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Zhidas Daskalovski

Liberal Neutrality and Public Holidays: Case study Macedonia

Abstract: This article focuses on the approach the liberal state should take regarding public holidays in multicultural societies. In particular, the article examines the Macedonian Law on Public Holidays, and argues that it does not treat all citizens as equals and violates the principles of liberal equality and neutrality. Despite the attempts of Macedonian lawmakers to implement the Ohrid Framework Agreement and promote multiculturalism, the law fails to treat equally citizens of different ethno-national and religious backgrounds. In principle, prescribing religious holidays as public holidays is a delicate matter and should be treaded carefully in a liberal polity. State holidays that honour religious days inevitably affect the personal choices of those citizens who do not observe them. The article analyzes how such circumstances can be avoided by fully implementing liberal neutrality or “passive impartiality” where the government and its institutions – the basic structures – go along in a strictly procedural way and are separated from ideas about the good life, as proclaimed and practiced by diverse subcultures in anz given society. We explore how the state can be neutral in regard to culture. From the Macedonian case we draw conclusions on how liberal neutrality should be applied within the laws on public holidays in multicultural societies around the world.

Keywords: *liberal neutrality; multiculturalism; Macedonia; Law on public holidays*

Saša Knežević

What the Principality of Montenegro Demanded from the Great Powers during the Bosnian Annexation Crisis of 1908

Abstract: The territorial compensations to Montenegro and Serbia were part of the Izvolsky programme for the conference, after the annexation crisis began. Some parts of the European press wrote positively about Montenegrin claims for compensation, and presented them as a barrier to further advances by Austria-Hungary towards the east. Meanwhile, Montenegrin diplomats were making the rounds of the Western European capitals, but with little success. The Entente tried to lead the Montenegrin and Serbian governments into withdrawing their claims. The principal argument was reduced to the avoidance of war at any price at that moment.

Article 29 of the Treaty of Berlin laid serious restrictions on the sovereignty of Montenegro within her own territory. Austrian Foreign Minister Aehrenthal ignored this issue when making his plans for the annexation of Bosnia. The Austrian minister in Cetinje was authorized to say that if the Montenegrin Prince took a correct attitude towards the annexation, Austria was prepared to grant him certain subventions for the building of roads, and to enter into negotiations for a modification of Article 29. Prince Nikola continued to hold out for a territorial concession; in particular he wanted Spizza, a town which dominated the port of Antivari. But, in the final face of the crisis, Austria only consented to alterations of Article 29. That was the sole benefit, albeit an important one, which Montenegro gained with help of Italian and British diplomacy.

Keywords: *Annexation Crisis, Montenegro, Treaty of Berlin, Article 29*

Tahir Mahmutefendić

The Impact of Transition on Welfare and the Distribution of Income in South-East European Countries

Introduction

Transition brought significant changes to former communist countries. These changes have been caused mainly by three factors: 1. Sharp decline in output and GDP per capita at the beginning of transition, 2. Change in ownership structure as privatization and creation of new businesses, which turned overwhelmingly state-owned economies into the ones with a predominant private sector, 3. Change in economic structure with the decline in the manufacturing sector and the expansion of the service sector.

This article will assess the impact of transition on welfare and distribution of income in South-East European Countries. The first section will analyse the impact of transition on the health system and education. The second section will deal with the impact of transition on distribution of income. The third section will give a subjective assessment of transition based on a survey conducted by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Szilárd Szabó

Bosnia-Herzegovina's Administration under Habsburg Rule, 1878–1918

The development of the administration of the occupied provinces

In his memoirs of 1877, Béni Kállay first dealt with the question of the administration to be instituted after the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He believed it would be useful to establish a civic administration, since military administration would evoke opposition in Austria and Hungary. At the head of the provinces would be a governor or director named by the sovereign, who would be responsible to a ministry under both Austria and Hungary. His legal acts would require the agreement of the common ministry. The governor would be assisted in his work by four advisors named by the common ministry, who would direct the provinces' internal affairs, justice, church and educational affairs, as well as their financial affairs. Kállay meant to separate military affairs from civic administration in both organization and spheres of competence, and would have made the military commander responsible to the common minister of war, who was not allowed to meddle in the civil government.¹ On 1 May 1878, Lieutenant-Colonel Gusztáv Thoemmel, the Balkan expert for the general staff of the common army, submitted a memoir. It contained ideas for the introduction of administrative, legal and police measures to be introduced in case of the occupation

1 Ede Wertheimer, "Kállay Béni kiadatlan emlékirata Bosznia annexiójáról", *Történeti Szemle*, vol. 3 (1914), 260–5.

Mark Thompson

The Last Years of Danilo Kiš

Danilo Kiš (1935–1989) is widely seen as the most important writer of fiction to emerge in postwar Yugoslavia. After a period of renown in the 1980s, his English-language reputation went into eclipse, where it remains. Today, he is out of print in the United Kingdom. Yet his major works remain superlative: *Garden, Ashes* (1965), *Hourglass* (1972), *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich* (1976), and *The Encyclopedia of the Dead* (1983). Mark Thompson has written a critical biography of Kiš that tells the extraordinary story of his life while also explaining his achievement as a novelist, story-writer, polemicist, translator, and occasional poet. *Birth Certificate: The story of Danilo Kiš* will be published in 2013 by Cornell University Press. The following essay is adapted from the last chapter of that book.

“For exile is a negative condition: one is not living in a place so much as not living in a place.”

– Anthony Burgess

After moving to Paris in 1979, Kiš completed only one more book: *The Encyclopedia of the Dead*, a gathering of stories, which formed the last volume in his collected works, published in Belgrade and Zagreb at the end of 1983.

Handsomely bound in orange cloth boards with gold lettering, this edition sealed Kiš's status as one of Yugoslavia's pre-eminent writers. But publication plunged him—as it had done in the past—into despair, self-doubt, and what he called “chronic idleness.” The crushing sense of mortality could only be relieved by jettisoning the discipline of work, crawling from bar to bar night after night with any available company. When his friend Stanko Cerović asked how he could spend so much time with

Slobodan G. Markovich

New and Old Evidence on the Show-trial of General Dragoljub Mihailovich

Abstract: This article follows two changes in Western perceptions of Mihailovich and Tito. The first took place at the end of 1943 when the image of Mihailovich drastically changes, and the second began in May 1945 when Tito's image was seriously affected.

Two trials that preceded the trial against Mihailovich are analysed: the Moscow trial of General Okulicki and another fifteen Polish leaders and the first Belgrade trial to the military and political leaders of the Yugoslav Home Army. The trial in Moscow and Belgrade reveal Stalinist patterns in post-war trials in the Soviet zone. The old evidence of the trial is provided through description of the work and results of New York based *Committee for a Fair Trial for Draža Mihailovich* consisting of leading American lawyers associated with the American Civil Liberties Union and leading American politicians and public figures. Evidence collected by the British Embassy in Washington before the trial is also assessed. Both conclusions of the Committee and assessment of the officials of the British Embassy in Washington seriously challenged alleged collaboration of General Mihailovich with Germans.

The new evidence presented in the article indicates open involvement of the leading members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the so called top four (Josip Broz, Aleksandar Rankovich, Milovan Djilas, and Edvard Kardelj). Soviet pattern in the establishment of the Yugoslav Office of the public prosecutor is also analysed. Particularly important source is a correspondence between Djilas and Rankovich during the visit of top Yugoslav delegation to Moscow (end of May, beginning of June 1946). Eight letters of this correspondence conducted

in Russian are directly related to the trial. They reveal the pattern of involvement of the top four. It becomes clear that every single detail about the trial had to receive previous approval of the top four, and particularly of Aleksandar Rankovich. The paper also offers evidence that at the time of the trial the Office of the Public Prosecutor was under the direct control of the Yugoslav secret police OZNA/UDBA and Aleksandar Rankovich. The published version of the “steno-graphic record” used for decades as a source for the trial has been analysed in the paper and assessed as a communist forgery and a mere communist propaganda tool.

Key words: *Belgrade Trial, Trial of General Mihailovich, communist show-trials, Yugoslav secret police, Yugoslav politburo*

Document

Correspondence between Djilas and Rankovich related to the trial of General Mihailovich

All letters from the correspondence below are situated in the folder:

The Archives of Yugoslavia, The Archives of CC CPY, No. IX, 119/I-9.

25.05'46

To D'ed¹ (for comrade Rankovich)

The indictment has been reviewed. The part related to Drazha was done well. The other part on emigrants is far weaker because we did not have enough time and there are not sufficient documents. **The most relevant political proofreading has been done. On the basis of your order to Penezich the indictment must be submitted on June 2, and the process must be adjusted to June 10.** This will be done if I do not receive another order from you by June 2.

Djilas

(leaflet 4 and 5)

1 D'ed (Дед) is abbreviation for the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) – VKP(b) [in Russian: ВКП (б) Всесоюзная коммунистическая партия (большеви́ков)].

A little known bulletin from Mihailovich

No. 844, 3 April 1944. Circular for Press and Propaganda
[against expressions of anti-Semitism]

In one of our newspapers one allegedly senses an overtone of anti-Semitism. It is, however, clear that our movement must not go that way. In this war Jews have suffered even more than we Serbs have, and we have never been against those who suffer, so we will not be now. We have never put a question about Jews, but a question of regime. If regimes are not worthy, Jews are not worthy. If regimes are solid and there is a good administrative apparatus, Jews will be worthy. But, in the first place we Serbs should be worthy.

Anti-Semitic attacks must not appear in either the press or in propaganda. I forbid any cursing against, as well as stirring up of hatred of Jews in speeches, at public meetings, or privately in cafés in the course of expression of individual opinions. Jews are humans like all other people, and in this war they have suffered even more than we Serbs have. If, as true Christians, we are not capable of developing fraternal love towards Jews, then we should not stir up hatred towards them. Anyone who in any way intentionally says anything against Jews should know that I will consider it an activity aimed at realisation of the programme of the followers of Lyotich.¹ I will act with such persons in accordance with the law and authority.

Chicha.²

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- 1 Dimitriye Lyotich (1891–1945), Yugoslav/Serbian politician. He was under the influence of the French fascist Charles Maurras. In 1935 he established in Ljubljana Yugoslav Popular Movement Zbor, a pro-fascist political party. He took less than 1% of votes in 1935 elections. He openly collaborated with the German military during the occupation of Serbia (1941–1944). A collaborationist unit called the Serbian Voluntary Corps consisted of his followers and they were engaged in many battles against Mihailovich.
 - 2 The Archives of Military Historical Institute (AVII), Belgrade, ЧА, 33-1-22, 66-2-36. The circular was also published in Јаша Алмули, *Сипрагање и сјасаванье српских Јевреја* (Belgrade, 2010), 369–70. Chicha is a nickname for General Mihailovich used by his associates.