and the United States during the First World War was an incontestable contribution in a hitherto unexplored field was

confirmed by the reviews published in the American Historical Review and the Church History.

After his doctoral studies Dragoljub R. Živojinović paid several more research visits to the USA: he pursued postdoctoral research at Harvard (1971–1972); as a recipient of the Fulbright scholarship he pursued research in New York (1977), and at Yale (1979); he was awarded a US government research grant (1980). Later on, he was a visiting lecturer at a number of American universities, giving lectures on Yugoslavia, the Eastern question, religious and political developments in the twentieth century, relations between Europe and the USA in the twentieth century (Woodrow Wilson Fellowship, Washington, 1987–1988; University of Maryland, College Park, 1988; Cornell University, Ithaca, and New York, 1990, 1992; University of California, Santa Barbara, 1995, 1996, 1997; Lincoln University; Berkley, 2008). He was elected a corresponding member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences in 2006 and a full member in 2011.

Dragoljub R. Živojinović's presence on the international historiographical scene was also reflected in a number of scholarly conferences devoted to: American studies (Aarhus, Denmark, 1965; Seville, Spain, 1976, 1991; Norwich, UK, 1978; San Francisco, USA, 1980; Paris, France, 1983); to the issues of war and society in Eastern Europe (New York, USA, 1982; Bucharest, Romania, 1983; Belgrade, Serbia, 1984); and to Italian history (Rome, Italy, 1970; Genoa, Italy, 1972, 1985, 1989, 1992). Many of his articles found their way into the East European Quarterly, the Journal of American History, the Florida State University Slavic Papers, and into edited volumes published by the Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, the University of Sidney, the Presses universitaires de l'Aix-en-Province, the Brooklyn College Press, the Istituto di scienze storiche, Università di Genova, the Columbia University Press and the Cambridge University Press.

Owing to his familiarity with contemporary historiographical production and continual archival research, Dragoljub R. Živojinović was able to shed a new light on and challenge a number of commonly accepted interpretations in Serbian historiography. The starting point of his analyses was certainly the study of the diplomatic history of the First World War and the positions of major powers which had led to the Yugoslav state taking the form it did at its inception on 1 December 1918. Perceiving the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as a watershed in Serbian history, he analysed the course and outcome of the Great War in the light of the attitudes of Great Britain, Italy, the United States and the Vatican. He then analysed the foreign policy motivations of these powers within a larger span of time, from the Congress of Berlin in 1878 to the end of the Second World War in 1945, in order to establish if there had been continuity in their strategies towards two Serbian states, Serbia and Montenegro. Showing beyond doubt that these four powers were not friendly to Serbia and Montenegro, his findings disproved the widely accepted interpreta-

tion of the period. His analysis laid bare the motivations behind their attitudes, and offered the conclusion that the interests of the two Serbian states and the four powers had been frequently opposed and that the decisive factor for their relations had been the existence of a common enemy.

Živojinović's analysis of the Allied attitudes towards the Salonika (Macedonian) front in the book Nevoljni ratnici: velike sile i Solunski front 1914–1918 (Unwilling warriors: great powers and the Salonika front, 1914-1918) reveals to what lengths Great Britain was prepared to go to shut down the only front in the Balkans and in that way leave Serbia to her own devices. British generals and diplomats assessed that the defeat of Serbia in the autumn and winter of 1915 had sealed the fate of the Balkans and that the only way to reverse it would be a separate peace with Bulgaria. Behind such an assessment was Great Britain's clear intention to withdraw her troops from the Balkans and redeploy them in accordance with her own strategic interests, in the Middle East or on the Western front. Tracing British diplomacy's fundamental orientation to assess the developments in the Balkans only from the standpoint of its own interests from the Eastern Crisis to the outbreak of the Second World War in his book Nadmeni saveznik i zanemareno srpstvo (An arrogant ally and neglected Serbdom), Dragoljub R. Živojinović arrives at an unambiguous conclusion: British diplomacy's misgivings about the Serbian national demands was a constant from the 1878 Congress of Berlin to 27 March 1941.

Many works of Dragoljub R. Živojinović analyse the opposition between Serbian and Italian interests from the time of the secret Treaty of London in 1915. Based on his meticulous archival research, he was able to shed clear light on Italy's territorial pretensions, obvious in the text of the London pact and particularly insistent during the two last years of the First World War and in its aftermath. His book *Dalmazia o morte 1918–1923* elucidates the strategies Italy made use of on the ground with the view to annexing the territory definitively.

Uncompromising in his adherence to the highest standards of scholarly research and academic integrity, Dragoljub R. Živojinović sought to elucidate the true nature of the interests of the Serbs and their adversaries. He thus explored the policies of the Vatican at first as an Austro-Hungarian ally, and then as an opponent of South Slavic unification which would unite the Roman Catholic Croats and Slovenes with the Orthodox Serbs under the Karadjordjordjević dynasty instead of the Habsburg sceptre in his book *Vatikan*, *Srbija i stvaranje jugoslovenske države 1914-1920* (The Vatican, Serbia and the creation of Yugoslavia 1914–1920). As in the case of other actors in the diplomatic conflict during the First World War, he expanded his study of Vatican policy to include the Second World War and its aftermath in a separate book, *Vatikan*, *katolička crkva i jugoslovenska vlast 1941–1958* (The Vatican, the Catholic Church and the Yugoslav government 1941–1958). His analysis reveals a continuity of Vatican policy and the motivation behind it: the advancement of Catholic interests at all costs, even

when their promoters were representatives of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH). His meticulous archival research sheds a clear light on the role of the archbishop Alojzije Stepinac in the genocide against the Serbs, Jews and Roma perpetrated by the Ustashas in the NDH. He also shows that this genocidal policy was not a good enough reason for the Vatican to reconsider its support to Stepinac. The archbishop's subsequent conflict with post-war communist authorities was a decisive factor for the Vatican to perceive him as a Catholic hero of the struggle against totalitarianism. It is for its undeniable contribution to a comprehensive look at all these circumstances that his collection of source materials published under the title *Varvarstvo u ime Hristovo* (Barbarity in the name of Jesus), following in the footsteps of Viktor Novak's seminal work *Magnum crimen*, makes an important supplement to the bulk of the documentary material on the atrocities committed by the Ustashas.

The enquiries into the Vatican's Serbian and Yugoslav policies inspired Dragoljub R. Živojinović to devote his attention to the history of the Serbian Orthodox Church in a series of articles and, eventually, in the book *Srpska pravoslavna crkva i nova vlast 1944–1950* (The Serbian Orthodox Church and the new regime 1944–1950). Already targeted during the Great War in the South-Slavic provinces of Austria-Hungary, the Serbian Orthodox Church bore the brunt of repression by totalitarian regimes during and, especially, after the Second World War. The execution and persecution of its clerics and monastics, the destruction of its churches, the seizure of its property, were just some of the hardships that the Church went through, sharing the fate of the best part of its flock.

Dragoljub R. Živojinović's analysis clearly elucidates the fact that during the First World War the policy pursued by the United Sates, especially President Woodrow Wilson, was an exception among the powers whose decisions were critical for the fate of the Serbian people. President Wilson's effort to introduce a number of general principles into international politics was in stark contrast with the secret diplomacy that European powers made use of to carve the map of Europe. Wilson's support for the right of self-determination was, as Živojinović had showed in his doctoral thesis, and later confirmed by his further archival research in the USA, decisive for the Yugoslav question. Looking at the ties between the United States and Serbia over a longer period in his book U potrazi za zaštitnikom: Studije o američko-srpskim vezama 1878–1920 (In search of a protector: Studies on US-Serbia relations 1878-1920), he paid particular attention to the establishment of diplomatic relations, the US immigration policy, the position of the US administration on the July Crisis in 1914, the role of the US Navy in the Adriatic after the First World War and the position of the Roosevelt administration on the civil war in Yugoslavia in 1941-1945.

An important focus of Dragoljub R. Živojinović's research was a second Serbian state, Montenegro, before and during the First World War, which he studied in the book *Crna Gora u borbi za opstanak:* 1914–1922 (Montenegro in

the struggle to survive: 1914–1922). The situation in Montenegro at the beginning of the war, and especially after the capitulation in 1915, put its very survival at stake. The efforts of King Nicholas and his ministers to maintain the country's statehood during the war and at the peace conference were an object of Živojinović's particular interest. A number of works devoted to Italo-Montenegrin relations are assembled in the book *Italija i Crna Gora 1914–1925* (Italy and Montenegro 1914–1925). Marriage ties between the two dynasties and Italy's geostrategic interests in Montenegro were the reason for Italy to keep a careful eye on the developments on the other side of the Adriatic. The role intended for Montenegro in the plans of Italian diplomacy, King Nicholas's territorial pretensions to Scutari, the capitulation of Montenegro and the revitalisation of its armed forces, its government in Neuilly, Montenegro at the peace conference, Italy's position on Montenegrin statehood after the war, are some of the topics which owing to Živojinović's scrupulous analysis have become part of our positive, well-founded knowledge.

International relations of the two Serbian states in 1878–1945 was another focus of Živojinović's interest, to which should certainly be added his three-volume biography of King Peter I Karadjordjević, practically a history of the decisive years in which the modern Serbian state attained its highest points. Looking at Serbia's first constitutional monarch in the true sense of the term as an expression of a full-fledged democratic system, Živojinović depicts all ups and downs Serbia went through in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Making use of previously unexplored sources of mostly foreign provenance, Dragoljub R. Živojinović's prolific and diverse historiographical work, marked above all by the broad-minded curiosity of a scholar, has offered a clear and, even more importantly, a new picture of Serbia's and Montenegro's international relations with the western powers during the period in which the Serbian national programme was shaped and set afoot. Reviewing his fruitful and scrupulous scholarly contribution to Serbian historiography in its entirety, one inevitably seeks to pinpoint what may have crystallised as a central idea in the course of his fifty-year long research. It seems to be the realisation that the fate of Serbia has always depended on the strength, knowledge and aspirations of her statesmen and, of course, on the support they enjoyed at home. Opposed to that stands the evidence of a modest support of foreign powers, unfailingly determined by their own interests, in the times when Serbia practically had no true ally other than Montenegro.