

**Fifty Years of  
War and Diplomacy  
in the Balkans**

# Fifty Years of War and Diplomacy in the Balkans

PASHICH AND THE UNION  
OF THE YUGOSLAVS

By

COUNT CARLO SFORZA

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## *To President Nicholas Murray Butler*

DEAR PRESIDENT BUTLER:

Is it not quite natural that I should set down your name at the beginning of this book?

It was at your invitation that I spent many happy months as Carnegie Visiting Professor at the state universities of Texas, Iowa, Michigan, and Wisconsin. There, especially at Ann Arbor and at Madison, I assembled for the first time—for the purposes of my teaching—my views on the birth of Yugoslav national sentiment, on the struggle for independence waged by the oppressed nationalities in Austria-Hungary, and on the lengthy and sterile Italo-Yugoslav quarrels at the Peace Conference of 1919.

In Wisconsin I was actually fortunate enough to encounter American citizens of Yugoslav origin who became so interested in my lectures that they expressed the desire to see them reproduced in volume form.

Here, then, is the book they asked for. Today, as I see it completely written, I still hear a friendly reproach of yours concerning another of my books, *Europe and Europeans*. At times, you told me, I was apt to take for granted my readers' knowledge of certain facts, and therefore I did not trouble to repeat them but contented myself with making what I deemed a new contribution.

To be sure, I found your reproach highly flattering. If I recall it today, the reason is that I fear I deserve it in that portion of this new book where I demonstrate—perhaps to implicitly—how disastrous it proved for Italy (and I dare say for the world as well) that her representatives at the Paris Conference should have concentrated exclusively upon certain Adriatic claims, most of which were profitless for my country, instead of busying themselves with more essential problems.

Italy indeed was the only Great Power in Europe whose vital

interests might and should have urged her to take her stand resolutely beside Woodrow Wilson for the practical and solid creation of an organized world, putting an end to the excessive anarchy of national States. France was too deeply entangled in her past, her fears, and her rancors to be able to play this role. Great Britain possessed such vast imperial interests that—quite wrongly—she considered them sufficient unto her task. Italy alone might readily have identified her most vital interests with those of a Wilsonian peace.

Borgese, now professor at the University of Chicago but at the time of the Paris Conference closely associated with the discussions between Orlando and Wilson, proves powerfully in his recent book, *Goliath, the March of Fascism*, that had Wilson had Italy beside him, he might have been able to return to Washington with a better treaty, and very likely then the opposition of the United States Senate would not have succeeded in destroying his work; the world today would then not be exposed to new catastrophes threatening to destroy our civilization.

My book relates how, having become Foreign Minister in Italy long after Wilson's return to America, I was able to settle the quarrel still persisting between Italy and Yugoslavia by concluding a peace both conformable to the Wilsonian principles and serviceable to the interests of my country and of peace. Fascism has not dared to break the peace I offered in 1920 to the Yugoslavs. Does it not prove that for a treaty to be solid what is needed is mutual comprehension?

One word more: I hope that those who are going to read this book will not find that I have proved overkindly toward the Balkan peoples. Western Europeans entertain too ready a contempt for the adventures and the somber diplomacy of the Balkans. I consider no book quite bootless which leads us to recognize that what happened in the Balkans was, up to 1914, the result of bitter struggles for influence conducted by the various European cabinets, especially those of Vienna and St. Petersburg. The Balkans

appeared to be the actors; they were in reality but pawns in a game that was being played in the capitals of the Great Powers.

In Europe I have quoted many times—it was so necessary!—your famous definition of the International Mind: “The international mind is nothing else than that habit of thinking of foreign relations and business, and that habit of dealing with them, which regard the several nations of the civilized world as friendly and co-operating equals aiding the progress of civilization, in developing commerce and industry, and in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world.”

It was more than enough for my old continent.

But here where I am so happy to be after having seen in Europe unforgettable horrors of death, cowardice, and hatreds, I wonder whether we cannot be even more optimistic and add explicitly what is implicit in your words: that any judgment, any study of another people, is fruitless unless it is based on human sympathy; that love alone sees clearly. That is why we may be sure that the Fascist and Nazi dictators do not see clearly, in spite of their long sequel of successful invasions, from Spain to Rumania. But, meanwhile, French marshals, naïvely hoping to appease their victors, suppress the old republican formula *liberté, égalité, fraternité*, and the dictators impose slavery instead of liberty, pseudo-racial brutality instead of equality, wars and conquests instead of fraternity. Sure as I am of the ultimate ruin of all Fascist dictatorships, am I not right, dear President Butler, when I say that we Western Europeans have no reasons for looking down at the Balkans, their wars, their hatreds?

Sincerely yours,

SFORZA

Union College,  
Schenectady, N. Y.  
October 30, 1940

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## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

### *SERBIAN SOVEREIGNS*

1804. Karageorge Petrovich chosen as leader by the Serbs in revolt against Turkish domination.
1808. The national Soviet confirms the election of Karageorge Petrovich "and his legitimate offspring" as leaders.
1813. The Turks defeat his army. Karageorge takes refuge in Hungary.
1817. Milosh Obrenovich elected Prince of Serbia.
1830. A Hatti Cherif of the Sublime Port recognizes Milosh Obrenovich as Prince, with hereditary and familial gift of title.
1839. Milosh Obrenovich abdicates; his elder son, Milan, succeeds to the throne.
1840. Milan succeeds to the throne, but dies in a few weeks; his younger brother, Michael, succeeds.
1842. Michael is expelled. Alexander Karageorgevich succeeds.
1858. Alexander Karageorgevich is in turn expelled; Milosh Obrenovich comes again into power.
1860. Death of Milosh Obrenovich; his son Michael succeeds.
1868. Assassination of Michael Obrenovich; his cousin Milan succeeds to the throne, and, a minor, is assisted by a Council of Regents.
1872. Milan comes of age.
1882. Milan proclaims himself King of Serbia.
1889. Abdication of Milan; his son, Alexander Obrenovich, succeeds to the throne.
1903. Assassination of King Alexander and Queen Draga. Peter Karageorgevich succeeds to the throne.
1914. King Peter, ill, appoints his son Alexander regent on June 24.

### *YUGOSLAV SOVEREIGNS*

1918. On December 1, Prince Alexander assumes the title of Prince Regent of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.
1921. Death of King Peter; Alexander succeeds to the throne.
1929. Alexander assumes the title of King of Yugoslavia.

## Chronological Table

1934. Assassination of King Alexander. His son, Peter, succeeds to the throne, and, a minor, is assisted by a Council of Regents, whose chief member is his cousin, Prince Paul Karageorgevich.

## TREATIES

1812. Treaty of Bucharest with clauses whereby Turkey and Russia contract to grant Serbian autonomy.
1858. Treaty of Paris, wherein the international entity of Serbia is reaffirmed.
1878. Treaty of San Stefano, conceding Pirot and Nish to Serbia.
1878. Treaty of Berlin, entrusting to Austria-Hungary the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
1881. Secret treaty of alliance concluded by Austria-Hungary and Serbia.
1886. Treaty of Bucharest establishing the *status quo* after the Serbo-Bulgarian War.
1912. Secret treaty of alliance concluded between Serbia and Bulgaria on March 13.
1912. Secret treaty of alliance concluded between Bulgaria and Greece on May 29
1912. Treaty of Ouchy, Italy and Turkey end the Italo-Turkish War on October 18.
1913. Treaty of London, whereby on May 30 Turkey cedes to Balkan allies all territory west of the Enos-Midia line.
1913. Treaty of Bucharest, concluded August 30 and granting to Serbia all Macedonia west of the Vardar.
1915. Treaty of London, concluded by Italy, the British Empire, France, and Russia on April 26.
1915. Treaty of Pless, concluded by the Central Powers and Bulgaria, arranging for Bulgaria's entrance into the war. (September 16.)
1918. March 3. Treaty of Brest-Litovsk between the Central Empires and Russia.
1918. May 7. Treaty of Bucharest between the Central Empires and Rumania.
1918. June 29. Treaty of Versailles between the Entente Powers and Germany.
1919. September 10. Treaty of Saint Germain between the Entente Powers and Austria.

## Chronological Table

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1919. November 27. Treaty of Neuilly between the Entente Powers and Bulgaria.
1920. June 4. Treaty of Trianon between the Entente Powers and Hungary.
1920. August 14. Convention of alliance against a Hungarian attack between the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes and Czechoslovakia.
1920. November 12. Treaty of Rapallo between Italy and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.
1921. February 8. Italo-Czechoslovak agreement, signed in Rome, regarding the anti-Hapsburg convention.
1921. March 13. Italo-Turkish agreement in London.
1921. April 23. Convention between Czechoslovakia and Rumania, analogous to that of Belgrade of August 14, 1920, signed at Bucharest.
1921. June 7. Convention between Rumania and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, analogous to the above, at Belgrade.
1924. January 25. Treaty of alliance between France and Czechoslovakia, in Paris.
1924. January 27. "Pact of friendship and cordial collaboration" between Italy and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes at Rome.
1926. November 27. Treaty of Tirana between Italy and Albania.
1927. November 11. Treaty between France and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in Paris.
1937. March 25. Treaty of "friendship" between Italy and Yugoslavia at Belgrade.

### *NICHOLAS PASHICH'S CAREER*

1878. Elected Deputy to the Skupshtina.
- 1883-89. Exile.
1889. President of the Municipality of Belgrade.
1891. Premier of Serbia.
1893. Minister Plenipotentiary at Belgrade.
1893. Minister Plenipotentiary at St. Petersburg.
1898. Sentenced to nine months for *lèse majesté*.
1904. Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Grujich Cabinet.
- 1904-05. Premier of Serbia.
- 1906-08. Premier of Serbia.

1909. Minister of Public Works in the Novakovich Cabinet.  
1910-11. Premier of Serbia.  
1912-18. December 16. Premier of Serbia.  
1918. December 20. In Paris as President of the Delegation of the Serbo-Croat-Slovene state at the Peace Conference.  
1921-26. April 8. Premier of Yugoslavia.  
1926. December 1. Death of Pashich on the morrow of a violent discussion with King Alexander about restriction of freedom in Yugoslavia, planned by the King.

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