

THE WORLD & TIMES of Slobodan Jovanović (1869–1958)



Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts



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Gallery of the Serbian Academy
of Sciences and Arts



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THE WORLD AND TIMES OF SLOBODAN JOVANOVIĆ
(1869–1958)
On the Occasion of 150th Anniversary
of His Birth

Boris Milosavljević

Belgrade 2021

Commemorative plaque on a hotel
where Slobodan Jovanović lived
in London

PROFESSOR
SLOBODAN
JOVANOVIĆ
1869-1958
Serbian Historian
Literary Critic
Legal Scholar
Prime Minister of
Yugoslavia
LIVED HERE
1945-1958



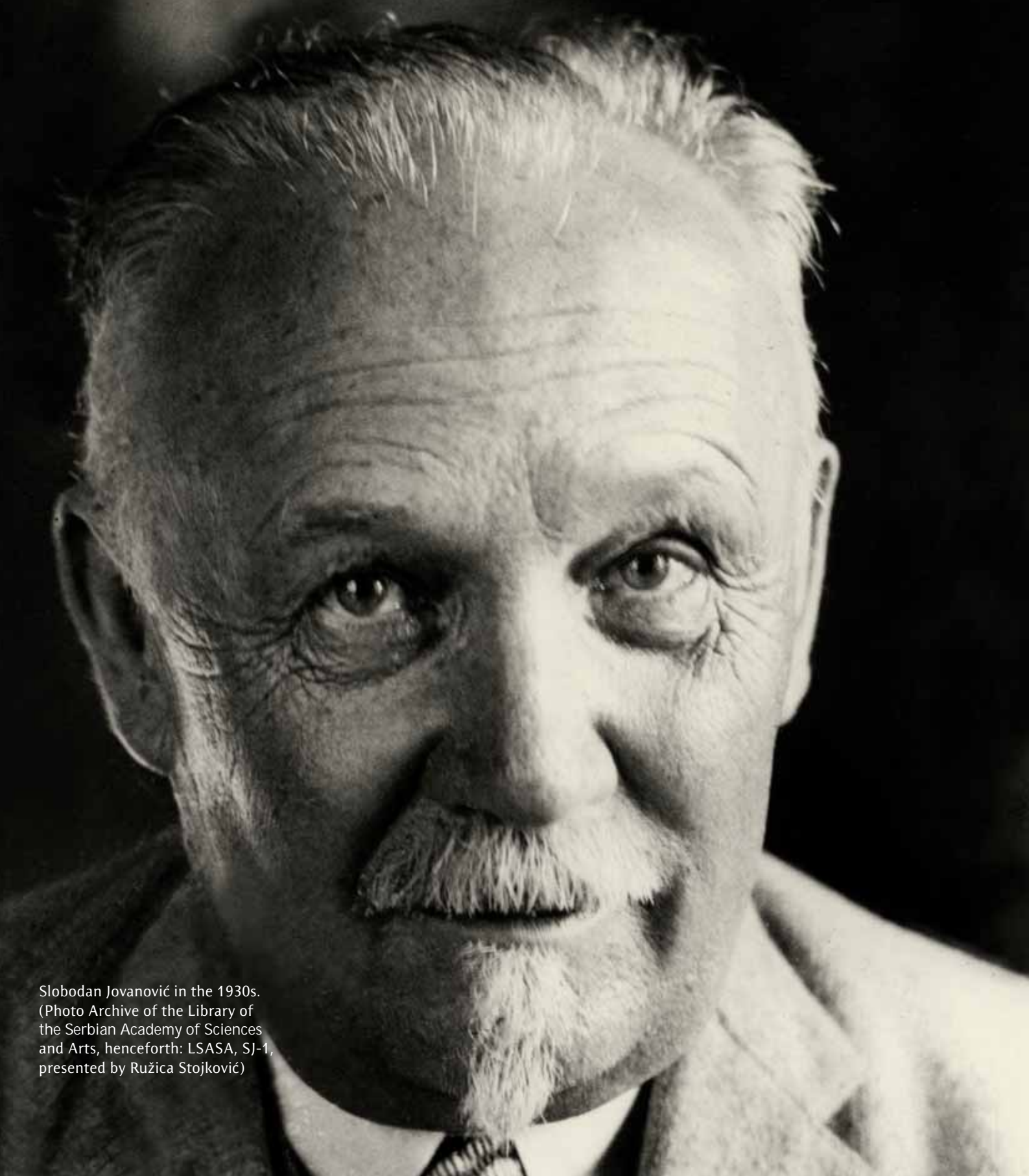
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The centre of Belgrade in the 1920s.
The photo shows the family house of
the Joyanovići (built ca 1875) at 25
Simina Street (marked with a circle).
(Courtesy of Miloš M. Jurišić)





Slobodan Jovanović in the 1930s.
(Photo Archive of the Library of
the Serbian Academy of Sciences
and Arts, henceforth: LSASA, SJ-1,
presented by Ružica Stojković)

PERSONALITY

Slobodan Jovanović (1869–1958) was one of the most eminent scholars and professors of the University of Belgrade. He was President of the Serbian Royal Academy, Rector of the University of Belgrade, Dean of the Faculty of Law, Editor of the *Serbian Literary Gazette* (*Srpski književni glasnik*), President and Vice-President of the Council of Ministers (Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, respectively) of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and founder and president of the Serbian Cultural Club. He wrote papers in various scholarly fields – theory of state and law, constitutional law, political philosophy, general history and Serbian history of the 19th and 20th centuries, sociology, the interpretation of the literary work and literary and theatre criticism. The literary style of Slobodan Jovanović is known as the ‘Belgrade style’. During the 1930s, he published collected works in seventeen volumes. After the coup d’état of the 27th March 1941, he accepted to enter the multi-party government as the second Vice-President of the Council of Ministers (Government). Following the April war, the government continued its work in England, where, since the start of the Second World War, in 1939, for longer or shorter periods, the seats of governments of almost all occupied European states were located. The government was among the first 26 signatories to the 1942 United Nations Declaration, the chief agreement of the Allies on the joint battle against Hitlerism. Slobodan Jovanović participated in the work of four governments, twice as president and twice as vice-president. At a political trial held in July 1946 in Belgrade, Slobodan Jovanović was sentenced in absentia to twenty years of forced labour, whereas his entire property was confiscated. He died in London in 1958. Before the war, he held a leading position in scholarly and cultural life. In the post-war period his name was systematically ‘erased from memory’. In the early 1990s, his collected works were republished in Belgrade. He was rehabilitated in 2007. His mortal remains were buried in Belgrade in 2011.

Slobodan Jovanović attracted considerable attention among his contemporaries. He was asked to share his views on certain political event, character of a politician, literary work, theatre play or opera. He was known as the professor without ‘professorial attitude’, a renowned legal authority free of every kind of pride and ‘a philosopher with a tone of mild irony’. His advice and opinions were highly sought after. The contemporaries



Slobodan Jovanović
Archives of SASA, henceforth:
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of Slobodan Jovanović,
henceforth: CSJ, 14891/9

described him as a humble man of 'noble soul' and an anchor who 'provided them with encouragement and strength'. An acquaintance claimed that the name Slobodan Jovanović 'produced an almost magical effect on masses'. He was read 'with admiration', with every new book of his being eagerly awaited. He had a unique 'logical force', 'analytical skills', 'keen critical spirit', work habits and self-discipline; he was a man of 'extraordinarily broad culture' and of 'great erudition', 'rare intuitive abilities', 'intellectual finesse', 'possessing a genuine literary taste' and 'agile mind'.

Branko Lazarević, a writer and diplomat, tried to portray the personality, that is, the personalities of Slobodan Jovanović: 'It is a fatiguing task. [...] As soon as I tap into one of his personalities, it disappears, like a fish on a bait, and all of a sudden another personality comes to light. [...] Mr Slobodan Jovanović personality encompasses within itself a variety of different personalities. One penetrates his personality like a gallery of portraits. And if someone wanted to paint all of them, he would come across a series of more than twenty portraits, just like Rembrandt did when he created his self-portraits. I am not referring to the personalities that are usually taken into account when talking about Mr Jovanović. I am not speaking about Jovanović the lawyer, the historian, the writer, the critic and connoisseur of all artistic genres [...] What I refer to are various expressions of his intimate personality. Who is he, how he acts, how he appears, how he disguises and how he 'behaves'? That is where an entire gallery rests. Right there, the focal one'.¹

Lazarević concludes that even after twenty-five years of acquaintance he cannot entirely grasp the personality of Slobodan Jovanović: 'Mr Slobodan Jovanović is hard to comprehend. [...] Getting to know him through his mediators, through his books, is futile. [...] In these endeavours of mine, in seeking out one of his personalities, the one who helps me is the Mr Slobodan Jovanović whom I recall sitting at the table, in a conversation, accompanying me on long walks around the island of Hvar, rather than Mr Jovanović the author, though, truth be told, I rely on him as well. In a conversation, especially if it is a discussion between two, he reveals more of himself, though only to a certain extent. From time to time, a detail of his inner self comes to the fore. [...] Through music, one can grasp much of

¹ Branko Lazarević, „Lik Slobodana Jovanovića“, in *Savremenici o Slobodanu Jovanoviću*, [edited by] Jovica Trkulja, Marinko Vučinić, Biblioteka: Naučno nasleđe Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu 11, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, JP „Službeni glasnik“, Beograd 2009, p. 245. For the elaboration of Slobodan Jovanović's personalities as a historian of political ideas, theorist of state and law, analyst of totalitarianism, interpreter of Serbian national character and sociologist, see Danilo N. Basta, *Pet likova Slobodana Jovanovića*, Javno preduzeće Službeni list SCG, Beograd, 2003.

his intimate character. [...] Mr Jovanović is also fond of painting, sculpture and architecture; painting in particular. He has visited all the museums, and knows exactly wherein each painting is located. [...] It is rare – almost impossible – to find amongst us someone of such breadth, spanning from religious sense, via ‘common sense’, to the real, and beyond, to the realm of mystical. [...] And so it goes from Plato to Cicero, from Seneca, all the way to Dante and Faust and Tolstoy. Like I said, his interest is extremely versatile. It ranges from five times underlined *c* to the deepest Counter-octave’.²

Comparing his contemporaries, Lazarević concluded that ‘our intellectual suffers from a certain condition while writing’: ‘The majority write from anger. Many only from the heart. Others only from the brain. Plenty of them from the belly. Either there is mere contempt, or sheer affection, or just reason, or unadulterated envy, and so on. [...] Mr Jovanović writes from pure spirit. [...] When that is merged with his thorough knowledge of his profession, law, philosophy, several sciences and religion, in particular, as well as his involvement in foreign and domestic politics, and when taking into account that he is engaged in each of these occupations as a free and disinterested spirit – then one may, to some extent, grasp one of Mr Jovanović’s personalities’.³

Dragiša Vasić also wrote about Slobodan Jovanović: ‘As a personality, Slobodan Jovanović is a rare example of a solid character, and therefore of high moral values. Serving the truth as a scholar, he has remained faithful to it, considering both his relations with the people as well as his entire public work and life. These virtues and traits of his, especially in the present day, and his distinguished modesty combined with an extraordinary natural refinement, have all made him gain not only the sympathy and devotion of our contemporaries, but respect in its broadest sense’.⁴ Dragoljub Jovanović designed a special column for publishing wise sayings of Slobodan Jovanović. For Milan Jovanović Stoimirović, ‘Slobodan Jovanović was the greatest intellectual among the Serbs’, whereas the editors and owners of the *Politika* considered him their ‘most respectable and trustworthy associate’ and ‘pride and glory for the Serbian people’.⁵



Slobodan Jovanović, 1920s, Belgrade. (Archives of the Home of the Pavlović Family, henceforth: ACCHPF)

² Ibid, p. 248.

³ Ibid, pp. 250–251.

⁴ Dragiša Vasić, „Slobodan Jovanović – povodom njegove sedamdesetogodišnjice“ [*Srpski glas* (7th December 1939), p. 3], *Savremenici o Slobodanu Jovanoviću*, [edited by] Jovica Trkulja and Marinko Vučinić, Biblioteka: Naučno nasleđe Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu 11, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, JP „Službeni glasnik“, Beograd 2009, p. 237.

⁵ The *Politika* published an unsigned article dedicated to the jubilee of Slobodan

Miloš Crnjanski was thrilled by Jovanović's writing: 'Your book is remarkable. I read it in just one day and one night. Henceforth my novel, my writing in general, shall be under the influence thereof'.⁶ Isidora Sekulić noted down: 'Slobodan Jovanović is a writer of impressive literary skill, of great national achievements, furthermore [...] a writer with his mind at peace. A mind at peace, it is perhaps the greatest blessing from God and the culmination of a great culture'.⁷

Jovan Skerlić writes in his *History of New Serbian Literature*: 'Possessing clear spirit and keen intellect, his writing style is crystal clear, concise and precise, without a trace of rhetoric, yet original and of high literary worth', whereas Vladimir Ćorović considered him to stand out among many historians who dealt with the history of 19th-century Serbia.⁸

Jovan Dučić provided a succinct review of Jovanović's political personality: 'He was not a man of mere politics, but a man of service to the state: always at the helm, keeping sight of the country's vast horizons'.⁹ Milan Gavrilović and Dragiša Vasić shared the same opinion: 'Although Mr Jovanović never actively engaged in politics, he had a better grasp of politics and understood political issues at a more profound level than almost any of our respected practical politicians'.¹⁰

In quest for the 'true personality' of Slobodan Jovanović, we should get to know the times and the world he lived in – the figures in his immediate surroundings, childhood friends and schoolmates, political think-alikes and contributors to the newspapers and journals *Red (The Order)*, *Srpski pregled (The Serbian Review)*, *Srpski književni glasnik (Serbian Literary Gazette)*, as well as his ancestry – his heavily branched family tree, representing an algorithm for un-

Jovanović. The editors were Momir Milenović and Jovan Tanović, and the director was Vladislav Sl. Ribnikar. See *Politika* (4th December 1939), p. 9.

⁶ Miloš Crnjanski's letter to Slobodan Jovanović, Berlin, 26th March 1929, *Savremenici o Slobodanu Jovanoviću* [eds.] Jovica Trkulja, Marinko Vučinić, Biblioteka: Naučno nasleđe Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu 11, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, JP „Službeni glasnik”, Beograd 2009, p. 342.

⁷ Isidora Sekulić, „Književnik”, *Politika* (4th December 1939). Ibid, p. 227.

⁸ Jovan Skerlić, *Istorija nove srpske književnosti* [Beograd 1914, vol. 9], *Savremenici o Slobodanu Jovanoviću*, [edited by] Jovica Trkulja, Marinko Vučinić, Biblioteka: Naučno nasleđe Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu 11, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, JP „Službeni glasnik”, Beograd 2009, p. 209; Vladimir Ćorović, „Istoričar”, [*Politika* (4th December 1939)]. Ibid, p. 220.

⁹ Jovan Dučić, „O Slobodanu Jovanoviću” [*Amerikanski Srbobran*, 19th January 1942, p. 1], in Aleksandar Petrov, *Manje poznati Dučić*. Second extended edition on the occasion of the poet's return to his homeland, Trebinje, Pitsburg, Beograd, Signature, Beograd, 2000, pp. XXIV–XXV.

¹⁰ Dragiša Vasić, „Ličnost Slobodana Jovanovića”, *Srpski glas* (7th December 1939), pp. 3–4.

derstanding the social and political history of Belgrade and Serbia of the 19th century – notable figures from Serbian history who were closer and distant relatives of the Jovanović family, his wife's family of birth (*tazbina*), including godparents and best men (*kumovi*) and friends. Only then, upon obtaining sufficient insight into the world of Slobodan Jovanović and upon settling his personality into his own times and his 'reference system', his personality may become closer and clearer, and we can 'feel' it or at least acquire an indication of it. However, one must always bear in mind the ancient wisdom that 'Those who seek for gold dig up much earth and find a little' (Heraclitus, DK, 22).

Apart from photographs, nowadays we can see Slobodan Jovanović in a recently discovered family footage, made in the 1930s in the backyard of the house at 25 Simina Street in Belgrade, accompanied by pets, whose adventures were the subject of family correspondence.¹¹ The personality of Slobodan Jovanović can also be brought closer to today's reader by virtue of the memories of relatives, among which the testimony of Leposava Bela Pavlović deserves special attention:

'Uncle Slobodan has always exuded his usual calm composure within the family circle, dealing with the day-to-day problems that are inevitable in the life of every family. On one occasion his parents presented him with a wonderful writing-desk. It was large enough for all the paperwork that has always been in abundance. These included drafts of books he was working on, unedited texts and those that were redacted, that were typed, ready for print, and much more. On one occasion he complained to me that the table was not suitable for him and that it did not meet his work standards, but did not know how to get rid of it without offending his parents. The solution came during one Sunday lunch. While at the lunch, Slobodan asked his nephew, Andra Ristić, whether he liked the table. When he answered in the affirmative, Slobodan generously told him that he could take it. Soon afterwards, he called me to help him make a table that matched his needs. We took two wide and long planks left over from the handymen who were working around the house. We also used the legs that were next to those planks and made a very long table for uncle Slobodan. In addition, we made a shelf on the wall that served to stack books on it. He was pleased with such a table because he could put a lot of paper on it and keep an eye on it. The bookshelf was also on hand, and I remember he was extraordinarily satisfied that we managed to accomplish the work in such a pleasing manner'.¹²



Slobodan Jovanović in London

¹¹ Archives of Cultural Centre – 'Dom Porodice Pavlović' [Home of the Pavlović Family] (henceforth: ACCHPF).

¹² Želimir Marković, „Slobodan Jovanović u sećanjima Leposave St. Bele Pavlović“, *Književne novine* 1027–1030, 53 (1st February – 1st March 2001), pp. 28–29.



View from Captain Miša's Edifice (ca 1877). The photograph shows the area of Velika pijaca, i.e. Grand Market (later to be transformed into Academic Park); house of the Jovanovićs, now located at 25 Simina Street (1); large one-storey house of Jakov Damjanović (built in 1872) on the corner of the present-day Gospodara Jevrema and Dositejeva Streets (2); The First Town Hospital (completed in 1868) at today's 19 Džordža Vašingtona Street (3); several plots and houses owned by Petar Radojlović, foster son (since 1853) of Karađorđe's youngest daughter Stamenka I. Čarapić (4); building at Knežinje Ljubice (Zmaj Jovina) Street (5). (Belgrade City Museum, henceforth: BCM, Groman's Photo Album 1876–1878, Ur. 3752).

ANCESTRY, YOUTH, EDUCATION

Slobodan Jovanović was born in Novi Sad, on the 3rd of December (21st November Old Style) 1869, on the feast day of *Vavedenje* (Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary). His father Vladimir Jovanović (1833–1922), an ideologue of liberals and the United Serbian Youth (*Ujedinjena omladina srpska*), was a political opponent of Prince Mihailo, which is why he had to emigrate from the Principality of Serbia. Slobodan Jovanović's mother, Jelena Jovanović, née Marinković (1849–1927) was originally from Novi Sad. The children of Vladimir and Jelena Jovanović were named after liberal ideals. Until then, the names Slobodan (in Serbian: 'Free', 'Liberal') and Pravda (in Serbian: 'Justice') had not been used as names received at baptism.¹³

Given that Vladimir Jovanović was a political expatriate, Slobodan Jovanović spent his first years abroad in Austria-Hungary, Italy and Switzerland. In his memoirs Vladimir Jovanović noted: 'The winter of 1870–1871 Jelena and I spent with our son, Slobodan, in Italy (Naples). One day, while touring the excavated ruins of Pompeii, Jelena, carrying our little baby son in her arms, stopped at the wall trying to place him against it, but he pulled away from her hands and started walking. From that moment on, he regularly walked guided by the hand. In the spring of 1871 we departed from Italy to Switzerland, and remained there until the end of May. During our sojourn in Italy and Switzerland, I wrote *The Emancipation and Unity of the Serbian Nation, or the Regeneration of Eastern Europe by the Reconstitution of Nationalities*. This treatise, originally written in English, was printed in Geneva in 1871. In June 1871 we returned to Novi Sad'.¹⁴ Slobodan's sister Pravda was born the same month. At that time, Vladimir Jovanović published the 'V' volume of his *Political Dictionary*, wherein he spoke about the upbringing of children: 'Upbringing develops a general awareness of freedom and justice; but this awareness needs to evolve into character and deeds, to penetrate into the family, municipal and entire social and political life, in order for democracy to truly exist'.¹⁵



Vladimir I. Jovanović
(1833–1922), Minister of Finance,
President of the Serbian Learned
Society, professor at the Belgrade
Great School.
(Belgrade, ca 1884). (ACCHPF)

¹³ A 10-year old Milica Miletić acted as godmother at the christening of Slobodan Jovanović. She was the daughter of Svetozar Miletić, leader of the Serbian National Liberal Party, and wife-to-be of Jaša Tomić, writer and leader of the Serbian Radical Party.

¹⁴ For a more elaborate overview, see Boris Milosavljević, *Slobodan Jovanović. Teorija*, Balkanološki institut SANU, Beograd 2017.

¹⁵ Vladimir Jovanović, *Politički rečnik*, vol. V [pp. 355–589]. Na svet izdala glavna



The Jovanovićs Family House at 25 Simina Street in Belgrade (ACCHPF)

Vladimir Jovanović would later become a Minister of Finance, President of Serbia's National Audit Office (supreme financial control), Vice-President of the State Council, Senator (member of the Upper House of the Parliament), an MP, professor of political economy at the Great School and the last President of the Serbian Learned Society prior to the Serbian Royal Academy founding (1886). He studied in Serbia, Austria and Germany. Vladimir Jovanović interrelated scientific work to liberal principles, the protection of individual liberty and the popularisation of science.¹⁶ Vladimir Jovanović personally knew almost all nineteenth-century Serbian rulers, as well as European statesmen, politicians and scholars – English ministers and prime ministers, William Ewart Gladstone and John Russell, 1st Earl Russell; politician and economist Richard Cobden; Bakunin (Михаил Александрович Бакунин); Herzen (Александр Иванович Герцен) and Giuseppe Mazzini. Vladimir Jovanović believed in liberal and national ideals, in the struggle for the unification of people dispersed over several states. He criticised social-Darwinist 'Bismarckian' nationalism of the late 19th century. He used to publish in Serbian, French and English. He had ascetic habits. In his will, he wrote: 'As I have lived modestly, thus I desire to be humbly buried, when the time comes for me to leave this world by God's voice'.¹⁷

knjižara srpska J. D. Lazarevića. Delo je nagrađeno Srpskim učenim društvom, Državna štamparija, Beograd, 1872, pp. 371–400.

¹⁶ Boris Milosavljević, „Vladimir Jovanović. Filozofija, nauka, politika“, *Theoria* 59/2 (2016), pp. 113–149.

¹⁷ Historical Archives of Belgrade (henceforth: IAB), Vladimir Jovanović's personal fund

Although he had been in constant contact with Mazzini, known for his conspiratorial methods, Vladimir Jovanović, his associates and family members were not members of secret associations: 'The police pose a great threat to secret societies. It has so many agents with many means at their disposal to conceal themselves, so the chances of infiltration into secret societies seem quite possible. In free countries wherein laws guarantee everyone the right to freedom of speech and do not forbid public meeting and agreement, common sense cannot approve secret societies. Where freedom reigns, therein honesty demands a transparent struggle for truth and the common welfare'.¹⁸

Following the death of Vladimir Jovanović, at the funeral service held at the Cathedral Church in Belgrade in 1922, and led by bishop Jefrem Bojović, the brother of Field Marshal Petar Bojović, along with Archpriest Stevan Dimitrijević, dean of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Belgrade, and other priests (Patriarch Dimitrije wrote an apology letter to Slobodan Jovanović for not being able to attend the service as he was out of Belgrade at the time),¹⁹ a speech was delivered by Nikola Božić, the parish family priest of the Jovanovićs and archpriest of Belgrade's Cathedral Church of St. Michael the Archangel: 'As a priest, I want to testify the following: he was a loyal son of his church, an exemplary husband and a wonderful father. In his ardent liberalness he had never done anything inappropriate to his church, he was a pious and noble man; as a husband, he possessed all spousal virtues, and as a father, he educated his children so well that today not only their parents but the whole nation can be proud of them. He is the only one among the "Youth fellow members of the United Serb Youth" who saw his dream fulfilled, and he may dare to say alongside Saint Paul: "I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race; I have kept the faith; Now there is in store for me the crown of righteousness"''.²⁰

Slobodan Jovanović's mother was the granddaughter of the Very Reverend Konstantin Marinković (1784–1844), a parish priest of the Cathedral Church in Novi Sad, President of the Consistory of the Diocese of Bačka and a catechist of the Serbian Orthodox Grand Gymnasium at Novi Sad, writer and translator from German. Milan Đ. Milićević noted in his *Listbook of the Notable*

(henceforth: PFVJ), K-1/I, 13, V. Jovanović, *Moja želja i naredba*, Beograd, 24th May [6th June] 1907.

¹⁸ Vladimir Jovanović, *Politički rečnik* [G, D, Đ, 1873], pp. 838–839; ACCHPF. The concept of Pravda M. Ristić's letter concerning her pension during the occupation period, no date.

¹⁹ IAB, PFVJ, K-6/VII, 1, Patriarch Dimitrije (Pavlović) to Slobodan Jovanović, Belgrade, 21st February [6th March] 1922.

²⁰ „S pogreba g. Vladimira Jovanovića” [From the funeral of Vladimir Jovanović], *Samouprava*, organ radikalne stranke (7th March 1922), p. 2.



Jelena Jovanović, née Marinković
(1849–1927), with son Slobodan
(ca 1871). (ACCHPF)

Men of the Serbian People during Modern Period, published in 1888, that Kosta Marinković translated *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* [Discovery of America] by the German educator, linguist and writer Joachim Heinrich Campe and published it in 1809.²¹ Marinković's *Interpretations of the Holy Gospels* which have been published several times, sparked the interest of Vladimir Jovanović, who used to read them during his childhood days, in the company of his father.

In 1849, the Hungarians seized the ship of Maksim Marinković, Jelena's father, containing weapons intended for the Serbs. Her uncle, Dr Vuk Marinković (1807/8–1859), Doctor of Medical Sciences (earned his PhD with the dissertation on epilepsy), was a member of the Society of Serbian Letters and Rector of the Belgrade Lyceum. He is credited with having initiated the modern study of physics at the Lyceum. Jelena Marinkovic had four older brothers, Konstantin, Jovan, Aleksandar and Georgije Marinković.

Along with her husband, she participated in the activities of the United Serbian Youth. She published the translation of Tocqueville's text on the education of girls in America. The text argues that a greater degree of self-discipline is needed at the time of greater spread of democratic ideals: 'Nowadays, democratic education is an imperative, in order for a woman to ensure herself from the dangers since she is surrounded with the democratic customs and institutions.'²²

Slobodan Jovanović' sister, Pravda, earned a degree in Literature and Philosophy at the University of Geneva. She spoke German, French and English. She played the piano and painted. In January 1896, she married Mihailo G. Ristić (1864–1925), a consul in Skopje and future diplomatic envoy, in Belgrade's Cathedral Church of St. Michael the Archangel. The best man at the wedding was Milovan Đ. Milovanović, Minister and later Prime Minister. They were married by Archpriest Novica Lazarević (grandfather of the famous mathematician Mihailo Petrović Alas and his sister married to Živojin Perić). They had a son, Dr Andrija Andra Ristić (1899–1968), secretary of the Court of Appeal. Pravda M. Ristić wrote and published texts in the journal *Misao* ('The Issue of Labour', 'Moral Crisis of the Parliament', 'Reasonable Love') and participated in the activities of the Society for Education of Women and Protection of Their Rights.



Pravda Ristić, née Jovanović (1871–1964) (Atelier Milan Jovanović, Belgrade, ca 1897). (ACCHPF)

²¹ Milan Đ. Miličević, „Marinković Vuk dr“, „Marinković Kosta“, *Pomenik znamenitih ljudi u srpskog naroda novijeg doba*, Srpska kraljevska štamparija, Beograd, 1888, pp. 322–324.

²² Jelena V.[ladimir] Jovanović, „Kako se vaspitaju devojčice u Americi (Po Tokvilu – s francuskog)“, *Srpski omladinski kalendar za prostu 1871*, štamparija dr-a J. Subotića, Novi Sad, 1871, pp. 174–177.



Mihailo G. Ristić (1864–1925),
Minister [diplomatic envoy] of the
Kingdom of Serbia (Bucharest, 1913).
(ACCHPF)

In a series of preserved letters addressed to Slobodan Jovanović, she wrote about writers, philosophers, and poets.²³ Isidora Sekulić, who in 1928 travelled to Slovenia with Pravda Ristić and her son, noted in a humorous letter to Slobodan Jovanović that his sister ‘has been playing Chopin more frequently at the inn’, and indulging in endless discussions with ‘a reverend’ from Ljubljana on matters of state and Thomas Aquinas.²⁴

Pravda Ristić’s husband, Mihailo G. Ristić (1864–1925), was a longtime Consul and Consul-General in Skopje and Bitola, a minister in Bucharest and Rome and a delegate to the International Danube Commission. By his father’s side, Ristić was related to the abbot Pajsije. In his intelligence work, he used the pseudonym ‘Abbot Pajsije’. The mother was from a Belgrade-based

²³ ACCHPF, Pravda Ristić’s letters to Slobodan Jovanović.

²⁴ Isidora Sekulić to Slobodan Jovanović, Jezersko, 31st July 1928, *Savremenici o Slobodanu Jovanoviću*, [edited by] Jovica Trkulja, Marinko Vučinić, Biblioteka: Naučno nasleđe Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu 11, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, JP „Službeni glasnik”, Beograd 2009, p. 317.

Ćiprić family originating from Macedonia.²⁵ Although their relatives in Thessaloniki still knew Serbian words and lit a candle on Patron Saint day (*krsna slava*), they considered themselves Greeks: 'Back then, their mother Katarina was still lighting a vigil lamp (kandilo) before the icon of the Patron Saint during the slava feast. Her sons explained this by saying, "These are customs of hers, that is how she has been taught, so be it. We are Greeks"'.²⁶

As a Consul, he worked on securing protection and improving the position of the Serb population in the Ottoman Empire, in an area known as Old Serbia (Raška, Kosovo, Metohija and Skopje-Tetovo Region) and Southern Serbia (Northern Macedonia). He was particularly involved in the intelligence and organisational affairs at a time when the Serbian Chetnik (Komitaji) action was put into effect, following the actions of the same type already started by Bulgarians and Greeks in the territory of the Ottoman Empire. Mihailo Ristić's son, Dr Andrija Ristić, wrote about asceticism and devotion to his father's national and church traditions.

The *Politika* published Jovan Dučić's eulogy to Mihailo G. Ristić: 'He was a diplomat engaged in missions abroad and his merits are probably quite countable; but he, alongside with his comrades, shall likewise remain known amongst us for merits that cannot be measured in numerical terms. All of them worked in quiet and dignified silence, as spiders weave their webs, like a bee making its honeycomb; always quietly, like the entire Serbian nation; always giving priority on the deeds over the words, on the idea over the phrases, like our whole historical action; and on the power of belief over the power of persuasion, just like our whole national conscience'.²⁷

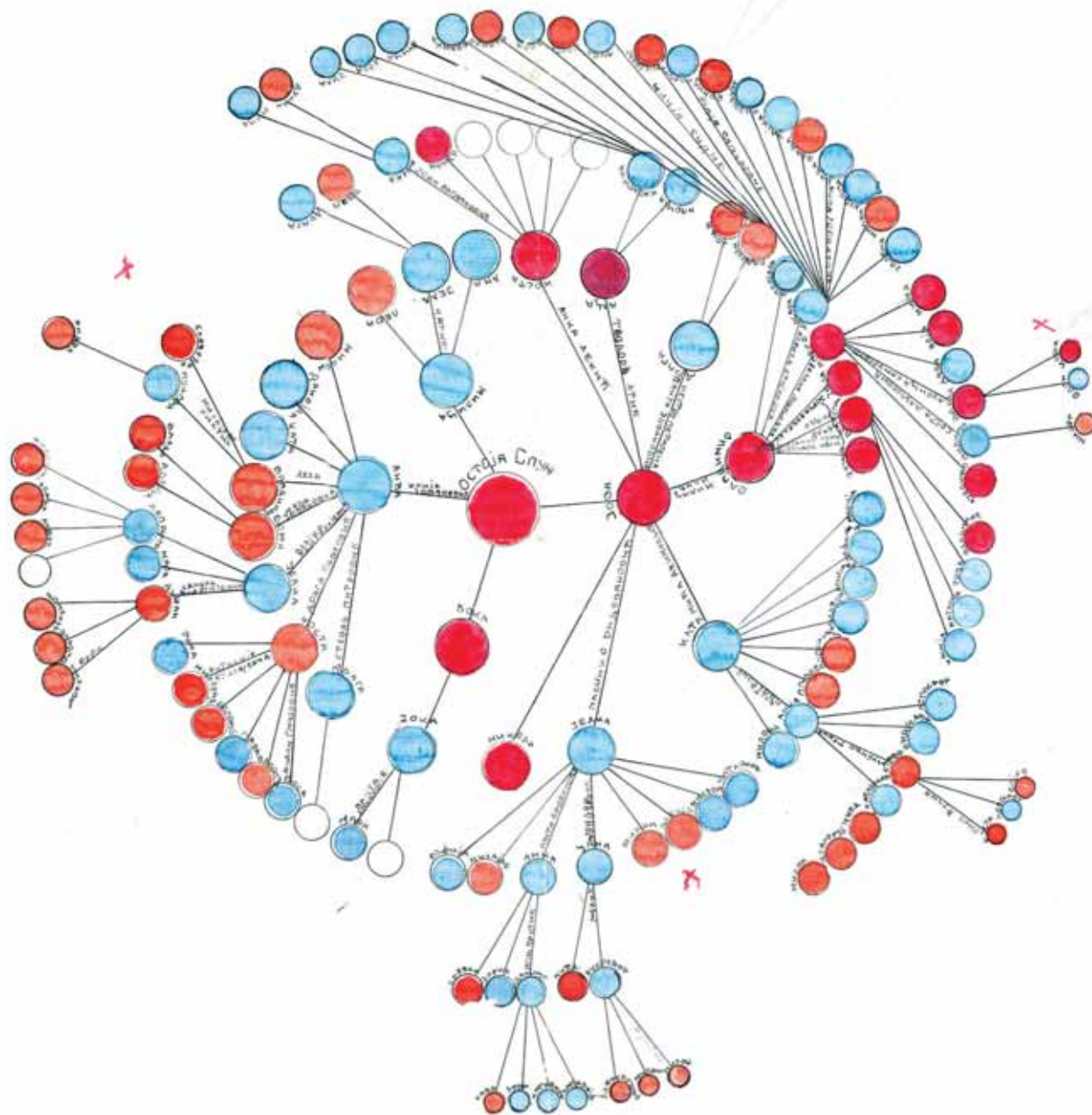
²⁵ ACCHPF, „Rodoslovi, sačuvao A. Ristić“, Andra M. Ristić, Ćipra.

²⁶ Ibid, Milan Jovanović Stojimirović to Andra M. Ristić, Belgrade, 24th July 1954, postcard featuring a photograph of mother Berosa from Thessaloniki, no date, seal in Greek, unstamped. The postcard is blue pencil addressed to Andra M. Ristić, with Bata Jovanović signed as the sender; Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Legacy of Mihailo Ristić. See Mihailo Vojvodić, „Putovanje Mihaila G. Ristića po Staroj Srbiji i Makedoniji 1892. godine“, *Vardarski zbornik* 2, (2003), pp. 21–25; Mile Stanić, „Mihailo G. Ristić, Sveštenici sa kojima sam radio“, *Vardarski zbornik* 1 (1999), pp. 69–103; „Uspomene na mitropolite s kojima sam radio Mihaila G. Ristića“, *Vardarski zbornik* 2 (2003), pp. 69–141; Biljana Vučetić, *Naša stvar u Osmanskom carstvu*, Istorijski institut, Beograd 2012 [„Izveštaj o poslovima propagande od godine 1885. do naših dana [1893], transcript by Mihailo G. Ristić (37–153), dated 29th August 1903“]. Also included are „Program rada na konzularnoj konferenciji“ (1891) by Vladimir Karić (transcript by Mihailo Ristić) (pp. 155–157) and a joint proposal by the Ottoman consuls for the organisation of the propaganda work (written by D. Bodi, 14/26th April 1891), (pp. 158–161)].

²⁷ Jovan Dučić, „Mihailu Ristiću“, *Politika* (28th August 1925), p. 1. See also Grigorije Božović, „Mihailo Ristić“, *Politika* (26th August 1925), p. 1.



Jelena (Lela) and Vladimir Jovanović (seated), Slobodan Jovanović (standing), Pravda and her son Andra Ristić (ca 1905). (ACCHPF)



Circular genealogy of the descendants of Ostoja Spuž (ca 1780–1809), Governor of Šabac (1804) and knez (judge) of Šabac Magistrate. (ACCHPF)

The Jovanovići were an old Belgrade family. Several variants of various graphic representations of the family tree of Slobodan Jovanović and his relatives have been preserved both on the father's and mother's side – ministers, colonels, governors of districts, generals, plenipotentiary ministers – the 'noble officialdom' of the Principality and Kingdom of Serbia.²⁸

Slobodan Jovanović wrote basic information about his ancestors: 'The mother of my father Vladimir Jovanović, that is, my grandmother, was the daughter of Karađorđe's voivode Ostoja Spuž. He came to prominence in the First Serbian Uprising and took part in the liberation of Belgrade. Ostoja and his descendants owed their lives to Mehmed Aga Fočić's brother, Musa, whom the Dahias [Janissaries] leaders that usurped the power in Pashalik of Belgrade] had appointed a commander of Šabac. Prior to the slaughter of the Serbian *knezes*, Musa, by order of the Dahias, captured and chained many of the Šabac notable men, including Ostoja. However, after having heard of the slaughter of the knezes which had alarmed the people of the Valjevo Nahiyah, he decided on his own to release all the captivated men of Šabac'.²⁹ Vuk Stefanović Karadžić places Ostoja Spuž on the high post of the first military leaders at the beginning of the First Serbian Uprising. Voivode and Archpriest Mateja Nenadović wrote that Ostoja Spuž was a "virtuous man". His son, the uncle of Vladimir Jovanović, was Prince Miloš's *aznadar* [treasurer], known as the 'noble lord Ioann Ostoič [Иоанн Остоич]'.³⁰

Slobodan Jovanović was 'a connoisseur of all families in Belgrade', as Miloš Crnjanski put it: 'he was the first to interpret events from the history of our families – Hadži-Tomićs, Baba-Dudićs, etc.'³¹ Another contemporary noted concerning the Belgrade society from his point of view after the Second World War, that it was a kind of 'a bureaucratic aristocracy rather than a bourgeoisie'.

The Jovanovići were related to Dr Dimitrije Matić, Minister and President of the Society of Serbian Letters (*Društvo srpske slovesnosti*), as well

²⁸ Genealogical trees are shown in a separate chapter.

²⁹ Slobodan Jovanović, „Vladimir Jovanovic" [1948/1961, 1962, 1991], SD XI, p. 81; Vladimir Stojančević, „Šabac i šabačka nahija od izbijanja Prvog srpskog ustanka do kraja knez-Miloševe vlade", *Šabac u prošlosti*, 2, ed. S. Filipović, Šabac 1980, pp. 9–10.

³⁰ For the full list of subscribers, see Jovan S. Popović, *Nevinost ili Svetislav i Mileva*, Matica Srpska, (štampano) slovima Kraljevskog sveučilišta u Pešti, Budim 1827. A prayer book printed in Buda in 1821 is preserved in the Pavlović family. Jovan Ostojić Spužić presented it to his granddaughter Anka, daughter of Colonel Aćimović, governor of Šabac district, and wife of Kosta St. Pavlović, governor of Niš district.

³¹ Miloš Crnjanski, *Embahade*. Dela Miloša Crnjanskog [Collected works of Miloš Crnjanski] (henceforth: DMC), XIII, Zadužbina Miloša Crnjanskog, Pravoslavni bogoslovski fakultet, Beograd 2010, XIII, pp. 73, 615, 616.



Katarina, daughter of Jovan Ostojić Spužić, Colonel M. Aćimović, and their daughter Anka (standing), married to Kosta Pavlović, governor of Niš district (1862). (ACCHPF)



Stevan K. Pavlović (1877–1970), diplomat. (ACCHPF)



Jovan Ostojić Spužić's *Prayer Book* (Buda 1821).
Presented to his granddaughter Anka Pavlović,
née Aćimović, in 1859, in Šabac. (ACCHPF)

as the family of the district governor Kosta St. Pavlović, the Hadži-Tomas (Jovan Ristić, Filip Hristić etc), the Radovanović brothers, translators of Darwin and Haeckel, the family of the academicians Vladimir and Ivan Spužić, composer Miloje Milojević, as well as the Čolak-Antićs, Naumovići, Nenadovići, Sondermayers and the Gavrilovići (Bogdan Gavrilović, mathematician and president of the Serbian Royal Academy).³²

In 1879, while serving as Minister of Finance, Vladimir Jovanović purchased a house on behalf of his minor children Slobodan and Pravda, located at 25 Simina Street, in Belgrade downtown Dorćol quarter, from Stojan Bošković, historian, Liberal, his close friend and a colleague from the government, who served as Minister of Education. The simple façade reflected the liberal stoic asceticism of its owner, quite different from the spirit of refined splendour which characterised the later built villa of his neighbour, leader of the Progressive Party Milan Piroćanac (today the Association of Writers and the Writers' Club). The house was damaged in the bombing of Belgrade and during struggles in defense of the city in the area of the Dorćol quarter, that is, on the Danube slope.³³

³² ACCHPF, Slobodan Jovanović to Pravda M. Ristić, Belgrade, 8th July 1929 (a Cyrillic typewriter, signature and the sketches of the genealogy on the back in handwriting), 3 pages; Genealogy of the Matićs and Jovanovići 2, Legacy of Dr Andrija M. Ristić, „Rodoslovi, sačuvao A. Ristić“ (The genealogies of the Hadži Tomićs, Bogičevićs, Ristić-Ristovići and Čipra, Baba-Stakići and others); Milan Jovanović Stojimirović (Bata Jovanović), Letter to Andra M. Ristić, Belgrade, 24th July 1954; Legacy of the academician Vlastimir Trajković, Pokušaj porodičnog stabla Miloja Milojevića; Genealogy of the Jovanovići and Matićs in Ruma and Belgrade 1 and 2; Memoirs of Matija Matić, a member of the Court of Cassation in Belgrade, pp. 1–5. HAB, PFVJ, K-6/VII, 1, Condolences on the occasion of Vladimir Jovanović's death, Vojin Čolak-Antić and Mara Čolak-Antić to Slobodan Jovanović, Bucharest 4th March 1922; Boško Čolak-Antić to Slobodan Jovanović, Bucharest, 4th March 1922 (telegrams of condolence); Rodoslovlje naše porodice Pavlović-Spužić, fotokopije i moje preslikavanje deda Kostine knjižice, zapiske (Circular genealogy of Ostojica Spuž's descendants, ca. 1780–1809. In circles of different colours, different branches of his offspring are presented in the male and female line; [academician Vladimir Spužić] „Loza Ostojice Spuža. Naše porodice za vreme oslobođenja od Turaka“, p. 1. ACCHPF, „Rodoslovi, sačuvao A. Ristić“, Kosta St. Pavlović to Andra M. Ristić, submits a questionnaire on family data, classified by numbers, University combination room, The Old Schools, Cambridge. As from London, 13th February 1959, 3 pages (a Latin typewriter), signature in handwriting „Svesrdno tvoj Kosta“ [Yours wholeheartedly, Kosta]; Birth, Marriage and Death Records etc. For further information, see in Boris Milosavljević, „Porodica i poreklo“ in *Slobodan Jovanović. Teorija*, Balkanološki institut SANU, Beograd 2017, pp. 75–185. For more details on Dimitrije Matić, see: Boris Milosavljević, „Dimitrije Matić. Navodni prelaz sa heglovstva na naturalizam“, *Theoria* 58/1 (2015), 103–151. The graphically shown genealogies are presented in a separate chapter.

³³ ACCHPF, Vladimir Jovanović [signed with initials, the manuscript does not appear to be Jovanović's] to the Police Commissioner of Vrnjačka Banja, Report on War Damage Compensation with the Description of the House and Furniture, Vrnjačka Banja, 18th November 1918.



Leposava Bela St. Pavlović (1906–2004), painter, professor of French language, lector (photo taken in 1930s). (ACCHPF)



Air Force Colonel Fighter Pilot Vojislav M. Spužić (46th cl. MA), Commander of the 6th Airborne Regiment (ca 1930), brother of Academician Vladimir Spužić and uncle of Academician Ivan Spužić. (MA)



Kosta St. Pavlović (1905-1988), diplomat (first on the right) and Jovan Dučić (in the middle), the King's envoy to Rome (1930s). (ACCHPF)



Divisional General Vojin I. Čolak-Antić with his family and cousins in the courtyard of a house on Topčider Hill in Belgrade, 1930s. (Courtesy of the Čolak-Antićs, Belgrade)

Since Slobodan Jovanović signed half of the house over to his sister in 1897, they escaped confiscation in 1946, but his sister and nephew had to share their space with several fellow occupants. Jelena, the sister of Jovan Skerlić and Vladimir Ćorović's widow, wrote: 'Of all my acquaintances, Pravda has found herself in the most difficult position. In the house damaged by shelling (...) she lived amongst people who relocated there unbeknownst from where. 'If not a communist by ideology, I am a communist by lifestyle', she spoke (ironically), smiling'.³⁴ The house was subsequently pulled down, whereas Pravda Ristić moved away with her son.

Slobodan Jovanović's family upbringing, based on Vladimir Jovanović's belief in positivism, liberalism and nationalism, was further enhanced by the positivist spirit of the Serbian secondary school curriculum: 'I received my secondary-level education at the First Belgrade Men's Gymnasium [at the Captain Miša's Edifice, 1879–1886]. If I be not very much mistaken, its teaching staff was way better than the curriculum itself. In the name of the new "real" trend, the old humanistic education with an emphasis on classical languages, had been suppressed from secondary-school education. For supporters of the "real" trend, biology was



Dr Dimitrije I. Matić (1821–1884), professor of the Lyceum, Minister of Education, president and member of the Society of Serbian Letters (Atelier A. Raffelsberger, Vienna, ca 1867). (State Archives of Serbia, henceforth: SAS PO 66-147)

³⁴ Jelena Skerlić Ćorović, „Pravda Ristić”, *Život među ljudima*. Memoarski zapisi, ed. Zorica Hadžić, Akademska knjiga, Novi Sad, 2014, pp. 160–161.



Dr Boško I. Čolak-Antić (1871–1949), diplomatic envoy to Sofia, Stockholm and Bucharest, Marshal of the Court (Atelier Alfr. Stockhaus, Stockholm, ca 1919). (Courtesy of the Čolak-Antićs, Belgrade)



Dr Miloje D. Milojević (1884–1946), composer, professor at the Music Academy (1921). (Legacy of academician Vlastimir Trajković, courtesy of the Trajković family, Belgrade)

especially appreciated: the terms “cell” and “organism” were spoken with awe, as if they contained the solution to all the mysteries of the world and life [...] Influenced by the curriculum of 1881, all my classmates, both those who were gifted in mathematics and natural sciences, and those who had no such talent, came out of high school with the profound belief that natural sciences and mathematics were the only true sciences. That is why, after graduating from high school, two of my classmates, who later excelled in political life and social sciences, even in the field of literature, would enrol – one in the Faculty of Natural Sciences, the other one in the Technical Faculty of the Great School’.³⁵

Upon graduation from gymnasium, Slobodan Jovanović went abroad to pursue his studies, accompanied by his family, father Vladimir, mother Jelena and sister Pravda (1886–1891). Moving abroad for the sake of children’s education was not uncommon nor unusual at the time. Slobodan Jovanović’s studies bore some resemblance to a custom known as the ‘Grand Tour’. He studied in Munich, Zurich, Geneva and Paris. He graduated from Law School in Geneva. He also attended lectures at the Faculty of Philosophy at which his sister Pravda studied. In Paris, he studied at the elite L’École libre des Sciences politiques, now known as the Science Po, at the same time as the French writer Marcel Proust, about whom he later wrote.³⁶

Slobodan Jovanović and Bogdan Popović lived in the same street in Paris (Monge Street in the Latin Quarter).³⁷ Popović knew Paris quite well, where he studied literature for three years (German as a main subject).³⁸ Slobodan Jovanović later supplemented his education by further study in England during the summer of 1898.

³⁵ Slobodan Jovanović, „Sve svoje srednjoškolsko obrazovanje“, *Spomenica o stogodišnjici Prve muške gimnazije u Beogradu* [1939], str. 310.

³⁶ Archives de Sciences Po, École libre des sciences politiques, (henceforth: 1 SP), 3, Année 1890–1891; Slobodan Jovanović [Slučajni 1922], „Marsel Prust, U tražnji izgubljena vremena“ [SKG, 3 (1922), 5/3, 213–215], in Slobodan Jovanović, *Sabrana dela* [I–XII], editors Radovan Samardžić and Živorad Stojković, BIGZ, Jugoslavijapublik, SKZ, Beograd 1990–1991, (henceforth: SD), XII, p. 495.

³⁷ 1 SP 13a, 1890/91. Yovanovitch, Slobodan, 15, rue Monge, t 8. The Paris building in which Jovanović lived still exists.

³⁸ In 1891, Bogdan Popović and Slobodan Jovanović took a walk down the streets of Paris and indulged in many a conversation which both of them mentioned in their memoirs. Jovanović records a conversation on Plato: ‘Bogdan argued that in Plato’s *The Republic*, in the famous discussion between Socrates and Thrasymachus on justice, it was Thrasymachus, not Socrates, who maintained the upper hand. He liked Thrasymachus’s way of reasoning so much that he thought of taking his name as a pseudonym’. See Slobodan Jovanović, „Bogdan Popović“ [1948/1962, 1991], SD XI, p. 722. There are numerous interpretations on Thrasymachus’s argument.



Jovan M. Marinković (1842–1905), representative of the Tobacco Monopoly Bureau, Slobodan Jovanović’s uncle. (Atelier Đ. Kraljevački, Belgrade, ca 1870). (ACCHPF)



Konstantin M. Marinković (1839–1910), Slobodan Jovanović’s uncle. (ACCHPF)



Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Interior. The building was most likely constructed after the project by the architect Kosta Šreplović (1836–1872), or perhaps architects Josif Kasino and Jovan Frenzl, as well as Eng. August Tzerman. The construction commenced in 1860 by order of Prince Miloš. It was originally built as Crown Prince Mihailo's Palace. The building was located at the site of the New Palace in King Milan Street (today the seat of the President of Serbia). (Courtesy of Miloš M. Jurišić, Belgrade)

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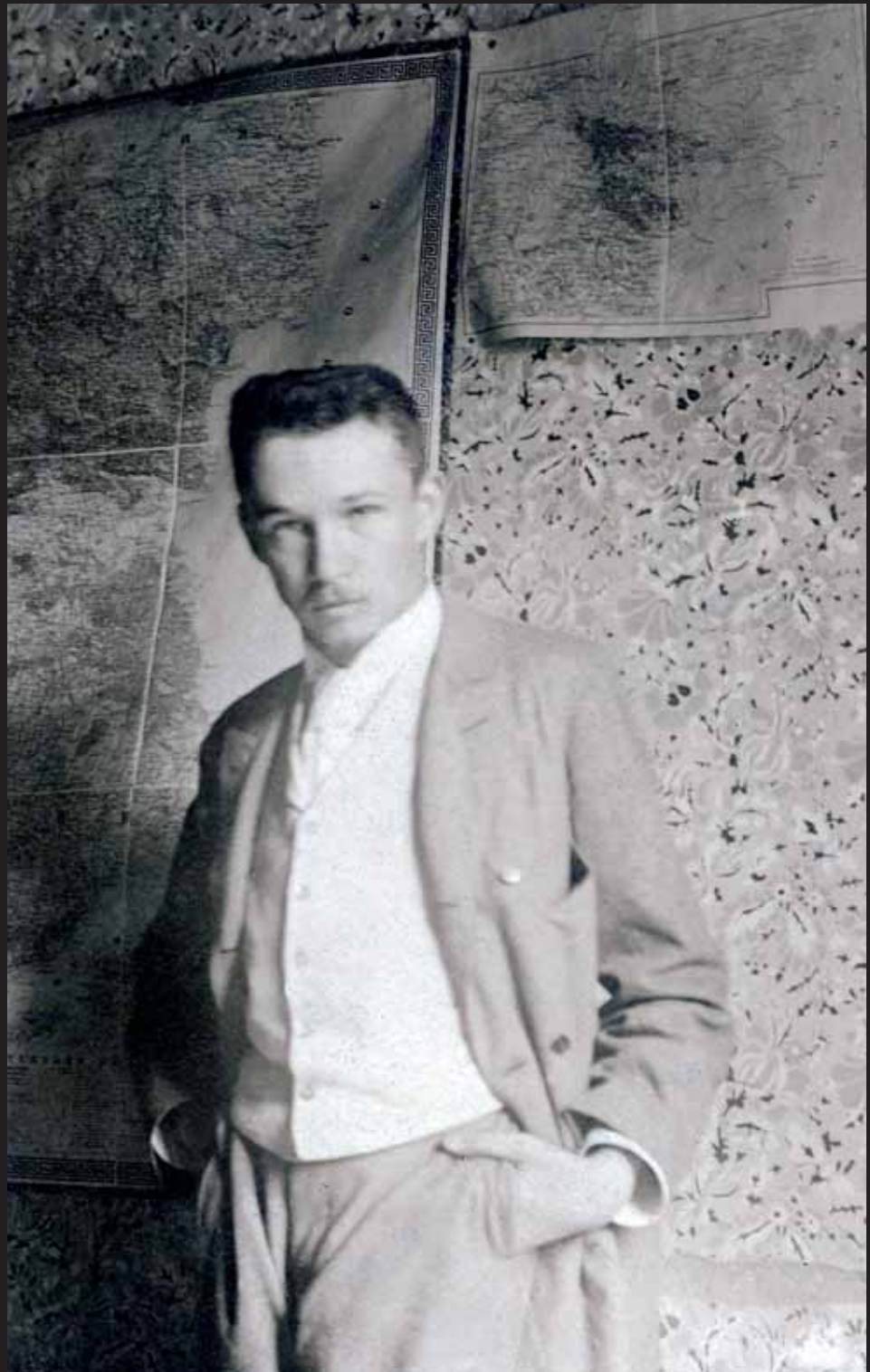
Upon the completion of their studies abroad, recipients of student scholarships awarded by the Kingdom of Serbia were obliged to spend time in the civil service equal to the time covered by the scholarship.³⁹ After having finished his studies, and on returning from Paris to Belgrade, Slobodan Jovanović worked for five years in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia (1892–1897). He was a clerk at the Educational (Political-Educational) Department (Propaganda). Jovan M. Jovanović, who was assigned to work in Propaganda at the time when Slobodan Jovanović led this department, pointed out that Propaganda, as a special section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was similar to the Eastern Departments existing within the Ministries of Foreign Affairs abroad. It was responsible for 'the organisation of school education, the church, intelligence, publishing, scientific research, liaison officers and trans-border activities'.⁴⁰ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was located in the building that housed the Ministry of the Interior (originally Crown Prince Mihailo's Palace), at the site which was later occupied by the New Palace in King Milan Street (today the seat of the President of Serbia).

At the time when Slobodan Jovanović worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia, there was a propaganda war being carried out by the Balkan states, 'a bitter war, to life and death, regardless of the means', as described by Mihailo G. Ristić, Head of the Propaganda Department.⁴¹ This propaganda war was fought over the Macedonian question, connected with the Eastern Question, the legacy of the Ottoman Empire. The archives of the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia are preserved in the State Archives of Serbia. It offers insight into reports of the Department where Slobodan Jovanović worked, labelled under the following headings and topics: 'Roman Catholic Propaganda in the Novi Pazar Sandžak'; 'Croatian

³⁹ State Archives of Serbia (henceforth: SAS), MPs–P, XXVI, 100/1890. Rules for the Recipient of Scholarship for Study Abroad, Awarded by the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs to Mr Slobodan Jovanović, Geneva, 18th May 1889.

⁴⁰ Jovan M. Jovanović, „Novaković u diplomatiji“, in *Spomenica St. Novakovića*, SKZ, Beograd 1921, p. 176.

⁴¹ Mihailo Ristić, „Izveštaj o poslovima propagande od godine 1885. Do naših dana“ [1893], transcript dated 29th August 1903, [in:] Biljana Vučetić, *Naša stvar u Osmanskom carstvu*, Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2012, p. 38.



Slobodan Jovanović at the
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
(August 1893). (ACCHPF)

Propaganda', Romanian Propaganda in Macedonia, and Propaganda of the Catholic Church of Bulgaria (Thessaloniki), which was under the auspices of Austria and France.⁴² The Catholic missions were present in Thessaloniki, but English-American Protestant propaganda appeared to be making little progress.⁴³

After a year working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Belgrade, Slobodan Jovanović was appointed Attaché of the Mission in Constantinople (1893/4). In 1894, he was promoted to 5th Class Secretary and appointed Chief of Propaganda and a secretary of the Educational Committee, an advisory body of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs responsible for national, educational and ecclesiastical affairs of the Serbian people in Old Serbia (Raška, Kosovo, Metohija and Skopje-Tetovo Region) and Southern Serbia (Northern Macedonia). The members of the Education Committee were Archimandrite Ničifor Dučić (President), and historians Stojan Novaković, Ljubomir Kovačević and Panta Srećković, all of them being members of the Serbian Royal Academy.⁴⁴

Under instruction from Sima Lozanić, Minister of Foreign Affairs (chemistry professor and President of the Serbian Royal Academy), throughout the summer of 1894 Slobodan Jovanović visited Serbian consulates in the Ottoman Empire. Upon his return, he compiled a comprehensive report analysing the state of schools, teachers, churches, bookstores, municipalities, provincial Ottoman governors (Valije), Greek metropolitans (Ecumenical Patriarchate), foreign consuls, Bulgarian bishops (Bulgarian Exarchate), and marked 'our adversaries' in each of the domains listed.⁴⁵ He emphasised that Serbian schools in the territory of the Consulate in Bitola had not been functioning properly, and that Bulgarian teachers taught children to sing libelous songs mocking the Serbian Patron Saint day (slava), which posed a particular threat to Bulgarian propaganda.

⁴² SAS, MID–PO, 1889, II, VII, 1276, Petar Manojlović, Vice-Consul in Bitola, to General Sava Grujić, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bitola, 25th September / 7th October 1889; Kliment Džambazovski, *Grada za istoriju makedonskog naroda iz Arhiva Srbije*, 4, 3 (1888–1889), (Henceforth: *Grada*) No. 234.

⁴³ Ivan Ivanić, *Iz crkvene istorije Srba u Turskoj u XVIII i XIX veku*, Beograd, Novi Sad: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1902, pp. 32–64.

⁴⁴ *Grada*, 4, 3 (1890) SAS, MID–PP, 1890, 265, pp No. 714, 1425. Sava Grujić, Ustrojstvo Prosvetnog odbora pri Ministarstvu inostranih dela, 25th May / 6th June 1890. Cf. Mihailo Vojvodić, *Stojan Novaković i Vladimir Karić*, Beograd: Klio, 2003, p. 85.

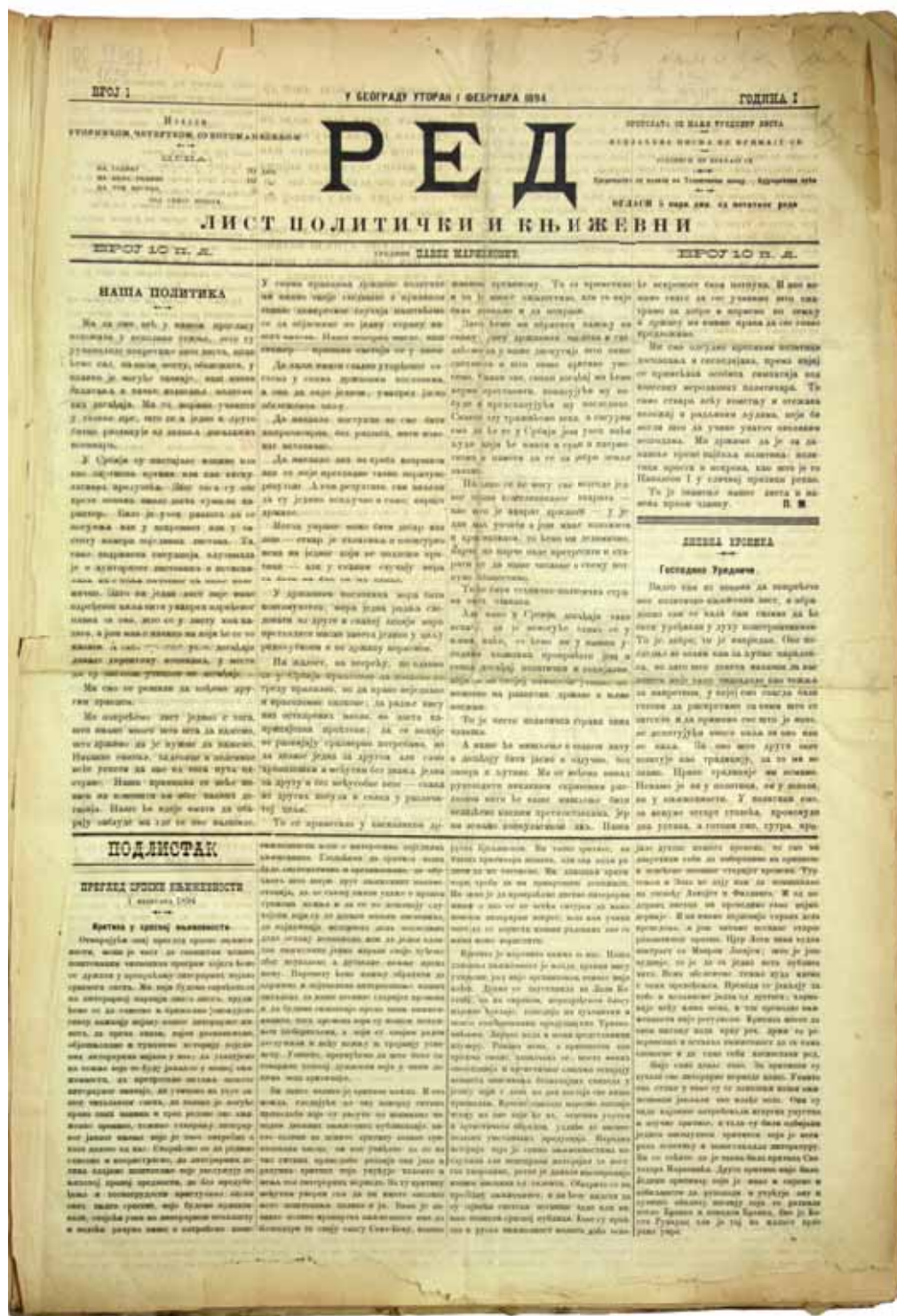
⁴⁵ Boris Milosavljević, „Slobodan Jovanović u Ministarstvu inostranih dela (1892–1897)“, I, *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju* 92 (2015), pp. 39–59; „Slobodan Jovanović u Ministarstvu inostranih dela (1892–1897). Šef Prosvetnog odeljenja (Propagande)“, II, *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju* 93 (2016), pp. 7–31.



Mihailo G. Ristić and Slobodan Jovanović, secretaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1893/1894). (ACCHPF)



Diplomats Mihailo G. Ristić (first on the left), Slobodan Jovanović, head of the Political-Educational Department (first on the right) and Vladimir Lacković (ca 1895). (ACCHPF)



Red [Order], political and literary magazine, first issue, Tuesday, 1st (13th) February 1894



Bogdan Popović with Jovan Skerlić (seated to his left), editor of *Srpski književni glasnik* (Serbian Literary Gazette) and Milan Grol (standing next to B. Popović). (Photographer unknown, possibly Kenig, Belgrade, ca 1898). (LSASA F-263-7)



Dragutin Dragiša T. Mijušković (1859-1903), doctor of law, professor and dean of the Faculty of Law. (Atelier Milan Jovanović). (Courtesy of the Marković family, Belgrade)

At the time he worked in the Propaganda Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Slobodan Jovanović collaborated with various people from the area of the then Balkan Turkey, who regularly came to his office. The first Propaganda chief and future consul in Skopje, Vladimir Karić reported on organised groups that 'threaten us with Bulgarians, and again, threaten Bulgarians with us [...] there are cases that the same people solicited funds not only from consuls, but also from the Ministry and the St. Sava Society'.⁴⁶ Karić used to refer to them as *exploiters of patriotism*.⁴⁷

Slobodan Jovanović was one of the founding members of the political and literary magazine *Red [Order]* (1894) and the literary journals *Srpski pre-*

⁴⁶ Mihailo Vojvodić, *Stojan Novaković i Vladimir Karić*, Beograd: Klio, 2003, pp. 333–344, AS, PsC, 1889–1890, pp. br. 47, Vladimir Karić's report in: Vladimir Karić to Stojan Novaković, Skoplje, 8th [20th] February 1890.

⁴⁷ Слoбoдaн Јoвaнoвић, *Влaдa крaљa Aлeкcaндpa Oбрeнoвићa*. Дeo I, СД VI, стр. 102. O Cтoјaнy Нoвaкoвићy вид. Mиxaилo Bojвoдић, *Cтoјaн Нoвaкoвић у cлужби нaциoнaлних и државних интeрeсa*, предгoвoр Bacилијe Ђ. Крeстић, СКЗ, Бeoгpaд, 2012. Slobodan Jovanović, *Vlada kralja Aleksandra Obrenovića*. Vol. I, SD VI, p. 102. On Stojan Novaković, see Mihailo Vojvodić, *Stojan Novaković u službi nacionalnih i državnih interesa*, foreword by Vasilije Đ. Krestić, SKZ, Beograd, 2012.



Ljubomir Ž. Nedić (1858-1902), doctor of philosophy, professor. (SASA FL-00053)

Pavle J. Popović (1868–1939), regular member of SRA, professor, editor of *Srpski književni glasnik* (*Serbian Literary Gazette*). (Courtesy of the Popović family, Belgrade)



Milan D. Dukić (1870–1929), professor of physics at the Second and First Belgrade Gymnasium, associate of the magazine *Red* [*Order*], later educational inspector (Atelier Nikola Lekić, Belgrade). (Courtesy of the Martinov family, Belgrade)

gled [*Serbian Review*] (1895) and *Srpski književni glasnik* [*Serbian Literary Gazette*] (1901–1941). He was a contributor to numerous newspapers and periodicals, inter alia, *Branič* [*The Defender*], *Arhiv za pravne i društvene nauke* [*Archive for Legal and Social Sciences*], and the newspaper *Politika* [*Politics*].

The journal *Red* and *Srpski pregled* gathered around political like-minded people, mostly from families with liberal and progressive political background, old high school friends who, having completed their studies abroad, worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Pavle Marinković, Boško Čolak-Antić, Dragomir Janković, Živojin Perić, Svetolik Jakšić, as well as Pavle and Bogdan Popović. The list of contributors likewise included Dr Jovan Danić and Milan Dukić. The launch of the magazine *Red* was supported by Dr Dragutin Dragiša Mijušković, professor and dean

of the Faculty of Law, including Dr Ljubomir Nedić, professor of philosophy at the Faculty of Philosophy, who, after *Red* ceased publication, gathered the same group of associates around the *Serbian Review*. Stevan Sremac also belonged to a short-listed and select group of contributors.

Contributors to *Red* and the *Serbian Review* were against radicalism, that is, against exaggeration, superficiality, demagoguery and inciting voters' emotions. They were critics of the parvenu semi-intellectual type (so called 'Dr gur-gur'). They advocated basic general education, gradualism and order in parliamentary life.

In 1901, two diverse groups, non-radicals and radicals, gathered around the *Serbian Literary Gazette*. They were united in opposition to the then very unpopular reign of King Aleksandar Obrenović. The founders were, on the one hand, non-Radicals, associates of the *Red* [Order] and the *Srpski pregled* [Serbian Review], brothers Bogdan and Pavle Popović and Slobodan Jovanović, alongside with Dr Vojislav Veljković (the King's former secretary), associates of the *Delo* and members of the Radical Party, Svetislav Simić, Ljubomir Jovanović, Ljubomir Stojanović and Jaša Prodanović on the other hand.⁴⁸ The first editors were Bogdan Popović, Pavle Popović and Jovan Skerlić, and after the First World War, Slobodan Jovanović and Bogdan Popović got into that position.

Slobodan Jovanović points out that 'one of the first goals of the *Serbian Literary Gazette* was to reconcile associates of the *Red* [Order] and *Delo*. Svetislav Simić, founder of the *Delo*, which was an exclusively radical-oriented periodical and therefore had to be closed down, did not want to relaunch the *Delo*, but rather to launch a brand-new journal: "Beyond any doubt, it was owing to its first editor-in-chief Bogdan Popović that *Glasnik* [Gazette] as early as from its first issue earned a reputation of our best literary journal. Nevertheless, due credit for launching the journal after all should be given to its first owner Svetislav Simić, who brought together all its founders".⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Slobodan Jovanović, "Političko poreklo S. K. *Glasnika*" [SKG 12 (1931), 32, pp. 129–131], SD XI, p. 801; "Osnivanje Srpskog književnog glasnika", *Tamo daleko, časopis Srba u slobodnom svetu*, 1 (Čikago-Melburn, oktobar, novembar, decembar 1958), p. 2. See also Dragiša Vitošević, *Srpski književni glasnik 1901–1914*, ed. A. Petrov, Matica srpska, Institut za književnost i umetnost "Vuk Karadžić", Novi Sad – Beograd 1990; On Vitošević's analysis of *Srpski književni glasnik* [Serbian Literary Gazette], see P. Palavestra, *Istorija srpske književne kritike*, 1, [2008], pp. 723–724.

⁴⁹ Slobodan Jovanović, "Svetislav Simić" [1940], SD XI, p. 585. The premises and the editorial office of the *Serbian Literary Gazette* were first located at 1 Cincar-Jankova Street, 'opposite the little Kalemegdan', and then at 9 Skopljanska [Pašićeva, Nušićeva] Street, near Terazije; Slobodan Jovanović, "Osnivanje Srpskog književnog glasnika" [1958], p. 5.



Pavle Marinković (1866–1925), head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1895), minister, diplomat, publisher and journalist, initiator of the *Red* [Order]. (Museum of Theatre Art of Serbia, henceforth: MTAS, 13700–2)



Živojin Perić (1868–1953), diplomat, associate of the magazine *Red* [Order], professor at the Faculty of Law, corresponding member of SRA. (Courtesy of the families of Ž. Perić and M. Petrović Alas, Switzerland)



From left to right: (standing) Mile Pavlović Krpa; Atanasije Šola; Radoje Domanović; Svetolik Sveta Jakšić; Ljubo Oborina; Rista Odavić and Jovan Skerlić; (middle row) Slobodan Jovanović and Milorad Mitrović; (seated) Svetozar Ćorović; Simo Matavulj; Aleksa Šantić and Janko Veselinović. Early 20th century. (SAS PO 116-90)

LITERARY AND THEATRE CRITICISM, PAINTING AND MUSIC

The first texts published by Jovanović in 1892 and 1893 were literary and theatre criticisms. In some of the articles we can clearly make a distinction between the two genres, whereas others refer to literary criticism written on occasion of the premieres at the National Theatre. He signed most of his literary and theatre criticism under pseudonyms (Puck, Yorick, Bob).

He took particular interest in the repertoire of the National Theatre, stage sets, costume design, reaction of the Belgrade audience, casting, as well as acting (paying special attention to the performances of Miss Lazarević and Miss Nigrinova): 'When an actor goes by the name of Erving or Coquelin, or when actress responds to Sarah Bernhardt, then even those who look down on acting skill cannot fail to see that it is, after all, a skill in itself, which can exist for its own sake and all on its own, and that it means something. Indeed, what these actors interpret is of little importance to us; instead, we are more interested in how they interpret their roles. However, when a theatre management lacks such actors, when even the best in its ranks are barely trained; even in cases when we are talking about experienced actors, this routine comes not from a deeper study of their craft, but solely from a bit more practice, and all that matters is a certain freedom on stage'.

The French language and style were taken as a standard in the *Serbian Literary Gazette* owing to which the infinite language aporias associated with Vuk Karadžić's reform were overcome. Striving for objectivity, neutrality and criticality, the representatives of the Belgrade style avoided excessive expressions and pathos. In order to understand Slobodan Jovanović, it is necessary to take into account the terminology and subtle nuances, since the black-and-white view of reality and history was alien to him. One should also bear in mind his sense of Socratic irony and Belgrade humour. More important than style, however, is his reliance on proven sources and the objectivity of scholarly text, which has made him a reliable support for researchers in a number of scientific fields and disciplines for over a century. Even his strictest critics did not dispute the objectivity of his text.



Slobodan Jovanović (right) and Dimitrije Popović (1866–1940), diplomat, head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1904–1907), diplomatic envoy in St. Petersburg (1907–1914), state adviser since 1922, associate of the *Serbian Literary Gazette* (brother of Bogdan and Pavle Popović), Belgrade (1920s). (ACCHPF)



Isidora Sekulić (1877–1958),
writer, professor at the Second
Women's Gymnasium in Belgrade,
corresponding member of SRA, full
member of SASA (1970).



National Theatre in Belgrade, 1920s

Isidora Sekulić provided another interpretation of Slobodan Jovanović's style: 'Every portrayal or account by Mr Jovanović rests solely upon terms, relations and facts, concealing a number of additional thought processes. Each section is one elaborately developed thought, hence the conclusion sometimes turns into a logical effect, which stabs you like a dagger. In addition, Mr Jovanović's language is strict, Puritan. Characterised by the avoidance of figures of speech. He avoids using the superlative forms [...] Furthermore, the style of Mr Jovanović reveals another, Spartan-like harshness towards himself. Although one of the most obvious aesthetic dispositions of Mr Jovanović's artistic soul is the dispensation of humour and satirical expression [...] the lack of comicality and satire is evident. And if there be any of these modes of expression, they are discreet and strictly controlled'.⁵⁰

Branko Lazarević, writer and royal envoy to Ankara, Vienna, Prague, and Brussels, left a valuable testimony of Jovanović's attitude towards

⁵⁰ Isidora Sekulić, „O beogradskom stilu“ [1920, *Govor i jezik*, 1962], *Savremenici o Slobodanu Jovanoviću*, [edited by] Jovica Trkulja and Marinko Vučinić, Biblioteka: Naučno nasleđe Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu 11, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, JP „Službeni glasnik“, Beograd 2009, p. 219.



Milan Grol (1876–1952), playwright and manager of the National Theatre, president of the Democratic Party and minister sitting in the box with his wife Ljubica, daughter of Dimitrije Mita Rakić, minister, sister of Milan Rakić. (MTAS, film no. 1320, courtesy of Vojislav M. Grol's family)



Visit by the military delegation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to the Czechoslovak General Staff. From left to right: Col. Petar Nedeljković, later Army General, Commander of the 4th Army, Col. Dimitrije Živković, later Army General, commander of the 6th Army, Branko Lazarević, the King's envoy to Prague (in a tailcoat), Army General Petar Pešić, Chief of the General Staff, President of the Czechoslovak Republic Tomas Masaryk, General Danilo Kalafatović, later Army General, commander of the 2nd Army (Chief of Staff of the Supreme Command in the war of 1941) and Admiral Victor Vickerhauser, Commander of the Navy. Embassy in Prague, 24th October 1928 (Historical Museum of Serbia, henceforth: HMS, 1144)

art (1940): 'Mr Jovanović is also fond of painting, sculpture and architecture; painting in particular. He has visited all the museums, and knows exactly wherein each painting is located. Himself being a kind of a Renaissance he especially appreciates the Renaissance, in its entirety: literature, sculpture, architecture and painting, in particular [...] The Renaissance universalism, especially Da Vinci, have been a source of his admiration [...] He appreciates "golden measure", although this designation cannot be applied to heated Shakespeare or overstrained



From left to right: Pavle, Dimitrije and Bogdan Popović. (Courtesy of the Popović family, Belgrade)



First issue of the *Serbian Literary Gazette* after the First World War

Nietzsche, whose works are also to be found in his home “pharmacy”, as a sort of medicine for the soul’.⁵¹

Referring to Slobodan Jovanović’s personalities, Branko Lazarević pointed out his particular fondness for music: ‘Through music, one can grasp much of his intimate character. He is an ardent Beethovenist; particularly fond of the composer’s sorrowful passages. He especially favours the *adagio molto e cantabile* from his *Ninth Symphony* and is delighted with the *Sixth Symphony*. Apart from Beethoven, he loves Mozart the most. Wagner also left a lasting impact on him, especially *Tristan und Isolde* and *Triebtschen-Idylle*. He appreciates Bach in particular and, on one occasion, upon returning from Vienna, and reading in a newspaper that Mengelberg had conducted (Bach’s) *St. Matthew Passion*, even before saying hello, he asked me if I had attended the performance. [...] His intellectual-emotional piano contains all fifty-two tones and all thirty-six halftones’.⁵²

⁵¹ Branko Lazarević, „Lik Slobodana Jovanovića“, Ibid, p. 245.

⁵² Ibid.



Slobodan Jovanović (ca 1912).
(Atelier M. Jovanovitch, Belgrade).

THEORY OF THE STATE AND LAW

In 1897, Slobodan Jovanović was elected and appointed Professor in General and Particular State (Constitutional) Law at the Faculty of Law of the Belgrade Great School. The decree on the appointment mentions only State Law, but the full name of the subject was General and Particular State Law. Slobodan Jovanović chose the concept of sovereignty for his introductory lecture on general state law, i.e. general teaching on the state. In 1900, he became a full professor at the Grand School. He taught international law as well. He was a professor at the Faculty of Law for over forty years (1897–1941). The faculty was then located in the Captain Miša's Edifice until it moved to the new building in 1940.

Slobodan Jovanović was repeatedly elected as Dean and Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Law and Rector of the University of Belgrade. He particularly advocated for improving conditions of the Faculty of Law Library, which was located in the endowment building of Vićentije Krasojević, Bishop of Užice (Žiča) at 21 Topličin Venac Street. Among Jovanović's students were notable jurists, junior professors of the Faculty of Law, ministers, judges, diplomats and leaders of political parties.

In Jovanović's view, state is absolute in a Hobbesian sense, but not a blind force. It exercises its authority, but in a regulated manner. A sovereign power poses authority, but a regulated one, because its action is subordinated to regulations known beforehand. The government finds moral justification for subjugating the individual in that it likewise succumbs to the same regulations: 'No matter how unlimited by its definition, the power exerted by the government limits itself constantly; every law is an act of its self-restriction'.⁵³ Following up on Georg Jellinek, Jovanović perceives the state as self-imposing limitation of the unlimited power. Parliament is sovereign who by enacting laws limits itself. In his book *The State*, which saw several editions, Jovanović argued most extensively on the state, one of the oldest topics in the history of philosophical, legal and political theories.

⁵³ Slobodan Jovanović, *O suverenosti* [1897, 1996], p. 51.

Faculty of Law of the University of Belgrade, originally located in the Captain Miša's Edifice until it moved to the new building in 1940.

The building was built in 1863 as a representative palace (after the project by architect Jan Nevole, 1812–1903). (ACCHPF)

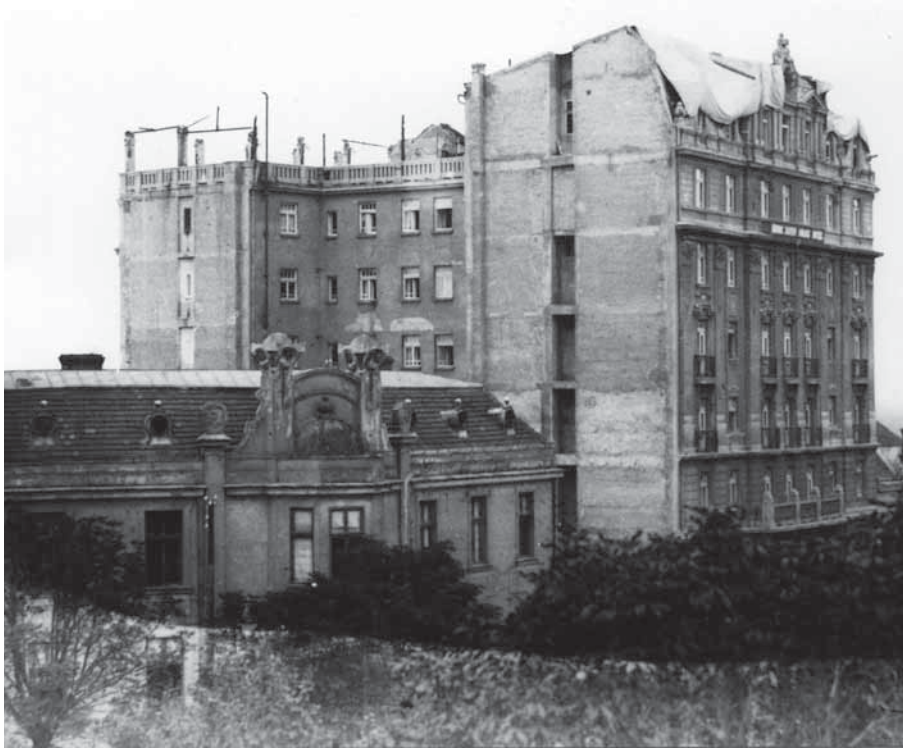


Jovanović's theoretical rationale for a bicameral system builds on the notion of sovereignty. 'According to the principle of division of powers, the main point of the division is to set limits between three branches of power. Still, the legislative power remains unlimited. It cannot be limited by either judicial or executive powers, as they are subordinate to it. In no other way can the legislative power be limited than by itself: in other words, it should be divided into two parts, that would limit one another. A bicameral system is nothing but a continuation of the division of powers'.⁵⁴

Some believe that introducing a bicameral system only complicates a parliamentary system. This view is most often related to the belief that a democratic system should be as simple as possible to be closer to the people. Nevertheless, a parliamentary system is 'the most complicated of all forms of representative governance, and precisely this kind of complication is deemed necessary for ensuring political freedoms'.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Slobodan Jovanović, *Država* [1936], SD VIII, p. 328.

⁵⁵ Milovan Đ. Milovanović, „Državno pravo. Beleške sa predavanja na Velikoj školi” (skripta, 1890), in M. Đ. Milovanović, *Državno pravo i druge ustavnopravne studije*. Selection of texts, redaction and afterword by Ratko Marković, Službeni glasnik, Beograd 1997, p. 138.



Topličin Venac Street, Belgrade. The photograph shows the endowment building of Bishop Vićentije Krasojević (first on the left). On the right is Palace Hotel. (Courtesy of Miloš M. Jurišić, Belgrade)

Slobodan Jovanović highlighted that the states with a unicameral system constituted negligible minority in both qualitative and quantitative sense: 'these include the Balkan states and Central American republics, wherein the representative government certainly cannot take pride in any considerable achievements'.⁵⁶

Slobodan Jovanović pointed out that political parties have often been reproached for exerting a negative influence on state unity by means of dissevering the nation into opposing groups. He emphasised that following the French Revolution, the people were no longer organised according to the principles by which they had been organised before, and that the parties are not likely to adversely affect the unity of the people, complex per se, but, on the contrary, that their goal is to reduce many individual opinions to several major common points of view. The task of the parties is to create few large, well-disciplined groups instead of a large number of small groups which can handle the burden of the state administration: 'The parties are therefore organising forces; they do not separate but unite'. The aim of the voter organisers, which are, in fact,

⁵⁶ Slobodan Jovanović, „Dvodomni sistem” [1932], SD II, pp. 264–267.

parties, is to gather and discipline people of the same opinion, and to single out 'that very opinion, the formula or phrase that will make an impression on that hesitant mass with no opinion of its own, that is only waiting for directive from the others'. Therefore, parties have one organising function in the country, due to which voters can exercise their political will.

In a modern legal state, there are no other organisations that can incorporate the individual opinions of people into political ideas. Only parties can unite voters whose duty it is to perform their electoral service in the interest of the state. In order for the electoral votes to be directed, it is necessary to organise voters of the same political orientation, to vote solely for one candidate: 'That candidate must be nominated by the organisers themselves, who ought to exert some effort toward finding a candidate who will provoke the least resistance'.⁵⁷

Political parties are also often criticised for excelling in 'the average wit coupled with that dishonesty that distinguishes the group's selfishness even more than the selfishness of an individual'. He stressed, however, that the aim of parties appropriate for working in the universal electoral system is not to bring people of extraordinary abilities to the top, but to organise people of ordinary capabilities, whereas exceptional people will only be welcome if they adapt to a party organisation.

By morality in the context of the state, Jovanović referred to, on the one hand, patriotism and, on the other, free society within the state. He argued that there is no state unity without a 'free community', nor that it is possible to serve the state genuinely and effectively, that is, 'with love and commitment'. For Jovanović, an 'ideal state', that is, a paradigm necessary for the survival of the state, rests upon integral parliamentarism which entails the principle of the division of functions of the sovereign state power, parliamentary monarchy, universal suffrage and a bicameral system.⁵⁸



Slobodan Jovanović's personal card

⁵⁷ Slobodan Jovanović, *Država* [1936], SD VIII, p. 345.

⁵⁸ For more details on Jovanović's course at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade, see Boris Milosavljević, „Radomir D. Lukić – teorija države i filozofska shvatanja“, *Naučno nasleđe Radomira D. Lukića*, Proceedings of the Scientific Conference held on 11–12th December 2014, SANU, Faculty of Law of the University of Belgrade, ed. Academician Danilo N. Basta, Prof. Dr Sima Avramović, Beograd 2015, pp. 455–481.



From left to right: (standing) Stanoje Stanojević, Mihailo Gavrilović, Pavle Popović, Slobodan Jovanović, Stevan Sremac; (seated) Mara (daughter of Dr Milan Radovanović, physician), wife of Captain Vladimir J. Belić, Olga, wife of Stanoje Stanojević, Stojanka Koka Gavrilović (sister of Vladimir Đorđević, Dimitrije Đorđević's father), wife of Mihailo Gavrilović, Tihomir Đorđević, Natalija (Pavle Stanojević's daughter), Emil Belić's wife and Captain (Division General in 1927), Vladimir J. Belić, twin brother of Captain (Army General in 1930) Emil Belić and brother of Aleksandar Belić, secretary and president of the Academy (married Angelina Nina, Vladimir Đorđević's younger sister). (Milisavljević, Sokobanja, ca 1903). (SAS PO 101-350; SASA F-XXV)

HISTORIOGRAPHY

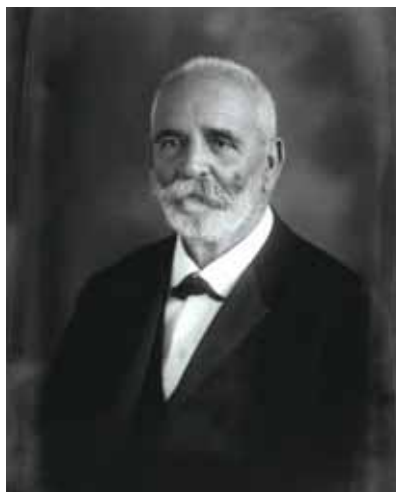
In 1905, Slobodan Jovanović was elected Corresponding Member of the Serbian Royal Academy. His full membership status was proposed a little before the end of 1908, and in 1911 it was officially promoted. At a formal session held by the end of 1911 at the Second Belgrade Gymnasium, Stojan Novaković, outgoing President of the Serbian Royal Academy, invited Jovanović to deliver his academic speech under the title *The Defenders of the Constitution and Their Government 1838–1858*.

This speech builds on Jovanović's consideration of Serbia's constitutional history. He gave the most accurate overview of the periodisation of Serbian history in a later written text, published in 1929 under the title *'Periods of Serbian Constitutional History'*.⁵⁹ Jovanović divided the 19th-century history of Serbia into seven periods. The first period covers the establishment of the rule of Karađorđe and Miloš (1804–1830), the second relates to the government of the regime of Constitutional Defenders [Ustavobranitelji] (1842–1858), coinciding with the reign of Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević, whilst the third period refers to the time of Prince Mihailo Obrenović's personal rule. The fourth is 'the age of constitution' (1869–1889), the fifth being 'the parliamentary system age' (1889–1893). The sixth period to which Jovanović refers is 'the age of reaction' (1893–1903). After coming into power in 1893, King Aleksandar Obrenović made efforts to bring back the age of constitution: 'The constitution he enacted in 1901 was an unsuccessful attempt of making a compromise with members of the Radical Party'. The seventh period is the 'era of regained parliamentary system' (1903–1914). Jovanović points out that King Petar Karađorđević wanted to reign as a parliamentary monarch.

Slobodan Jovanović had access to the vast archival material and many sources that no longer exist. A footnote could be added at the end of each of his sentences, or even words.⁶⁰ Jovanović reflected deeply on

⁵⁹ Slobodan Jovanović, „Periodi srpske ustavne istorije” [Les périodes de l'histoire constitutionnelle serbe, *Šišićev zbornik*, Zagreb, 1929, pp. 17–18], SD XI, pp. 468–470.

⁶⁰ 'In the book *The Reign of Milan Obrenović*, I thoroughly inspected all the sources used, many of which were later published, and realised that you could literally footnote each of his sentences. And this is, indeed, one remarkable example of a careful use of



Živan Živanović (1852-1931), author of *The Political History of Serbia* (I-IV, Belgrade 1923/4), Minister of Economy (1899-1903) and Education (1903). (Courtesy of the Gostuški family, Belgrade)



Stojan Novaković (Konstantin, 1842–1915), historian, philologist, professor, president of SRA (1906–1915), president of the Council of Ministers (1895/6, 1909), ambassador to Constantinople, Paris and St. Petersburg. (ACC)

methodology and historiography issues. He considered the issue of personal and generational prejudice, as well as prejudices in general, which hinder the objective interpretation of past events. He critically contemplated the concepts of the philosophy of the Enlightenment, and one should bear in mind that the Enlightenment assumptions are at the very core of the foundations of the majority of scholarly disciplines and fields of studies established in the 19th century. Having analysed various interpretations of Rousseau's *The Social Contract*, Jovanović highlighted that Rousseau's theory on the origin of society has no historical foundation. He refers to an interpretation by Alfred Fouillée, who was very popular and influential in his time, and who held that Rousseau did not study the history of the emergence of society, but rather the (rational) foundation of society.⁶¹ Taking into consideration the development of historical sciences in the 19th century, one could easily identify cause-and-effect relationship among different stages of societal development.

To reconstruct the past based on facts, as they appear in the critical research of documents, means 'to show what actually occurred' (Leopold von Ranke). Mihailo Gavrilović, with whom Slobodan Jovanović wrote a study on the Serbian foreign policy in the 19th century, 'did not want to impose his opinion upon the reader and preferred the documents speak for themselves'. Jovanović noted that Gavrilović's approach was similar to that of Albert Sorel, who 'has never provided a portrait of the great Prussian king [Frederick the Great] but instead did something even better: he assembled the facts so that the image of him was to be composed by itself in our imagination'. The very sources, of course, are not sufficient: 'Researchers are not always capable of putting them in order. Some researchers are so fond of historical records that their fondness evolves into mania; they love historical materials per se: the more raw the better, and they lay everything they have found before us, without



Dr Mihailo Gavrilović (1868–1924), diplomat, doctor of historical sciences, regular member of SRA, manager of the State Archives, diplomatic envoy to Cetinje, Vatican, St. Petersburg and London. (Vandyk, London, circa 1922). (Courtesy of the Gavrilović family, SASA-F 200/1)

resources'. See Čedomir Popov, in *Rasprava, Slobodan Jovanović. Ličnost i delo*. Proceedings of the Scientific Conference held from 17th to 20th February 1997. Received on 10th June 1997 at the 6th Meeting of the SANU Department of Social Sciences; on 28th May 1997 at the 5th Meeting of the SANU Department of Historical Sciences; and on 22nd April 1997 at the SANU Language and Literature Department. Edited by Miodrag Jovičić. Scientific Conferences. Book XC. Department of Social Sciences. Book 21, SANU [50 papers], Beograd 1998, p. 33; Boris Milosavljević, „Slobodan Jovanović – istoriografija i metodologija“, *Tokovi istorije* 2 (2014), pp. 157–184.

⁶¹ Cf. Milorad Ekmečić, „U potrazi za filozofijom istorije Slobodana Jovanovića“, *Slobodan Jovanović – ličnost i delo*, [Scientific Conference organised by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Faculty of Law in Belgrade, held from 17th to 20th February 1997, *Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti : Pravni fakultet u Beogradu 1997*], Beograd, 1998, p. 81.



Historians (from left to right): Vasilj Popović (1887–1941), Viktor Novak (1889–1977), Stanoje Stanojević (1874–1937) and Vladimir Ćorović (1885–1941). (Author unknown, ca 1930). (LSASA; SASA XVI)

order and classification'.⁶² On the other hand, working with sources cannot be separated from interpretation, logics and subsumption. The historical records, on one hand, and the process of thinking, on the other hand must complement each other. Jovanović emphasises that Ranke was reproached for sometimes overestimating historical value of official documents. Still, the documents and events do not always coincide with each other: 'In political polemics, as in litigations, written evidence very often leads to the resolution thereof, however, in terms of historical research it is necessary to verify the written evidence as authentic'.⁶³

⁶² Slobodan Jovanović, „Teškoće budućih istoričara” [*Politika* 11710 (1st–9th January 1941)], SD XII, p. 375.

⁶³ Ibid.

Private correspondence, created in the course of events and diaries in which events are recorded on a daily basis, 'tout de suite', are much more useful than memoirs.⁶⁴ Although he does not dismiss the memoirs, Jovanović makes a significant difference between more and less credible records. In older memoirs certain matters are left out, but there is no lying or deception: 'Even before the [First World] war, we could encounter among our memoirists those who did not tell what had happened to him, but what he wished to have happened to him, thus presenting in his memoirs his dream instead of his real life. This kind of people that once existed as an exception, has multiplied greatly nowadays. Self-admiration is regularly to be found not only among writers but also among politicians'.⁶⁵

He also emphasised the importance of the photograph: 'By the way, in spite of all the mystery surrounding the modern political life, there is one side to it – the truth, not so important – about which historians to come will have more information at their disposal than they actually need. Owing to the taste of today's audience, largely oriented towards photography, every bit known public worker is exposed to the pursuit of photojournalists, and his images are published countless times in newspapers. Future historians will often have trouble finding out what did the politicians of our time think and want; but suppose they express their keen interest in this matter, it will not take much effort to find out what these people looked like'.⁶⁶

He also thought that the telephone made things difficult for future historians. Although politicians 'did not always carry out their actions through official acts', they resorted to writing private letters, much more than is the case today: 'These letters, that sometimes resembled notes more than standard letters, have quite often proven to be an important historical source. Nowadays, the telephone is more and more replacing not only private letters, but also official acts. It was a common thing, and still is, that the very commands that entail responsibility for both the superiors and subordinates be issued not in the written form, but verbally, over the telephone. The telephone will forever conceal a lot of information from the knowledge of historians'.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.



Grgur Jakšić (1871–1955), historian, professor at the Faculty of Law, received his PhD degree in Paris. (Courtesy of the Naumov family, Belgrade)



Dragoslav Stranjaković (1901–1966), historian, professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, after the war he delivered lectures (since 1955) at the Theological Faculty of the Serbian Orthodox Church. (Contributors to the Encyclopedia *Sveznanje*, Narodno delo, Belgrade 1937, henceforth: CES)

Supreme Army Command of the Kingdom of Serbia, July 1913. From left to right: (first row) General (Voivode since 1914) Živojin Mišić and Voivode Radomir Putnik, (second row) Dragutin Protić (standing), Slobodan Jovanović and Colonel (later Div. General) Živko Pavlović, head of the Operations Department of Ch. General Staff. (HAB, 2145-K16-6.3.2.10)



THE WAR YEARS

During the Balkan Wars and the First World War Slobodan Jovanović headed the War Press Bureau of the Intelligence Section of the Supreme Army Command (up to 1917).⁶⁸ At the beginning of the First World War, the Intelligence Section was led by Colonel Dragutin Dimitrijević Apis.⁶⁹ At the Press Bureau there were also Dr Branislav Petronijević, professor of philosophy and member of the Serbian Royal Academy, Živan Spasojević, professor at the Faculty of Law, Vojislav Jovanović Marambo, Boško Tokin, Božidar Vlajić, Živko Barlovac and others.

The War Press Bureau was in charge of informing the Serbian and foreign press on the developments on the front. As noted by Slobodan Jovanović, 'Providing information to the Serbian and foreign press was nothing but a secondary activity of the Intelligence Section. Its main objective involved espionage and counterespionage'. He went out for lunch with Apis on a regular basis. There Russian military attaché, Colonel, and later Major General Artamonov (Виктор Алексеевич Артамонов) would also accompany them. Jovanović wrote down that owing to Apis he met a number of other members of the Black Hand who shared their thoughts on the Radicals and Crown Prince Aleksandar: 'They could not forgive Pašić for letting the Bulgarians attack us first due to his hesitation, instead the other way around, in 1913. They believed that it was to their credit that Aleksandar became the Crown Prince. Even though they expressed a desire to work with him, he did not want to include them in his circle of officers'.⁷⁰

Jovanović held that Pašić's unpopularity among military officers had a prevailing impact on the Crown Prince Aleksandar's decision to oust him. The Crown Prince's circle of closest associates in Corfu included Jovanović's



Colonel Dragutin Dimitrijević Apis (1876–1917), head of the Intelligence Section of the Serbian General Staff (1914). (Military Museum in Belgrade, henceforth: MMB, Photo archive, R-5323, LSASA)

⁶⁸ For a general overview, see Mira Radojević, Ljubodrag Dimić, *Srbija u Velikom ratu 1914–1918: kratka istorija*. 2nd ed., SKZ, Beogradski forum za svet ravnopravnih, Beograd 2014.

⁶⁹ Slobodan Jovanović, „Apis“ [Moji savremenici. 8. Uroš Petrović. 9. Jovan Skerlić. 10. Apis. – Vindzor (Kanada), Avala, 1962; Poseban otisak iz lista *Glas kanadskih Srba*, Vindzor, 1962, 1585 (2nd August 1962), 1586 (9th August 1962), 1587 (16th August 1962) – 1592 (18th October 1962). The article on Apis was written in November 1948 and December 1949. It includes Appendix: I. Apis and Conflict between Military and Civilian Authorities in Macedonia (Completed in 1956). II. Restoration of the Salonica Trial (completed in 1956). III. The Austrian Offer of Separate Peace (completed in 1949)], SD XI, p. 308.

⁷⁰ Ibid.



From left to right: Colonel Dr Miodrag M. Ćimović (1875–1961), head of the Judicial Department of the Ministry of War (member of the Black Hand); Slobodan Jovanović, Head of the War Press Bureau of the Intelligence Department of the Supreme Command and Dr Rudolph Archibald Reiss (1875–1929), (1915). (SD XII, p. 866).



Boško I. Čolak-Antić (1871–1949), doctor of law, diplomat, minister plenipotentiary, Slobodan Jovanović's cousin

friends who belonged to the group gathered around the journal *Red* [Order] in 1894 – Svetolik Jakšić, editor of the journal *Štampa* [The Press], the King's secretary Dragomir M. Janković, diplomat (cousin of Bogdan and Pavle Popović), Dr Boško Čolak-Antić, diplomat (Jovanović's cousin), as well as Jovan Jovanović Pižon, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs (relative of Jovanović's brother-in-law Mihailo Ristić, the King's envoy to Rome). According to Svetolik Jakšić's letter addressed to his brother Grgur Jakšić, Jovanović was ready to enter the government provided that some of his proposals, such as the introduction of a bicameral system, were adopted upon his return to the country. It was envisaged that Field Marshal (voivode) Živojin Mišić would be at the head of a new military-bureaucratic government, which was to be established upon the fall of Pašić's government, whilst Jovan Jovanović Pižon was to be the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Slobodan Jovanović either the Minister of Justice or the Minister of Education.⁷¹

In 1916, Radoje Radojlović, a confidant of Crown Prince Aleksandar, wrote to Field Marshal Mišić: 'We should pay attention to the words of Slobodan Jovanović, the wisest man of letters that Serbia has nowadays and accept his advice that I mentioned to you in January'.⁷²

⁷¹ Slobodan Jovanović to Voivode Živojin Mišić [undated, December 1914] in: Velibor B. Savić, *Vojvoda Živojin Mišić*. Spomenica, „Milan Rakić”, Valjevo, 1989, p. 168.

⁷² Radoje Radojlović to Vojvode Živojin Mišić, Corfu 19th February [3rd March] 1916, in:



Nikola Pašić and Jovan M. Jovanović Pižon (1869–1939), diplomat, king's envoy to London (1915–1916) and Washington (1919–1920), minister, leader of the Agrarian Party (1923–1939) and writer.

It was envisioned that the government would likewise include Svetolik Jakšić, who went to Europe, with Crown Prince's permission, to prepare the emigration for the dismissal of the Cabinet. He sent a letter from Geneva, as a reaction to the MPs' memorandum submitted to the government, in which he called for the overthrow of the government as it was not 'worthy of the historical moment'. He revealed some information referring to the behaviour of the Radical MPs abroad, which he obtained in Rome and suggested that all decent people should unite against the 'domestic traitors', as he called the government and the MPs: 'This was interpreted by the emigration as an attack on political parties in general and as a sort of a hint of personal regime'.⁷³ Pašić's government responded in a most serious manner and the Crown Prince found himself in an unenviable position: 'He denied any involvement whatsoever in Jakšić's affairs, and to justify himself, he left Jakšić at the mercy of the government'.⁷⁴

Apis was against the plan advocated by this group of Slobodan Jovanović's friends: 'All three of them, Mišić, Jovanović [Pižon] and Jakšić either openly or secretly acknowledged themselves as Progressives. Un-

Ibid, p. 236.

⁷³ Slobodan Jovanović, „Apis“ [1948, 1949, 1956/ 1962], SD XI, p. 317.

⁷⁴ Ibid.



Dragomir M. Janković (1867–1942), diplomat, royal secretary, minister of the court, minister plenipotentiary (Atelier M. Jovanovitch, Belgrade). (MTAS, 7343)



Voivode Živojin Mišić (1855–1921).



Svetolik M. Jakšić (1868–1928), (seated, first on the left), diplomat, correspondent of the magazine *Red [Order]* from Berlin, head of Propaganda, vice-consul in Skopje and Bitola, editor of *Carigradski glasnik* (The Istanbul Herald), publisher and journalist. Seated (from left to right) Svetolik Jakšić, mother Anka and retired 1st class Art. Captain Mihailo M. Jakšić, (standing): 1st cl. Inf. Captain Mladen Jakšić (1882–1913, 33rd cl. MA); Grgur Jakšić (1871–1955), professor at the Faculty of Law, received PhD in Paris, historian; Banimir Brana Jakšić (res. Inf. Lieutenant Colonel), manager of the Kosančić State Agricultural Estate. (Courtesy of the Naumov family, Belgrade)

der the pretext of war circumstances, they are prone to establishing a personal regime, as under the Obrenovićs. We, the conspirators, will not let that happen! We did not assassinate Aleksandar Obrenović so that Aleksandar Karađorđević may rule the same way as did the former. Indeed, we are against Pašić, but this is only because he cares more for the party than for the people and the state. We would like to install more honest Democrats and patriots in his stead, rather than vicious progressives. From these words, plus certain other indicators, I assumed that he would rather unite with the independent Radicals. He was on good terms with both [Milorad] Drašković and [Ljuba] Davidović – and I spoke with Drašković for the first time in Apis' Kragujevac household'.⁷⁵

Pašić's government survived because Pašić enjoyed the confidence of the Allies, on whom everything depended: 'it was the credit Pašić gained with the Allies that made him irreplaceable as the Prime Minister despite his diminish-

⁷⁵ Ibid.



Radoje P. Radojlović (1858–1917), head of the Postal Department of the Supreme Command, confidant of Regent Aleksandar. (Courtesy of the Radojlović family)



Slobodan Jovanović in Corfu (1917). (SD XII, p. 867)

ing popularity'.⁷⁶ While Apis was already in prison, Slobodan Jovanović spoke with Pašić, convincing him that Apis would never serve a personal regime: 'To illustrate this, I cited what he told me about Mišić's government. In my own way, I said that he was for democracy, too. Pašić thought a bit, as if he was wondering how his position would look like in Apis' vision of democracy. At the same time, he would remind me that in 1913, during our dispute with the Bulgarians, members of the Black Hand threatened to kill him'.⁷⁷ In light of these developments, i.e. Jakšić's case, Pašić decided to remove Slobodan Jovanović from Thessaloniki. He was transferred to the island of Corfu.

Slobodan Jovanović was the president of the Section for International Law of the Delegation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and its representative in the Commission for War Responsibility and Sanctions at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. During the conference sessions, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes gained international recognition. Slobodan Jovanović considered the Russian Empire to be the only true protector of Serbia among the great powers in the nineteenth century. With the disappearance of Russia in 1917, the international position of Serbia altered fundamentally. Jovanović believed that 'England did not want Russia in the Adriatic and therefore did not want Greater Serbia. It started working against us, but, as usual, more indirectly than directly. England accepted the idea of a common state of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes hoping that Croats and Slovenes, both being Catholic nations, would keep Orthodox Serbs from yielding to Russian influence. [...] When members of the Independent Serbian Party [Samostalci] and the Yugoslavs united against Pašić, the British government chose them over Pašić. As a result, the defense of special Serbian interests became no easy endeavour for Pašić. Truth be told, he could rely on France, and to a certain extent on the great reputation Serbia enjoyed at that time; however, the defense of special Serbian interests required, more than anything else, a unified Serbian front, but none such were to be found'.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Slobodan Jovanović, „Nikola Pašić” [Moji savremenici. 4. Nikola Pašić. (Vindzor, Kanada), Avala, 1962; p. 92. Poseban otisak iz lista *Glas kanadskih Srba*, Vindzor, 1962, 1550 (30th November 1961) – 1564 (8th March 1962). For the most part, the text was published for the first time (written in London, from May 1953 to December 1957). Notes: for the relationship between Pašić and members of the Black Hand, see the text on Apis; Chapter 13 mostly contains the article „Pašić i Aneksiona kriza” [Pašić and the Bosnian Crisis], published in the journal *Bratstvo* (Toronto, Kanada) 31/32, December 1956], SD XI, p. 173.

⁷⁷ Slobodan Jovanović, „Apis” [1948, 1949, 1956/ 1962], SD XI, pp. 317–318.

⁷⁸ Slobodan Jovanović, „Nikola Pašić” [London, May 1953 – December 1957], SD XI, pp. 175–176. On the position taken by the Russian Empire and the plot against Pašić, see Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (henceforth: ASASA), Legacy of Milan Antić, 14387/201, 208.

In 1920, Slobodan Jovanović was president of the Constitution Drafting Commission, an expert legal advisory body of the Cabinet, the members of which were appointed by the Cabinet.⁷⁹ Jovanović's role in drafting the constitution is mentioned in his personal card at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade.⁸⁰ As a professor of constitutional law, he constantly monitored the drafting of the constitution and the work of the Constituent Assembly, providing detailed analyses and evaluations of several revisions to the constitutional drafts of the government and the constitutional proposals of distinct political parties under the heading 'Parliamentary Chronicle of the Constituent Assembly' in the journal *Arhiv za pravne i društvene nauke* (*Archive for Legal and Social Sciences*), *Politika*, and other newspapers and journals.⁸¹



King Aleksandar Karađorđević (1888–1934), regent (1914–1921), king (1921–1934)

⁷⁹ *Nacrt ustava po predlogu Stojana M. Protića, ministra pripreme za Ustavotvornu skupštinu (definitivni tekst posle diskusije sa Komisijom, sa dodatkom: Nacrt ustava izrađen od Ustavne komisije)*, G. Kon, Beograd, 1920.

⁸⁰ Slobodan Jovanović's personal card, Faculty of Law in Belgrade. Apart from Slobodan Jovanović, members of the Commission were: professor Dr Kosta Kumanudi (Serbia), professor Dr Ladislav Polić (Croatia), Dr Bogumil Vošnjak (Slovenia) and professor Dr Lazar Marković (Serbia). The Commission submitted its draft to Stojan Protić, President of the Council of Ministers. Protić supplemented the legal proposal with political proposals, i.e. the number and names of the provinces envisaged. At a government session held on 31st December 1941, Slobodan Jovanović said that he was in favour of the Protić's project. See. Note dated 31st December 1941. Milan Grol, *Londoni dnevnik 1941–1945*, „Filip Višnjić”, 1st ed. Beograd, 1990, p. 84. Dragiša Vasić, „Slobodan Jovanović – povodom njegove sedamdesetogodišnjice”, *Srpski glas* (7th December 1939), p. 3.

⁸¹ Slobodan Jovanović, *Parlamentarna hronika Ustavotvorne skupštine, Arhiv za pravne i društvene nauke*, Beograd, X/1920, I (XVIII)/1, pp. 51–62; 3, 208–215; 6, 446–451; *Jedan Nacrt ustava*. (Dr. Josip Smolaka: *Nacrt jugoslavenskog ustava*, Zagreb 1920). *Jugoslovenska obnova* – *Njiva*, Zagreb, 1920, 13, pp. 273–276; „Pitanje ustava i ustavnih nacrti”, *Novi život*, Beograd, 1920, III/5, p. 159; „O postanku i karakteru naše države. Jedno objašnjenje g. Slobodana Jovanovića”, *Novi život*, Beograd, 4/1921, IV/7, pp. 210–211; *Ustav Narodnog kluba, Srpski književni glasnik*, NS, Beograd, 2/1921, II/6, pp. 424–430; *Nacrt novoga ustava, Politika*, Beograd, 17/1921, 4664 (17. 4), p. 1; *Pokrajinsko uređenje, Politika*, Beograd, 17/1921, 4671 (24. 4), p. 1; „Trumbićev govor”, *Politika*, Beograd, 17/1921, 4677 (30. 4. – 2. 5), p. 1; *Ustavno pravo Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*, Izdavačka knjižarnica Gece Kona, Beograd 1924. See also Slobodan Jovanović, *SD XI*, pp. 369–393. See Branko Petranović, Momčilo Zečević, *Jugoslavija 1918–1984. Zbirka dokumenata*, Izdavačka radna organizacija „Rad”, Beograd 1985, (henceforth Branko Petranović, Momčilo Zečević, *Jugoslavija 1918–1984*. [1985]), p. 164 and so forth; Branko Petranović, Momčilo Zečević, „Stranački nacrti ustava. Vidovdanski ustav i njegova obeležja”, *Jugoslovenski federalizam. Ideje i stvarnost 1914–1943*. Tematska zbirka dokumenata, I, Prosveta, Beograd 1987, pp. 83–162. Povodom članka Lazara Markovića „Ustav pred Ustavnim odborom” objavljenog u ovom časopisu od 12. februara 1921. god.



Uroš Predić, Portrait of Slobodan Jovanović, 1930, presented
by the artist to the Academy (photo by Vladimir Popović) (The
SASA Fine Art Collection, 24)

PRESIDENT OF THE SERBIAN ROYAL ACADEMY

According to the Law on the Academy, proclaimed in 1886, the President was appointed for the three-year term 'by decree of the King Patron of the Academy, and upon the proposal of the Minister of Education and Church Affairs'.⁸² Following the death of Jovan Cvijić in January 1927, the Minister of Education sent request to the Serbian Royal Academy to propose three candidates, one of whom would be named. At the annual meeting, held in January 1928, three candidates having the highest number of votes were proposed – Mihailo Petrović Alas, Slobodan Jovanović and Bogdan Popović. On the 17th of February 1928, at the main annual meeting of the Academy, the participants 'duly noted' the Decree of the Ministry of Education on the appointment of Slobodan Jovanović as President of the Academy (twelfth to be elected since its foundation).

Slobodan Jovanović became the president of the Academy (1928–1931) at the time of a serious political crisis which struck a new common state – the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In June 1928, deputies of the Croatian Peasant Party were killed and fatally wounded, and on the 6th of January 1929, King Aleksandar dissolved the Assembly and political parties, abolished the Vidovdan Constitution and appointed a new government.⁸³ A new Law on Royal Power and Supreme State Adminis-



Slobodan Jovanović, relief by Đorđe Jovanović, 1924. (HMS, photograph, 3076, unknown location of the relief)

⁸² Slobodan Jovanović, „Srpska kraljevska akademija” [Vardar, HHVI, *Kalendar Kola srpskih sestara za prostu 1938. godinu*, Beograd, 1938, pp. 81–83], SD XI, p. 543. See Sima Ćirković, „Slobodan Jovanović – akademik i predsednik Akademije”, Naučni skup: Slobodan Jovanović – ličnost i delo, kratka sadržina referata za naučni skup SANU [Scientific conference organised by SASA and the Faculty of Law in Belgrade, held from 17th to 20th February 1997], Beograd, 1998, pp. 13–21; ASASA, The Legacy of Aleksandar Belić (henceforth LAB), 14386-IV-276, Slobodan Jovanović to Aleksandar Belić [on the new Law on the Serbian Royal Academy] Belgrade, 3rd June 1928. The speeches of Slobodan Jovanović as president of the Serbian Royal Academy were published in the SRA Annuals. See Main Annual Meeting [Slobodan Jovanović's Speeches], *Godišnjak* [Srpske kraljevske akademije], XXXVIII, 1928, Beograd, Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1929, pp. 92–97; Main Annual Meeting of the Serbian Royal Academy. [Slobodan Jovanović's Speech], *Godišnjak* [Srpske kraljevske akademije], XXXVIII, 1929, Beograd, [1930], pp. 126–129. Slobodan Jovanović, „Franjo Rački i jugoslovenska misao”. Govor izrečen u svečanoj sjednici Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 2. 6. o. g. u proslavu stote obljetnice rođenja Račkoga, in: *Proslava stogodišnjice rođenja Franje Račkoga*, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb 1929, pp. 38–45. See Vasilije Đ. Krestić, *Znameniti Srbi o Hrvatima*, SKZ, Beograd, 2017.

⁸³ „Proklamacija kralja Aleksandra”, *Politika* (6th January 1929); „Izjava predsednika vlade stranoj štampi”, *Politika* (14th January 1929); Svetozar Pribičević, *Diktatura kralja Aleksandra* [preveo s francuskog Andra Milosavljević; predgovor, dopune beležaka i redakcija Save N. Kosanovića], 2nd ed., Prosveta,

Seat of the Serbian Royal Academy,
Jovan Marinković's house, 15
Gospodska (Brankova) Street, 1932.
(BCM, Fund of Colonel Jeremija
Stanojević, Ur. 13538)



tration was issued, and in October of that year the state renamed to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Since the King received Slobodan Jovanović in audience the day before the 6th January, it was thought that it was he who had advised the King to introduce the personal rule and that even he had written the King's proclamation. In its issue of the 10th January 1929, *Politika* brought his press release: 'We were asked by Mr Slobodan Jovanović to publish the following: As far as his audience with His Majesty the King is concerned, Mr Slobodan Jovanović would like to point out that the said audience concerned Mr Dr [Vlatko] Maček's proposal. Mr Jovanović was asked to provide an expert legal opinion on which type of a state union (personal or real union, state alliance or the alliance of states) would be that proposed by Mr Maček'.⁸⁴ Slobodan Jovanović replied to the King's question that Maček was proposing a real union, such as the former Austria-Hungary. Following the end of his term in office, Slobodan Jovanović stated at the annual meeting of the Serbian Royal Academy, held in late January 1931, that he



Palace of the Serbian Royal Academy
at 35 Kneza Mihaila Street, ca 1928
(Courtesy of Miloš M. Jurišić)

Beograd 1953; Dragoslav Smiljanić, *Sećanja na jednu diktaturu*, Rad, Beograd 1960; Todor Stojkov, *Opozicija u vreme Šestojanuarske diktature 1929–1935*, Prosveta, Beograd 1969; Branko Petranović, Momčilo Zečević, *Jugoslovenski federalizam. Ideje i stvarnost 1914–1943*. Tematska zbirka dokumenata, I, Prosveta, Beograd 1987, p. 293 and so forth; Ljubodrag Dimić, „Država, integralno jugoslovenstvo i kultura : prilog istoriji šestojanuarske diktature 1929–1931“, *Književnost*, 1/3, 49 (1994), pp. 171–207.

⁸⁴ *Politika* (10th January 1929).



Slobodan Jovanović, president of SRA, and Aleksandar Belić, secretary (1923–1937) and president of the Academy (1937–1960). Construction of the endowment building of Ilija M. Kolarac (Kolarac People's University), August–September 1930. (ASASA)

could not re-accept the president's duties and asked academicians to propose other candidate. After voting by secret ballot, Mihailo Petrović Alas once again won the most votes, followed by Aleksandar Belić, Permanent Secretary of the Academy, and the mathematician Bogdan Gavrilović, who was eventually appointed President of the Academy.⁸⁵

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Serbian Royal Academy, Slobodan Jovanović gave an overview of its work: Right from its founding, the Serbian Royal Academy has sought to separate scientific work from enlightenment work [...] Still, although a strictly scientific institution, the Serbian Royal Academy has not ceased to be a national institution. It is national in the first place, paying close attention to scientific research of the history of the Serbian people, its language and literature, its life and customs. [...] Having been founded in small pre-war Serbia, the Serbian Royal Academy did not confine itself to the state territory of what was then Serbia. It encompassed all Serbian lands without exception... functioning as a complement to the University, with which national education reached its peak.⁸⁶



In front of the church of Santa Croce in Florence: (from left to right) Nataša, Dragiša and Tatjana Tanja D. Vasić, Slobodan Jovanović and Milan Žujović (Florence, August 1935). (Courtesy of the Žujović family, Belgrade, SASA F XL).

⁸⁵ Sima Ćirković, „Slobodan Jovanović – akademik i predsednik Akademije“, Naučni skup: Slobodan Jovanović – ličnost i delo, kratka sadržna referata za naučni skup SANU [Scientific conference organised by SASA and the Faculty of Law in Belgrade, held from 17th to 20th February 1997], Beograd, 1998, p. 20.

⁸⁶ Slobodan Jovanović, „Srpska kraljevska akademija“ [Vardar, HHVI, Kalendar Kola srpskih sestara za prostu 1938. godinu, Beograd, 1938, pp. 81–83], SD XI, p. 543.

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 редно стање са повратном силом у једној правној држави
 јесте бесмислица и изгледа не као последња помоћ него као
 дело некога који пати од лудила гоњења. ...“ Енглеска штампа,
 која је уз инат Русима била прилично наклоњена режиму од
 11 октобра, слагала се с аустро-угарском штампом. Тајмс
 је писао: „Мада се не може спорити да прави кривци треба
 да искусе сву строгост закона, ипак се јавља зебња да Српска
 влада не употреби ову прилику за стварање кривица и под-
 метања веленздајничких намера у највећим размерама. Велика
 би погрешка била учињена, ако би се, без најубедљивијих
 доказа, цела једна странка, која је толико пута била на влади,
 жигосала као краљеубилачка. ...“

Укратко, за свој покушај да судским путем сатре ради-
 кализам, Краљ Милан није добијао окуражења ни из Беча ни
 из Лондона. Он је сам себе запетљао. Да би лакше доказао
 кривицу радикала, он их је ставио пред преки суд, али на
 страни нико, чак ни међу пријатељима Краља Милана, није
 веровао у непристрасност преког суда; чим се чуло да ће
 такав суд судити радикалима, то се узело као знак да о
 њиховој кривици нема правих доказа. Требало је, као што је
 рекао Тајмс, изнети „најубедљивије доказе“, ако се хтело
 да осуда радикала, и поред прекога суда, буде одобрена од
 европског јавног мишљења. После указа о преком суду Краљ
 Милан отежао је себи, у место да олакша, доказивање ради-
 калне кривице.

II.

Ислеђење по делу атентата трајало је нека два месеца.
 Иследник је ишао свакодневно у Двор на реферисања и ту
 примао упутства за даљи рад. Било је знакова да је атентат
 удешен од руске тајне полиције, која је имала седиште у
 Букурешту, и чији се делокруг простирао на цео Балкан.
 Тајна полиција царистичког режима служила се нихилистичким
 методама, и имала је не само сву бесавесност нихилиста у
 избору средстава, него и сву њихову вештину у заметању
 трага. Наши иследници, који су свој занат испекли ислеђујући
 кривице сеоских пустахија и паланачких лопова, нису били
 дорасли за борбу с руском тајном полицијом, која је пред-
 стављала највишу интелигенцију злочина. Краљ Милан држао
 је да само он може похватати њене трагове, који су ишли

„Овај напад кроз је неочекиван. Главни иследник је
 сам ја, и као иследник, не само да сам ишао свакодневно у
 двор... а и?“, већ и ја, за све време ислеђења и судског мишљења
 ни једном нисам добио одговор од краља. Краљ Милан је
 са краљем Миланом био с Краљем Обреновићем... и мене ту
 са краљем Миланом био с Краљем Обреновићем... и мене ту

Vlada Aleksandra Obrenovića [The
 Reign of Aleksandar Obrenović] (1931).

With the author's dedication to
 Vasilije M. Simić (royal prosecutor
 in the proceedings following the
 1899 Ividan assassination attempt
 on King Milan). The sheet contains
 Simić's handwritten comment
 on charges brought against him.
 (Courtesy of the Krsmanović-Simićs)



Slobodan Jovanović's passport (ASASA, CSJ, 14891/4)

During the 1930s, Slobodan Jovanović prepared and published his *Collected Works* (1933–1936/40). Apart from the previously printed books, Jovanović published brand new studies on Plato, Burke and Marx, as well as the old study on Machiavelli within the *Collected Works* of 1935, in the book entitled *Iz istorije političkih doktrina* (*From the History of Political Doctrines*). On the basis of his letters we may conclude that at the time Slobodan Jovanović read texts in Old Greek and made comparisons between their translations into different foreign languages, German, French and English. He published the fourth extended edition of the book on the state titled *Država* [*The State*] within the *Collected Works* of 1936. The book *Primeri političke sociologije* (*Examples of Political Sociology*) was later included in the 1940 edition of the *Collected Works*, however, excluding the books published in the meanwhile, *Gledston* [*Gladstone*] (1937) and *Američki federalizam* [*American Federalism*] (1939).

Slobodan Jovanović often travelled throughout European countries. We know that prior to the publication of some of his treatises he sojourned in the countries of origin of some of the individuals to whom he dedicated his attention (Machiavelli, French revolutionaries and alike). His numerous postcards and letters from abroad have been preserved until the present day. The same goes for a number of photographs and slides.⁸⁷



Slobodan Jovanović on the island of Hvar. (1938). (SD XII, p. 871)

⁸⁷ Numerous letters and postcards reveal information on Jovanović's travels. The films shot by Andra Ristić, Slobodan Jovanović's nephew, have likewise been preserved as well as the slides. These include six large film strips, five medium format film strips and 13 smaller ones (Pathé Baby. Made in France). The films were shot in the 1920s and 1930s at the house at 25 Simina Street, on summer and winter holidays and picnics, Mount Avala ski resort (as of 1932) and "Sveti Đorđe" Horse Riding Club Arena near Careva Čuprija. The black-and-white and colour film slides are stored either in boxes with labels or outside the boxes. They were shot during voyages round the Mediterranean in 1936.



Building of the Export Bank at Terazije Square, the former seat of the Serbian Cultural Club (1937–1941). The edifice was constructed after the project by architect Danilo Vladislavljević (1871–1921), completed in 1923. (Courtesy of Miloš M. Jurišić)

PRESIDENT OF THE SERBIAN CULTURAL CLUB AND ROYAL GOVERNMENT

The founders of the Serbian Cultural Club were the members of the Serbian Royal Academy: Slobodan Jovanović, Bogdan Gavrilović, president of the Serbian Royal Academy, Bogdan Popović, Pavle Popović, Tihomir Đorđević, Đorđe Jovanović (sculptor), Stanoje Stanojević, Division General Živko Pavlović, Vladimir Ćorović, Miloš Trivunac, Veselin Čajkanović, Stevan Jakovljević, Veljko Petrović, Jovan Dučić, Dragiša Vasić, as well as Dr Vojislav Arnovljević, Vasa Čubrilović, Dr Mladen Žujović, lawyer, Reserve Lieutenant Colonel (nephew of Jovan Žujović), Division General Ljubomir Pokorni and many others. The president of the Education Section of the Club was Dr Pavle Stevanović, whilst the industrialist Dr Vladimir Đorđević headed the Economy Section.⁸⁸ For four years, Slobodan Jovanović was the first and only president of the Serbian Cultural Club. At that time, he made contacts with representatives of all political options within the Serbian people.⁸⁹

At its founding assembly in 1937, Slobodan Jovanović presented the programme and principles to be followed: 'The Serbian Cultural Club [...], as envisaged by its founders, is supposed to be the meeting place for all those interested in discussions on issues concerning Serbian national culture. Here national culture is perceived in its broadest sense, so as to include both spiritual and material culture. For this reason, one may witness intellectuals and businessmen working in a coordinated effort at the Serbian Cultural Club. This may be the first time ever that such a close cooperation between intellectuals and businessmen has been put into effect. The founding of the Serbian Cultural Club was initiated by the people who never excelled in either party or political life. Accordingly, it was explicitly stated from the very beginning that the Serbian Cultural Club would focus on issues concerning national culture without having any party or political tenden-

⁸⁸ Jovan Dučić claimed he was one of the founders of the Serbian Cultural Club, though his name was not on the list. See Jovan Dučić, „O Slobodanu Jovanoviću“ [*Amerikanski Srbobran*, 19th January 1942, p. 1], in: Aleksandar Petrov, *Manje poznati Dučić*. Drugo prošireno izdanje povodom pesnikovog povratka u domovinu, Trebinje, Pitsburg, Beograd, 2000, pp. XXIV–XXV.

⁸⁹ Boris Milosavljević, „Pitanje pokretača i osnivača Srpskog kulturnog kluba“, *Tokovi istorije*, 1 (2012), pp. 27–51.

cies. At the same time the intention was to give opportunity to people with different political orientations and ideologies to take active participation in the meetings of the Serbian Cultural Club. The exchange of viewpoints in such a neutral environment, even if it does not immediately yield any visible results, will certainly prove useful over time, since it will contribute to harmonising attitudes concerning the matters of national importance. The Club's statutes read that Serbian national culture is to be nurtured within the Yugoslav framework. [...] Separate cultural organisations of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes could prove dangerous to the state union only if they would be misused for inciting tribal or religious hatred. For its part, the Serbian Cultural Club will surely not allow such a misuse of national idea [...] the Serbian Cultural Club aims at bringing closer together Serbianhood and culture. Nowadays, both the state and the nation can thrive only as cultural forces. The Serbian people has provided sufficient evidence of its cultural potentials, and what is especially noteworthy, it does not blindly follow foreign patterns: it possesses a specific creative force and aspiration towards the original. Nevertheless, capabilities and aspirations are not enough all on their own. Organisation is likewise required [...]'.⁹⁰

The Serbian Cultural Club expanded its network of subcommittees throughout the country.⁹¹ Lectures were regularly held at its premises in Terazije Street in Belgrade, as well as across the country.⁹²

The Serbian Cultural Club was founded during the rule of Milan Stojadinović (1935–1939).⁹³ After Stojadinović's fall, the government was

⁹⁰ *Politika* (5th February 1937); Dragoljub Jovanović, „Učitelj stila“ [1973], *Savremenici o Slobodanu Jovanoviću*, [edited by] Jovica Trkulja, Marinko Vučinić, Biblioteka: Naučno nasleđe Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu 11, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, JP „Službeni glasnik“, Beograd 2009, pp. 271–272; „Slobodan Jovanović“ [1960], *Medaljoni* [2008], 1, p. 368; *Političke uspomene*, V, p. 206; „Srpski klub i `Srpski glas`“ [1940], *Političke uspomene*, V, Kultura, Arhiv Jugoslavije, Beograd 1997, p. 308; Ljubodrag Dimić, „Srpski kulturni klub između kulture i politike“, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1918–1941*. Prvi deo. Društvo i država. Stubovi kulture, Beograd, 1996, p. 509; Milorad Ekmečić, *Dugo kretanje između klanja i oranja. Istorija Srba u Novom veku (1492–1992)*, Zavod za udžbenike, Beograd 2007, p. 425 and so forth; Boris Milosavljević, „Pitanje pokretača i osnivača Srpskog kulturnog kluba“, *Tokovi istorije*, 1 (2012), pp. 27–51. It is often mistakenly stated that the Serbian Cultural Club was formed after the formation of the Croat Banovina. This can be evidenced by the legacy of Milan Antić, interview with Jovan Đorđević and others. ASASA, Legacy of Milan Antić, 14387/9545, p. 85, „Slobodan Jovanović... posle sporazuma Cvetković-Maček osniva Srpski klub protiv Hrvata“.

⁹¹ See in further detail in: Ljubodrag Dimić, „Srpski kulturni klub između kulture i politike“, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1918–1941*. Prvi deo. Društvo i država. Stubovi kulture, Beograd, 1996, pp. 516–517.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Todor Stojkov, *Vlada Milana Stojadinovića (1935–1937)*, Beograd 1985; Milan M. Stojadinović, *Ni rat ni pakt : Jugoslavija između dva rata*. Reprint izd. Predgovor Ljubodrag Dimić, Glas javnosti, Beograd 2002; *Milan Stojadinović : politika u vreme globalnih lomova*,



Decree concerning the formation of the Banovina of Croatia (26th August 1939)



Slobodan Jovanović, *Jugoslovenska misao u prošlosti i budućnosti* [Yugoslav Thought in the Past and Future], Library of the Serbian Cultural Club



Dragomir Dragiša Vasić (1885–1945),
lawyer, writer, corresponding member
of the SRA (since 1934)
and reserve officer

headed by Dragiša Cvetković, who signed an agreement with Vlatko Maček, the leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, on the reorganisation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia on the 26th of August 1939. On the basis of the Cvetković-Maček Agreement, Banovina Croatia was formed.

Despite the fact that Article 3 of the Rules of the Serbian Cultural Club (approved by the Ministry of the Interior on the 15th of January 1937) envisaged that the Serbian Cultural Club should be aimed at 'working on promoting the Serbian culture within Yugoslavia, without interference of daily and party politics', the Club was gradually becoming more and more politically engaged.⁹⁴ Its activities can, in fact, be divided into two periods. In the first phase, until the formation of Banovina Croatia (1939), it was primarily devoted to cultural issues. However, culture was understood in a much broader sense than usual, broader than the concept of science, art and politics.⁹⁵ In the second phase, the Serbian Cultural Club was almost entirely oriented towards politics. It was particularly critical of the 1939 Cvetković-Maček Agreement. A large portion of the Serbian people found themselves within the boundaries of the Croat Banovina. The Croats were not denied the right to national organisation, but the same rights were claimed for the Serbs.

In November 1939, the Serbian Cultural Club launched the journal *Srpski glas* (*The Serbian Voice*) which regularly published articles concerning the Serbs living in Croatia, Lika ('Glas Like' [The Voice of Lika], 'Pismo iz Like' [A Letter from Lika]), Northern Dalmatia, on building the House of Gavriilo Princip with his bust (authored by Đorđe Jovanović), founding of a Serbian (territorial) unit in Yugoslavia, establishing a number of sub-committees of the Club throughout the country (Niš, Sombor, Bihać, Novi Bečej etc.). The editor-in-chief of the *Serbian Voice* was Dragiša Vasić, lawyer, writer and corresponding member of the Serbian Royal Academy. The *Serbian Voice* was issued once a week, on Thursdays, from the 16th November 1939 until the 13th June 1940, when it was banned (31 numbers altogether). Another issue of the journal came out on the 27th March 1941.⁹⁶

priredio Miša Đurković, Zavod za udžbenike : Centar za konzervativne studije, Beograd 2013, [proceedings of the conference, held in Belgrade on 12th December 2011].

⁹⁴ The position on 'strict exclusion of daily and party politics' was introduced in the Rules at the request of the Ministry of Interior. *Pravila Srpskog kulturnog kluba*, Beograd 1937. See Ljubodrag Dimić, „Srpski kulturni klub između kulture i politike“, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1918–1941*. Prvi deo. Društvo i država. Stubovi kulture, Beograd, 1996, p. 508.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 522.

⁹⁶ The following articles were published in *Srpski glas* 32 (Thursday 27th March 1941): „Živeo kralj! Proklamacija njegovog veličanstva kralja Petra II svim Srbima, Hrvatima

At the end of 1939 and during 1940, on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of Slobodan Jovanović, numerous articles were published in newspapers and magazines on specially separated pages. Slobodan Jovanović retired in 1940 and was awarded 1st Class (Grand Cross) of the Order of the Yugoslav Crown. He continued to work at the Faculty of Law as an honorary professor.

At the beginning of the Second World War in 1939, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was a neutral state. In March 1941 Great Britain was the only country that fought against Germany which seized large parts of Europe's mainland. Italy invaded Albania and launched its attack on Greece. The United States of America and the Soviet Union were still not at war. As early as 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union signed the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (including the secret annex), which the Germans suddenly unilaterally violated two years later with an attack on the Soviet Union on the 22nd June 1941. France, the most trusted ally of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in the interwar period, had already been defeated (25th June 1940).

Given the political weight of the prospect of accessing the Tripartite Pact, in March 1941 Prince Regent Pavle invited the prominent figures and the leaders of the opposition parties for consultations at the royal court. He also had separate meetings with Patriarch Gavriilo, Milan Grol (Democratic Party), Miša Trifunović (Radical Party), Bogoljub Jeftić (Yugoslav National Party) and Živko Topalović (Socialist Party of Yugoslavia).

On the eve of the 20th March 1941, Prince Regent Pavle invited Slobodan Jovanović to a meeting. Based on the notes by Milan Antić, minister of the royal court, he told Jovanović the same what he had previously told the members of the government.⁹⁷ Prince Regent told Slobodan Jovanović that the Minister of the Army, General Petar Pešić, and others along with him, referred to Maček's viewpoint that in the case of war they could not count on the Croatian troops and that Yugoslavia could only be preserved if the concessions were made to Hitler and Mussolini. Jovanović held that it was dangerous to pursue unpopular foreign and domestic policies at the same time.

Mihailo Konstantinović noted in his diary that Vlatko Maček lamented on the fact that 'Slobodan Jovanović, being the president of the Serbian



Prince Pavle (1893–1976), Prince-Regent of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1934–1941)

i Slovencima"; „Proglas Sveta patriotskih, srpskih kulturnih i privrednih organizacija i ustanova"; „Proglas Omladinskog fronta za odbranu Otadžbine“.

⁹⁷ Here Antić's notes coincide with other sources. Unfortunately, Antić's notes are often unreliable and factually incorrect.



Belgrade, 27th March 1941

Cultural Club, could not form the government. That would be the best solution, just like Stojan Novaković formed the government during the Annexation Crisis'.⁹⁸ Konstantinović added that others as well spoke of Slobodan Jovanović as the best choice for prime minister.⁹⁹

Even though he did not take part in the coup d'état of the 27th March 1941, Slobodan Jovanović had a negative view of the Yugoslav accession to the Tripartite Pact signed on the 25th March. Once the coup was over, the representatives of all political parties 'rooted in people' were summoned to form the government. Slobodan Jovanović agreed to participate in the government. He was reproached for having accepted to take part in the work of a government that was formed as the result of a coup d'état. However, Jovanović undoubtedly distinguished the factual state of the coup d'état, on one hand, and the invitation to become a member of the Cabinet, on the other hand: 'First of all, Slobodan Jovanović did not prepare the plot

⁹⁸ Note, Friday, 21st March 1941. Mihailo Konstantinović, *Politika sporazuma*, Službeni glasnik, Beograd, 2019, pp. 335–338.

⁹⁹ 'Budisavljević raised the issue of Cvetković's successor that would form the government once Cvetković resigns. We all agreed that it had to be some figure of authority that could gather all political forces in the country. The name of Slobodan Jovanović, university professor, was brought up. We argued that some influence should be exerted over Prince Regent Pavle and therefore we agreed that I should seek a private audience with the Prince Regent for tomorrow morning, and he for Sunday or Monday'. Note, Friday, 21st March 1941. Mihailo Konstantinović, *Politika sporazuma*, Službeni glasnik, Beograd, 2019, pp. 335–338.

or participate as a conspirator in the coup d'état of the 27th of March. He only accepted the new state of affairs'.¹⁰⁰ A testimony of the organiser of the coup, Radoje Knežević, one of the editors of the *Serbian Literary Gazette* (brother of Major Živan Knežević), is preserved in which he urges Slobodan Jovanović to enter the Cabinet: 'On the 27th of March, while the coup d'état was still underway, Jovanović was invited at the General Staff, alongside the representatives of political parties "rooted in people". The undersigned had the opportunity to speak with him before the joint session commenced. He presented his entire plan, urging him to get involved personally (contrary to some assertions, Jovanović was not informed of the secret preparations of the coup). Jovanović accepted to enter the Cabinet consisting of political parties of all parts of the nation. He agreed, without enthusiasm and resistance, considering it a matter of duty, which was so typical of him. This was in line with his most intimate convictions'.¹⁰¹

The messages of support and congratulatory telegrams were sent to Jovanović from all over the country on the occasion of his entering the Cabinet, a number of which have been preserved up to the present day. Among others, Apis' cousin Milan Ž. Živanović, the son of the Liberal, Minister Živan Živanović, wrote to Slobodan Jovanović:

'Mr Professor,

My father, as well as Dragutin, did not live enough to greet you, to thank you and wish you good luck and success.

I do it on their behalf, because I know how enthusiastically and approvingly they would have welcomed the coup of the 27th March, convinced that you



Major Živan Knežević (1906–1984).
(Courtesy of the Knežević family,
Washington, D.C.)



Radoje Knežević (1901–1983),
minister of the royal court.
(Courtesy of the Knežević family,
Washington, D.C.)

¹⁰⁰ Večeslav Vilder, "U spomen Slobodanu Jovanoviću. Svetski građanin", *Poruka* (January–March 1959), p. 2. There are several memoirs, thematic collections, collections of papers and scientific papers regarding the coup d'état of 27th of March. See Ferdo Čulinović, *Dvadeset sedmi mart*, Historijski institut Jugoslavenske akademije, Izdavački zavod Jugoslavenske akademije, Zagreb 1965; Branislav J. Pantić, *Dvadeset Sedmi Mart u Komandi kraljeve garde 1941*, Srpska narodna odbrana u Australiji, Mesni odbor, Melburn 1965; "Zabilješka Srgjana Budisavljevića o državnom udaru 27. III 1941." Priredio Bogdan Krizman, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 3, No. 2/3 (1971), pp. 196–213; Živan L. Knežević, *27. mart 1941. predgovor Radoje L. Knežević*, New York 1979; *27. mart 1941. Tematska zbirka dokumenata*, priredili Branko Petranović, Nikola Žutić, NICOM, Beograd 1990; Borivoje Mirković, *Istina o 27. martu 1941. godine*, priredio Petar Bosnić, Braća Nikolić, Beograd 1996; *27. mart 1941. Sedamdeset godina kasnije*, zbornik radova, urednici Momčilo Pavlović, Ivana Pantelić, Institut za savremenu istoriju, Fond Kraljevski dvor, Beograd 2012; Aleksandar Životić, "Sovjetska diplomatija o događajima 26/27. marta 1941. u Jugoslaviji", *Istorija 20. veka* 37, No. 2 (2019), pp. 105–120.

¹⁰¹ Radoje L. Knežević, "Predgovor", in: *Zapisi o problemima i ljudima 1941–1944*, Izdanje Udruženja srpskih pisaca i umetnika u inostranstvu, London 1976, p. 6.



Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and the 1st SS Panzer Division “Adolf Hitler’s Body Guard” (1st SS Panzerdivision „Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler” – LSSAH), which took part in the attack on the Kingdom of Yugoslavia

best served the Fatherland, accepting your new patriotic and national duties.

Mother and I greet you. We are fortunate to see you at the forefront of those who have undertaken the commitment to bring the will of the people to a successful conclusion, to see you investing your knowledge and skill for the well-being of the Fatherland.

Congratulations and best of luck,

Yours faithfully,
Milan Ž. Živanović.¹⁰²

As in the case of the majority of European countries, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia could also not defend itself from the Axis Forces in 1941.¹⁰³ The April War lasted from the 6th to the 18th of April 1941. The country was invaded by Germany, Italy and Hungary. The German 12th Army, which included the First SS Panzer ‘Reich’ Division and ‘Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler’, short LSSAH, attacked Yugoslavia from Romania and Bulgaria, whereas the 2nd Army launched an attack from Austria and Hungary. The Italian 2nd Army made advances in the direction of Split and Jajce, whilst eight Italian divisions took part in the attack along the Yugoslav-Albanian border. The Hungarian Army joined the attack at a later stage with some reinforced army corps. Over 50 divisions (24 German, 22 Italian and about 5 Hungarian) took part in the invasion of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.¹⁰⁴

It is well known that there were instances of resistance during the April War and that one part of the Yugoslav Army refused to lay down their weapons. On the basis of German documents one may conclude that, apart from the Royal Air Forces, the Yugoslav Army showed a firm resistance in Kragujevac, Sokobanja, Jagodina, Stracin, Strumica, Sarajevo and Knin: ‘Following a fierce

¹⁰² ASASA, CSJ, 14891/34. Milan Ž. Živanović to Slobodan Jovanović, Belgrade, 28th March 1941. Pismo, štampano zaglavlje Trgovinska komora, sekretarijat, ćir. aut. 2. l.

¹⁰³ There is extensive literature on the Second World War both in Serbia and worldwide. Here we provide a list of papers that present documents, that is, data relevant to the circumstances in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Yugoslav sources for the April war are incomplete. The records created during the war itself are missing. The operation log of the Supreme Command and some documents from the work of institutions and units have been preserved. See *Aprilski rat 1941. Zbornik dokumenata*. Knj. 2. Priredio Antun Miletić, Vojnoistorijski institut, Beograd 1987; Milan Ristović, *Nemački novi poredak i jugoistočna Evropa 1940/41–1944/45*, Vojnoizdavački i novinski centar 1991; Milan Ristović, „Balkan u nacističkim projektima Nove Evrope u Drugom svetskom ratu”, Istorijski institut SANU, Pravoslavna reč, Beograd/Novi Sad 1998; Branko Petranović, *Srbija u drugom svetskom ratu 1939–1945*, Vojnoizdavački i novinski centar, Beograd 1992.

¹⁰⁴ *Aprilski rat 1941. Zbornik dokumenata*. Knj. 2. Priredio Antun Miletić, Vojnoistorijski institut, Beograd 1987, p. 7.

battle, the XXX Army Corps along with the 9th Armoured Division [Panzerdivision] took the Stracin Pass on the evening of the 6th April, and after the battle for Carevo Selo reached the area east of Kočani, supported by the 73rd Infantry Division [...] The advancement of the 2nd Armoured Division was temporarily halted due to demolished roads and bridges. At the daybreak of the 7th April, it came under heavy attack from the enemy forces north of Strumica attempting to penetrate southeast from the direction of Radovište [...] The 5th Mountain Division and 125th Infantry Regiment are in a fierce battle for bunkers at the Rupel Pass which was most bitterly defended by the enemy.¹⁰⁵

According to German reports 'the enemy offered persistent resistance against the 12th Army': 'The XIV Army Corps along with the 11th Armoured Division crushed two enemy divisions near Jagodina on the 10th of April after fierce fighting, capturing 5,000 prisoners and nine enemy batteries. [...]'¹⁰⁶ Following an intense battle, the 11th Armoured Division occupied Kragujevac and smashed the enemy resistance at Lapovo; [...] Parts of the 5th Armoured Division had to head from Niš towards Aleksinac, because the enemy, organised into two regiments, attacked rear parts of the 11th Armoured Division from the direction of Soko Banja [...] The 9th Armoured Division reassembled in Bitolj and established contact with the Italians west of Struga. Certain parts of the division fought near Brod (30 kilometers southwest of Prilep) with the remaining parts of the enemy troops. [...] On the 12th of April, the 11th Armoured Division overwhelmed the enemy that was retreating from Belgrade toward the south and by the evening of the 12th April took the Avala Mountain, which dominates Belgrade'.¹⁰⁷

In the orders of the 13th April, issued by the 2nd Army, we find no mention of the Yugoslav, but only of 'Serbian' troops: 'Based on the intelligence obtained by radio and aerial reconnaissance, the retreating enemy troops of the 5th and the remaining parts of the 1st Army are heading towards Bosnia and Southern Serbia. The units that remained along the border with Albania are likewise retreating from the border in order to set up a



Army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia at 1 Kralja Petra Street on the corner of Kneza Mihaila Street in Belgrade. (HMS)

¹⁰⁵ No. 164. Report of the German Army General Staff, dated 7th April 1941, to the Wehrmacht Supreme Command on the operations of the 1st and 12th Army on the Yugoslav front. Ibid, p. 495.

¹⁰⁶ No. 201. Report of the German Army General Staff, dated 11th April 1941, on the operations of the 2nd and 12th Army and Horthy's forces on the Yugoslav front. Ibid, p. 573–574.

¹⁰⁷ No. 235. Report of the German Army General Staff, dated 13th April 1941, on the developments on the Yugoslav front [signed: By order of Heusinger, signed]; No. Order of the German 2nd Army, dated 13th April 1941, to continue the prosecution and destruction of Yugoslav Army forces in the Sarajevo area. See Ibid, pp. 650–653; 654–656.



Army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.
(Joint Garrison Exercise at Torlak,
9th September 1940)

defense line. Troop movements were noticed near Knin, whilst anti-aircraft guns were deployed near Banja Luka.¹⁰⁸ New resistance is likely to follow at the section of the Una River. [...] The 2nd Army should proceed with suppressing the defeated Serbian forces along an entire line of front in the general direction of Sarajevo, with the purpose of encircling and destroying the remaining Serbian forces in the area around Sarajevo'.¹⁰⁹

Documents very often refer to the entire Balkan battlefield, which is why German losses on the Yugoslav front cannot be accurately estimated: 'the enemy losses incurred on the 8th April totaled 43 aircrafts, out of which 36 British and 7 Yugoslav. [...] At the same time 19 of our aircrafts did not return back to the base'.¹¹⁰ According to the German 12th Army report, the losses incurred on the 11th April totaled 496 killed, 2,061 wounded and 222 missing soldiers from the 18th, 30th, 40th and 14th Army Corps.¹¹¹

Following the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia, the Yugoslav Army got another enemy to fight – the Ustaše – as testified by the Order issued by the headquarters of the 2nd Yugoslav Army Group to the commander of the 2nd Army to set up combined light detachments (from units stationed near Derventa, Brod and from the Lika Division) to fight against the Ustaše (*bande*, 'gangs') near Derventa (13th April 1941).¹¹² The German 2nd Army war diary mentions that 'the Croatian uprising' broke out in Dalmatia: 'The Croatian and Serbian units are fighting each other therein. The 2nd Army can only count on the local resistance of units under the command of vigorous Serbian commanders'.¹¹³ The *komitas* [guerilla detachments], or regular Chetnik units within the Yugoslav army, also participated in the fight against the Ustasha.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Report of the Italian Army: '3rd April, Sunday [...] Act 5473 General Staff of the Royal Army reports the Army Command about the occupation of the Knin railway centre by the Zadar troops, while Serbs are still providing considerable resistance on the outskirts of the city'. Attachment no. 5. Excerpt from the bi-monthly historical diary of the Italian 2nd Army for the period from 27th March to 20th April 1941. Ibid, p. 996.

¹⁰⁹ No. 236. Order of the German 2nd Army, dated 13th April 1941, for the continuation of the prosecution and destruction of Yugoslav Army forces in the Sarajevo area. Ibid, pp. 654–656.

¹¹⁰ No. 190. Report of the German Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht, dated 10th April 1941 on the advances on the Yugoslav and Greek fronts. Ibid, p. 551.

¹¹¹ No. 202. Report of the German 12th Army, dated 11th April 1941, on casualties suffered. Ibid, p. 575.

¹¹² No. 221. Order of the Headquarters of the 2nd Army Group of the Yugoslav Army, dated 13th April 1941, to the Commander of the 2nd Army to form light joint units for the fight against the Ustaše (General Milutin Nedić to General Dragoslav Miljković). Ibid, pp. 622–623.

¹¹³ Attachment no. 4. War Diary of the German 2nd Army from 28th March to 24th April 1941. Ibid, p. 950.

¹¹⁴ No. 222. Report of the Headquarters of the 2nd Group of the Yugoslav Army, dated

Upon returning from the Supreme Army Command, at the Cabinet session held in Pale on the 11th of April 1941, Slobodan Jovanović acquainted the members of the Council of Ministers with the situation on the fronts and the retreats that proved to be inevitable: 'Due to *weak morale amongst* Croatian troops, avoidance of conscription etc. the situation worsened'.¹¹⁵ At the Cabinet session of the 13th April 1941 held in Pale, president of the Council of Ministers, Army General Dušan Simović emphasised that the Supreme Army Command was to undertake all defensive measures, but that 'the King and the government have to retreat to a less visible position so as to be able, if the need arises, to leave the country in order to preserve the continuity of the state', as was the case during the First World War when they had to leave the country.¹¹⁶

The withdrawal route towards Greece was soon cut off, nevertheless, some parts of the aviation and army made its way to the Middle East via Athens and eventually reorganised. The atmosphere in the government can be grasped by considering the minutes of the government sessions: 'The Prime Minister Simović submits a military report. [...] He determines the position by consulting the map. The Germans joined the Italian forces near Struga and were heading for Lerin, whilst four of our divisions merged with the Greeks. He has lost contact with them. [...] The enemy advances towards B.[anja] Luka'.¹¹⁷ Slobodan Jovanović was appointed to join the Supreme Command.

Eight generals of the Royal Yugoslav Army were killed in combat, or found death in bombing or otherwise during the April War. Four generals were wounded due to shelling and air raids.¹¹⁸ A portion of the Foreign exchange reserves, which was returned to the country after the Second World War,



Army General Dušan Simović
(1882–1962), Prime Minister (27th
March 1941 – 11th January 1942)

13th April 1941, to the Supreme Command regarding the situation on the front lines of the 1st and 2nd Army. Ibid, pp. 624–625; Report of the Headquarters of the 1st group of the Yugoslav Army, dated 13th April 1941, on the situation on the fronts (General Radenković). Telephone despatch: 'To the Rača detachment, which I formed from former troops at Bosanska Rača and the 1st Chetnik battalion within the former Zvornik detachment, whom I disbanded'. Ibid, p. 627.

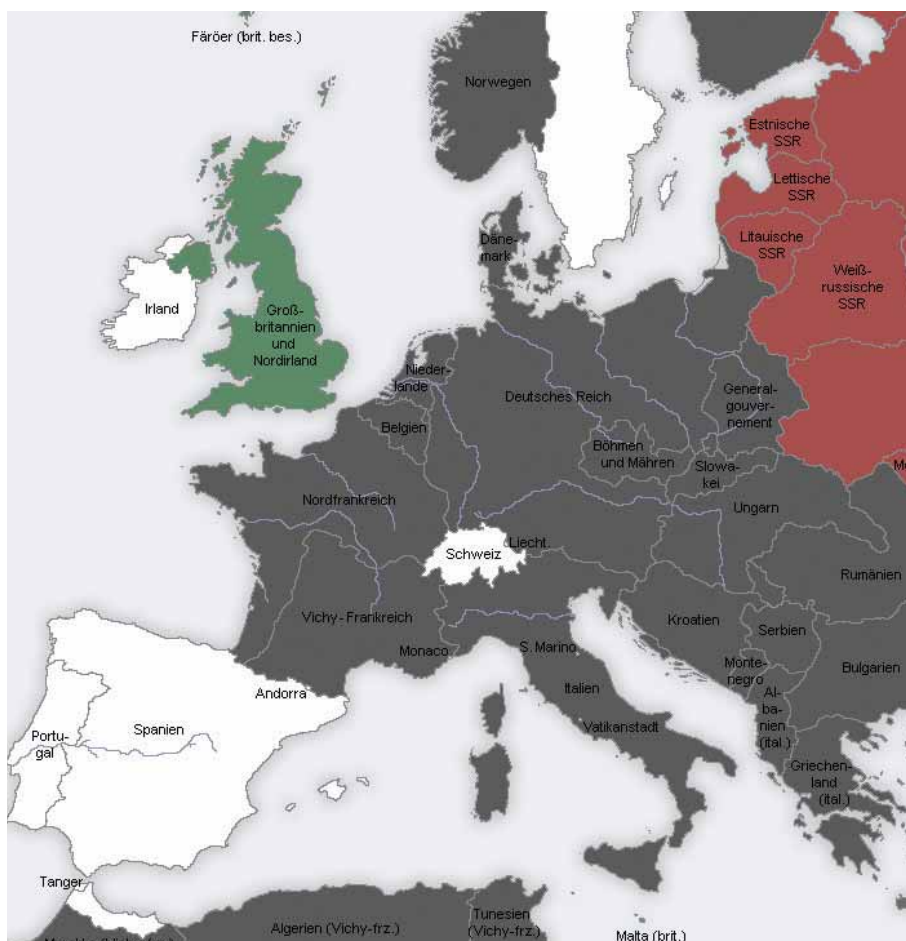
¹¹⁵ 10th Government Session, 11th April 1941 (held in Pale) in: *Zapisnici sa sednica Ministarskog saveta Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1941–1945*, [only its cover is in Cyrillic], priredili Komnen Pijevac, Dušan Jončić. Predgovor Ljubodrag Dimić, Službeni list SCG, Arhiv Srbije i Crne Gore, Beograd, 2004, p. 7.

¹¹⁶ 13th Government Session, 13th April 1941 (held in Pale) in: Ibid, p. 9.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p. 8.

¹¹⁸ Mile Bjelajac, *Generali i admirali Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1918–1941*, INIS, Beograd 2004, p. 68; Đorđe Stanković, „Pravo na pamćenje – nemačko ubijanje Beograda 1941. godine“, *Vojno-istorijski glasnik* 1 (2008), pp. 153–177; Marko B. Miletić, „Izjava armijskog generala Dušana Simovića o učešću u Aprilskom ratu – problemi analize i tumačenja“, *Vojno-istorijski glasnik* 66, 1 (2016), pp. 173–189.

Europe after the April War, before Germany's unilateral violation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact by attacking the Soviet Union on the 22nd June 1941 without a declaration of war



had been already transferred to the Western countries by Prince Pavle and the Royal Regency.¹¹⁹ The Cabinet, along with the accompanying civil servants, was airlifted from Nikšić to Greece. An aircraft that was attacked by anti-aircraft artillery had a hard landing, when Cabinet Minister Marko Daković sustained injuries to which he succumbed that same evening.¹²⁰ The plane carrying historian Vladimir Ćorović crashed.

Following the April War (6th–18th April 1941) the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was divided into eight parts. The Independent State of Croatia (NDH, 10th April 1941); the Territory of the Military Commander in Serbia (Ge-

¹¹⁹ 16th Government Session, 29th April 1941, Tantura, Jerusalem, in: *Zapisnici sa sednica Ministarskog saveta Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1941–1945*, [only its cover is in Cyrillic], priredili Komnen Pijevac, Dušan Jončić. Predgovor Ljubodrag Dimić, Službeni list SCG, Arhiv Srbije i Crne Gore, Beograd, 2004, p. 14.

¹²⁰ ASASA, CSJ, 14891/167, Major Svetislav Vohaska, „Kako je umro minister Marko Daković“.

biet des Militärbefehlshabers in Serbien); (autonomous) Banat and the Independent State of Montenegro (Kingdom of Montenegro) were created, whereas some areas of the country were annexed by Germany, Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania. The mass killings of Serbs immediately began in the Independent State of Croatia.¹²¹ The tragic fate of the Jews is well known. Thus, Slobodan Jovanović's publisher, Geca Kon, perished with his family during the early years of the war.¹²²

Since the United Kingdom was the only country that fought against Germany at the time, it is not surprising that after the defeat in the April War, the Cabinet, a member of which was Jovanović, eventually went to London, via Athens, Jerusalem, Alexandria and Cairo.¹²³ Since the beginning of the war in 1939, London became the seat of the governments of almost all occupied European countries – Charles de Gaulle's French Committee, the Edward Beneš *Czechoslovak government*, the Władysław Sikorski Polish government, the Belgian, Luxembourg, Dutch and Norwegian (Labour Party) governments, as well as the Sofoklis Venizelos and Georgios Papandreou Greek government (mainly situated in Cairo). The Polish government-in-exile remained in London until 1990. Heads of states, kings, queens and presidents likewise resided in London at the time.

Slobodan Jovanović served as Second Deputy Prime Minister in the government led by General Dušan Simović (27th March 1941 – 11th January

¹²¹ Bogdan Krizman, *Jugoslovenske vlade u izbjeglištvu. Dokumenti 1941–1943*, Arhiv Jugoslavije, Globus, Zagreb–Beograd 1981, pp. 208–212; 257–268; 44th Government Session, 9th October 1941, London, in: *Zapisnici sa sednica Ministarskog saveta Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1941–1945*, [only its cover is in Cyrillic], priredili Komnen Pijevac, Dušan Jončić. Predgovor Ljubodrag Dimić, Službeni list SCG, Arhiv Srbije i Crne Gore, Beograd, 2004, p. 54. Vasilije V. Krestić, Mira Radojević, *Jasenovac*, SANU, Beograd 2017; Vasilije Đ. Krestić, *Velikohrvatske pretenzije na Vojvodinu, Bosnu i Hercegovinu*, SANU, Beograd 2017; *Genocidom do Velike Hrvatske*, Catena mundi, Beograd 2015; Dinko Davidov, *Genocidium totale : Nezavisna Država Hrvatska 1941–1945*, Čigoja štampa, Beograd 2019; Vasa Kazimirović, *NDH u svetlu nemačkih dokumenata i dnevnika Gleza fon Horstenau : 1941–1944*, Nova knjiga, Narodna knjiga, Beograd 1987; Bogdan Krizman, *Ante Pavelić i ustaše*, Globus, Zagreb 1978; Ustaše i Treći Reich, I, II, Globus, Zagreb 1978; Nikola Popović, *Ideologija fašizma u jeziku ustaške propagande*, Vojnoizdavački i novinski centar, Beograd 1989.

¹²² Milan Jovanović Stoimirović „Geca Kon (1873–1941)“, *Portreti prema živim modelima*, priredili Stojan Trećakov i Vladimir Šovljanski, Matica srpska, Novi Sad 1998, pp. 276–280; Milan Ristović, „Slobodan Jovanović i jevrejske izbeglice iz Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1942–1943. godine“ in: *Slobodan Jovanović. Ličnost i delo*. Zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa održanog od 17. do 20. februara 1997. Primljeno na VI skupu Odeljenja društvenih nauka 10. juna 1997, V skupu Odeljenja istorijskih nauka 28. maja 1997. i V skupu Odeljenja jezika i književnosti 22. Aprila 1997. Urednik Miodrag Jovičić. Naučni skupovi. Knjiga XC. Odeljenje društvenih nauka. Knjiga 21, SANU, [50 radova], Beograd 1998, pp. 321–336.

¹²³ *Zapisnici sa sednica Ministarskog saveta Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1941–1945*, [only its cover is in Cyrillic], priredili Komnen Pijevac, Dušan Jončić. Predgovor Ljubodrag Dimić, Službeni list SCG, Arhiv Srbije i Crne Gore, Beograd, 2004, pp. 10, 39.

Slobodan Jovanović's diplomatic passport. (ASASA, 14891/5)



1942). From the very beginning, Jovanović was in charge of military and propaganda matters (that he had dealt with for five years, at a time when he was a young diplomat and chief of the Supreme Command of the War Press Bureau during the First World War).

Following the fall of the Simović Cabinet, the first Cabinet headed by Slobodan Jovanović was established, in which he served as Prime Minister, Minister of the Interior and Acting Minister of the Royal Army, Royal Navy and Royal Air Forces (11th January 1942 – 2nd January 1943). After the government resigned (28th December 1942), the second government led by Jovanović was formed, in which he likewise assumed the role of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (2nd January 1943 – 26th June 1943). In the next government, which was headed by the Radical Miloš Trifunović, Slobodan Jovanović once again served as Second Deputy Prime Minister (26th June 1943 – 10th August 1943). He did not participate in the work of the government led by Božidar Purić (10th August 1943 – 1st June 1944).¹²⁴ King Petar II offered Slobodan Jovanović to form new government, and all Serbian political parties, excluding the Democrats, agreed that he should be appointed as a representative of all ministers (25th May 1944). However, that never happened and, under the British pressure, the first government led by Ivan Šubašić, the former ban of the Banovina of Croatia, was formed instead (1st June 1944). As Prime Minister, Šubašić signed the Treaty with the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia (NKOJ) on the 16th of June

¹²⁴ Radoje L. Knežević, „Predgovor“, u: *Zapisi o problemima i ljudima 1941–1944*, Izdanje Udruženja srpskih pisaca i umetnika u inostranstvu, London 1976, p. 7.

1944 on the island of Vis. By royal decree, the new Šubašić government was formed on the 10th of July 1944. This was a process supported by the British and the Soviets, which resulted in gradual abolishing of the existence of the two parallel governments (Yugoslav government-in-exile) and the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia. By the royal regents' decree, and at the proposal of the Presidency of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ), a government was formed led by Josip Broz Tito on the 7th of March 1945.

There are numerous sources and extensive literature in which the events of the Second World War and the activities of the government in London are interpreted and evaluated.¹²⁵ There are different conflicting view-

¹²⁵ Although there is extensive material, it is often incomplete or unclassified. Archives of Yugoslavia, funds: AJ-103, Government in Exile of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia 1941–1945, [incomplete], Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Washington, Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in London, Collection of dispatches: CK KPJ – Communist International, Official Gazette of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Funds of Božidar Vlajić, Sava Kosanović, Milan Gavrilović and others; Library of the Institute of Contemporary History, Collection of Jovan Marjanović (Commander of the German Security Police and Security Service in Serbia, Records of the War Office of Great Britain, State Department, Foreign Office, Allied Command of the Mediterranean, Security Intelligence Liaison Office; Historical Archives of Belgrade, Fund: German Intelligence Service (BDS); The National Archives Washington and alike. For published archival records, see *Zapisnici sa sednica Ministarskog saveta Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1941–1945*, [only its cover is in Cyrillic], priredili Komnen Pijevac, Dušan Jončić. Predgovor Ljubodrag Dimić, Službeni list SCG, Arhiv Srbije i Crne Gore, Beograd, 2004; *Aprilski rat 1941. Zbornik dokumenata*. Knj. 2. Priredio Antun Miletić, Vojnoistorijski institut, Beograd 1987; Dušan Biber, *Tito-Churchill: strogo tajno*. Izabrao i uredio Dušan Biber [prev. Marjan Boršić, Bojana Mažuran, Vesna Zelić]. Uvod: Vladimir Velebit. Predgovor: Dušan Biber Beograd, Arhiv Jugoslavije; Zagreb, Globus; Ljubljana, Delo, Beograd–Zagreb–Ljubljana, 1981; Staniša R. Vlahović, *Anglojugoslovenski odnosi 1941–1948*. Zbornik dokumenata iz Britanske arhive, Birmingham 1985; *Odnosi Jugoslavije i Rusije (SSSR) 1941–1945. Dokumenti i materijali*, Beograd 1996; *Poruka*, list Jugoslovenskog narodnog odbora [several issues contain records on the work of the Government], London 1950–1959, (reprint), priredili Jovica Trkulja i Života Lazić, Službeni glasnik, Beograd 2007; Dragoljub Mihailović, *Rat i mir đenerala. Izabrani ratni spisi*, I–II, priredili Milan Vesović, Bojan Dimitrijević, Kosta Nikolić, Beograd 1998; *Zbornik dokumenata i podataka o narodno-oslobodilačkom ratu naroda i narodnosti Jugoslavije*, Vojnoistorijski institut jugoslovenske narodne armije, Beograd 1949–1985; *Dokumenta centralnih organa KPJ. NOR i revolucija (1941–1945)*, *Izvori za istoriju SKJ*, I–II, Beograd 1985; *Odnosi Jugoslavije i Rusije (SSSR) 1941–1945, dokumenti i materijali*. Priređivači Branko Petranović i dr. Savezno ministarstvo za inostrane poslove, Vojnoistorijski institut, Beograd 1996; Branko Petranović, Momčilo Zečević, Jugoslavija 1918–1984. [1985]: *Suđenje članovima političkog i vojnog rukovodstva organizacije Draže Mihailovića*. Stenografske beleške, Beograd 1945; Josip Broz Tito, *Djela*, XIV, XIX, XXIII, Beograd 1979; *Hrvatska u arhivama izbegličke vlade 1941–1943. Izveštaji informatora o prilikama u Hrvatskoj*. Priredio Ljubo Boban, Globus, Zagreb 1985. Momčilo Pavlović, Vladimir Cvetković, *Nemačka obaveštajna služba u okupiranoj Srbiji 1941–1944, studija i dokumenti*, Institut za savremenu istoriju, Fakultet bezbednosti, Beograd 2013. See. Moša Pijade, *Priča o sovjetskoj pomoći za dizanje ustanka u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd 1950; Milovan Đilas, *Revolucionarni rat*, Književne novine, Beograd 1990; *Razgovori sa Staljinom*, [pogovor Zoran Gluščević]. Književne novine Beograd 1990; Žvonimir Vučković, *Od otpora do građanskog rata*, Beograd 1990; Branko Petranović, *Srbija u drugom svetskom ratu 1939–1945*, Vojnoizdavački i novinski centar, Beograd 1992; Veselin Đuretić, *Saveznici i jugoslovenska ratna drama : između nacionalnih i ideoloških izazova*, 5. dopunjeno izd., I–II, Beograd 1992; Ljubodrag Dimić, *Istorija srpske državnosti. Srbi u Jugoslaviji*, Novi Sad 2001; Mirjana Stefanovski, *Srpska politička emigracija : o*



Government session at the King's Residence (Upper Grosvenor Street), London, May 1943. From left to right: Jovan Banjanin, Minister without Portfolio (Yugoslav National Party); Srđan Budisavljević, Minister of Social Policy and Public Health (President of the Independent Democratic Party); Juraj Šutej, Minister of Finance, Trade and Industry (Croatian Peasant Party); Miha Krek, Vice President and Minister of Construction (Slovenian People's Party); Slobodan Jovanović, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of the Interior; King Petar II; Juraj Krnjević, Vice President and Minister of Post, Telegraph and Telephone (Croatian Peasant Party); Miloš Trifunović, Minister of Education (People's Radical Party); Milan Grol, Minister of Transport (President of the Democratic Party); Milan Gavrilović, Minister of Justice (President of the Agrarian Party). (ACCHPF)

points regarding the political engagement of Slobodan Jovanović.¹²⁶ The history of this literature is a separate topic.

The London Government signed a declaration of solidarity of the Allies and joint fight against the Germans (12th June 1941), the Declaration of

preuređenju Jugoslavije 1941–1943, Narodna knjiga, Beograd 1988; Vojislav Pavlović, *Od monarhije do republike. SAD i Jugoslavija 1941–1945*, Beograd 1998; Branislav Gligorijević, *Kominternu, jugoslovensko i srpsko pitanje*, Institut za savremenu istoriju, Beograd 1992; Mira Radojević „Izbeglička vlada Kraljevine Jugoslavije i jugoslovenska državna ideja“, *Drugi svjetski rat – 50 godina kasnije*. Tom 1 : Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Podgorica, Beograd 1997, pp. 215–226; Kosta Nikolić, *Saveznici i pokreti otpora u Jugoslaviji (1941–1945)*, ZUNS, Beograd 2009.

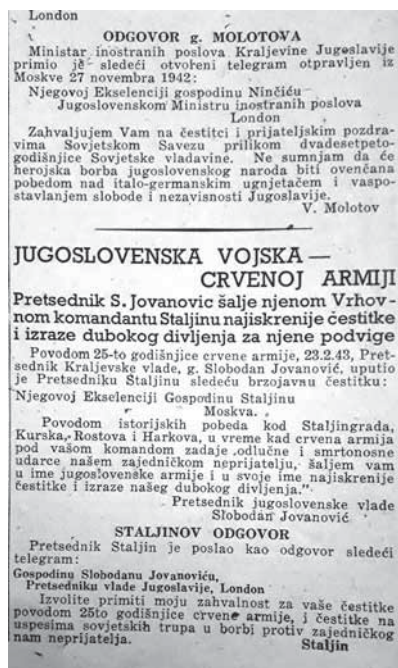
¹²⁶ See „Bibliografija radova o Slobodanu Jovanoviću, 1. Posebna izdanja i 2. Članci, studije, eseji, prikazi i kritike dela Slobodana Jovanovića“ in: *Slobodan Jovanović : bibliografija sa hronologijom života i rada*. Priredio Dobrilo Aranitović. Fond Slobodan Jovanović, Beograd 2010, pp. 183–327.



King Petar II, Soviet Ambassador Alexander E. Bogomolov (1900–1969) and Slobodan Jovanović (Presentation of Credentials)

the United Nations of 1st January 1942 concerning the fight of the Allied forces against Hitlerism, and the Agreement with Greece on the Balkan Union (15th January 1942). The deputies and ambassadors of the great powers (England, USA, Soviet Union) and other countries were accredited to King Petar II Karađorđević. The government was faced with a number of problems, primarily due to tense Serbo-Croatian relations and civil war in the country. Politicians likewise expressed different viewpoints on the future of the country and different political views, in accordance with the orientations of the political parties to which they belonged, as well as with personal political affinities. However, strategic and tactical assessments, agreements and decisions of the great powers, especially those made by Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill in Tehran (28th November – 1st December 1943), were of immense importance for the future of Yugoslavia and all of Europe. Of course, the development of the situation on the fronts (world, European, Balkan and Yugoslav) was likewise crucial.

Jovanović's observations on the work of the government during the war were preserved in the form of records, compiled in 1946, immediately after the war, on the basis of documentation and notes: 'He was determined to note everything, as quickly as possible, everything he held important concerning the events from the 27th March 1941 until Šubašić's rise to power. He was directly involved in these events having taken part in prominent positions in the Yugoslav government almost until the very



Note of Congratulations from Slobodan Jovanović, Yugoslav Prime Minister, to Stalin, Supreme Commander of the Red Army, on the victory at Stalingrad, and Stalin's response to the congratulations ("Please accept my thanks for your letter of congratulation [...] on the success of Soviet troops in operations against our common enemy").
(*Official Gazette* 11, 21st March 1943, p. 9)

end. For the sake of controlling his own memories, he used to glance through the most important documents before writing certain chapters'.¹²⁷ Jovanović handed over his version of events to Radoje Knežević. The text was published in 1976, after expiration of the agreed time limit. It was titled *Notes on Problems and People* (*Zapisi o problemima i ljudima*).¹²⁸

Noteworthy is Jovanović's record concerning his failed attempt to reconcile conflicting anti-fascist movements in the country, that is, a meeting with Soviet Ambassador Bogomolov (Александр Ефремович Богомоллов): 'Mihailović parted ways with the partisans. He accused them of not keeping their word, to which all his attempts to reach an agreement failed. He did not approve their guerrilla warfare either. For the sake of small and transient triumphs, they did not refrain from inflicting bloody German retaliation upon the population. In Mihailović's opinion, the people had to be spared until the moment of a large-scale uprising which was expected to occur simultaneously with the Allied offensive in the Balkans. Most importantly, after partisan attempts to form liberated republics in some parts of Western Serbia [Užička republika / Republic of Užice], Mihailović was convinced that the ultimate goal of the partisans was the bolshevisation of Yugoslavia, and the fight against the occupiers just an excuse [...] The conflict between the Partisans and the Chetniks caused many a concern. It could have easily escalated into a civil war, claiming new casualties, apart from those caused by the German punitive campaigns and the Ustasha slaughters. But how to prevent that conflict? To a certain degree, we could have exerted our influence on Mihailović, but we had no control whatsoever over the partisans. They blindly complied with the commands from Moscow, and in case Moscow showed no interest in stopping the civil war, they were eager to continue fighting against Mihailović, despite our calls from London. It seemed to me, therefore, that terms of ceasefire should be reached primarily in London, through verbal interaction between our Government and the Soviet Embassy. As soon as I took over the gov-

¹²⁷ Radoje L. Knežević, "Predgovor" in: Slobodan Jovanović, *Zapisi o problemima i ljudima*, Vindzor 1976, p. 7. *Zapisnici sa sednica Ministarskog saveta Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1941–1945*, [only its cover is in Cyrillic], priredili Komnen Pijevac, Dušan Jončić. Predgovor Ljubodrag Dimić, Službeni list SCG, Arhiv Srbije i Crne Gore, Beograd, 2004. Certain documents from the period of Jovanović's government were published in *Poruka*, whereas others can be found in the legacies of members of government and government officials.

¹²⁸ Slobodan Jovanović, *Zapisi o problemima i ljudima 1941–1944*, Izdanje Udruženja srpskih pisaca i umetnika u inostranstvu, London 1976. See also John Plamenatz, *The case of general Mihailovic*, Gloucester, J. Bellows, London 1944. Plamenac, an Oxford professor of political philosophy and theory, translated dispatches and other government documents during the war.



King Petar II, Slobodan Jovanović and Canadian minister Major General Georges-Philéas Vanier. Presentation of Credentials (1942)

ernment after Simović, I rescheduled a meeting with Soviet ambassador Bogomolov (Александр Ефремович Богомолов) to raise the question of Mihailović in particular. Bogomolov replied the following [...] As for the conflict between the Chetniks and the Partisans, that is an internal matter into which Russia [the Soviet Union] does not want to meddle. To Bogomolov, it seemed unbelievable that the partisans were trying to establish their own Soviet republics [Republic of Užice, etc.] and that this ruined their relations with Mihailović [...] Bogomolov mentioned that he had heard about our complaints that the partisan guerrilla had been brought into connection with the German repression, thus causing disproportionate casualties. In Russia [the Soviet Union] the guerrilla is likewise provoking great casualties, but no matter how bloody, guerrillas are worthy of effort [...] I replied that a guerilla war in such a vast and only partially occupied country cannot be compared to guerrilla in a much smaller and completely occupied country like Yugoslavia. The guerrilla-imposed casualties were confined to only one part of Russia [the Soviet Union], whereas in Yugoslavia they were to be found everywhere. In Russia, only certain areas were affected; in Yugoslavia, the entire population could be subjected to execution and the entire country devastated [...] Taken altogether, the Mihailović question was one of those issues whose solution depended on the development of the Russian-English relations [...] An English diplomat told me this. Mihailović's question is a game of cards between us and the Russians [Soviets]; we



Slobodan Jovanović, King Petar II and Edvard Beneš (1884–1948), President of Czechoslovakia, at the review of the Czechoslovak Independent Brigade in England, 21 April 1942 (*Official Gazette* 7, 18th June 1942, p. 3)



King Petar II (1923–1970) and Nikola Tesla (1856–1943), New York, 7th July 1942. Tesla said: “I’m proud of being a Serb and a Yugoslav”. (*Official Gazette* 9, 6th September 1942, p. 7)

are holding the high card, but we can still lose because, unlike Russians, we do not know what we want. Indeed, the Russians [Soviets] wanted to wipe out Mihailović’s guerilla in favour of Tito right from the start. While in Government, I was under the impression that they wanted, if possible, to achieve this without openly severing all ties with the King and his government. Their relations with us were not only correct, but almost friendly [...] Tito did nothing without instructions from Moscow. Already in 1942, when relations between our Government and the Soviet Embassy were quite good, he took an openly hostile attitude not only towards our Government but the King as well. He no longer recognised the King’s authority and gathered, only God knows where from, a group of his followers whom he declared to be the only lawful authority of Yugoslavia [AVNO], Bihać, 26–27th November 1942): The king was already overthrown by the partisans. Tito behaved much more like a leader of a revolution than a guerilla leader. This kind of revolution was certainly not organised by the Russians [Soviets] in order to facilitate the return of King Petar and his London government to Yugoslavia’.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Slobodan Jovanović, „Pitanje generala Mihailovića” in: „Zapisi o problemima i ljudima” [1944–1946/1976], SD XII, p. 610. An official note on talks between Jovanović and Bogomolov (dated 16th May 1942) reads that ‘Bogomolov understood this rendition as if we wanted the intervention of the Soviet government before the Comintern, and he immediately replied that the Soviet government did not take any responsibility for the actions of the Comintern’. He reminded ‘that at the recent All-Slav Congress all Slavic nations were called to take part in the fight against the Germans, and that, in addition, Stalin himself praised all the partisans without distinction’. According to the



Predrag Raković (1912–1944), Draža Mihailović (1893–1946), Dragiša Vasić and Miljan Janketić. (Courtesy of the Žujović family)

On the 11th of January 1942, Mihailović was elected Minister of Defense in the first government led by Jovanović, during whose term Mihailović was appointed Chief of Staff to the Supreme Command, transferred at that time from Cairo to the occupied country. During Simović's term of office, he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General, and then again, under Prime Minister Jovanović, as Division and Army General. On the 10th June 1942, he was appointed Chief of Staff of the Supreme Command. Jovanović highlighted that there were 'no members of the Cabinet to object the election of General Mihailović as minister of the army. The Allies found nothing wrong in that our government in exile so openly expressing support for armed resistance in the country. Even the Soviet government made no reservations whatsoever'.¹³⁰ He emphasised that by appointing Mihailović as minister, the government wanted to provide support for the resistance to the occupier in the country: 'The Government did not approve the capitulation of our army, declared even without its knowledge. Hence, not only did the Government express determination in that sense, but was actually obliged to stand in solidarity with those

note, Slobodan Jovanović asked Bogomolov whether 'the Soviet government considers General Mihailović also a partisan': 'After some hesitation, Mr Bogomolov said that the Soviet government considers anyone who leads the fight against the Germans a partisan, thus considering General Mihailović to be one as well'. See an official note on talks between Jovanović and Bogomolov, dated 16th May 1942 in: Radoje Knežević, „Bojište sa tri protivnika“, *Poruka* 10 (1st February 1953), 10–11.

¹³⁰ Slobodan Jovanović, „General Mihailović, ministar vojni“, *Oslobođenje* [London] 2/1949, 25 (9th July 1949), pp. 3, 6.



President of the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia, Živko Topalović (1886–1972) and Army General Dragoljub Mihailović on Ravna Gora (1944)

national champions and officers who were determined to continue the war even after the capitulation. Right from the start, we agreed with the English Command and Mihailović over the issue of organising people for battle, provided that the decisive campaign did not commence until the Allied landings in the Balkans. Until then, activities should be limited to occasional operations respectful of the needs of the English Command. In addition, it would be more than sufficient if Mihailović could succeed in invigorating the people by means of his efforts, and through neutralising certain number of enemy divisions'.¹³¹ Following the great suffering of the Serbian people in the occupied Yugoslavia in 1941, Mihailović made efforts to protect, above all, 'the biological substance of the Serbian people'. He was committed to a strategy of waiting the 'great fronts' to reach the borders of the occupied Yugoslav state. He remained the Minister of the Army and Chief of Staff of the Supreme Command until the formation of the Šubašić Government (1st June 1944).

In a later text, Slobodan Jovanović argued that everything was interrelated in times of the world wars: 'Mihailović's fate had already been sealed in Tehran when the plan to land the British and the Americans on the Balkan Peninsula failed'.¹³² Even before Tehran, Americans did not agree to Churchill's intentions of disembarking on the Balkans and opening a southern battlefield, similar to the Salonika Front. In any case, the main cards were in Stalin's hands. Even at the time of the landing of the Allies in Normandy, the Germans had to hold infinitely more divisions on the Eastern Front than on the Western.¹³³

In 1945, Tito made statements that he did not intend to introduce a one-party regime in Yugoslavia.¹³⁴ Following the end of occupation, political pluralism in Yugoslavia was restored, but then gradually suppressed.¹³⁵ After the transformation of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Slobodan Jovanović, Govor [„Glavno delo generala Mihailovića“], *Poruka* 7 (16th September 1952), pp. 12–13.

¹³³ Vojislav Pavlović, „Ideološki koreni Titove spoljne politike. Jugoslavija kao deo sovjetske interesne sfere“, *Dva veka moderne srpske diplomatije*, Balkanološki institut SANU, Institut za Evropske studije, Beograd, 2013, p. 223.

¹³⁴ Josip Broz Tito, „O Srbiji u Narodno-oslobodilačkoj borbi i o rezultatima te borbe“, govor na Kosmaju, 7. jula 1945; „Govor u Beloj Crkvi 7. jula 1945“, *Izgradnja nove Jugoslavije*. Knj. 1. tom 2. Kultura, Beograd 1947, pp. 74–75; Branko Petranović, *Političke i pravne prilike za vreme privremene vlade DFJ*, Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd 1964; Branko Petranović, Momčilo Zečević, *Jugoslavija 1918–1984*. [1985], pp. 643–644; Vojislav Koštunica, Kosta Čavoški, *Stranački pluralizam ili monizam. Obnova i zatiranje posleratne opozicije* [1983, 1990]. Treće izdanje, Biblioteka Politika i društvo, Službeni glasnik, Dosije studio, Beograd, 2011.

¹³⁵ Ibid.



Tehran Conference (from 28th November to 1st December 1943): (from left to right) Joseph Stalin (1878–1953), Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945), and Winston Churchill (1874–1965)

Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) into the Provisional National Assembly, first disagreements erupted between the new government and Democratic Party MP Milan Grol, who voted against the ruling majority. Tito's Deputy Prime Minister, Milan Grol, a former member of Jovanović's Cabinet, argued that laws ensuring personal freedom, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and freedom of association and party, were necessary for carrying out the elections for a Constituent Assembly, as well as guarantees that it would not only be declarative, but fully implemented in practice.

At The Potsdam Conference of July 1945, it became evident that the Western Allies would not be able to convince Tito to organise free elections in the country.¹³⁶ King Petar II withdrew the decision concerning the Regency he had previously been forced to appoint (since Tito could not accept that he be appointed by the King as Prime Minister, though it was in line with the Constitution).¹³⁷ In August 1945, Milan Grol resigned as Deputy Prime Minister, arguing that he cannot give his consent to the implementation of 'an exclusive party programme' that was not in accordance with the assurances given at the time of the Tito-Šubašić Agreement.¹³⁸ Two representatives of the Croatian Peasant Party, Foreign

¹³⁶ „Iz američkog zapisnika Potsdamske konferencije, 19. jul 1945,” Branko Petranović, Momčilo Zečević, *Jugoslavija 1918–1984*. [1985], pp. 629–630.

¹³⁷ „Zaključak privremene vlade DFJ povodom izjave kralja Petra II o opozivu kraljevskih namesnika, 10. Avgusta 1945,” (*Borba*, 11th August 1945), Ibid, pp. 630–631.

¹³⁸ Vojislav Koštunica, Kosta Čavoški, *Stranački pluralizam ili monizam. Obnova i zatiranje*



Some members of the Supreme Command of Yugoslav partisans (NOV and POJ), Jajce, November 1943. From left to right: Ivo Lola Ribar, Aleksandar Ranković Marko, Milovan Đilas, Josip Broz Tito, Sreten Žujović Crni, Andrija Hebrang and Moša Pijade. (Museum of Yugoslavia, henceforth: MY, III-7705)

Minister Ivan Šubašić and Minister without Portfolio Juraj Šutej, also submitted their resignations. In September 1945, the Democratic Party decided not to participate in the elections for the Constituent Assembly because of the limitations on freedom imposed by the very laws, erasure of hundreds of thousands of names from the voting lists, 'in a manner whose arbitrariness had been documented from day one', as well as due to the lack of personal security and freedom of public debate.¹³⁹

On hearing that General Mihailović was arrested in March 1946, Slobodan Jovanović and members of the Yugoslav People's Committee sent a letter to the Security Council and members of the United Nations, entitled 'U odbranu generala Mihailovića' (In Defense of General Mihailović).¹⁴⁰ Milovan Đilas noted that 'most of the press in the West stood up to the defense of Mihailović. [...] Moreover, already in early April 1946, the Government of the United States submitted a note, proving that Mihailović was not a

posleratne opozicije [1983, 1990]. Treće izdanje, Biblioteka Politika i društvo, Službeni glasnik, Dosije studio, Beograd, 2011, str. 110, 380–385 [Resignation of Milan Grol, submitted on 18th August 1945]; *Rad zakonodavnih odbora Predsedništva antifašističkog veća narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije i privremene Narodne skupštine DFJ* (3 aprila–25 oktobra 1945) : po stenografskim beleškama i drugim izvorima sredi Slobodan Nešović, Prezidijum Narodne skupštine FNRJ, Beograd; Branko Petranović, Momčilo Zečević, *Jugoslavija 1918–1984*. Zbirka dokumenata, Izdavačka radna organizacija „Rad“, Beograd 1985, pp. 629–637.

¹³⁹ „Izborni zakon i izborna stvarnost“, *Demokratija* (27th September 1945); Događaji i komentari“, *Demokratija* (18th October 1945); „Događaji i komentari“, *Demokratija* (1st November 1945). See. Branko Petranović, *Političke i pravne prilike za vreme privremene vlade DFJ*, Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd 1964.

¹⁴⁰ Slobodan Jovanović et al, „U odbranu generala Mihailovića“ (na vest o hvatanju, 26. 3. 1946), Organizaciji UN, published in: *Poruka* 30–31 (1st August 1955), p. 17.

traitor and demanding the American aviators whom Mihailović saved be allowed to witness at the trial. At home, especially in Serbia, Mihailović's trial was important for similar, if not identical reasons: Mihailović was considered an activist not only for the underground propaganda of nationalists, but also in the consciousness of a considerable part of the peasantry [...].¹⁴¹

The trial against a group of twenty-four people headed by Mihailović, followed in the wake of the Cold War.¹⁴² The trial lasted only a short time, from the 10th June to the 15th July 1946, when the sentence was read. During this period, about 30,000 people attended the trial, which took place in the summer hall of the Infantry College in Topčider, Belgrade.

According to the indictment, Slobodan Jovanović and others charged along with him, were found to have 'collaborated with the occupying forces via Mihailović' on the basis of previous investigation and incriminating documents: 'The perpetrators will be held accountable before the law for acts of collaborating with the occupier against the peoples of Yugoslavia and in war crimes committed by the Chetnik organisation and Mihailović in the capacity of commander-in-chief of the said organisation'.¹⁴³ Undoubtedly, the indictment was ideological.

Out of documents on the relationship between Slobodan Jovanović and Draža Mihailović, Jovanović's dispatch to the Foreign Minister, was singled out as particularly incriminating: 'We are operating in secret and over the radio so as to avoid premature large-scale actions because of useless and disproportionate casualties and terrible reprisals'.¹⁴⁴ A second dispatch of similar content was likewise mentioned: 'General Mihailović was instructed to launch an uprising only in the event of the landing of stronger Allied troop reinforcements in Yugoslavia or the German debacle. In no other case or under any call from radio station'.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ Milovan Đilas, *Vlast*, Naša reč, London, 1983, pp. 29–30. „Nota Vlade FNRJ Vladi SAD kojom se odbacuje zalaganje za D. Mihailovića”, Branko Petranović, Momčilo Zečević, *Jugoslavija 1918–1984*. [1985], pp. 668–669.

¹⁴² „Nota Vlade FNRJ Vladi SAD povodom povreda jugoslovenskog vazdušnog prostora, 10. avgust 1946,” Branko Petranović, Momčilo Zečević, *Jugoslavija 1918–1984*. [1985], p. 673 and so forth.

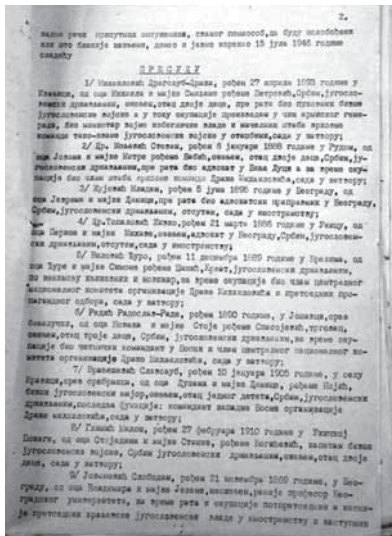
¹⁴³ *Izdajnik i ratni zločinac Draža Mihailović pred sudom : stenografske beleške i dokumenta sa suđenja Dragoljubu-Draži Mihailoviću*, Savez udruženja novinara FNRJ, Beograd 1946, p. 98. It is known that these notes are incomplete, and that the book contains many drawbacks for various reasons.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 100.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*. See also Milan Terzić, „Depeše Slobodana Jovanovića generalu Dragoljubu Mihailoviću 1942–1943.godine”, *Vojno-istorijski glasnik* 1/2 (2001), pp. 110–122.



Milan Grol (1876–1952), minister, writer, playwright and manager of the National Theatre in Belgrade, president of the Democratic Party from 1940. (SASA-FL-00017-03)



Verdict of the Supreme Court of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia – Military Council (No.1 / 46)

By verdict of the Supreme Court of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia – Military Council (No.1 / 46) of the 15th July 1946, Slobodan Jovanović was found guilty of treason and war crimes. The verdict alleges that Jovanović and other indictees were guilty of 'constantly and persistently pursuing a policy of supporting the occupation of the country and suppression of the national liberation struggle and issuing directives for the said purpose, such as postponing the fight against the enemy, providing continued political support for the traitor Mihailović and maintaining contact with Milan Nedić and other quisling elements in the country'.¹⁴⁶ According to the ruling of the Court, Jovanović was found guilty of 'wasting state funds' on Chetniks, organising radio broadcasts via foreign stations, releasing publications abroad and putting them into circulation in the country, as well as 'bribing reactionary newspapers and the press in order to falsely present the accused Mihailović abroad as the leader of fight against the occupiers'.¹⁴⁷ Slobodan Jovanović was sentenced to 'twenty years imprisonment with hard labour, loss of political and individual civil rights for a period of ten years, confiscation of the entire property and loss of citizenship'.¹⁴⁸

Upon hearing the verdict, Kosta St. Pavlović, Jovanović's cousin and former Chief of the Cabinet, met with Slobodan Jovanović and Milan Gavrilović: 'They are cold-blooded and keep smiling [...]. I immediately suggested them that the King should send telegrams everywhere and seek intervention to save Draža's life. They agreed. We composed telegrams'.¹⁴⁹ The appeal was addressed to statesmen of the United States of America, Great Britain and France (James F. Byrnes, Clement Richard Attlee and Georges-Augustin Bidault). As president of the Yugoslav People's Committee and former president of multilateral governments, Slobodan Jovanović sent a series of letters to the United Nations, the United States Congress, the President of the United States of America Harry S. Truman and ministers of foreign affairs of the United States of America and the United Kingdom, pointing out the undemocratic one-party rule in Yugoslavia.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ *Izdajnik i ratni zločinac Draža Mihailović pred sudom : stenografske beleške i dokumenta sa suđenja Dragoljubu-Draži Mihailoviću, Savez udruženja novinara FNRJ*, Beograd 1946, p. 517.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 527–528.

¹⁴⁹ Note from Monday, 15th July 1946. Kosta St. Pavlović, *Londonski dnevnik 1945–1946*, Istorijski arhiv Beograda, Beograd 2017, p. 378.

¹⁵⁰ All letter were later published in the journal *Poruka* 30–31 (1st August 1955).

In a letter 'On the Trial' (Ocena o suđenju), addressed to the world media, Slobodan Jovanović gave his legal and political analysis of the process led against him before the Belgrade Court: 'That the quest for the truth and establishing of historical facts had not been the goal of either the Government or the court, was evident from the persistent refusal to hear the offered witnesses, rescued Allied aviators, as well as the officers of British and US army missions in two guerrilla movements in Yugoslavia during wartime. The way in which the whole process was conducted further illustrates the true nature of the trial in question. [...] The public prosecutor who exploits false witnesses under the pretext of determining accurate data on the murder of four American airmen, the same airmen who, only three days later, call back from America in protest for being declared dead and want to come to Belgrade to testify in favour of General Mihailović; presentation of obviously falsed documents, such as the alleged Mihailović's letter to bandit Pavelić. During the whole trial, the Chief Judge of the Judges Panel was acting as an additional prosecutor to the existing one; the scandal with the letter "Z", [being the Court's evidence of the alleged "crimes"] was deliberately wrongly qualified as to refer to be some secret code for death sentences inflicted upon thousands of people belonging exclusively to Tito's guerrilla movement. In fact, it meant to frighten and involved no more than seventy-five people, all well-known enemy collaborators, none being a member of Tito's guerrilla; not to mention that, most surprisingly, every single indictee was unreluctantly admitting all of the criminal charges raised against him – all this attracted worldwide attention and media coverage, so the trial of General Mihailović actually turned against Tito's regime, much to its embarrassment'.¹⁵¹

Slobodan Jovanović was of the opinion that one of the important tendencies of the Belgrade trial, 'especially with respect to internal use' was to 'ridicule and embarrass everything that preceded Tito's [...] regime, and all who refused to side with it from the moment of its installment in Belgrade by force of the Allied arms [...] The course of the trial further emphasised this tendency. Furthermore, the Public Prosecutor and the Chief Judge of the Trial Panel tried to implicate and dishonour many prominent figures of earlier Yugoslav national life'.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Slobodan Jovanović [et al], „Ocena o suđenju” [letter to the world media, 15th July 1946], *Poruka* 30–31 (1st August 1955), p. 18. See also Slobodan Jovanović, „Sign Z”, *The Times*, London, 50503 (15th July 1946), p. 5; „Gospodine uredniče”, Radoje Knežević, „Organizovanje otpora”, *Poruka* 13 (16th June 1953), p. 16.

¹⁵² Ibid.



Piano of Pravda Ristić, née Jovanović
(ACCHPF)

VIEW OF THE COUNTRY FROM ABROAD

Slobodan Jovanović first stayed in London at the Berkeley Hotel (Berkeley Street, Piccadilly), opposite the Ritz Hotel London. Since the beginning of 1942 he lived on the corner of Grosvenor Square and South Audley Street. In early July 1945 he moved to Tudor Court Hotel, 60, Cromwell Road, S. W. 7, where he remained for the next 14 years. In 1965, a plaque was installed in front of the window of the hotel lounge where he used to receive guests, which reads: 'Professor Slobodan Yovanovitch, 1869–1958, Serbian Historian, Literary Critic, Legal Scholar, Prime Minister of Yugoslavia, lived here 1945–1958'. The Yugoslav emigration lived in the spiritual atmosphere of pre-war Belgrade, which was reconstructed in London. On Sundays people attended the church service, gathered during the *slava* feast, cooperated on various issues, hoping for the fall of communism and return to the country.

In 1950, Slobodan Jovanović was elected Foreign Corresponding Member (correspondent) of the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences (*l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques*), one of the five Academies of the French Institute (*Institut de France*). It was Paul Raymond Marie Bastid (1892–1974), professor of law, minister (Radical Party) and academician, who proposed Jovanović be appointed to said position. He was elected to fill the vacant post of the late foreign correspondent member Henrik Schück (1855–1947), a Swedish academician, professor, literary historian and former member and chairman of the Nobel Prize Board of Directors. Slobodan Jovanović was a member of several institutes and scientific organisations in France. As early as in 1941, he was elected an Honorary Member of the old and respected Athenaeum Club, a gentlemen's club (107, Pall Mall) that admitted a limited number of prominent members (with the Rules for the use of the Club's premises).

Slobodan Jovanović initiated the establishment of the Yugoslav National Committee, which brought together mainly representatives of political parties participating in the work of previous Yugoslav governments – Slobodan Jovanović, President of the Yugoslav People's Committee ('Prime Minister of the All-Party Government During the War'), Jovan Banjanin, Vice-President of the Yugoslav National Party, Miloš St. Bobić,

REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE No. 959649.
 ISSUED AT 10 Piccadilly Place, W1.
 ON 15th August 1945.
 NAME (Surname first in Roman Capitals) YOVANOVITCH. Slobodan
 ALIAS _____
 Left Thumb Print (if unable to sign name in English Characters).
 PHOTOGRAPH
 Signature of Holder. } Slobodan Jovanovich
 Nationality Yugo-Slav.
 Born on 3/12/69. in Belgrade.
 Previous Nationality (if any) none.
 Profession or Occupation {
 Single or Married Single
 Address of Residence Ludor Court Hotel
Cromwell Rd. SW7.
 Arrival in United Kingdom on 26.7.1941.
 Address of last Residence outside U.K. Belgrade
 Government Service _____
 Passport or other papers as to Nationality and Identity. Yugo Slav. Diplomatic Passport
no 26. issued Jerusalem
14.5.41.

ALIENS REGISTRATION OFFICE
 METROPOLITAN POLICE
 15/8/45
 19...
 PICCADILLY PLACE, W.1.

ALIENS REGISTRATION OFFICE
 METROPOLITAN POLICE
 19...
 PICCADILLY PLACE, W.1.

APXIB
 CAHY
 BBOГPAД

Slobodan Jovanović's english
 registration certificate.
 (ASASA, 14891/8)

Member of the Main Board of the Radical Party, Bećir Đonlagić, Member of the Main Board of the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation, Dr Milan Gavrilović, President of the Serbian Agricultural Party (formerly known as the Agricultural Party), Bogoljub Jevtić, Member of the Committee of the Yugoslav National Party, Radoje L. Knežević, Member of the Main Board of the Democratic Party, Krsto Lj. Miletić, Member of the Main Committee of the Radical Party, and Većeslav Vilder, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Independent Democratic Party. In 1950, both members of the YNC and 'members of the Central Committee of People's Democratic Resistance in the Country during Wartime' signed 'Message to Yugoslav emigrants, Serbs, Croats and Slovenes'. The 'Message to Yugoslav Emigration, Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' was signed in 1950 together with members of the Yugoslav People's Committee and Dr Vladimir Belajčić, Vice President of the Central National Committee of Yugoslavia, Adam Pribičević, Honorary Chairman of the Independent Democratic Party and member of the Central National Committee and Dr Živko Topalović, president of the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia and

president of the Yugoslav Democratic Congress of the People's Resistance.¹⁵³ At the end of the 1950 'Message to Yugoslav Emigration, Serbs, Croats and Slovenes', five principles were outlined – the fight against the Communist regime; struggle for the principles of modern democracy; the preservation of a free and united Yugoslavia as a historical reality of that time and an international necessity; the organisation of Yugoslavia on a democratic and federal basis (specific national and state affairs of federal units should remain under the full responsibility of individual federal governments); the final word on the organisation of a liberated Yugoslavia should be made at the Constituent Assembly and 'undoubtedly correspond to the free will of the national representatives of the majority of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes'.¹⁵⁴ The journal *Poruka* [Message] was also launched (57 numbers issued for the period 1950–1959).¹⁵⁵

Slobodan Jovanović worked on the political unification of Serbs in emigration. Concerning the London agreements on the formation of the Serbian National Representative Office, Konstantin Fotić and Mladen Žujović suggested Jovanović working together to achieve common goals, such as the liberation of the Serbian people from Communism, protection of the vital interests of the Serbian people, free democratic organisation of the country into three federal state units following the liberation, and the issue of Serbian national borders to be dealt with at the same time (1948).¹⁵⁶

In March 1951, Jovanović launched the Association of Serbian Writers in Exile: 'Only Serbs come into consideration, because, as already stated, the association is to be named the Association of Serbian Writers in Exile, upon the same principle by which, prior to the war, there were three Pen clubs, three universities and three academies in Yugoslavia'.¹⁵⁷ The

¹⁵³ *Poruka jugoslovenskoj emigraciji, Srbima, Hrvatima i Slovencima*, London-Paris, april 1950. (8 pages). See *Poruka*, list Jugoslovenskog narodnog odbora [several issues contain records on the activities of the Government], London 1950–1959, (reprint), priredili Jovica Trkulja i Života Lazić, Službeni glasnik, Beograd 2007.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ AJ-859–10, Fund Milan Gavrilović, Dr Mladen J. Žujović and Konstantin Fotić to Slobodan Jovanović [a Latin typewriter], New York, 16th December 1948; „Jedno obaveštenje“ [Accompanying explanation to the Minutes of Meetings between Bogoljub Jevtić, Božidar Purić, Konstantin Fotić, Radoje Knežević and Slobodan Jovanović concerning the state of Serbian Emigration, held on 24th, 26th and 28th October 1953], *Poruka*, 17 (16th December 1953), p. 15.

¹⁵⁷ AJ-859–10, Fund Milan Gavrilović, Slobodan Jovanović to Milan Gavrilović, London, 15th March 1951. Attached to the letter is a list of people invited to form the Association of Serbian Writers in Exile.



Živojin M. Perić (1868–1953) with his wife Marija Perić, Switzerland, ca 1946. (SAS, ŽP, 1065).

list of proposed members also included the name of Živojin Perić, Jovanović's friend since the eighties and nineties of the 19th century. Živojin Perić, a professor at the Faculty of Law and a correspondent member of the Serbian Royal Academy, lived with his wife and her brother, Mihailo Petrović Alas, in a house in Kosančićev Venac Neighbourhood in Belgrade and at the estates in Stubline. Following Alas' death in June 1943, Perić remained in Belgrade until April 1944, when he and his spouse relocated to their daughter in Oberurnen in the old Swiss canton of Glarus, where he remained until his death in 1953.¹⁵⁸ Slobodan Jovanović dedicated him a eulogy which was published in the London-based magazine *Poruka* [Message].¹⁵⁹ In Belgrade, Milan Bartoš published eulogy to Perić in the *Anali Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu* (*Annals of the Faculty of Law of Belgrade*) in 1954.¹⁶⁰

Slobodan Jovanović presented his political views and analyses in the post-war immigrant press (*Oslobođenje* [Liberation], London; *Naša reč* [Our Word], Paris; *Tamo daleko* [There, Far Away]..., Chicago-Melbourne; *Glas kanadskih Srba* [Voice of Canadian Serbs], Windsor; *Bratstvo* [Brotherhood], Toronto; *Sloga* [Concord, Unity] Annual, Perth, Australia; *Razvigor*, Johannesburg). He most often published in the London-based journal *Poruka* [Message], issued by the Yugoslav People's Committee which he headed for the rest of his life (1958). He paid special attention to analyses of political and social development of post-war Yugoslavia, the constitutions and laws of the new state, as well as emergent economic theories.¹⁶¹ His sources were the Yugoslav press (*Borba*, *Politika*,

¹⁵⁸ Jovica Trkulja, „Osvrt na život i delo Živojina M. Perića“ in: *Živojin M. Perić. Izložba povodom 150 godina od rođenja*. Priredio Jovica Trkulja, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, Biblioteka „Vlada Aksentijević“, Obrenovac, Beograd 2018, p. 8; Dobrilo Aranitović, Jovica Trkulja, *Bibliografija Živojina M. Perića sa hronologijom života i rada*, Biblioteka „Vlada Aksentijević“, Obrenovac i Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, Beograd 2018, pp. 11–30, 293–320. In May 1943, Živojin Perić was appointed chairman of the Committee for the Study of Language Issues in Laws and the Committee for the Determination of Legal Terminology, established by the Ministry of Education and Religion as part of the project to form the 'Serbian Cultural Plan'. On 10th January 1944, Perić delivered a lecture entitled 'Religious Elements in the Serbian Civil Code', on the occasion of the centenary of its adoption. Together with his wife, in April 1944 he headed from Belgrade to Oberurnen (Switzerland) and stayed with his daughter and son-in-law. Parts of Živojin Perić and Mihailo Petrović Alas' archives are preserved in Switzerland, in the collection of Jovan Jean Ivanović, their great-grandson.

¹⁵⁹ Slobodan Jovanović, „Živojin Perić“, *Poruka*, 16 (1st November 1953), pp. 15–16.

¹⁶⁰ Milan Bartoš, „Živojin M. Perić“, *Anali Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu* (January–March 1954), pp. 118–122.

¹⁶¹ Slobodan Jovanović, „Ustavna promena u Jugoslaviji“ [On the draft of the new constitution (different from the one later adopted), *Poruka* 7 (16th September 1952), pp. 3–4; „Novi jugoslovenski ustav“, *Poruka* 10 (1st February 1953), pp. 3–4; „Samouprava u komunističkoj Jugoslaviji“, *Poruka* 11 (16th March 1953), pp. 2–3; „Crkva i škola u

etc.), especially speeches of functionaries and ideologues, information, testimonies and works of individuals who managed to leave the country after the war, such as Dr Kajica Milanov from the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade.¹⁶²

The first issue of the *Poruka*, which published Jovanović's views, contained a reissue of Branko Ćopić's *Jeretička priča* (A Heretical Story), reprinted in 1950. Parts of Tito's speech were also published, in which the unnamed Ćopić ('he') was characterised as 'an instrument in the hands of the reaction, and indirectly [dialectically] in the hands of the Informbiro [Cominform]'.¹⁶³ The *Poruka* concludes that 'the Communist regime in this affair is presented better than in all possible correspondence and reports of foreign reporters'.¹⁶⁴ In 1954, the *Poruka* issued 'Anatomija jednog morala' (*The Anatomy of a Morality*) by Milovan Đilas, which was published in the January issue of *Nova misao* [New Thought] (1954).¹⁶⁵

Slobodan Jovanović published several studies on totalitarianism (Communism, Fascism, National Socialism), the most famous of which is his book *O totalitarizmu* (*On Totalitarianism*) (1952). Jovanović argues that in totalitarian regimes the entire spiritual life (philosophy, literature, law, art) is subordinated to the interests of the ruling party. In fact, it should be an expression of its politics. In comparing totalitarian regimes, he emphasised that 'out of all dictatorships to date, the totalitarian dictatorship is probably the most complete one', since not only did it destroy 'the legal security of individuals, but made their very existence depend-



Jovan P. Plamenac (John Plamenatz, 1912–1975), Slobodan Jovanović's associate from the government, professor at Oxford (Chichele Professor of Social and Political Theory) with his wife Marjorie. (Courtesy of the Plamenac family, Belgrade)

Jugoslaviji" [Analysis of the two drafts of the laws on religious communities and the Draft of the Law on Universities], *Poruka*, London, 13 (16th June 1953), pp. 3–4; „Novi Nacrt zakona o univerzitetima“, *Poruka* 14 (1st August 1953), pp. 2–3; „Novi Zakon o univerzitetima“, *Poruka* 23 (16th October 1954), p. 3; „Posle izbora od 22. Novembra“, *Poruka* 17 (16th December 1953), pp. 1–2; „Preuređenje državne uprave u Jugoslaviji“ [Analysis of the Law on Public Administration and its Bodies], *Poruka* 37 (16th June 1956), pp. 3–5; „Nov zakon o advokaturi“ [An analysis of the new law under which practice of law is considered 'a public service'], *Poruka* 43 (1st May 1957), pp. 4–5. For the post-war constitution see Kosta Čavoški, *Ustav kao sredstvo agitacije i propagande. Ustav Federativne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije od 31. januara 1946*, Institut za savremenu istoriju. Službeni glasnik, Beograd 2011.

¹⁶² Kajica Milanov, *Titovština u Jugoslaviji*. Predgovor Slobodana Jovanovića. Izdanje Sloge, Pert 1952; Boris Milosavljević, „Uvod u 'Spor oko tumačenja srpske istorije' Kajice Milanova – Milanov, Nedeljković, Đilas“, in: Kajica Milanov, „Spor oko tumačenja srpske istorije“, *Istorija srpske filozofije* II, Evro-Giunti, Beograd 2012, pp. 314–331.

¹⁶³ „Ko djavolu služi... Književnik Branko Ćopić na komunističkom indeksu. Slučaj jugoslovenskog Zoščenka“, „'Junaštvo' Branka Ćopića“, *Borba* (28–29th October 1950); B. Ćopić, „Jeretička priča“, *Poruka* 1 (December 1950), pp. 12–16.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Milovan Đilas, „Anatomija jednog morala“, *Poruka* 20 (1st May 1954), pp. 8–14.

Terazije Square in Belgrade in the years immediately following the end of the Second World War



ent on the state, which, as the sole employer, can put anyone deemed unfit without work, therefore out of bread'.¹⁶⁶

Slobodan Jovanović argued that 'at first, there was nothing ideological about the split between Tito and the Cominform', since 'Tito separated from Moscow simply because at one point it seemed to him that Stalin intended to install someone else in his place'. It was only after the split between him and the Cominform had become final that Tito began to claim that he and Stalin disagreed on the interpretation of Marxism. Jovanović's opinion was also indirectly confirmed by Tito's former closest associates. In his memoirs, Milovan Đilas writes that he, along with Edward Kardelj, devised new ideological models. Đilas devoted himself to criticising Soviet bureaucracy, whereas Kardelj established the Workers' self-management.

Since 1903, Jovanović published texts analysing Marx's theory, Marxism, numerous Marxists and their various interpretations of Marxism, critique of Marxism, the development of the labour movement, and the organisation and constitution of the Soviet state.¹⁶⁷ He held a doctoral

¹⁶⁶ Slobodan Jovanović, *O totalitarizmu*, [Biblioteka „Naše delo“, Savez srpskih zadruga Oslobođenje“, Pariz, 1952], SD XII, p. 162.

¹⁶⁷ Slobodan Jovanović, *Svetozar Marković*, D. Obradović, Beograd 1903, str. 12–20.

course on Marxism at the Faculty of Law (1932–1933). His 1935 study on Marx was the only history and theory of Marxism in Yugoslavia until the early 1960s.¹⁶⁸ In the journal *Poruka* he gave a comparative overview of the Soviet and Yugoslav state regimes, expressing the following opinion: ‘State capitalism governs in Russia, as well as in Yugoslavia. In both countries, the state appropriated the means of production, occupying the place of employers and making the workers dependent on their clerical work. The whole world is well aware that until the break with Moscow, the Titoists were blind imitators of Stalinism. In Soviet terms, they carried out industrialisation at all costs, along with the nationalisation of industrial enterprises and collectivisation of rural households. Their village labour cooperatives were just a poor copy of the Russian collective farms [...] At that time of spiritual enslavement to the Soviets, the true cult of Stalin was maintained in Yugoslavia by government force’.¹⁶⁹

As the years passed, Jovanović monitored the development of the post-war Yugoslav state, analysing the viewpoints of state officials and ideologues (Tito, Kardelj, Đilas, Ranković, Petar Stambolić, etc.) and official reports and statistics.¹⁷⁰ He paid particular attention to the well-known

In footnotes, Jovanović refers to *Das Kapital*, the *Communist Manifesto*, *Anti-Dühring*, Chernyshevsky’s works, Plekhanov’s critique of Chernyshevsky, Karl Kautsky and Eduard Bernstein.

¹⁶⁸ Slobodan Jovanović, *Iz istorije političkih doktrina, Platon, Makijaveli, Berk, Marks*, Geca Kon, Beograd, 1935. Jovanović argued on Marxism in his book on the state (1914, 1922, 1936), as well as in numerous shorter works. In order to understand Jovanović’s views on Marxism, Communism, Socialism and the development of the labour movement, it is necessary to take into account the research of his father, Vladimir Jovanović. Based on the bibliography published in the book *Historija marksizma* [The History of Marxism] (Naprijed, Zagreb 1961) by Predrag Vranicki, it can be concluded that, until the publication of this work, Jovanović’s study was the only history of Marxism in Yugoslavia (out of use). In the meantime, there were partial Marxist reviews. For more detail, see: Boris Milosavljević, „Marksistička kritika studije Slobodana Jovanovića o Marksu. Praksa i dijalektika“, *Theoria* 56/3 (2013), pp. 15–40; Boris Milosavljević, „Međuratna marksistička kritika studije Slobodana Jovanovića o Marksu i istoriji marksizma – moralni ideali i građanski objektivizam“, *Istorija srpske filozofije* III, Prilozi istraživanju, pr. I. Deretić, Evro-Đunti, Beograd 2014, str. 393–423.

¹⁶⁹ Slobodan Jovanović, „Kardeljev govor u Oslu“, *Poruka* 27 (16th March 1955), p. 3.

¹⁷⁰ Slobodan Jovanović, „Posle zagrebačkog kongresa“ [On Tito’s speech at the Sixth Congress of the CPY (renamed SKJ, for League of Communists of Yugoslavia) in Zagreb concerning conflict with the Cominform (2nd–7th November 1952)], *Poruka* 9 (16th December 1952), pp. 5–6; „Komunisti sami o sebi“ [Analysis of Petar Stambolić’s Speech at the Tenth Provincial Conference of the Union of Communists of Serbia for Vojvodina, 25–26th June 1953], *Poruka*, 15 (16th September 1953), pp. 2–4; „Jedno službeno tumačenje titoizma“, [regarding Milovan Đilas’ article „Početak kraja i početka“ in the journal *Nova misao* (August, 1953) on the decline of Marxist in the country] *Poruka*, 17 (16th December 1953), pp. 2–4; „Velebitovo predavanje“ [concerning the lecture delivered by Vladimir Velebit, Ambassador of Yugoslavia to Chatham House (The Royal Institute of International Affairs)], *Poruka*, London, 22 (1st August 1954), pp. 2–4; „Tito i Kardelj o komunističkoj



Tito in his working cabinet



Leading members of the new government. Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980) with his closest associates.

From left to right: Aleksandar Ranković (1909–1983), Tito, Milovan Đilas (1911–1995) and Edvard Kardelj (1910–1979). Jajce, 29th November 1953

party divisions: 'Until yesterday, the President of the National Assembly, the Deputy Prime Minister and the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, [Milovan] Đilas is now just an ordinary member of the National Assembly and an ordinary member of the Communist Party. [...] The position which Tito has found himself to be in at this moment is not an easy one. His monolithic party split into three: (1) The Comin-

privredi", *Poruka* 24 (1st November 1954), pp. 3–4; „O komunama" [On Edvard Kardelj and the Workers' Councils], *Poruka* 25 (16th December 1954), pp. 11–13; „Kardeljev govor u Oslu" [Speech delivered before the members of the Norwegian Workers' Party, published in the newspaper *Borba*, on 1st January 1955], *Poruka* 27 (16th March 1955), pp. 3–5; „Tito iznad blokova" [Analysis of Tito's foreign policy coexistence], *Poruka* 30–31 (1st August – 16th September 1955), pp. 2–5; „Titov ekonomski izveštaj" [Analysis of Tito's report presented at the Fourth Plenum of the Federal Committee of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia], *Poruka* 34 (1st February 1956), pp. 3–4; „Titov govor pred Socijalističkim Savezom" [On the occasion of Tito's speech at the Fifth Plenum of the Socialist Alliance], *Poruka* 43 (1st May 1957), pp. 3–4; „Skupštinski izbori i komunistički kongres" [Analysis of the elections for the Federal National Assembly of the FPRY in March 1958 and the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in Ljubljana, 22nd–26th April 1958], *Poruka* 49 (May 1958), pp. 1–4.



Josip Broz Tito and Aleksandar Ranković. Boris Kidrič Institute, 28th December 1959. (MY, 1959_127_159)

formists [Informbirovci] who remained true to the Soviet Union and its ideology; (2) Communists led by Đilas who would like to appease Communism by virtue of democratic ideology; (3) Tito-led communists who have remained under the influence of Soviet communism but without Stalin's reach. What is the actual strength of these groups is still unknown'.¹⁷¹

Jovanović wrote about economic crime in post-war Yugoslavia on the basis of official Yugoslav reports published in the press: 'Generally speaking, economic crime is very widespread in Yugoslavia. In 1953, every fourth criminal act fell into this category (*Borba*, 10th April 1954). According to a report by the Secretary of the Interior, in the first nine months of last year, the largest number of cases concerned economic crime, 54% (*Borba*, 30th December 1954) [...] In many cases, offenses of officers at the expense of businesses seem to be well organised. This can be concluded judging by both the amount of damage and the number of participants involved in the crime. The first among these crimes is the theft committed at the

¹⁷¹ Slobodan Jovanović, „Đilasov slučaj“, *Poruka* 18 (1st February 1954), pp. 2–4; „Unutrašnje teškoće jugoslovenskih komunista“ [Analysis of Aleksandar Ranković's report at the Plenum of the Central Committee of CPY concerning the position of Đilas, the expulsion of Party members and a relatively small number of workers within the party], *Poruka*, 20 (1st May 1954), pp. 3–4; „Đilas – Dedijerov slučaj“ [On instituting criminal proceedings for 'defamatory and hostile propaganda' (Article 118 of the Criminal Code)], *Poruka* 26 (1st February 1955), pp. 5–7; „Đilas i Kardelj“ [regarding the events in Hungary], *Poruka* 41 (February 1957), pp. 1–3; „O Đilasovoj knjizi“ [Concerning the book *Nova klasa*], *Poruka* 46 (November 1957), pp. 3–6.

Bor mines: all the executives, starting from the director, are suspected of damaging the mines for about 25 million. In the Kablar Enterprise, some 25 officers were suspected, and even declared guilty of criminal acts. Official crime occurs not only in large enterprises, but even in small shops of theirs, and even therein, damages are estimated to over one million [...] In the Niš Water Supply Company, the supervisory authority outside the enterprise discovers that all accounting records have been forged. The whole team stands up to defend the suspects guaranteeing their honesty. Accounts have been rarely kept [...] The company does not fulfill its obligations on time, does not pay its debts, and even unilaterally cancels the contracts because of the opportunity for a more favourable contract on the other side. Last year, there were 110,000 disputes in commercial courts over unpaid debts [...] The two companies are negotiating a trade deal; the representative of one company bribes the representative of the other in order to reach a faster and more favorable settlement; since he works under the consent and authority of his company stipulated for paying the bribe, his entire enterprise actually acts as a briber [...] Inspection is not a popular measure at all. To many true communists, it seems that it is against the people's self-management, and at the same time unnecessary, since, according to Tito, the state has begun to 'die out' [...] The corruption of human nature, on the one hand, and the revival of the private capitalist spirit on the other, testifies that the communist economy is affected by internal diseases and contradictions'.¹⁷²

In fact, Slobodan Jovanović tried to give a critical stand on Yugoslav socialism from abroad. Just as he analysed political events and processes in his work on Serbian history, so did he analyse post-war times. He paid special attention to the self-management, which received praise from abroad: 'Stalin imposed – so they say – the economy of clerks over workers that is no easier than the economy of private capitalists [...] That phrase, "Factories are ceded to workers", sounds pretty good without a doubt, but what does it actually mean? First of all, it is clear that the workers have not become the owners of the factories in which they are employed. In Yugoslavia, the complete nationalisation of industrial enterprises was carried out, so that only the state and no one else could own the factory. Did the workers, in the absence of property rights, acquire the right to be permanently employed in their factories? This cannot be said either because the factory management is still entitled to lay off workers who are no longer needed [...] Workers' councils have been set up and elected by all workers employed by one factory who then elect a single

¹⁷² Slobodan Jovanović, „Privredni kriminal“, *Poruka* 26 (1st February 1955), p. 3.

body to run the factory. It is important that this so-called Executive Board does not operate alone, but alongside one director who does not represent the workforce, but the state as the true owner of the factory. In practice, that director actually runs the factory [...] Was it worthwhile to raise so much havoc about 'ceding factories to workers' and designating something as ceding when it is not to be labelled as such?"¹⁷³ A thorough critical and analytical study and interpretation of Jovanović's legal, economic and political analyses of the post-war Yugoslav state (until his death in 1958) remains the task of scholars dedicated to researching his work.

In 1958, Radoje Knežević asked Slobodan Jovanović if they would live to return to a free country: 'He thought for a moment, as if choosing the right words to say, "I certainly won't, but your generation will have that chance"'.¹⁷⁴ In a text published in 1956 in the *Poruka*, Slobodan Jovanović analysed American experts' estimates regarding the future of totalitarian communist systems: 'Totalitarianism gathers all human forces and all material resources under a single administration, the coercion of which is almost irresistible. No system has so far performed full integration of social energies. The earlier systems only partially brought social life under the control and leadership of the state government, leaving everything else free to move and develop. Totalitarianism is an attempt to channel all social development according to one national plan [...] The question arises, whether and how long can a totalitarian regime last. It is highly unlikely that it can be overthrown by a revolution. The era of popular uprisings seems to be over. Revolutions are no longer sparked from below, but from above. In other words, they are no longer organised against, but with the help of the state apparatus. As soon as a group of conspirators take over the apparatus, the revolution is over [...] The totalitarian regime is integrated in its fullest. Too many jobs are loaded on the state, at the same time that its leadership is concentrated in one too narrow and closed circle of people. The state's technical means are no doubt highly sophisticated, but its leaders remain ordinary mortal beings, whose abilities still have a limit. Accordingly, the disintegration of the totalitarian regime may simply occur because integration went too far. But this disintegration would not yet mean an overthrow, but merely the softening of the totalitarian regime, and even that softening would represent a long

¹⁷³ Slobodan Jovanović, „Titoizam“, *Poruka* 9 (16th December 1952), p. 3.

¹⁷⁴ Radoje L. Knežević, „Slobodan Jovanović u politici. U svetlosti dokumenata“, *Poruka* 53–54 (January–March 1959), p. 41. Knežević died in 1983, but some people from his generation lived long enough to witness the 1990s.



Slobodan Jovanović's grave in London
(1990s). (ACCHPF)

historical process. For instance, in Russia [Soviet Union] disintegration could only be expected between 1970 and 1980'.¹⁷⁵

Slobodan Jovanović passed away on the 12th December 1958. The funeral service was held at St. Sava Church on the 20th December. It was attended by Queen Mary of Yugoslavia. Kosta St. Pavlović with his wife Marija and son Stevan (historian) stood before the coffin. The coffin was covered with a Yugoslav flag. The Greek bishop Jacob, Archbishop Nicodemus of the Richmond Diocese of the Russian Church Abroad (prior to taking monastic vows, Major General of the General Staff Nikolai Vasilyevich Nagaev / Николай Васильевич Нараев), Polish Orthodox Bishop Matthew, Archpriest Miloje R. Nikolić, Vicar Priest to Archbishop of the United Kingdom (who spoke after the funeral service), Archpriest Vladimir Rodzianko (future Bishop of the Diocese of Washington, Vladimir Mikhailovich Rodzianko [Владимир Михайлович Родзянко], the grandson of the President of the Duma), Archpriest Count Georgy Sheremetyev (протоиерей граф Георгий Александрович Шереметев), Bedford priest Todor Kukolj and two deacons. Bishop Antonije was also present. Kosta St. Pavlović, president of the London Serbian Orthodox Church Community, organised the funeral.¹⁷⁶

Slobodan Jovanović was buried in the Kensal Green Cemetery in London. Dr Prvislav Grisogono spoke at the cemetery: 'Bread in exile is a bread hard-earned. Many of the emigres have not endured and returned to live under the dictatorship. No one have ever thought that Slobodan Jovanović would follow that route; none except the dictator. A year ago, a special messenger was sent for this purpose to Slobodan Jovanović: he was offered to be welcomed honourably and with dignity; twenty years' sentence would be annulled; his confiscated property be returned. Slobodan Jovanović's answer to 'the comrade' was: I will be back once the freedom is restored!'.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ Slobodan Jovanović, „Američka proučavanja totalitarizma“, *Poruka* 35 (16th March 1956), p. 5. Boris Milosavljević, „Politika i moral u teoriji države Slobodana Jovanovića“, *Analiti Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu* 59/1 (2011), pp. 273–293.

¹⁷⁶ It was scheduled the coffin be brought from the church by members of the Yugoslav People's Committee and representatives of lawyers, historians, university professors, the Army, Air Force, diplomacy, the Association of Serbian Writers in Exile and Youth (Student Association). The coffin was taken out of the church by Većeslav Vilder, Dr Prvislav Grisogono, Radoje L. Knežević (Yugoslav People's Committee), Lieutenant General Dragutin Savić (Air Force), as well as Božidar Vlajić (lawyer), Vladimir Milanović (diplomat), General Milorad Radović (Army), Miodrag Stajić (then president of the Association of Serbian Writers in Exile), Dr Stevan Živadinović (Vane Bor, cousin of Pavlović and Vane Ivanović), Dr Miodrag Al. Purković (historian), Aleksa Gavrilović (son of Milan Gavrilović) and Nenad Petrović (Student Association). See Nenad V. Petrović, „Sahrana Slobodana Jovanovića“, *Književne novine*, 1027–1030, 53 (1st February – 1st March 2001), p. 40.

¹⁷⁷ „Sahrana Slobodana Jovanovića“, *Poruka* 53–54 (January – March 1959), p. 46.



University Park, ca 1930 (gates with the fence were constructed after the project by the architect Milutin Borisavljević, 1889–1970). (Courtesy of Miloš M. Jurišić)

ON 'SEMI-INTELLECTUALS' AND THE SERBIAN CULTURAL PATTERN

Following the death of Slobodan Jovanović, the London *Poruka* announced that he had left 'a number of papers and correspondence of lasting value' and handed them over to Radoje Knežević, former minister of the royal court, who published Jovanović's papers in the period to come. Thus, 'Jedan prilog za proučavanje srpskog nacionalnog karaktera' [A Contribution to the Study of Serbian National Character] was published in Canada in 1964. This well-known text discusses the phenomenon of the semi-intellectual and the cultural pattern, a topic that has nowadays become inextricably associated with the name of Slobodan Jovanović.

Jovanović's analysis of the phenomenon of the semi-intellectual became quite famous: 'A semi-intellectual is a man who duly graduated, even with high grades, but in terms of cultural education and moral training obtained almost nothing. [...] Whether due to his innate incapacity or shortcomings of the school system, he received no incentive for spiritual self-growth. [...] He does not understand or appreciate spiritual values at all. He values everything he might benefit from, and takes success in a "narrow-minded" sense [...] Along with other spiritual values, he rejects moral discipline. [...] Still, in both moral and cultural terms, he basically remained a primitive. Culturally unrefined and morally dubious, a semi-intellectual excels in raw ambition. A college diploma as means to gain entry into the circle of intelligentsia led him develop an overly high image of himself. In climbing the social ladder, this primitive with a degree resorts to unconscionable measures, yet with the full conviction that he is only claiming his right verified by college diploma. He mercilessly suppresses rivals as if they were not living beings but material obstacles. He is a true 'dealmaker', another term that has entered general usage simultaneously with the emergence of semi-intellectuals'.¹⁷⁸ In several texts, Jovanović contrasted the semi-intellectual type of personality, that was referred to by various names in the circle of his friends, of which the most memorable is 'dr gur-gur' [sycophant], with the gentlemanly type, which was the topic of his numerous conversations with Bogdan Popović.

¹⁷⁸ Slobodan Jovanović, „Jedan prilog“ [1957 / 1964, 1991], SD XII, p. 572.



Slobodan Jovanović, *A Contribution to the Study of Serbian National Character*, Avala, Windsor, Canada 1964

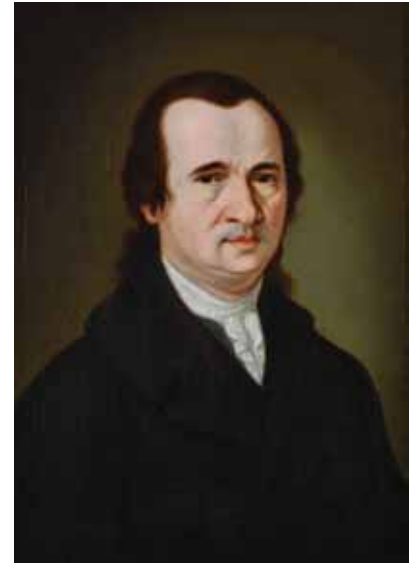


Vuk Karadžić (1787–1864) with his wife Ana Kraus. (Photograph of the lithograph by Josef Kriehuber, NMB)



Saint Sava (ca 1175–1236), the first archbishop of the Serbian Orthodox Church (1219–1233). (Fresco, the King's Church at Studenica Monastery, 13th century)

Writing on the Serbian cultural pattern, Jovanović stressed that Serbian intelligentsia never transplanted any foreign cultural pattern, nor produced any original pattern based on the cultural tradition of the Serbian people. In the time of the United Serbian Youth the focus was on the national pattern of a good Serb, and in Svetozar Marković's circle on moral characteristics of a socialist, that is, on political pattern. The cultural pattern was not perceived by Dositej Obradović, though there was some moralism on his behalf that was not a rationalistic one, but rather in the spirit of Rousseau's sentimentality. He concluded that after Dositej Obradović and Svetozar Marković, there were no significant moralists, although Bogdan Popović, Božidar Knežević and Uroš Petrović were moralists to some extent. He pointed out that Njegoš provided primarily national, rather than cultural or moral pattern. Jovanović perceived that it was unusual that such an individualistic nation, such as the Serbian one, did not devote more attention to the development of cultural pattern, which is more necessary to an individual than to a community. He raised the question of whether the cause should be sought in the fact that national issues in the 19th century were given higher priority, 'or whether the neglect of cultural pattern could be explained, above all, by the weakening influence of religion, caused by Enlightenment rationalism, as well as the rise of reputation of positivistic sciences, which likewise weakened the development of our inner life'.¹⁷⁹ The language reform and national romanticism likewise exerted a significant influence on the 19th century Serbian self-awareness and national character. Unlike Dositej Obradović, who was under the influence of the 19th century rationalism, Vuk Karadžić was influenced by German Romanticism, whose particular understanding of a nation – perceived as a spiritual family – he embraced.¹⁸⁰ In his study on Edmund Burke, Jovanović pointed out that the character of a nation is historically conditioned and that any radical change can trigger far-reaching consequences.



Portrait of Dositej Obradović (ca 1740–1811), by Arsenije Teodorović, 1819. (Gallery of Matica Srpska Gallery, Novi Sad)



Petar II Petrović Njegoš (1813–1851). (Anastas Jovanović, talbotypia, BCM)

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 570; Boris Milosavljević, „Kulturni i politički obrazac. Pamćenje i zaborav“, *Letopis Matice srpske* 493/6 (June 2014), 783–808.

¹⁸⁰ Boris Milosavljević, „Bogdan Popović. Kulturni obrazac, književno vaspitanje i društvena kritika (Teorija skorojevića)“, *Književna istorija* 153 (2014), 427–467.



Slobodan Jovanović, 1943. (Courtesy of the Knežević family, Washington)

THE RETURN

Following the trial and reading of the sentence, Slobodan Jovanović received no critical acclaim in Yugoslavia. His extensive oeuvre in the post-war period could still be found in libraries and certain lists of literature, but his books were not reprinted and his work was not included into the educational system. There is an entire chronology of attempts to re-publish Jovanović's writings. A selection from Jovanović's oeuvre was published in the collection *Serbian Literature in 100 Volumes* in 1963, five years after the adoption of the publishing plan and four years after his death. Prior to publishing the second edition of the *Serbian Literature in 100 Volumes* in 1971, Jovanović's book was to be printed, but was withdrawn from the Novi Sad printing house.¹⁸¹ The Belgrade-based Prosveta Publishing House announced the release of Slobodan Jovanović's oeuvre in 1983. After the dispute between the Prosveta and *Književne Novine* [Literary Newspaper] over the right to publish the Slobodan Jovanović's books, political pressure ensued and the publication was abandoned.¹⁸²

Fifty years since the publication of the last, 17th volume of the *Collected Works of Slobodan Jovanović* (1940), forty-five years following the end of the Second World War and thirty-two years after the death of Slobodan Jovanović, his *Collected Works* (1990/1991) were published once again. It was a major editorial, bibliographic and publishing undertaking (Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod / BIGZ [Belgrade Publishing and Printing House], Jugoslavijapublik and Srpska književna zadruga [Serbian Literary Cooperative]). The proposal that the BIGZ should publish Jovanović's *Collected Works* was given by Živorad Stojković, the co-editor of the *Collected Works*, alongside with academician Radovan Samardžić. The editorial board signed a contract with Leposava Bela Pavlović, Kosta St. Pavlović's sister and owner of the publishing rights. However, the presidency of the Belgrade City Committee of the League of Communists tried to prevent the publication of the *Collected Works* in 1989, but to no avail.¹⁸³ The publisher was supported by the Faculty of Law, the

¹⁸¹ The book likewise contained a text by Radovan Samardžić entitled „Istoričar kao pisac“ [Historian as a Writer]. For more details, see: Živorad Stojković, „Slobodan Jovanović 1869–1958. Biografski podaci i prilozi. Kalendarski pregled“, SD XII, p. 786.

¹⁸² Ibid, p. 787. „Neprihvatljiv čin“, *Politika* (15th February 1985), p. 7; „Zatajila budnost“, *Politika* (19th February 1985), p. 11; „Za najodgovornije – opomene“, *Politika* (26th February 1985), p. 12; „Kazne za najodgovornije“, *Večernje novosti* (26th February 1985), p. 18.

¹⁸³ „O uređivačkoj politici i izdavačkoj delatnosti i javnim glasilima“, *Politika* (7th December 1989); Dimitrije Tasić, „Kako su oslobođena dela Slobodana Jovanovića“ (Slobodan Jovanović,



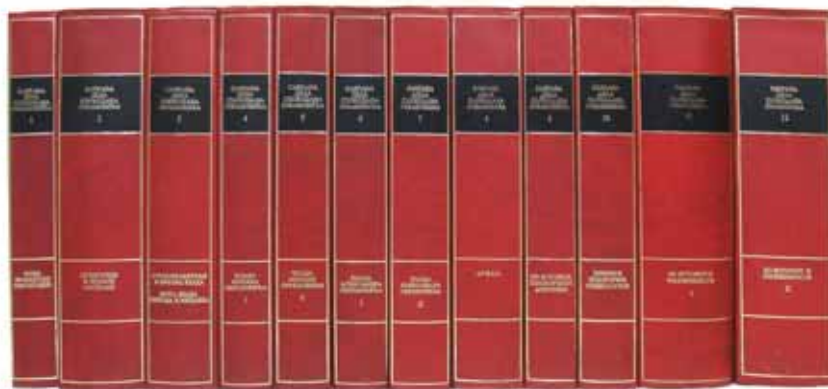
Slobodan Jovanović's glasses and stamp for letters. (SASA Archives)



Slobodan Jovanović's walking-stick (SASA Archives)



Facsimile of Slobodan Jovanović (ACCHPF)



Collected Works of Slobodan Jovanović in 12 volumes (1990 / 1991)

Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Thought and Expression, the Directorate of the Association of Serbian Writers, and others.¹⁸⁴ It was a time of rebuilding parties and the multi-party system. The 1990–1991 edition of the Collected Works was published in two rounds, six volumes each.

The first academic gathering dedicated to Slobodan Jovanović entitled *The Legacy of Slobodan Jovanović in His Day and Nowadays* was held as early as in June 1991 at the Faculty of Law, exactly fifty years after Jovanović had left the faculty wherein he gave lectures as honorary professor.¹⁸⁵ In 1997, another scientific gathering, dedicated to Slobodan Jovanović, was organised at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. At the end of the scientific meeting (20th February 1997), proposals were adopted that the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Faculty of Law of the University of Belgrade should initiate a procedure before the relevant state authorities for the annulment of “unjustified and draconian verdict”, by which Slobodan Jovanović was convicted in 1946 as head of the government in exile in London, and for rendering null and void all legal effects stemming from the verdict. It was suggested that Slobodan Jovanović’s mortal remains should be “transferred to the country and reburied in a dignified manner”, that he be “posthumously proclaimed an honorary citizen of Belgrade”, and that “one street or square should be named after him”. It was also suggested that the gathering under the title “Days of Slobodan Jovanović” should be organised every two year, with the purpose

Sabrana dela, 1–12, BIGZ, SKZ, Jugoslavijapublik, Beograd, 1990), Slobodan Jovanović – pouka za danas, *Književne novine* 1027–1030, 53 (1st February – 1st March 2001), p. 38.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. The members of the Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Thought and Expression were: Kosta Čavoški, Tanasije Mladenović, Borislav Mihailović Mihiz, Ljubomir Tadić, Vojislav Koštunica, Dragoslav Mihajlović, Mladen Srbinović, Predrag Palavestra, Matija Bećković, Vladeta Janković, Dobrica Ćosić, Enriko Josif...

¹⁸⁵ *Delo Slobodana Jovanovića u svom vremenu i danas*, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, Beograd, 1991, pp. 347–358.

of “discussing about specific topics from different scholarly disciplines Slobodan Jovanović dealt with”.¹⁸⁶ The following year, a collection of papers was released, supplemented by a debate delivered at the conference.

Slobodan Jovanović was rehabilitated in 2007. The rehabilitation request was submitted the same day the Rehabilitation Act came into force. Following a hearing held on the 11th of June 2007, the District Court in Belgrade decided to grant a rehabilitation request, thus rendering the verdict of the Supreme Court of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia – Military Council (Court No. 1/46) of the 15th July 1946 as “null and void in the part in which now deceased Slobodan Jovanović was sentenced to twenty years imprisonment, loss of political and individual civil rights for a period of ten years, confiscation of the entire property and loss of citizenship, from the moment of its enactment on the 15th of July 1946, as well as in the part referring to all legal consequences stemming from the verdict, including the confiscation of property, and the rehabilitated person, now deceased Slobodan Jovanović, shall be considered from this day forward as having no prior criminal record”. The explanation of the ruling states, *inter alia*, that the 1946 verdict was “incompatible with the rule of law and is the result of the political judiciary existing at the time of its enactment, as evidenced by the language and terminology used, and that the court case contained all the characteristics of a political process”.¹⁸⁷

In 2008, the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts commemorated the 50th anniversary of Slobodan Jovanović’s death. His remains were transferred from London to Belgrade in 2011 and reburied with full state honours in the Aleja Velikana (Alley of the Greats) within the Belgrade New Cemetery. The Serbian Orthodox Church and the embassy of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro in London initiated preparation of necessary documents as early as in 2004. The transfer of the remains was postponed because Slobodan Jovanović had not been rehabilitated at that point.

¹⁸⁶ „Predlozi usvojeni na kraju naučnog skupa” in: Slobodan Jovanović. *Ličnost i delo. Zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa održanog od 17. do 20. februara 1997*. Primljeno na VI skupu Odeljenja društvenih nauka 10. juna 1997, V skupu Odeljenja istorijskih nauka 28. maja 1997. i V skupu Odeljenja jezika i književnosti 22. Aprila 1997. Urednik Miodrag Jovičić. Naučni skupovi. Knjiga XC. Odeljenje društvenih nauka. Knjiga 21, SANU, [50 radova], Beograd 1998, p. 801.

¹⁸⁷ Request for the rehabilitation of Slobodan Jovanović (District Court in Belgrade, the Council consisted of judge Marina Govedarica, president of the Council, Duško Milenković and Dušica Marinković, members of the Council), Reh. 28/06, 11th June 2007. A copy of the decision submitted to the Bar Association of Serbia (with a corrected Slobodan Jovanović’s place of birth), 282/07 (30th October 2007) is available at: <https://blog.aks.org.rs/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/resenja-suda.pdf> (Accessed 11th September 2019).



Slobodan Jovanović's grave in the Aleja Velikana (Alley of the Greats) within the Belgrade New Cemetery

On the 10th of December 2011, a commemorative session of the Academic Council dedicated to Slobodan Jovanović was held at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade.¹⁸⁸ The plateau in front of the Faculty of Law was named in his honour, and as of the 1st October 2015, the site has been adorned with the bust of Slobodan Jovanović.

Slobodan Jovanović regarded political radicalism as being very detrimental to the state and the people and that solely parliamentary system ensures balance of centrifugal and centripetal political forces within a particular state. He advocated a bicameral parliamentary system wherein the members of one chamber are chosen by universal suffrage, whereas the members of the latter are elected in a more complex manner, so as to include the representatives of intelligentsia – i.e. their share of responsibility for the fate of the country – who would otherwise, through the will of the majority, remain outside the parliament.

Jovanović was of the opinion that party pluralism provides certain guarantees for freedom of thought, which is why it is more suitable for scholarly thought that has to be developed freely and without censorship and self-censorship, that is, independently of any politically imposed methodology, proclaimed as the only scientific methodology, as it was the case with dialectic materialism, materialistic conception of history and Marxism in general.

Bogdan Popović emphasised that 'in most situations, it is not enough to just explain one thing in order for people to believe in it', for 'they can often understand the cause quite well but with no further practical consequences whatsoever. To grasp the cause, they should first experience it'. Of course, the task of science is not to persuade. It is quite sufficient that there is now the possibility of free, critical and objective research. The life and times of Slobodan Jovanović belong to the past, however, owing primarily to the methodology that he applied, his treatises are as relevant as ever, still regarded as valuable scientific and cultural treasure and a unique and reliable anchor for generations of researchers and scholars to come.

¹⁸⁸ The speakers were Nikola Hajdin, president of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Prof. Dr Branko Kovačević, Rector of the University of Belgrade and Prof. Mirko Vasiljević, Dean of the Faculty of Law of the University of Belgrade. A memorial service for Slobodan Jovanović at the Belgrade New Cemetery was led by Bishop of Bačka Irinej (Bulović) and Atanasije, Vicar Bishop of the Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Đorđe Pavlović with his son, and Milica Spužić, widow of the academician Ivan Spužić, attended the service on behalf of the family. Archpriest Milun Kostić and Aleksandar Pavlović accompanied the coffin during transportation from London.

1297, Drouillard Road
Windsor, Ont., Canada
12 februara 1961

Dragi Gospodine Andro,

Što do spomenutog datuma mog boravka u Engleskoj nadao sam se da će me onda naši prijatelji dočekati u Londonu. Sreću sam, a s obzirom na situaciju prijatelja kod kojih živim, očekivao da bih uostao čime u vezi sa konstatacijom vlastite djelatnosti, nek. r. Jovanovića. Poslednom dečakom mogao sam Englesku i doći obzirom na Windsor, da preuzmem Tine kanadskih brata. Maja najmlađa sestra javila mi da se videla s vama. Otkriva ovo čisto i, u stvari, pravi dokazništvo koji se odnose na slobu i konstataciju S. J.

J. Jovanović sam do jutra ostajao kao vama-nam savetnik teozofski svet: zadržao ga, spustio o čemu, imao sa vama nekoliko drugih razgovora kad je ostajao Engleski kraljevski svet, i u podizanju čisto toga. On i ja imali smo se slobodno, kad smo se na kraju našli kao bliski prijatelji. Po okončanju rata, ja sam bio jedan od nekoliko koji su ostali sa kojima je on ostao jedan drug drug drug. Na tome smo ostali svi do poslednjeg dana. Ja ostajem do poslednjeg, on i ja smo se sastajali ugodni, — slobodno razgovorima u razgovorima koja je ostajala imati nas. Maja vama ostajala, a da čisto nekako vama ostajala, — razgovorima, razgovorima, ostajala. Ostajala je ne nam ostajala i r. Jovanović. Ostajala je vama, ostajala vama ostajala su r. Jovanović i nam ostajala r. Jovanović.

J. Jovanović je do kraja ostajala vama ostajala su r. Jovanović

Letter of Radoje Knežević, former Minister of the Court, to Dr Andrija Andra Ristić, Slobodan Jovanović's sororal nephew, Canada, 12th February 1961. Attached are transcripts of Slobodan Jovanović's will, amendments to the will, receipts, etc. (ACCHPF)



From left to right: Slavko J. Grujić, diplomatic envoy and Marshal of the Court, academician Bogdan J. Popović, Stana Ćurčić (daughter of Jevrem Grujić), Dr Dragutin K. Protić, Governor of the National Bank, Konstantin Kosta M. Simić (grandson of Aleksa Simić), Jelena Milojević, née Ćurčić, Dr Milan Đ. Milojević, diplomatic envoy (seated), Mable Grujić, née Dunlop (Courtesy of the Popovići)

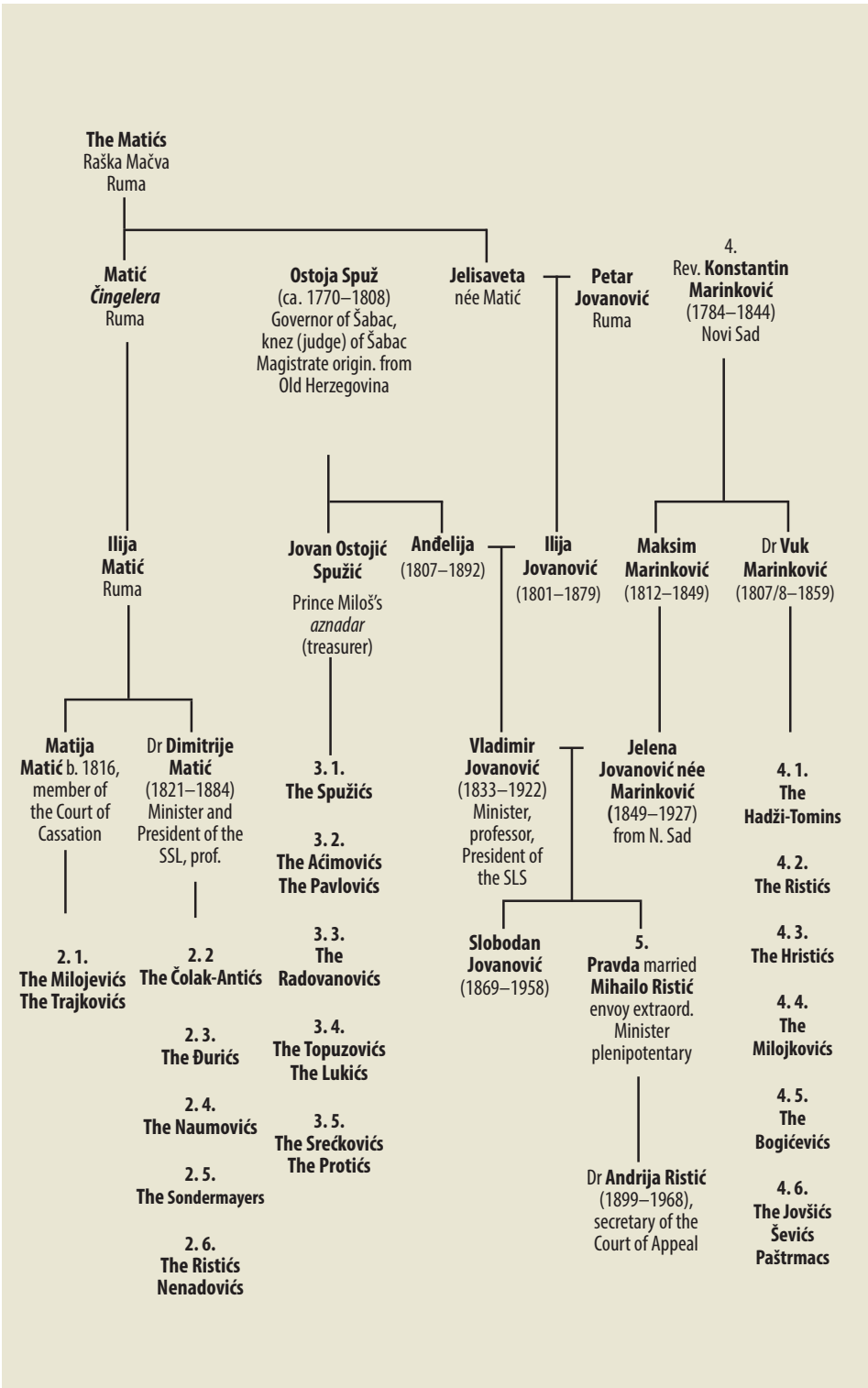
FAMILY TREE OF SLOBODAN JOVANOVIĆ AND HIS COUSINS

There are several ways to graphically present family genealogy. We have opted for the usual descending (descendent) genealogy, which first names the ancestors and then proceeds to delineate the descendants. Following the content of the genealogies shown, a graphic overview of the genealogies is given with the numbers marked (1. 1. Basic Genealogy). The patrilineal genealogy of Slobodan Jovanović (1. 2) is also shown at the beginning, displaying only male ancestors and members. Although covering a period of nearly two centuries, patrilineal genealogy is insufficient to grasp the family ties and significance that they held in the society of his time. We have given only one ascending (ascendant) genealogy of Slobodan Jovanović (1. 3). The ascending (ascendant) genealogy is interesting because it offers insight into Jovanović's closer and further ancestry (1. 3). Examples of ascendant genealogies are preserved in the legacy of his cousin, Andra Ristić.

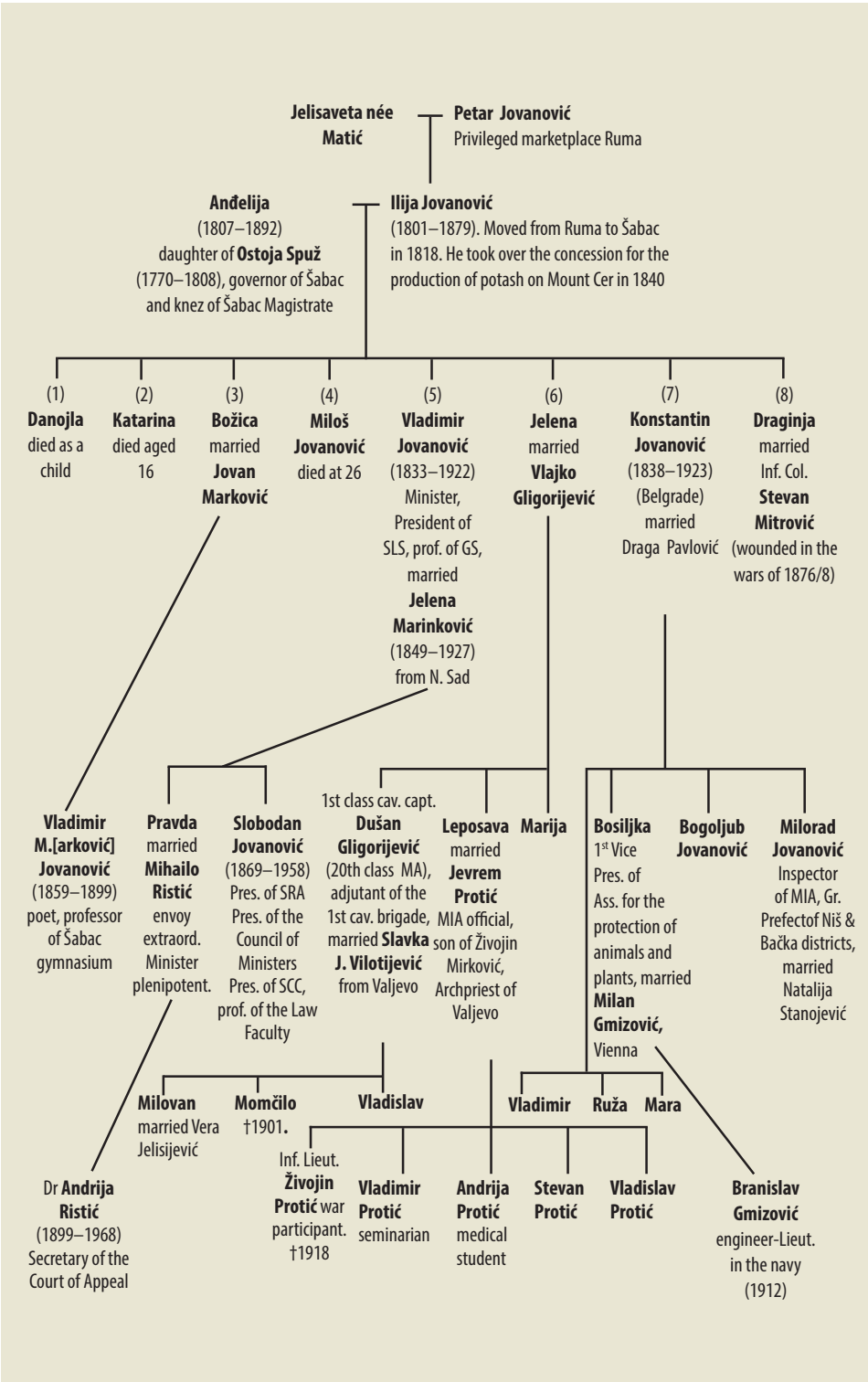
1. The Jovanovići (overview of the family tree)
 1. 1. The Jovanovići (basic genealogy)
 1. 2. The Jovanovići (patrilineal genealogy)
 1. 3. Ascending (ascendants) genealogy of Slobodan Jovanović
2. The Jovanovići and Matićs (family of Jelisaveta Jovanović, née Matić, Matija Matić and Dr Dimitrije Matić). Basic Genealogy
 2. 1. The Jovanovići, Matićs, Milojevići (Dr Miloje D. Milojević)
 2. 2. 1. The Jovanovići, Matićs, Čolak-Antićs (Artillery Colonel Ilija K. Čolak-Antić, Dr Boško I. Čolak-Antić, Division General Vojin I. Čolak-Antić, descended from Voivode Čolak Ante)
 2. 2. 2. The Jovanovići, Matićs, Čolak-Antićs (Art. Colonel Ilija K. Čolak-Antić, Art. Lt. Col. Lazar K. Čolak-Antić, Milica V. Ribnikar, née L. Čolak-Antić)
 2. 3. The Jovanovići, Matićs, Đurići (General Dimitrije R. Đurić, Minister of Defense)
 2. 4. The Jovanovići, Matićs, Đurići, Naumovići (Lieutenant General Mihailo J. Naumović, grandson of Naum Krnar)
 2. 5. The Jovanovići, Matićs, Đurići, Sondermayers (Air Force Lieutenant-Colonel Eng. Tadija R. Sondermayer, Colonel Vladislav R. Sondermayer)

2. 6. The Jovanovićs, Matićs, Đurićs, Ristićs, Nenadovićs (Dr Momčilo M. Nenadović, great-grandson of Arch-Priest Mateja, Spasenija Pata Ristić Marković)
2. 7. The Jovanovićs, Matićs, Geršićs (Dimitrije Matić, Gligorije Geršić)
3. The Jovanovićs and Spužićs (Ostojićs). Basic Genealogy (Descendants of Voivode Ostoja Spuž)
3. 1. The Jovanovićs and Spužićs (Ostojićs) (Infantry Major Marko V. Spužić, Air Force Colonel Vojislav M. Spužić, Academician Vladimir M. Spužić and Academician Ivan V. Spužić)
3. 2. 1. The Jovanovićs, Spužićs (Ostojićs), Aćimovićs, Pavlovićs (Colonel M. G. Aćimović, Stevan K. Pavlović, Kosta St. Pavlović)
3. 2. 2. The Jovanovićs, Spužićs (Ostojićs), Aćimovićs, Pavlovićs (Stevan and Kosta St. Pavlović, Lt. Col. Dimitrije Pavlović, Academician Milivoj Pavlović)
3. 3. The Jovanovićs, Spužićs (Ostojićs), Radovanovićs (The Radovanović brothers)
3. 4. The Jovanovićs, Spužićs (Ostojićs), Radovanovićs, Topuzovićs, Lukićs (Infantry Colonel Nikola M. Lukić)
3. 5. The Jovanovićs, Spužićs (Ostojićs), Radovanovićs, Srećkovićs, Protićs (Panta S. Srećković, Member of the Serbian Royal Academy)
3. 6. The Jovanovićs, Spužićs (Ostojićs), Atićs
4. The Jovanovićs and Marinkovićs from Novi Sad and Belgrade (family of Jelena, Slobodan Jovanović's mother). Basic Genealogy
4. 1. The Jovanovićs, Marinkovićs and Hadži-Tomićs. Hristina and Nikola Hadži-Toma
4. 2. The Jovanovićs, Marinkovićs, Hadži-Tomićs, Ristićs (Jovan Ristić)
4. 3. The Jovanovićs, Marinkovićs, Hadži-Tomićs, Hristici (Filip Hristić)
4. 4. The Jovanovićs, Marinkovićs, Hadži-Tomićs, Milojkovic (Radivoje Milojković)
4. 5. The Jovanovićs, Marinkovićs, Hadži-Tomićs, Bogicevic (General Antonije Bogićević)
4. 6. The Jovanovićs, Marinkovićs, Pavlovićs, Jovšićs, Ševićs, Natoševićs (families from Novi Sad), members of the Paštrmac family (Vule Paštrmac, son of Sima M. Paštrmac)
5. The Jovanovićs and Ristićs (Mihailo G. Ristić and Pravda Ristić, née Jovanović)

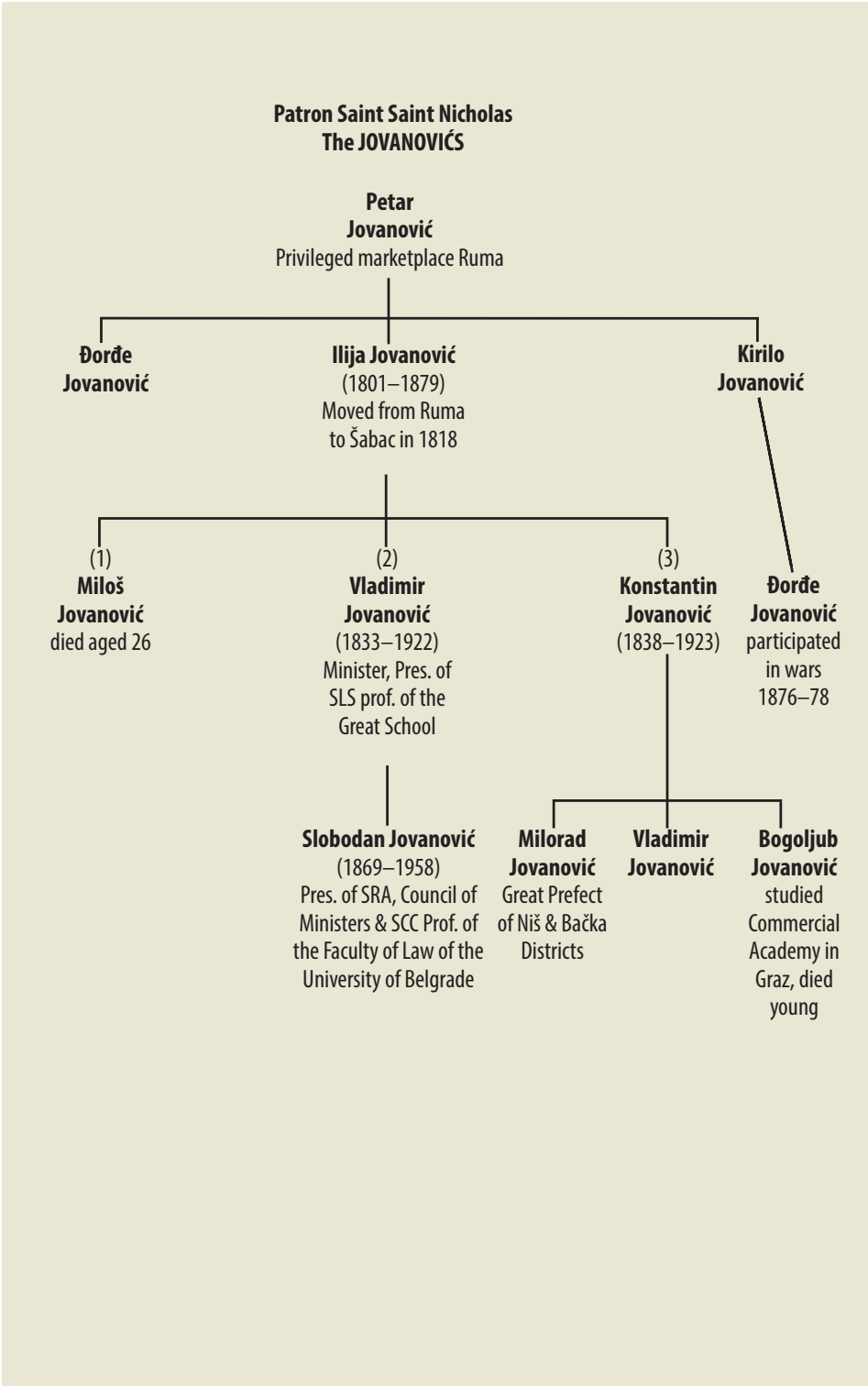
1. The JOVANOVIĆS
(family tree)



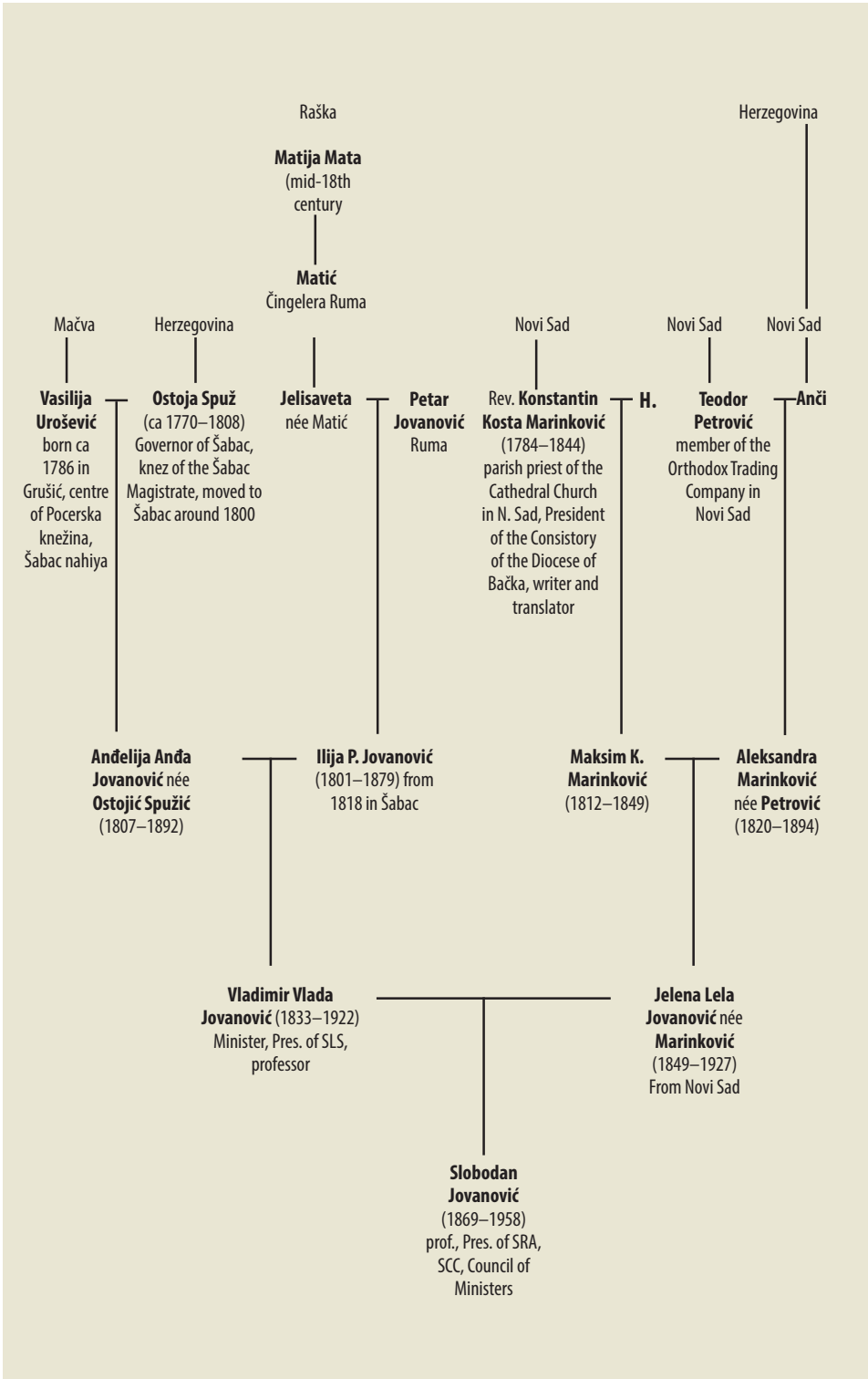
FAMILY TREE 1. 1.
The JOVANOVIĆS
(Basic Genealogy)



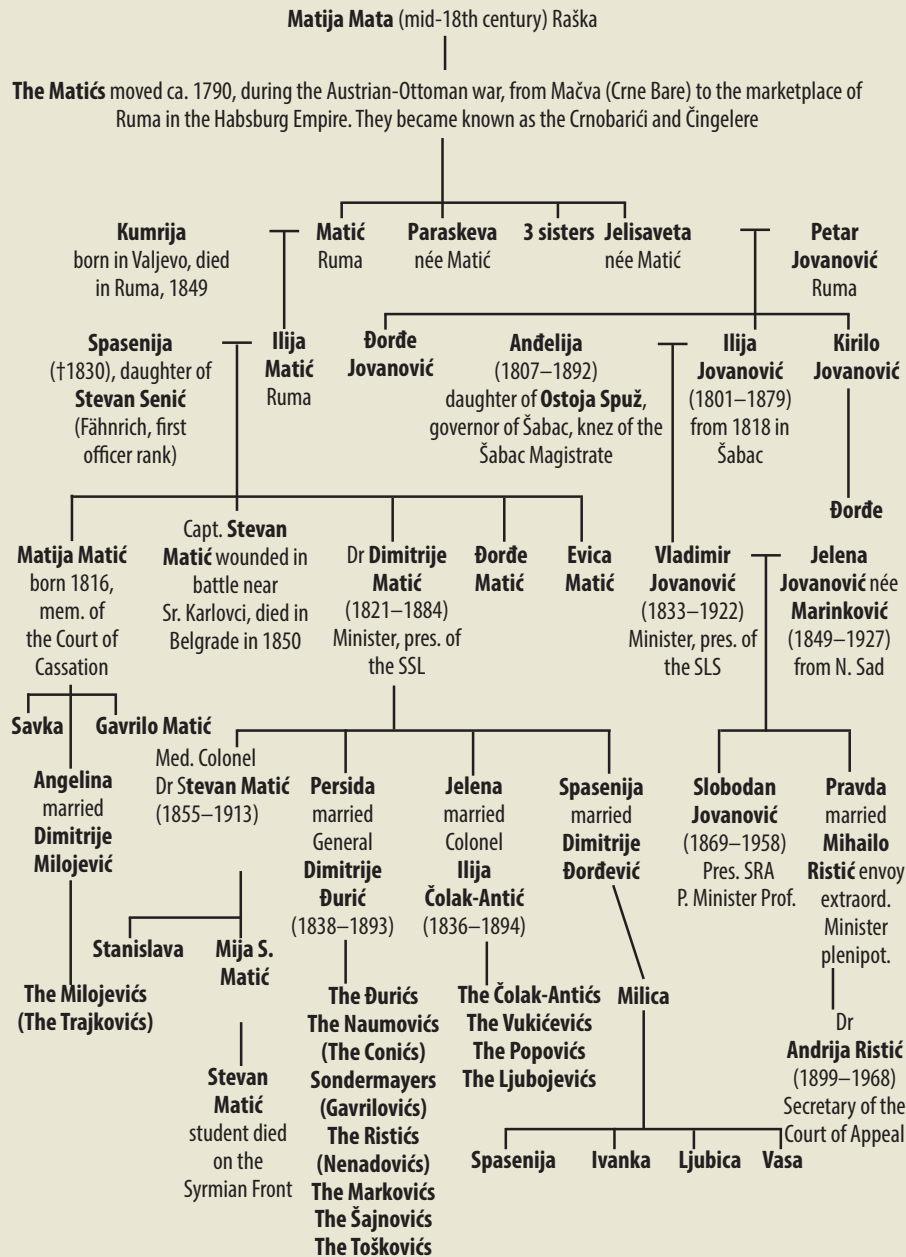
FAMILY TREE 1. 2.
The JOVANOVIĆS
(Patrilineal Genealogy)



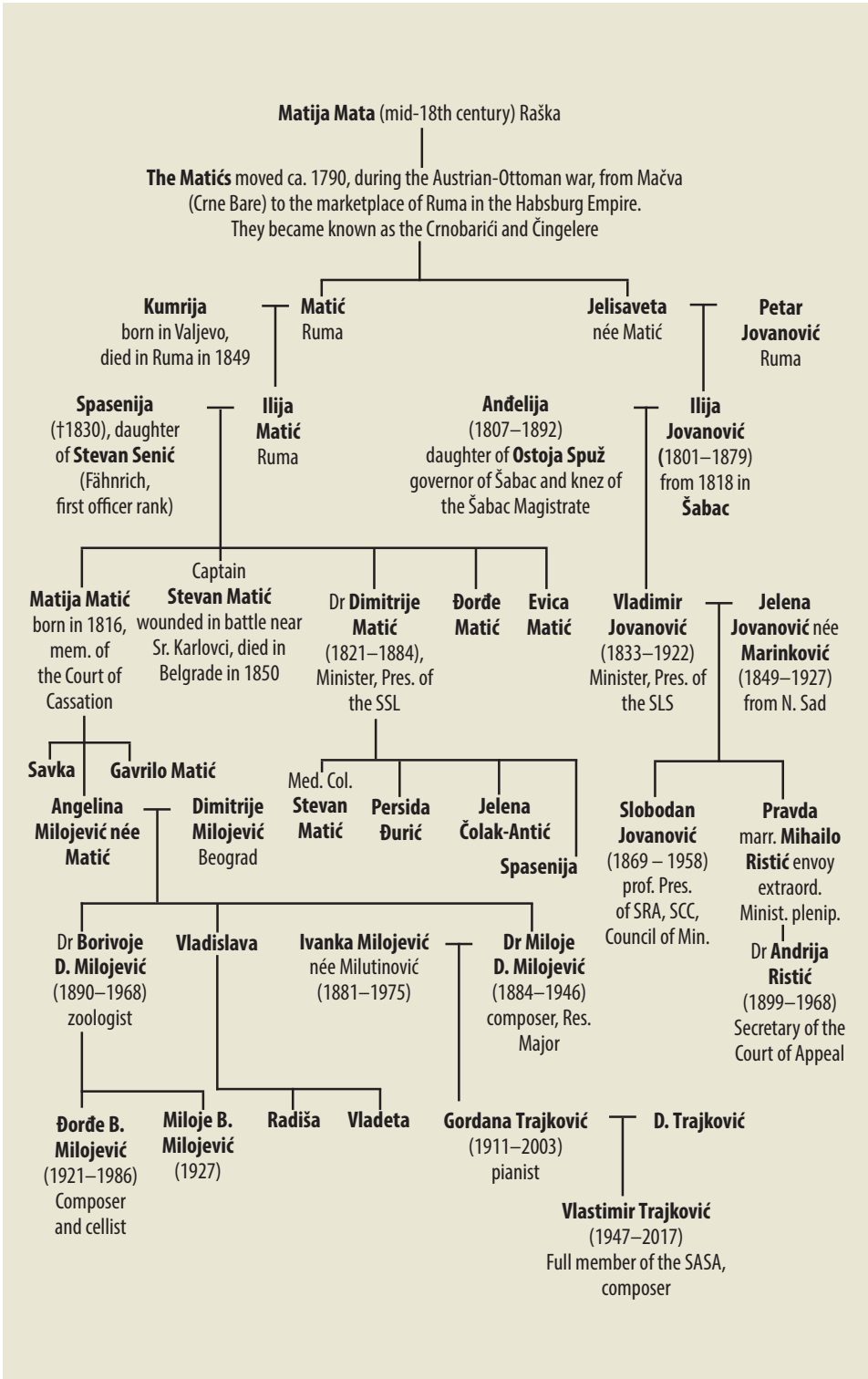
FAMILY TREE No. 1. 3.
ascending (ascendant) genealogy
SLOBODAN JOVANOVIĆ



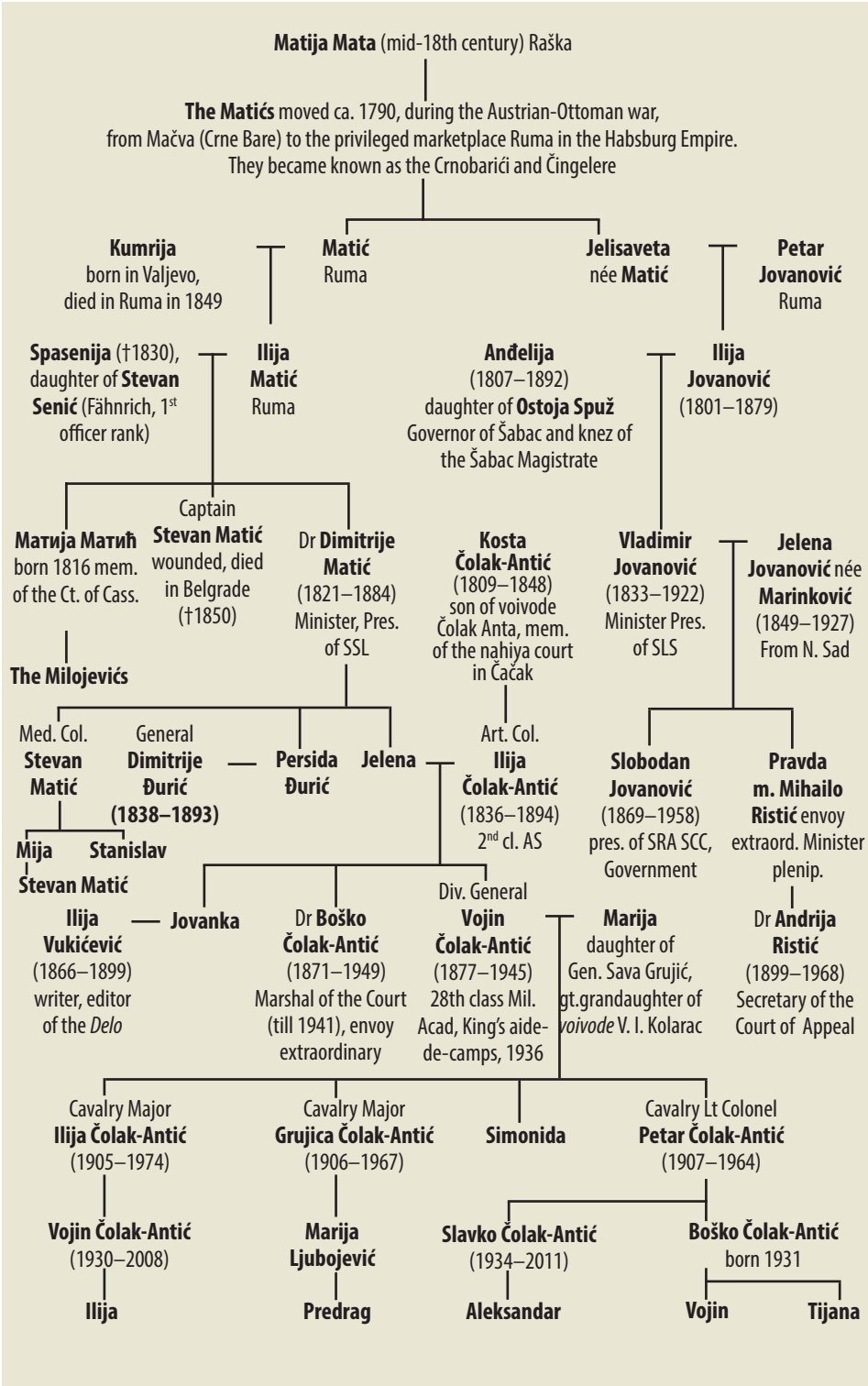
FAMILY TREE No. 2
JOVANOVIĆ and MATIĆ
(Basic Genealogy)



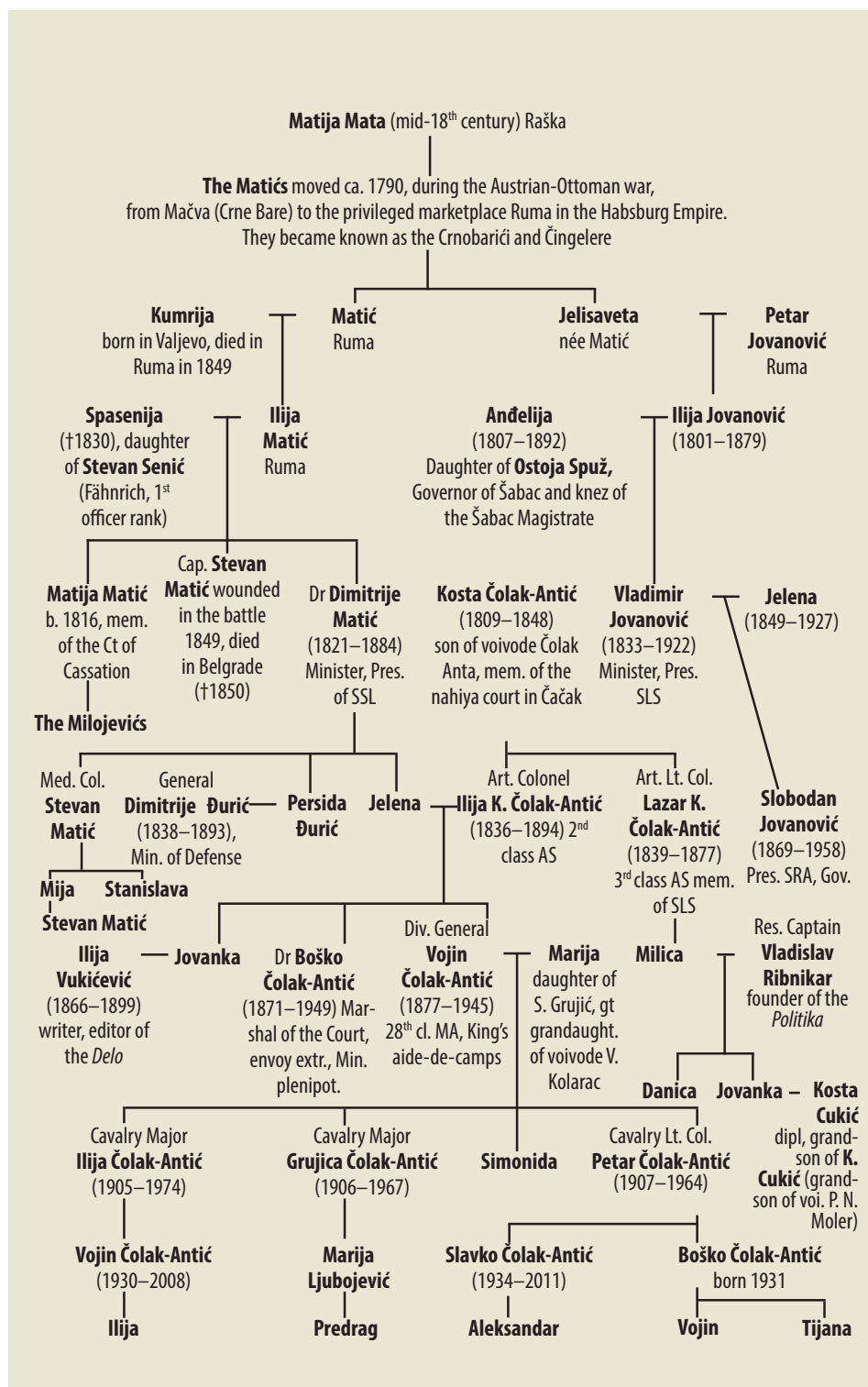
FAMILY TREE No. 2. 1.
The JOVANOVIĆS, MATIĆS
and MILOJEVIĆS



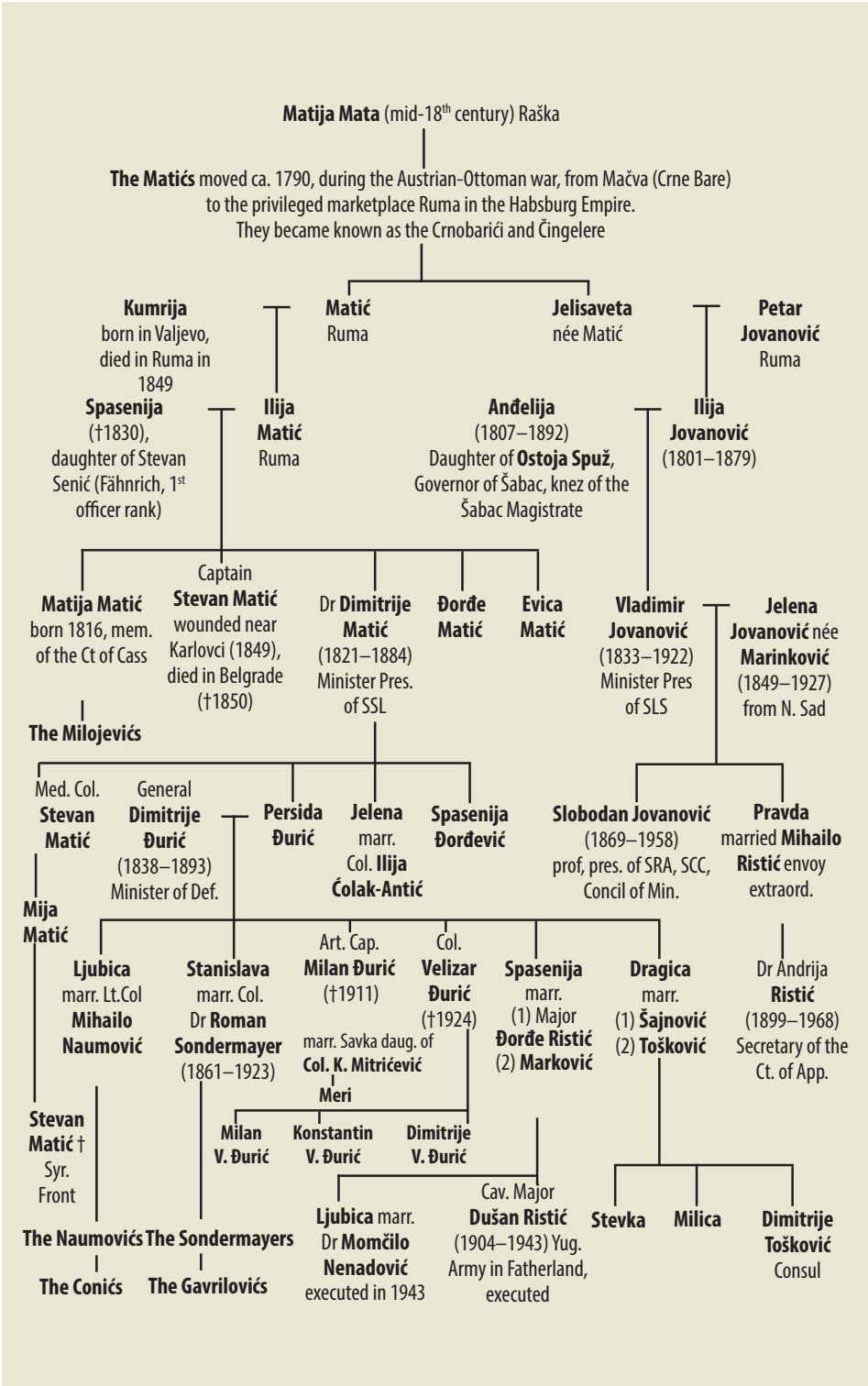
FAMILY TREE No. 2. 2. 1.
The JOVANOVIĆS, MATIĆS
and ČOLAK-ANTIĆS



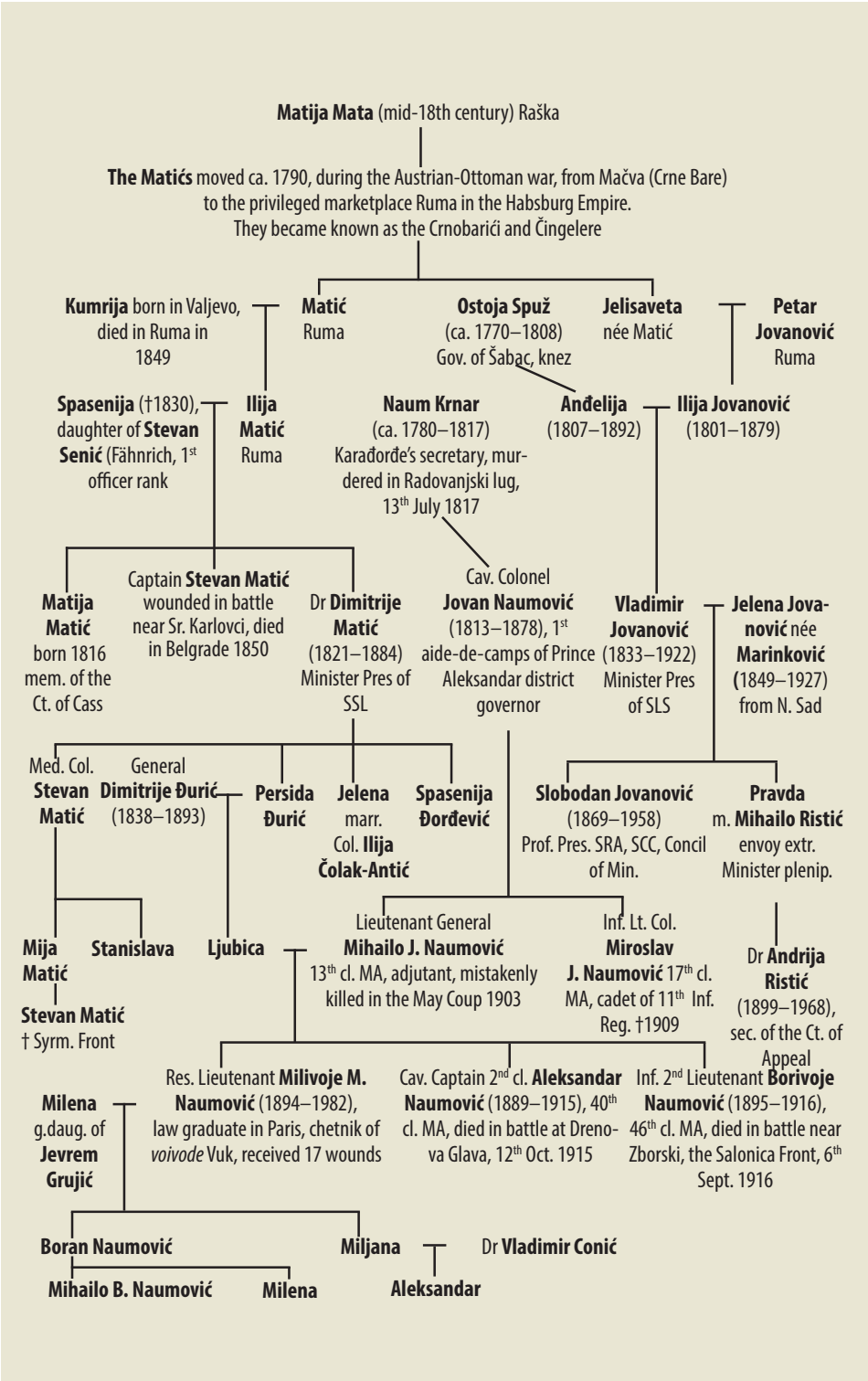
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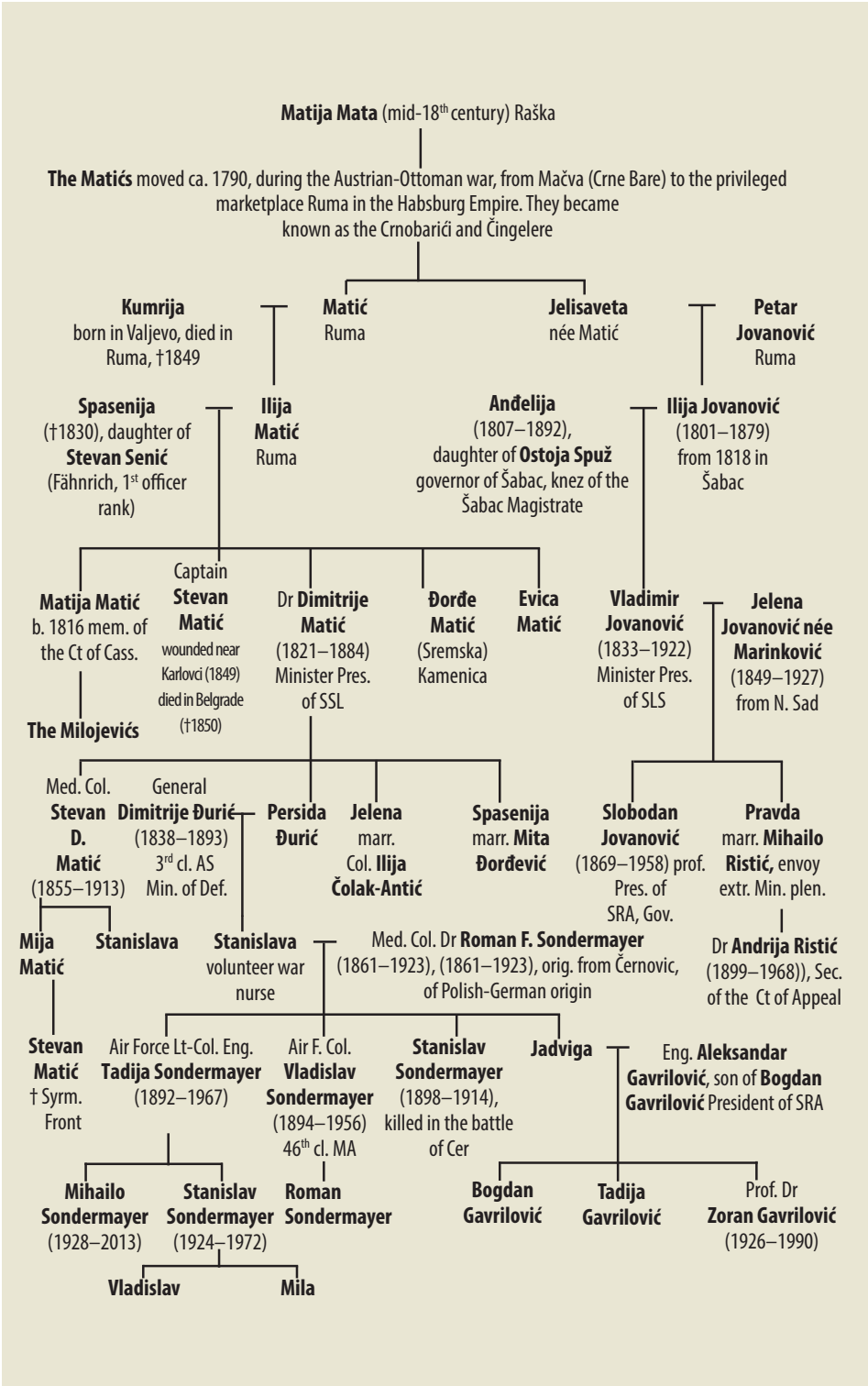
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The JOVANOVIĆS, MATIĆS
and ĐURIĆS



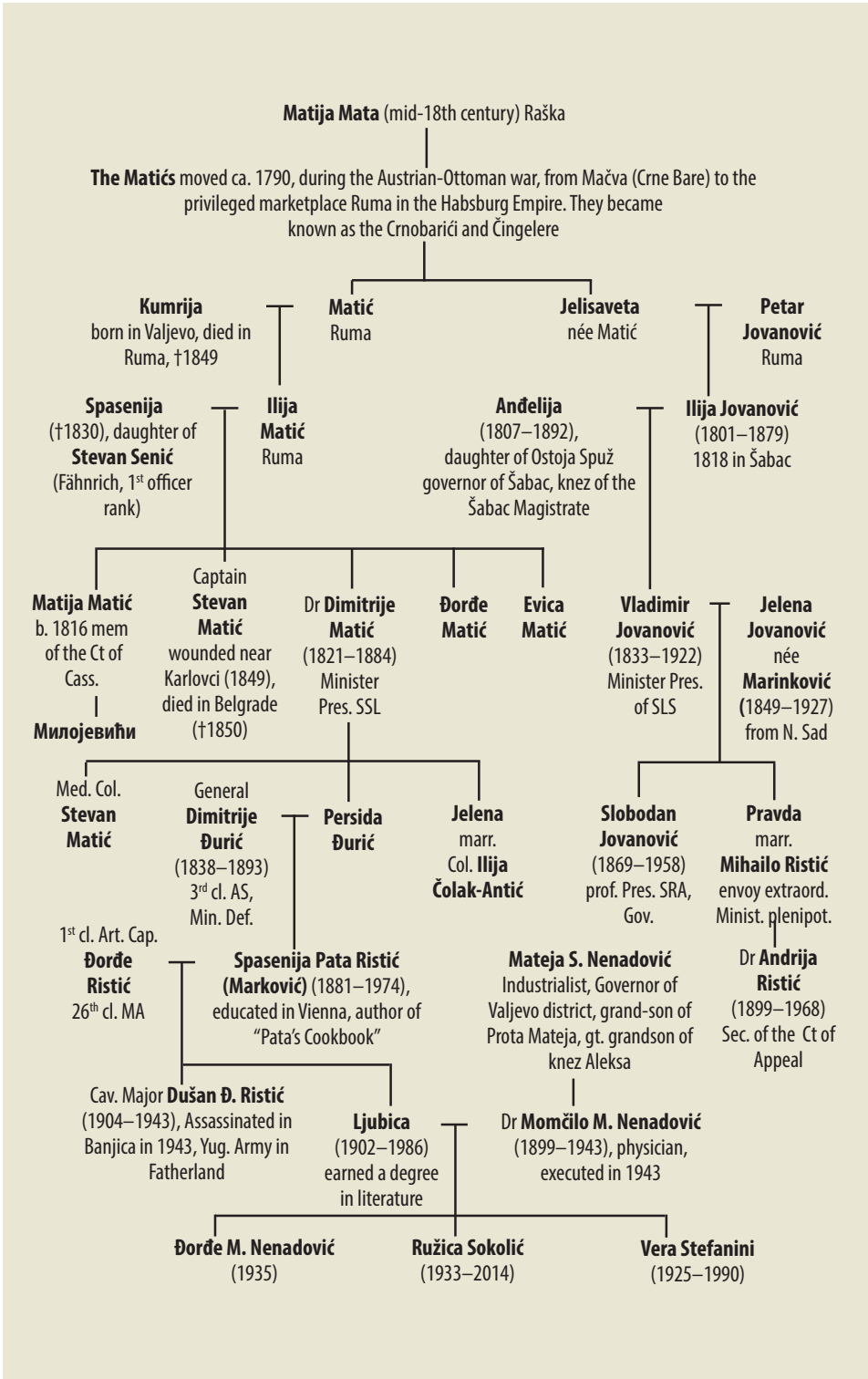
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The JOVANOVIĆS, MATIĆS,
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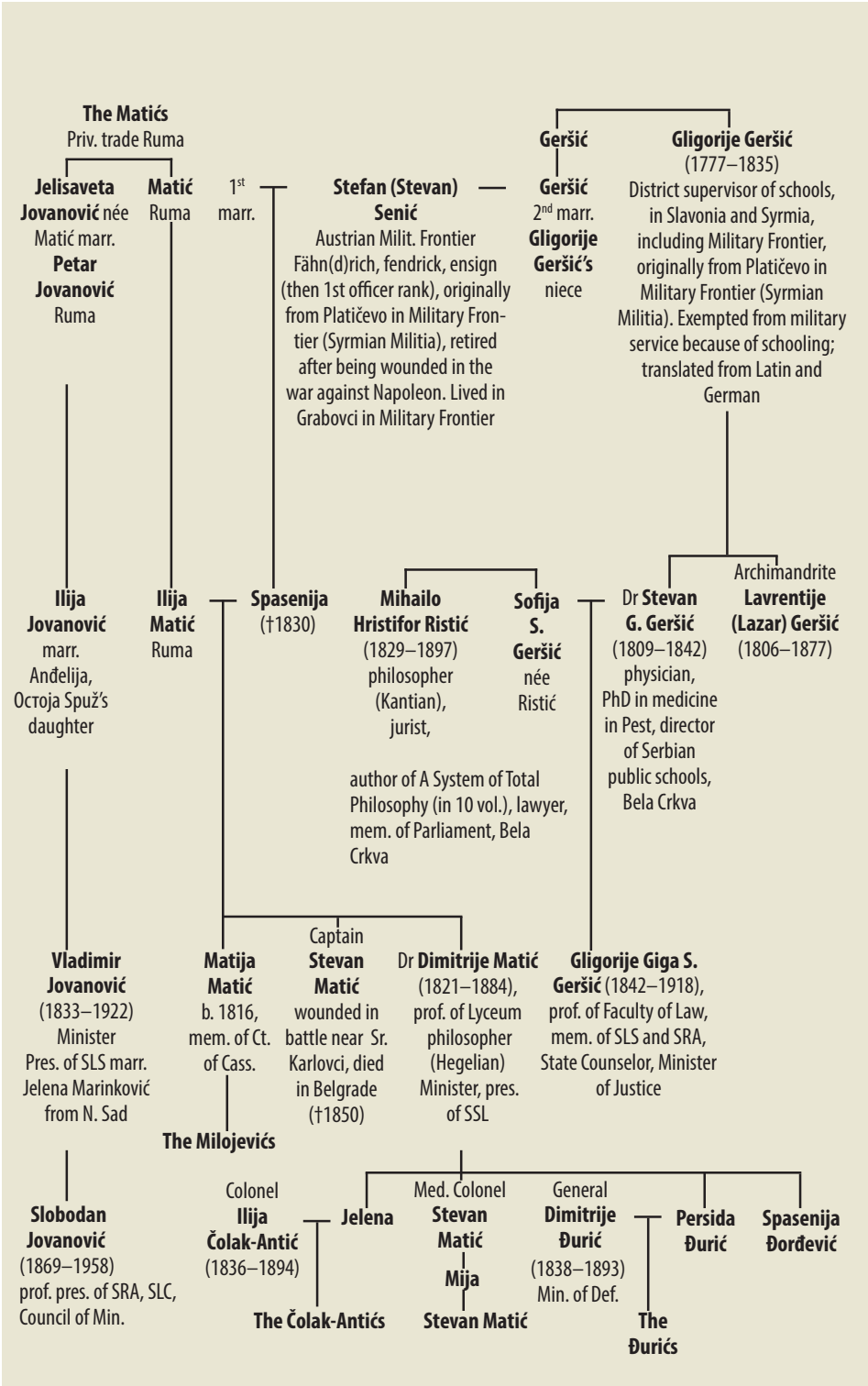
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THE JOVANOVIĆS, MATIĆS,]
ĐURIĆS, SONDERMAYERS



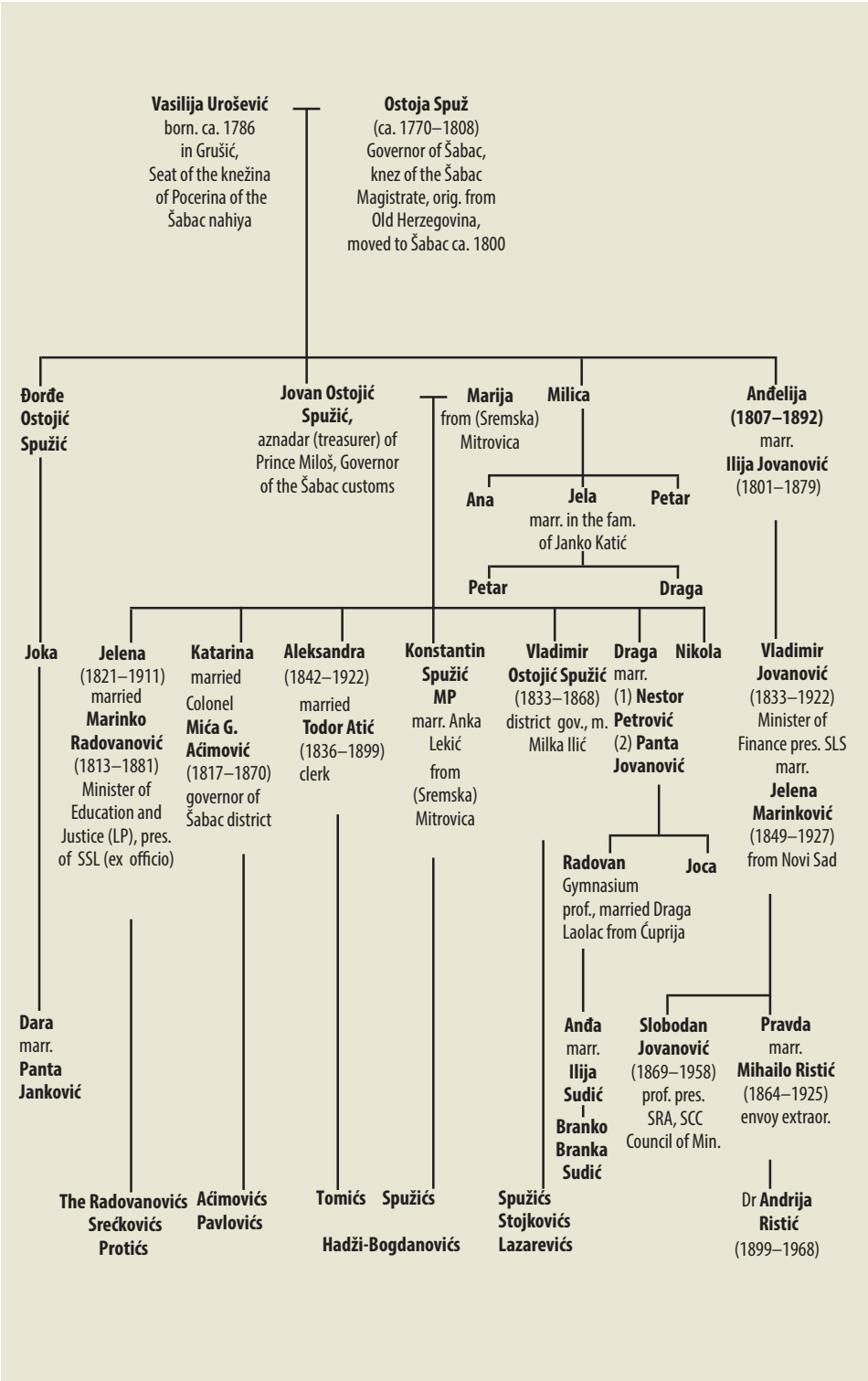
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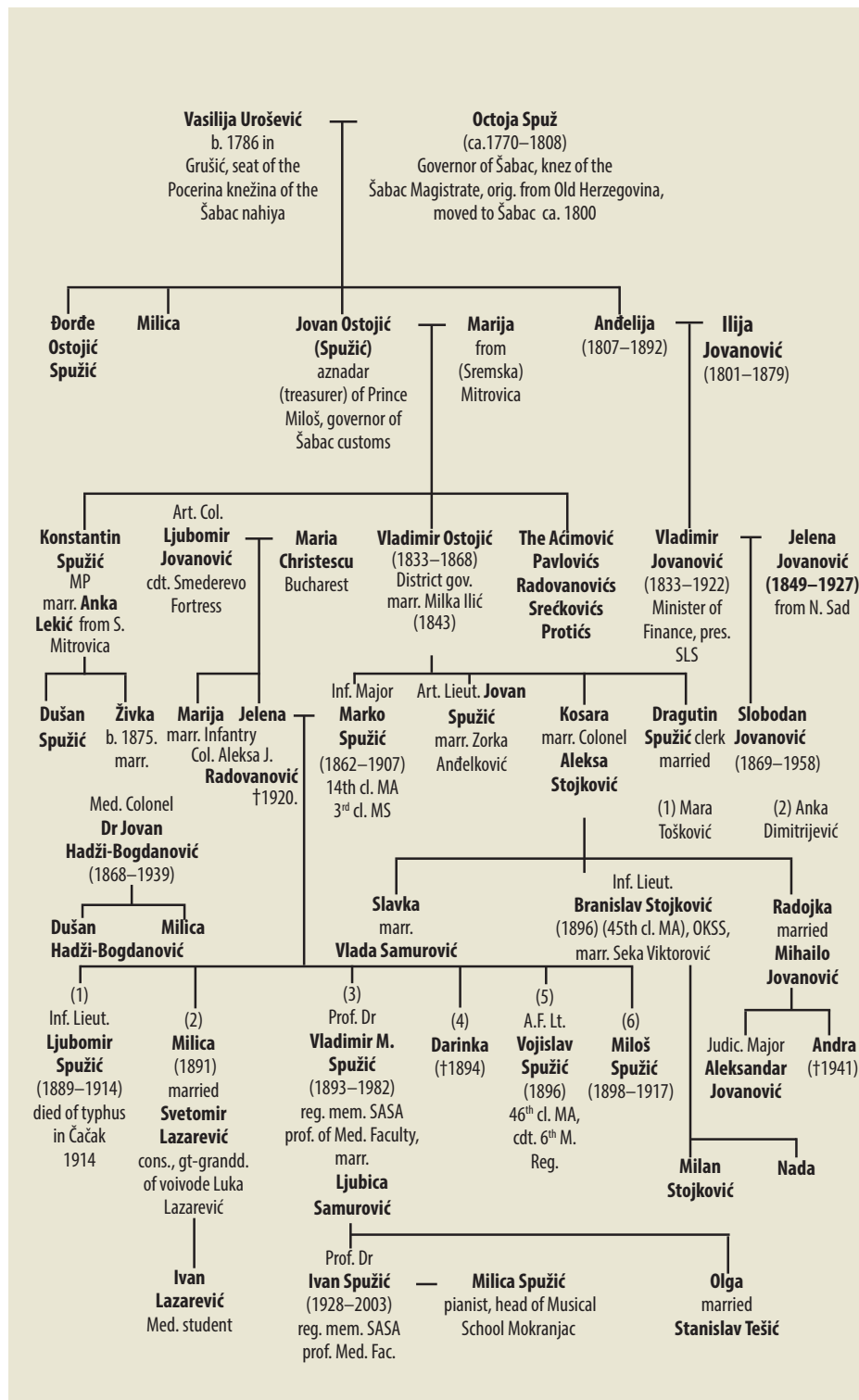
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THE JOVANOVIĆS, MATIĆS,
GERŠIĆS



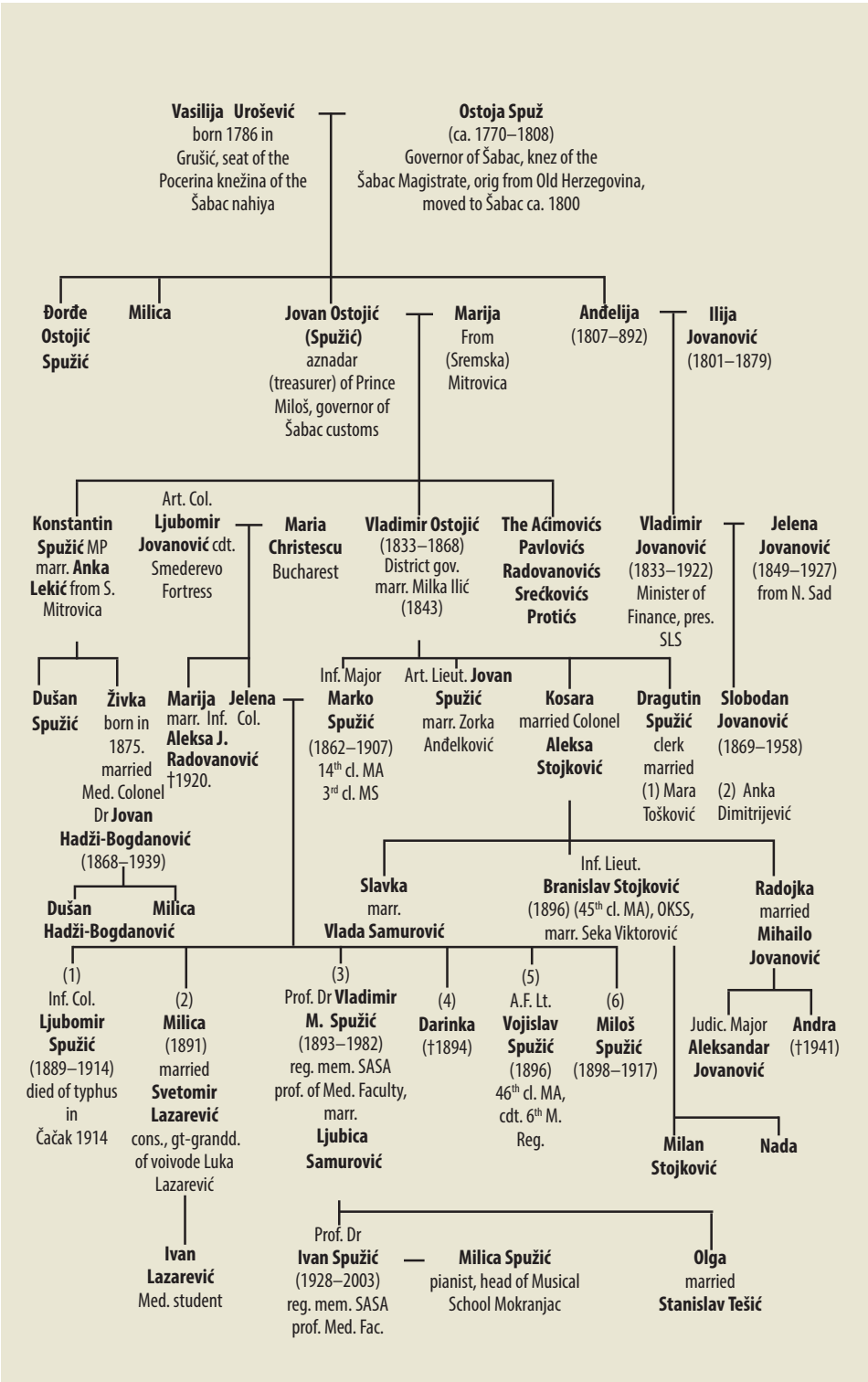
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THE JOVANOVIĆS and
SPUŽIĆS (OSTOJIĆS)
(Basic Genealogy)



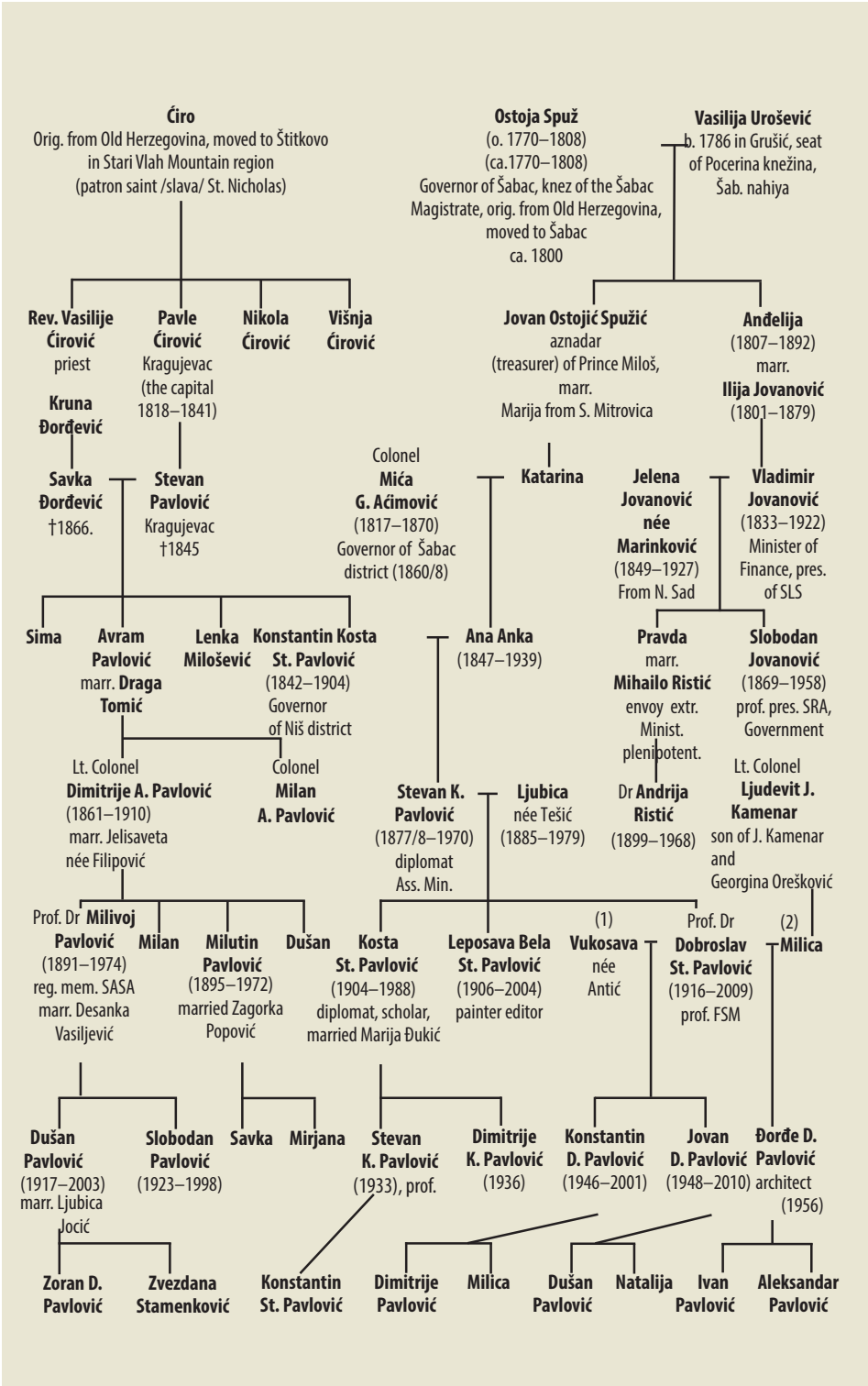
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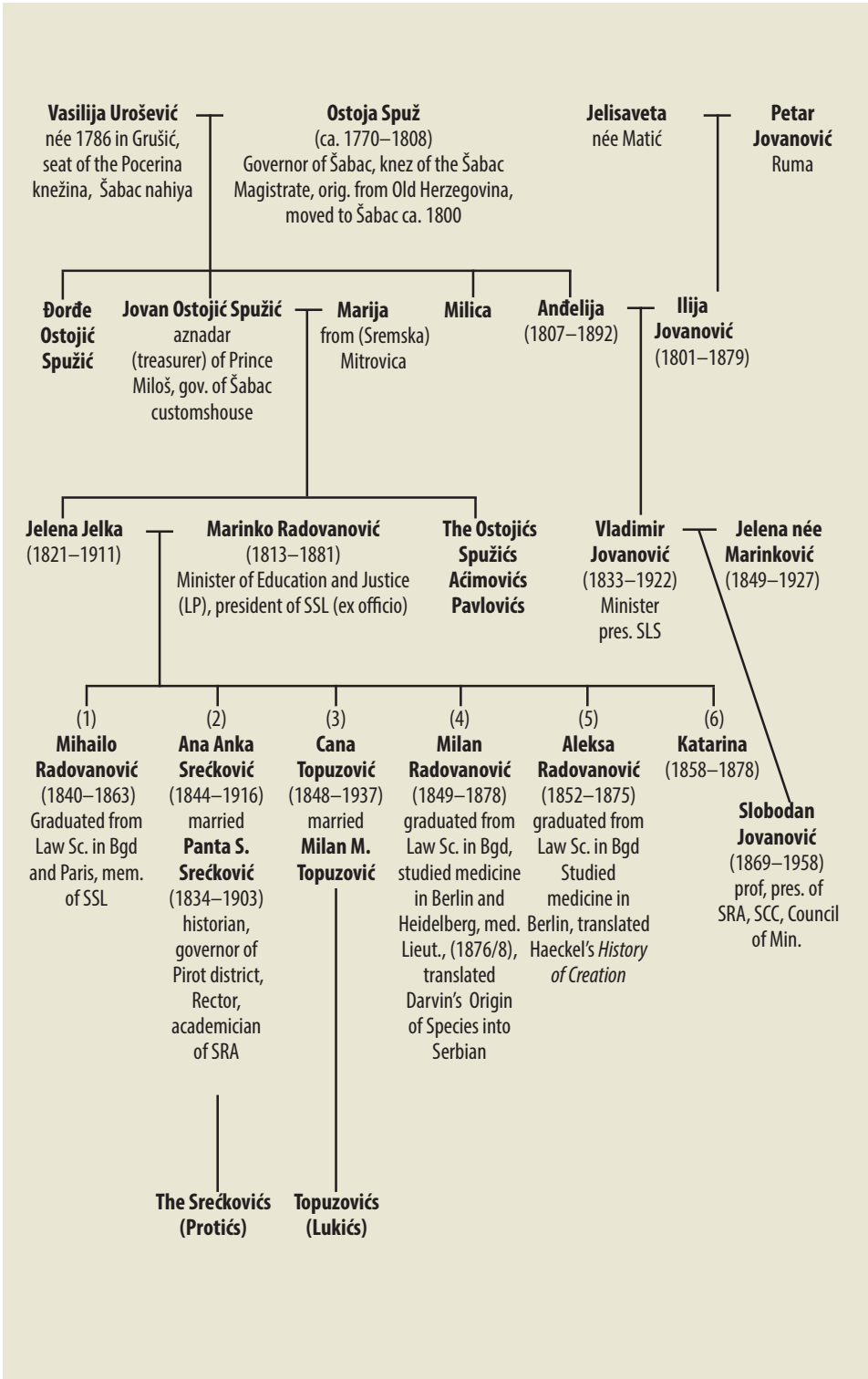
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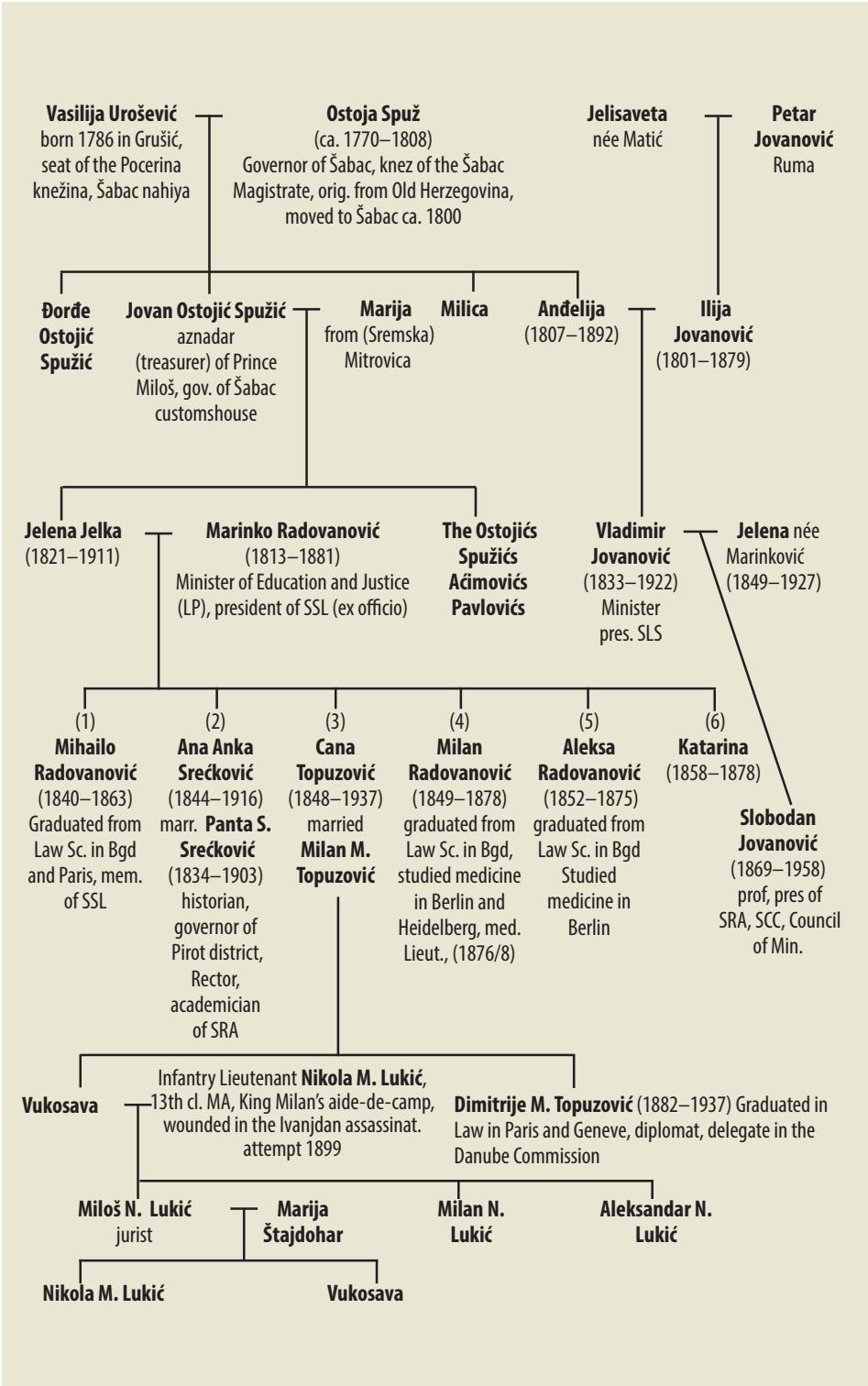
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THE JOVANOVIĆS, SPUŽIĆS
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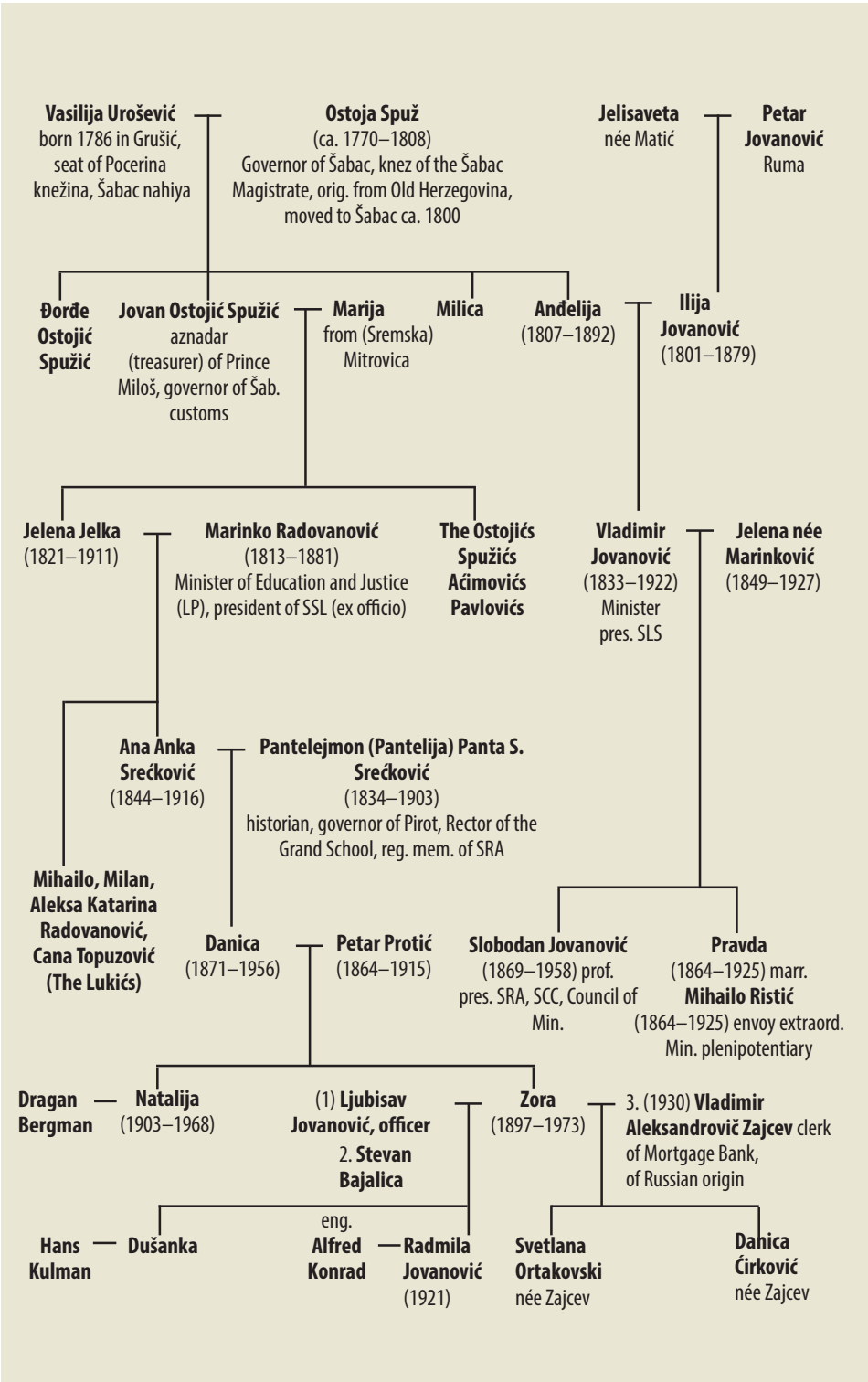
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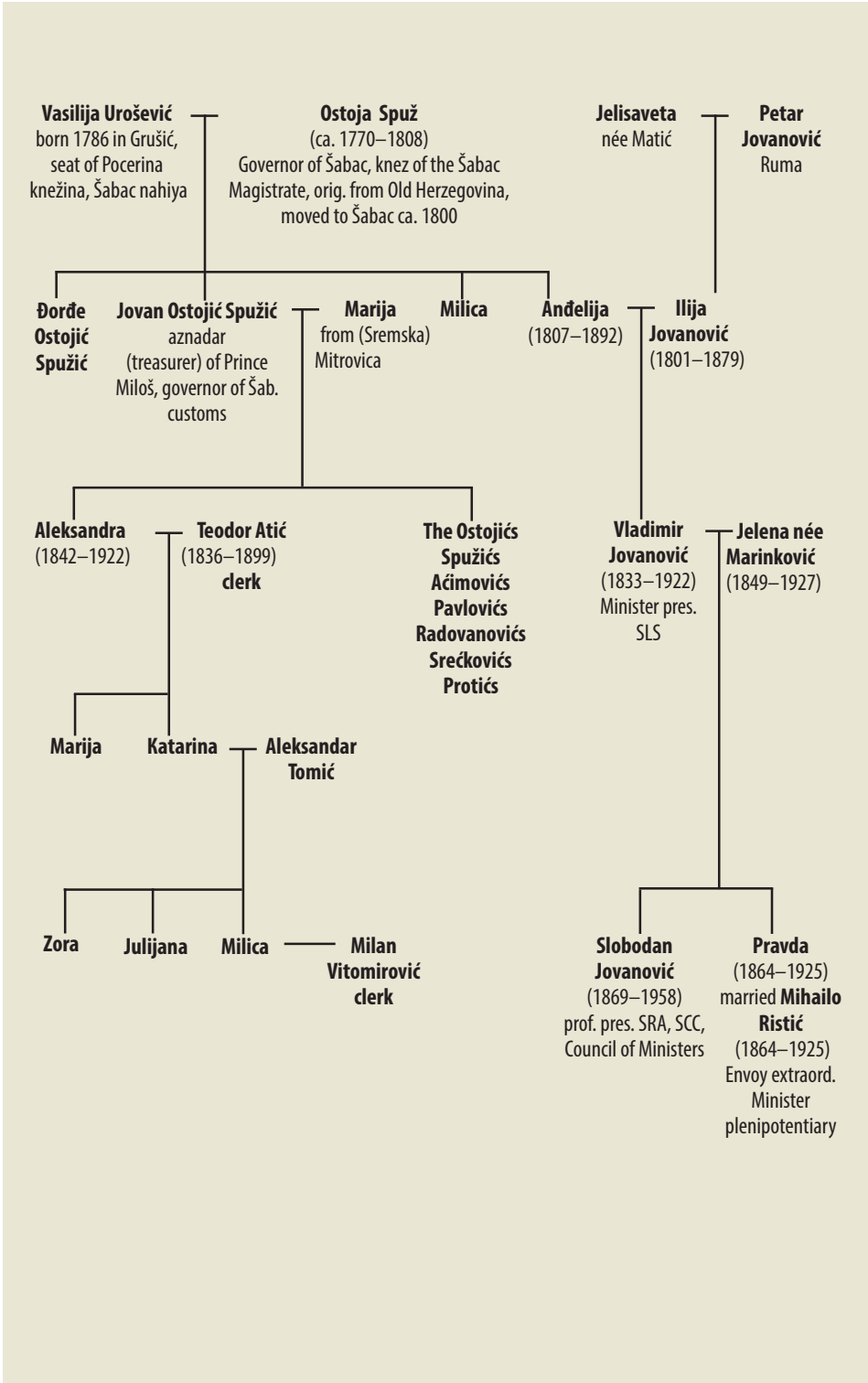
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TOPUZOVIĆS and LUKIĆS



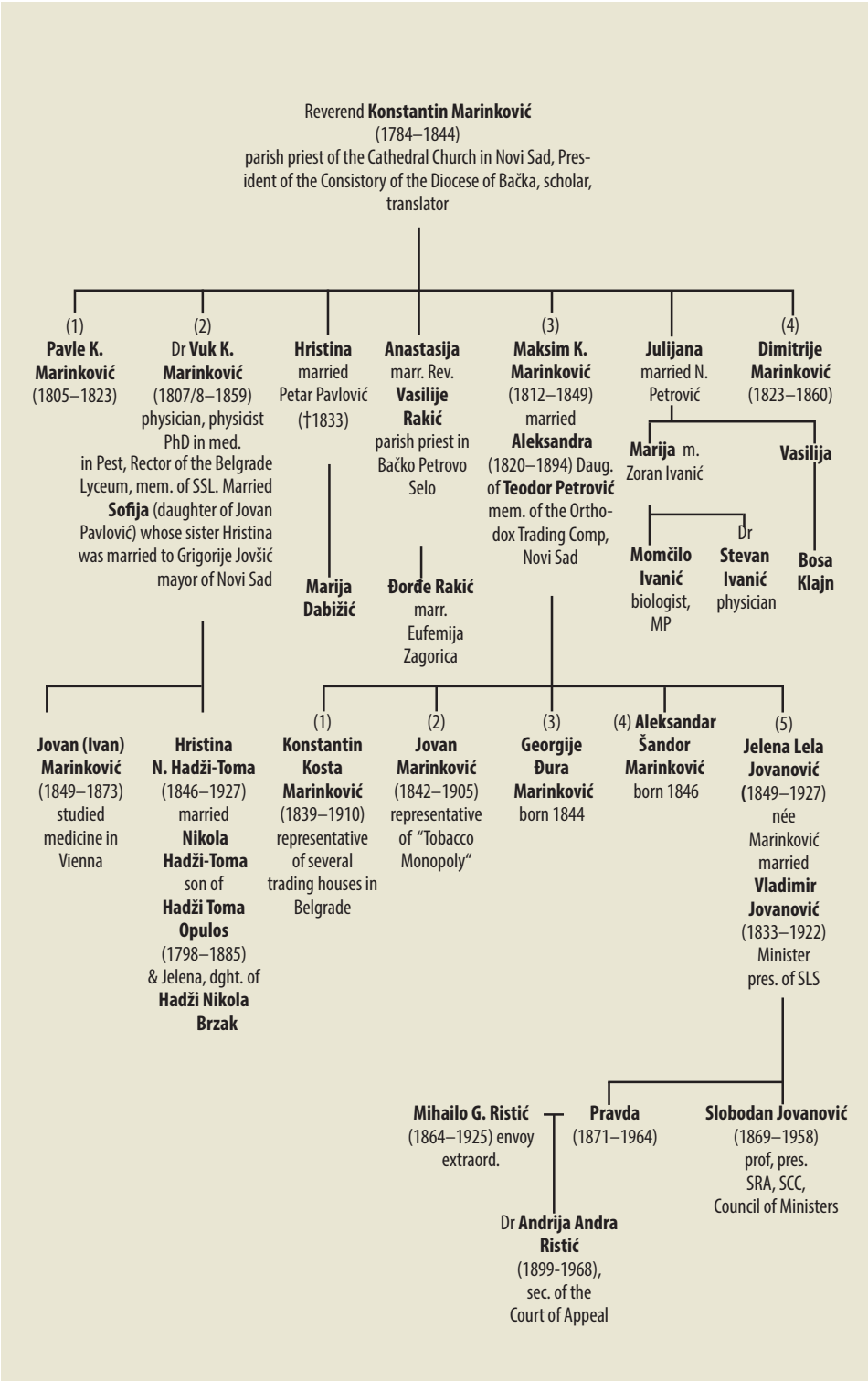
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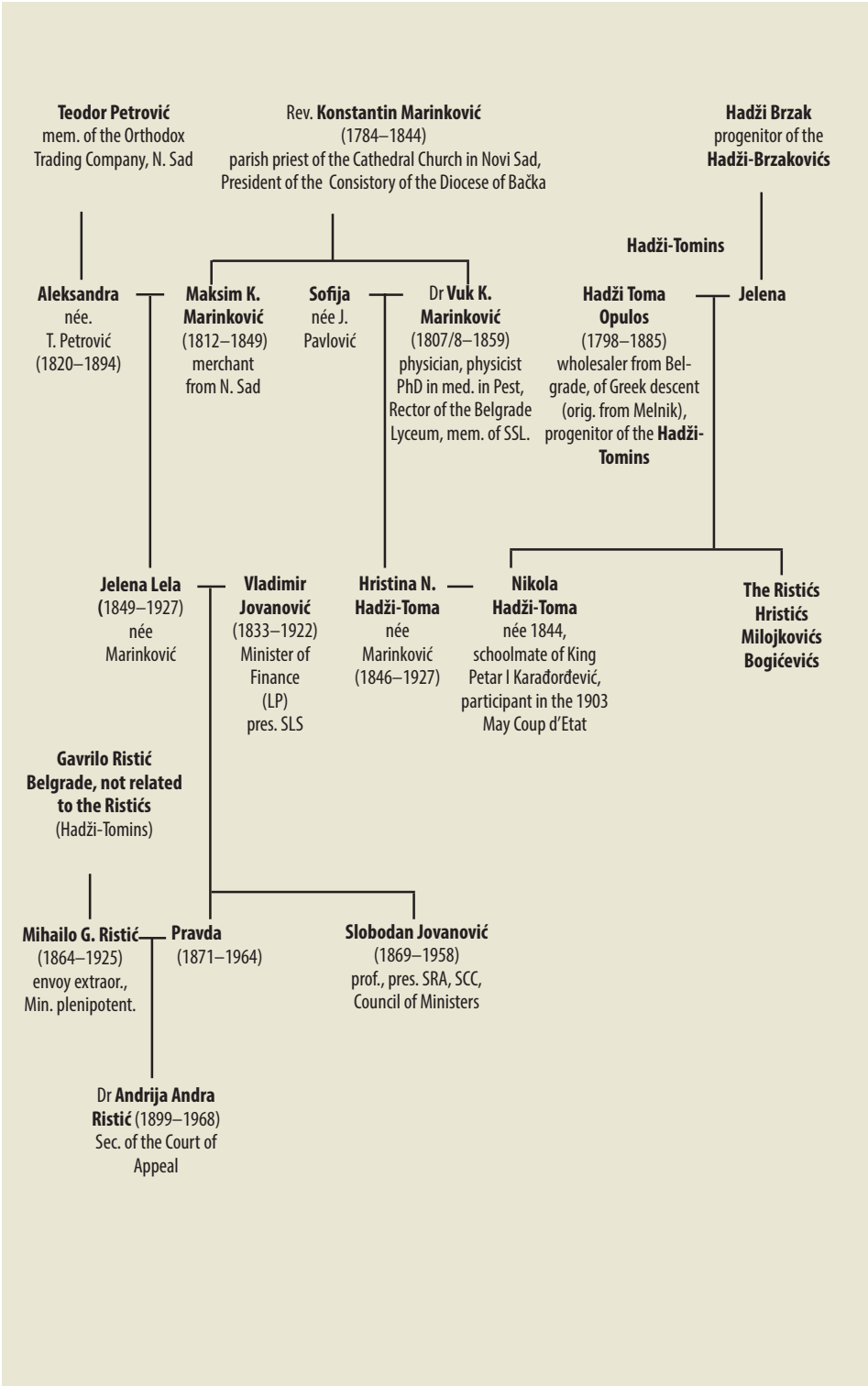
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THE JOVANOVIĆS, SPUŽIĆS
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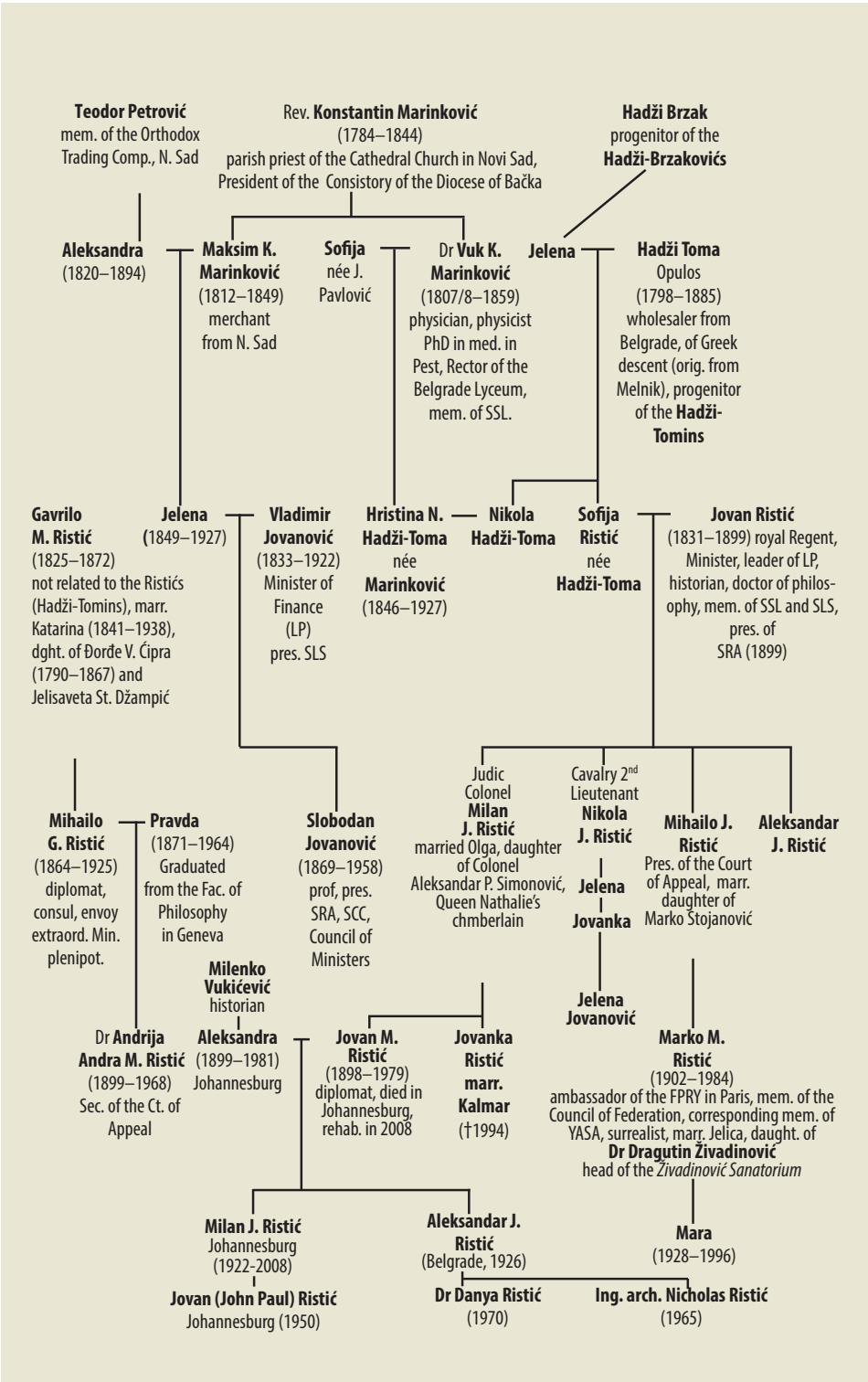
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THE JOVANOVIĆ
and MARINKOVIĆ



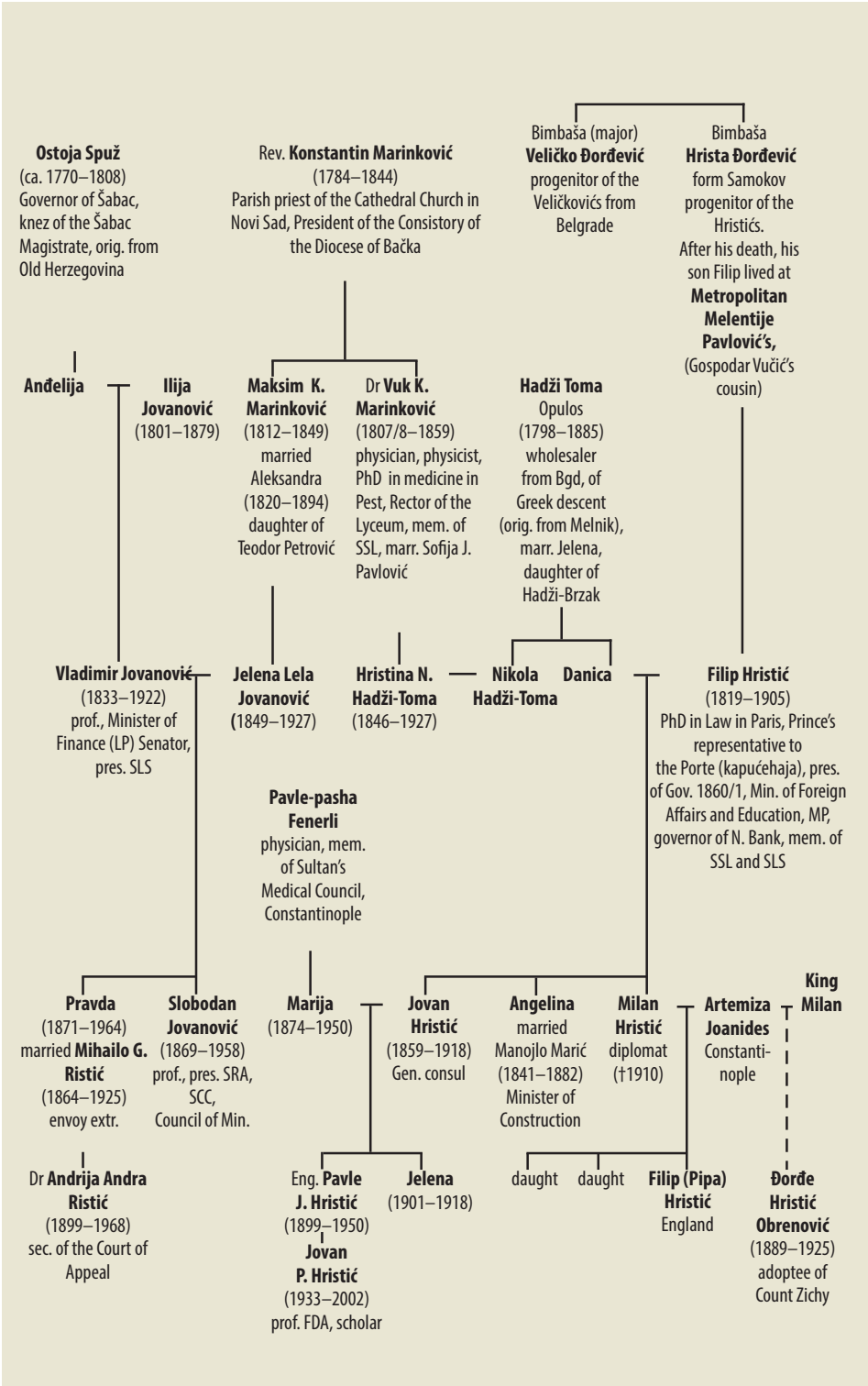
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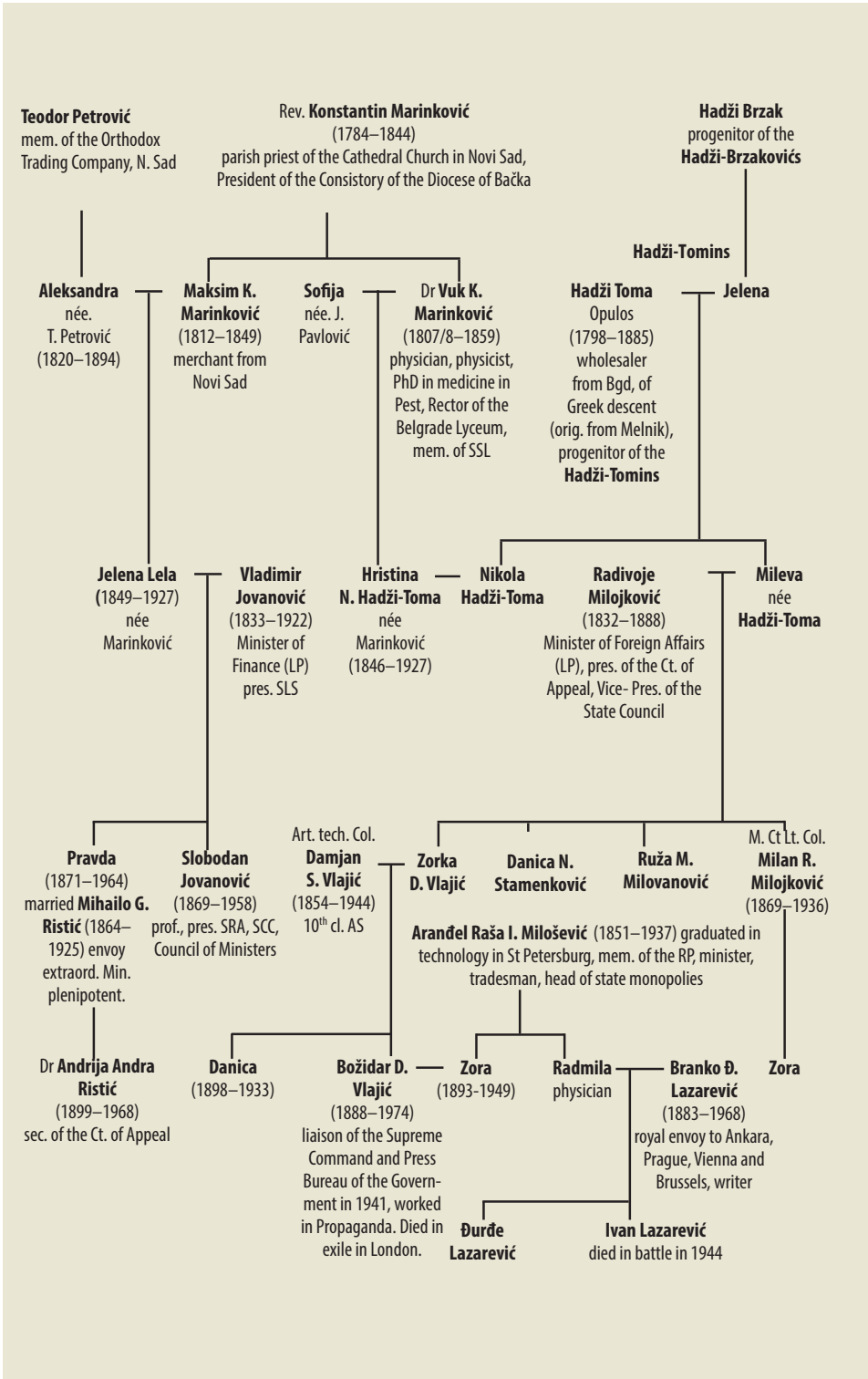
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THE JOVANOVIĆ
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and RISTIĆS



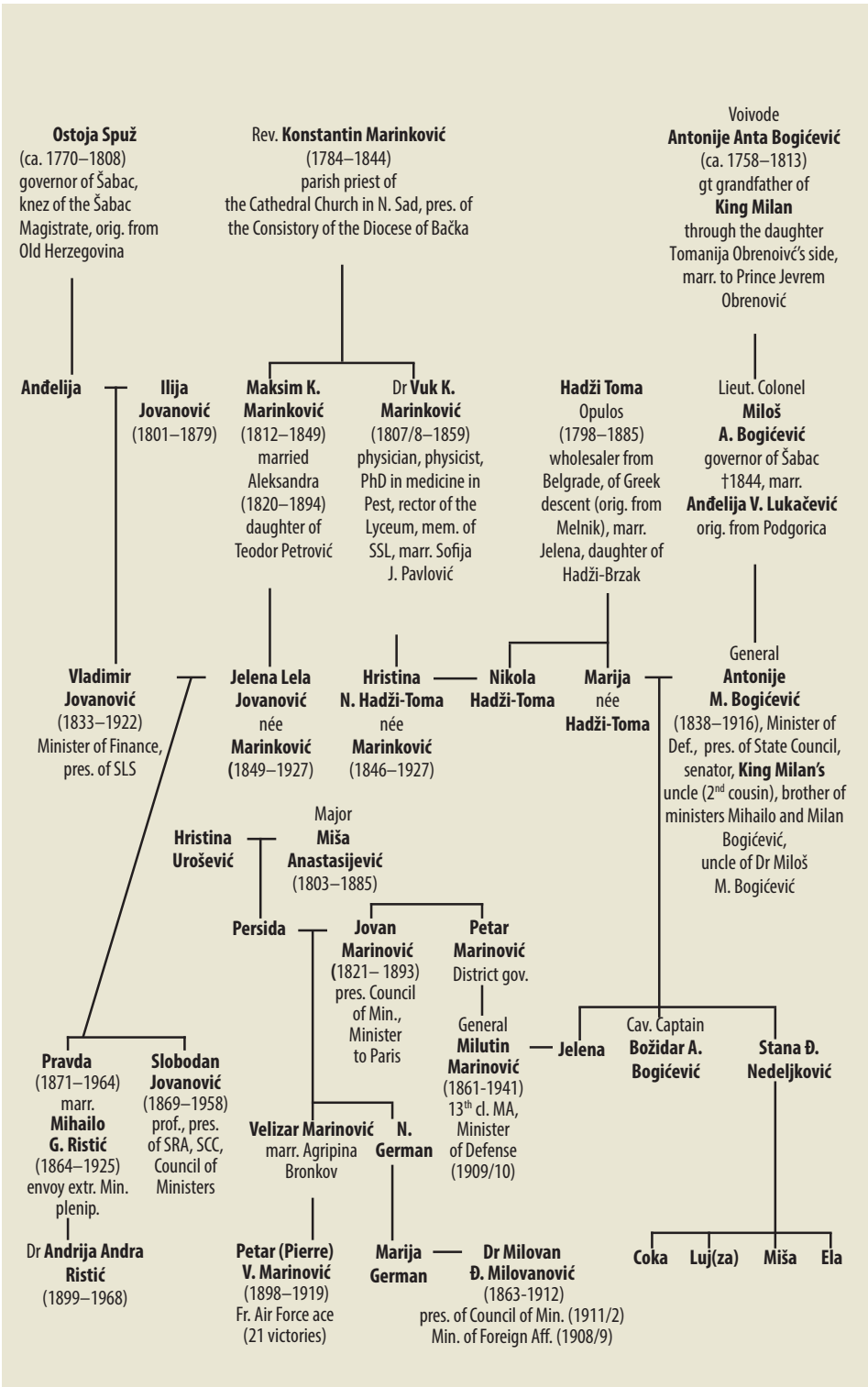
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and HRISTIĆS



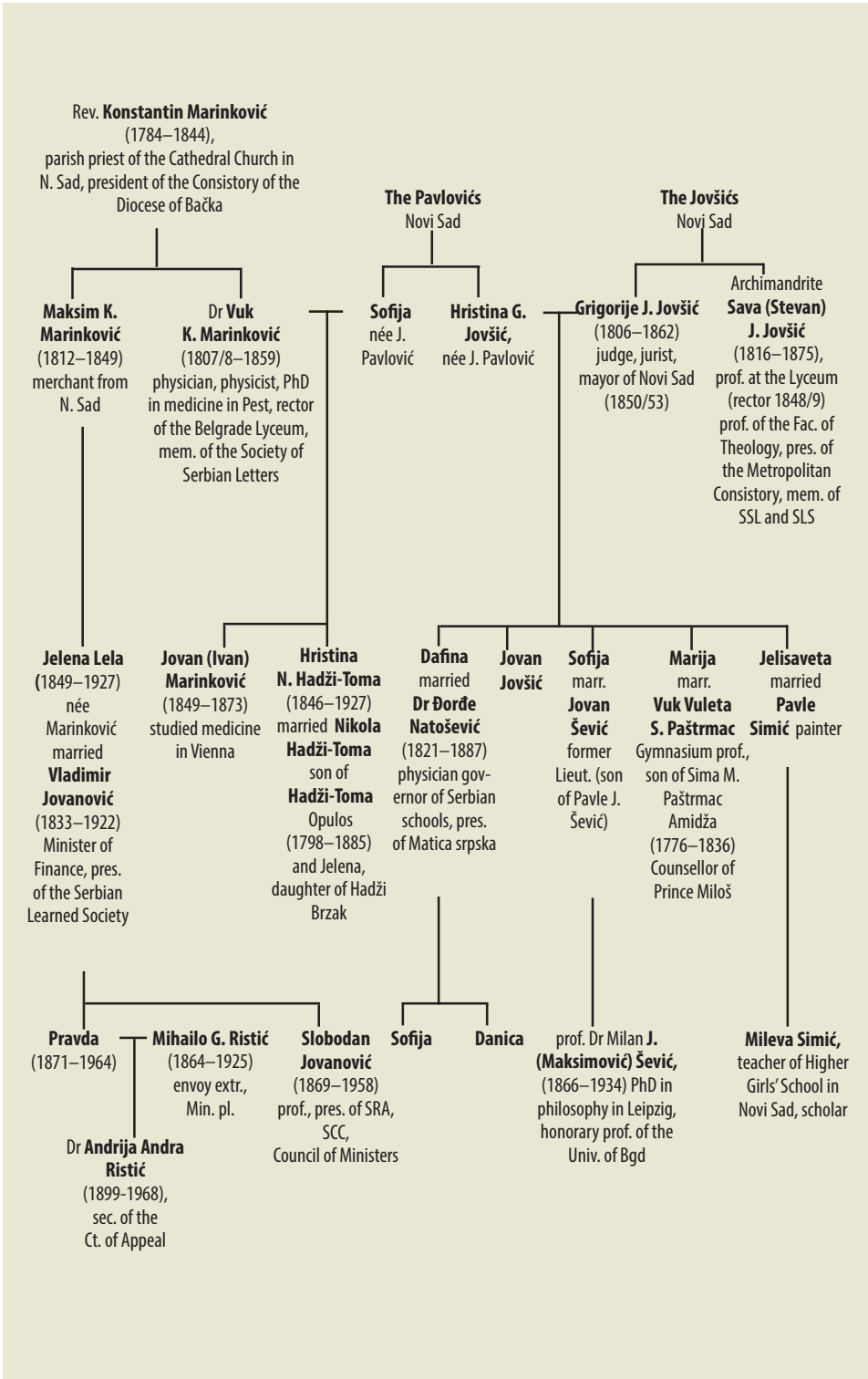
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TOMINS and MILOJKOVIĆS



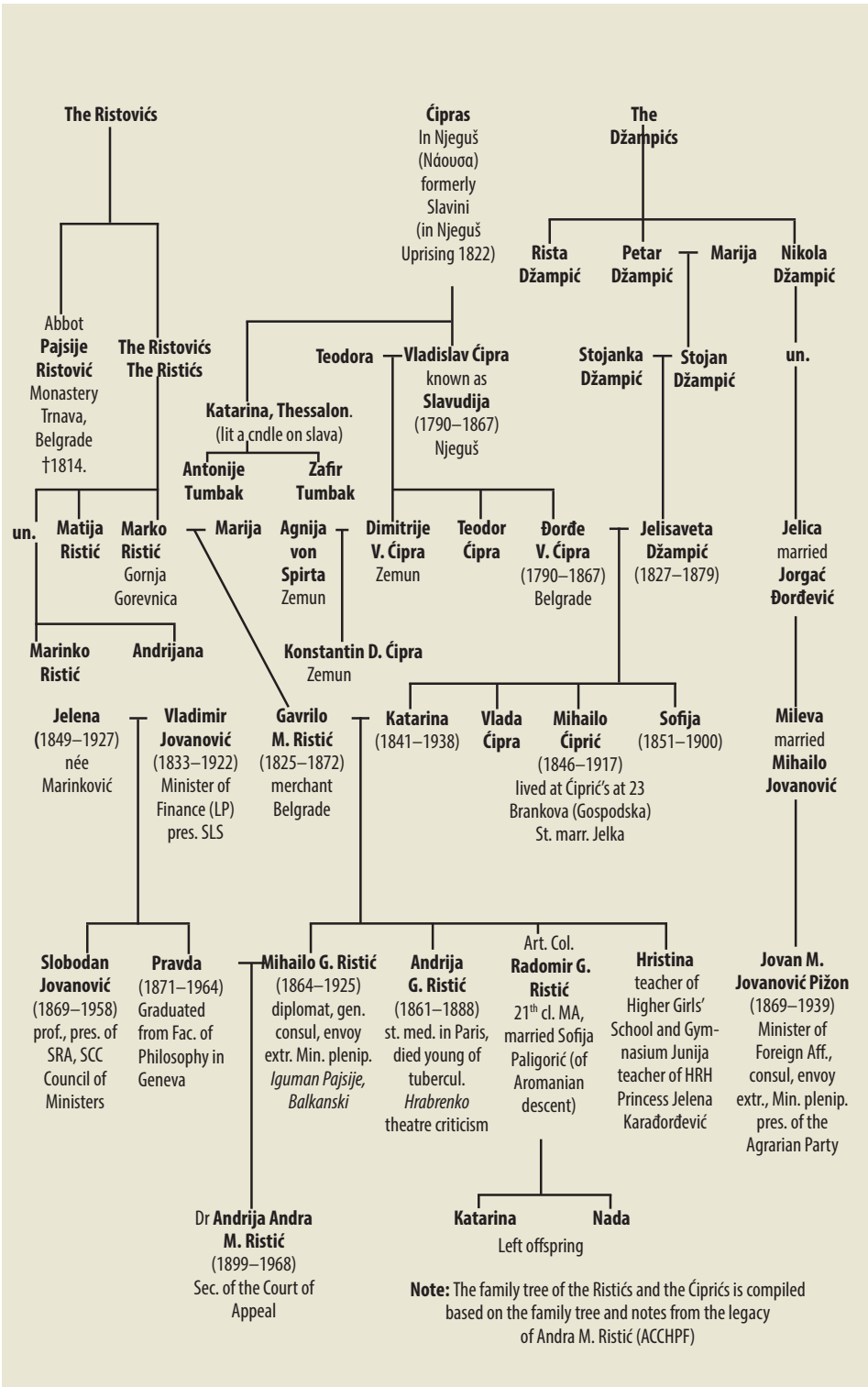
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The JOVANOVIĆS,
MARINKOVIĆS,
HADŽI-TOMINS and
BOGIĆEVIĆS



FAMILY TREE No. 4. 6.
THE JOVANOVIĆS, JOVŠIĆS,
ŠEVIĆS, NATOŠEVIĆS and
PAŠTRMACS



FAMILY TREE No. 5.
The JOVANOVIĆS
and RISTIĆS





Belgrade, 27th March 1941
(The Belgrade City Museum)

SOC – Serbian Orthodox Church
 SSL – Society of Serbian Letters
 SLS – Serbian Learned Society
 SRA – Serbian Royal Academy
 SASA – Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts
 MFA – Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 MI – Ministry of Interior
 MECA – Ministry of Education and Church Affairs
 SCC – Serbian Cultural Club
 LP – Liberal Party
 PP – Progressive Party
 RP – Radical Party
 DP – Democratic Party
 AP – Agrarian Party
 GS – Great School
 AS – Artillery School
 MA – Military Academy
 HSMA – Higher School of the Military Academy
 AS – State Archives of Serbia
 ASASA – Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts
 ASASA, LSJ – Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts,
 Legacy of Slobodan Jovanović
 ASASA, LMR – Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts,
 Legacy of Mihailo G. Ristić
 HAB – Historical Archives of Belgrade
 HAB, PFVJ – Historical Archives of Belgrade, Personal Fond of Vladimir
 Jovanović
 AJ – Archives of Yugoslavia
 MA – Military Archives
 NLS – National Library of Serbia
 UL – Library of the University of Belgrade
 HMS – Historical Museum of Serbia
 MTAS – Museum of Theatrical Arts of Serbia
 SP – Archives des Sciences Po, Paris
 ACCHPF – Archives of Cultural Centre Home of the Pavlović Family
 LVT – Legacy of Vlastimir Trajković (and Miloje Milojević)
 LTS – Legacy of Tadija Sondermayer

ABBREVIATIONS

Institutions, organisations and archives

Collected Works of Slobodan Jovanović

CW – Slobodan Jovanović, Collected Works I–XII, editors Radovan Samardžić and Živorad Stojković, BIGZ, Jugoslavijapublik, SKZ, Belgrade 1990–1991

Abbreviations in graphically shown genealogies

The names of individual countries, cities and places have changed over time. The names of occupations and ranks likewise changed (for example, the term ‘general’ was used in the interwar period along with the term ‘đeneral’). Changes in spelling, customs and nicknames also affected personal names. For instance, Slobodan Jovanović’s uncle was baptized by the name Georgij, but most people addressed him by the names Georgije, Đorđe and Đura. The name Mihailo was written in several different ways in the 19th century: Mihail, Mihailo, Mihajlo, Mijailo, Mijajlo and so on. For various reasons, the names received at baptism changed (e.g. Konstantin – Stojan, Joanikije – Milan, [H]ipokrat – Vladan).

We adhered to the official rules of transcription, and in cases where there are different, more or less equal possibilities of transcription, we preferred (although not without dilemmas) the usual way of pronouncing foreign names.

The graphical presentation of family trees is very complex, especially when showing entire family networks with data on births and deaths, education, profession and certain momentous events. Therefore, we used other abbreviations as needed.

Ct. of App. – Court of Appeal

art. – artillery

bat. – batallion

brig. – brigadier

A-F. – Air Force

A-F. tech. Lieut. Col. – Air Force technical Lieutenant Colonel

Gen. – General

Gen. Consul – Consul-General

gymn. – gymnasium, gymnasium student

Gen. Staff – General Staff

div. – division

dipl. – diplomat

dir. – director

vol. – volunteer
 vol. nurse – volunteer nurse
 emig. – emigration
 Cap. – Captain
 Ct. of Cass. – Court of Cassation
 OKSS3 – Order of Karađorđe's Star with Swords, 3rd degree
 OKSS4 – Order of Karađorđe's Star with Swords, 4th degree
 cl. – class (29th cl. MA – 29th class, Military Academy)
 com. – commander
 cav. – cavalry
 cons. – consul
 Roy. – Royal
 Envoy extraord. – envoy extraordinaire
 Min. plenipot. / Min. plen. – Minister plenipotentiary
 dght. / daught. – daughter
 Med. Fac. – Faculty of Medicine
 Min. – Minister
 Min. of Def. – Minister of Defense
 Min. of Foreign Aff. – Minister of Foreign Affairs
 Council of Min. – Council of Ministers
 marr. – married
 Inf. – Infantry
 lieut. – lieutenant
 pres. – president
 Lt. Col. – lieutenant Colonel
 Fac. of Law. – Faculty of Law
 prof. – professor
 Col. – Colonel
 reg. – regular
 reg. mem. – regular member
 res. – reserve
 Res. Major – Reserve Major
 b. – born
 med. – medical
 Med. Brig. Gen. – Medical Brigadier General
 Syr. Front – Syrmian Front
 st. – student
 Fac. – Faculty
 FDA – Faculty of Dramatic Arts
 mem. – member

Šab. – Šabac

Ass. – Assistant (Assistant Minister)

Palace of the Serbian Royal Academy
(ca 1920). (The Belgrade City Museum)



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