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Социјална структура Југославије - једна анализа британског Foreign Office Research Department-a с краја 1944. године

Група младих стручњака за међународне односе и историју основала је 1919. године у Версају, за време одржавања мировне конференције, „Англо-амерички институт за међународне односе“ (Anglo-American Institute of International Affairs). За свој основни циљ поставили су израду студија о међународним односима „објективних, без предубеђења, непристрасних, као нужне основе за рационалнију међународну политику у послератном времену”.¹ У британском делу екипе налазио се, тада двадесетпетогодишњак и најмлађи сарадник делегације Уједињеног Краљевства у Паризу, као стручњак за Средњи Исток, Арнолд Ј. Тојнби (A. J. Toynbee). За време рата био је члан владиног „Политичко-обавештајног одељења“ (Political-Intelligence Department), који је водио историчар Џејмс Хедлам-Морли (James Hedlam-Morley). Први велики Тојнбијев задатак био је рад на „Плавој књизи“ о турској политици према Јерменима. Такође, године 1915. са тројицом колега објавио је једну историју Балкана.²

После рата, уз дужности на Лондонском Универзитету, наставио је са радом у „Краљевском институту за међународне односе“ (Royal Institute of International Affairs - RIIA), „одцепљеном“ британском делу бившег заједничког англо-америчког института. Пет година након његовог оснивања (1926.) наименован је на место „director of studies“, оставши на том положају преко тридесет година.

1 Robert H. Keyserlingk, *Arnold Toynbee's Foreign Research and Press Service, 1939-43 and its Post-War Plans for South-East Europe*. Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 21, Nr. 4 (1986), s. 541.

2 Nevill Forbes, Arnold J. Toynbee, D. Mitrany and D. G. Hogarth, *The Balkans. A History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey*, Oxford, 1915.

Његово најчувеније дело „Истраживање историје“ (Studies of History), почиње са излагањем 1934. године, под покровитељством RIIA.³

Приближавање новог рата довело је Тојнбија и његов институт у непосредну везу са Форин офисом (Foreign Office), за чије је потребе - у замену за обилну финансијску потпору - израђивао анализе писања стране штампе. У Оксфорду на Бејлиол колеџу (Bailliol College), који је био његова „alma mater“, Тојнби окупља другу групу стручњака са универзитета у коју улази и тада најбољи британски познавалац југоистичноевропских прилика Р. В. Ситон-Вотсон (R. W. Seton-Watson).⁴ Овај нови тим, познат под именом „Служба за међународно истраживање и штампу“ (Foreign Research and Press Service - FRPS) имао је 1939. године преко сто тридесет сарадника. По замисли Министарства спољних послова FRPS је требао да осмисли и организује првенствено пропагандни рат против Немачке, али је, како је рат добијао на интензитету, овај задатак па у засенак сложенијих пројеката које је влада наручивала од Тојнбијевог тима. На почетку рата FRPS је једна од неколико британских организација које су се бавиле оним разноврсним делатностима обухваћеним појмом „political warfare”.⁵

Један од најважнијих задатака FRPS постаје истраживање узрока колапса међународног система насталог након Првог светског рата. Њиме се позабавио и Р. В. Ситон-Вотсон у својој књизи о Југоисточној Европи, објављеној у Лондону 1943. године.⁶ Осим овог задатка, Тојнбијеви сарадници све више почињу да раде на пројектима намењеним послератном преустројству, пре свега, средње-европског и југоистичноевропског простора, покушавајући да, кроз густо ткање историјског наслеђа, боље речено наслеђених противуречности разазнају основне проблеме блиске прошлости, Тојнбијев тим стручњака је добио изузетан задатак везан за европску послератну будућност. На првом месту, били су то проблеми о којима је готово опсесивно говорио и о њима размишљао Винстон Черчил, а који су се односили на трагање за могућим решењима политичко-територијалног реорганизовања Средње и Југоисточне Европе. Он је, као и део специјалиста који се бавио тим проблемом показивао склоност ка једном, у стварним историјским чињеницама, неутемељеном идеализовању Хабсбуршке Монархије, као неке врсте мултинационалне, мултиконфесионалне и мултикултурне утопије. Њено разбијање на националне државе је, по његовом схватању, један од главних узрока европске нестабилности у међуратном периоду.⁷ Разматрања могућег совјетског продора у Подунавље нудило је, као примамљиво решење, васкрсавање некакве нове католичке подунавске конфедерације, као бране идеолошком и политичком наступу са Истока.

3 R. H. Keyserlingk, и.д. с. 542.

4 Исто, с. 544.

5 Треба поменути, пре свега, нову обавештајну агенцију Special Operation Executive (SOE), затим пропагандни одсек BBC-ја који је спајањем са пропагандним штабом SOE ушао у Political Intelligence Department Министарства спољних послова, исто, с. 545, 546.

6 R. W. Seton-Watson, *Eastern Europe Between the Wars 1914-1918*, London, 1943.

7 Уп. Черчилове ставове о решењу послератног статуса Аустрије и Немачке у: Винстон Черчил, *Други светски рат*, VI, *Тријумф и трагедија*, Београд, 1965, с. 220.; Такође, Detlef Brandes, *Grossbritannien und seine osteuropäischen Alliierten 1939-1943*, München, 1988, с. 552.

У пролеће 1942. FRPS је добио задатак да припреми предлоге за разматрање једног таквог политичко-територијалног решења.⁸ Међутим, први документ потекао од Тојнбијевог стручног тима о образовању једне многонационалне подунавске (кон)федерације поднет је Министарству иностраних послова још у октобру 1941. године.⁹ У сваком случају, може се рећи да су ове идеје нашле у британском политичком врху плодно тло захваљујући и заговарању тако утицајних стручњака као што су били они окупљени у FRPS, претворивши се у „званичну линију” британске, средњеевропске и југоистичноевропске политике. Средином исте године, Форин офис је у потпуности укључио FRPS у своју структуру спојивши са њим свој Political Intelligence Department.¹⁰

Интересантна су мишљења о раду и утицају Тојнбијевог тима изнесена 5. априла 1943. године у једном писму Др Слободану Јовановићу, председнику југословенске владе, као и могућим последицама по југословенску политику.¹¹ Председник владе је обавештен о спајању FRPS и Political Intelligence Department-a (PID), од којих је „створен нов организам који улази у састав недавно основаног Research Department-a и Foreign Office-y”. По процени аутора писма то је имало важне политичке последице и по југословенске интересе. Тојнбијева организација Chatham House-a ушла је у потпуности у састав Министарства спољних послова, тако да ће у још већој мери моћи да утиче на образовање или мењање спољнополитичких ставова владе. За Тојнбија и његове сараднике тврди се да су „познати ... због резерве коју показују према Совјетској Унији, а на подручју Средње Европе и Балкана, склони су становитим тенденцијама које би могле оштетити југославенске и чехословачке интересе ако би побиле”. Забрињавало је постављање на место шефа Одсека за Југославију професора Лафина (Laffin), а на место шефа Одсека за Мађарску и Бугарску К. А. Макартнија (C. A. Mackartney), писца књиге „Danubian Basin”.¹² На основу података добијених „под највећом дискрецијом”, аутор извештаја наводи да је К. А. Макартни „израдио тзв. етнографске податке за Југоисточну Европу и ти су подаци неповољни за нас и Чехословаке, а у корист Мађарске и Бугарске. Тенденције овог професора откривене су најбоље у нападајма који су извршени на њега у последњем броју ревије 'Time and Tide' под насловом 'Hungarian Rhapsody'.” На крају, преносе се очекивања да ће „што прије наступити разбистрење у редовима Краљевске југословенске владе како би онда наши и чехословачки кругови могли што успијешније сузбијати горе споменуте опасне тенденције”.¹³

8 D. Brandes, н.д., с. 440, 441.

9 R. H. Keyserlingk, н.д., с. 550.

10 Исто, с. 549.

11 Архив Југославије, 103-252/253, ф. 52, строго пов. бр. 107 од 5. априла 1943. Писмо упућено др. Слободану Јовановићу није потписано, али се на основу неких елемената може претпоставити да је његов аутор, вероватно, др. Јурај Крњевић, потпредседник владе.

12 Исто.

13 О ранијим Тојнбијевим ставовима и ставовима FRPS о послератном уређењу Балкана и Средње Европе као осигурању против ширења совјетског утицаја и неутралисања једног новог немачког господства над овим простором, в.: Hans Knoll, *Jugoslawien in Strategien und Politik der Alliierten 1940-1943*, München, 1986, с. 260, нап. 72.

Овако изражен страх да ће утицај „прохабсбуршке струје” моћи да представља стварну препреку, имајући у виду поменуте Черчилове ставове био је реалан; Одбацавање и помисли по некаквим решењима типа „Дунавске федерације” са преовлађујућим утицајима Беча и Будимпеште стално се провлачи у британским разматрањима послератне геополитичке слике овог простора.

Документ „The Social Structure of Yugoslavia” такође је настао у Foreign Office Research Department-у децембра 1944. године.¹⁴ То је сажет, али не површан, оскудан или сувопаран, већ аналитички документ који доноси податке о земљи, становништву, унутрашњим сличностима и разликама, привреди, менталитету, улози црква, војске и чиновништва - до 1941. године. Општа слика обогачена је неопходним статистичким подацима и неким новим елементима које је у „структури” проузроковао рат.

На основу изнесених оцена, у овом облику намењених ширем кругу личности из великог дипломатско-политичког механизма Уједињеног Краљевства, посебно онима везаним за југословенски проблем, постављен пред крај рата у свој својој компликованости као кључни у сплету односа савезничких сила на Балкану, као и дубоких подела међу самим Југословенима - може се доћи до суда и о британском углу посматрања једног друштва у превирању. О изнесеним ставовима се може критички говорити, али се не може пребацити недостатак објективности и учовање основних проблема. Документ се такође мора посматрати као интересантан, мали сегмент огромне количине британске грађе о Југославији, која се чува у Британском Државном Архиву.

The Social Structure Of Yugoslavia

The Diversity of Yugoslavia

1. Yugoslavia did not enjoy the unity conferred by a single religious, or even legal, organisation, or by a long-established tradition of common life and unified government. It was hurriedly created in 1918, in a political form repugnant to the majority of its inhabitants; and it had existed for only 22 years when it was overrun and dismembered. The name which it bore for its first ten years, „the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes,” bore witness to its lack of unity. Its national anthem consists of curious sequence of catches from Serbian national anthem and from Croat and Slovene songs. The Serbs were divided amongst themselves by differences of provincial tradition; and the same was true of the Croats. Consequently by 1943 all political parties in Yugoslavia had given their support to the project of converting Yugoslavia into a federal State; and the Partisans, claiming to express the desires of the majority of Yugoslavs, pronounced for a division of the country into at least six federated units. In view of this regional diversity, papers on the „Special Areas”, *Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dalmatia, the Vojvodina, Montenegro, and Macedonia*, have been written and may be consulted. For the

14 Public Record Office, Foreign Office 371, 48926, R 2395/92, Balcan States. Secret. Section 2, The Social Structure of Yugoslavia, Foreign Office, Research Department, 12. December, 1944.

national minorities see the papers on the *German*, the *Madyar*, the *Albanian*, and the *Lasser Minorities in Yugoslavia*.

A Land of Free Peasants.

2. Nevertheless, some generalisations about Yugoslavia are possible. And the first is that it is a land of peasants. Over 75 per cent. of the total population in 1930's lived by one form or another of agriculture. The following table, taken from the census of 1930 the 1931, shows the distribution of callings: -

Category.,	Gainfully employed.	Dependants.	Total.
Agriculture	5.083.160	5.545.724	10.628.884
Fishing	5.399	9.021	14.420
Forestry	10.329	16.932	27.261
Mining and Industry	717.002	816.050	1.533.052
Commerce and finance	169.964	205.467	375.431
Communications	102.385	198.150	300.535
Public services, liberal professions, armed forces	305.770	262.066	567.836
Other professions	288.606	198.013	486.619
Total	6.682.615	7.251.423	13.934.038

Amongst a population of 13.934.038 in 1931 there were 1.985.725 agricultural holdings. These could be classified in size as follows: -

Percentage of all holdings.	Percentage of total cultivated area.
Holdings of less than 2 ha. (5 acres) formed	33 x 8, amounting to 6 x 5
Holdings of between 2 and 5 ha. (12 1/2 acres) formed	34 x 0, amounting to 21 x 5
Holdings of between 5 and 10 ha. (25 acres) formed	20 x 5, amounting to 27 x 0
Holdings of between 10 and 100 ha. (250 acres) formed	11 x 6, amounting to 38 x 5
Holdings of more than 100 ha. (250 acres) formed	0 x 1, amounting to 6 x 5

Thus more than two-thirds of all the holdings were small, and one-third extremely small. As the smaller holdings were mostly in the least fertile parts of the country-Dalmatia, western Bosnia, southern Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia-where, moreover, the increase of the population was most rapid, about half of the peasantry were unable to extract a livelihood from their land, and were obliged to supplement their farm earnings by outside work, e.g., forestry and public works, or else starve. Large estates, after agrarian reform had broken up those in the former Austro-Hungarian lands, were few. The norm of Yugoslav life was the village of peasant proprietors, who, with the aid of their families, worked small farms.

3. The life of the most backward Yugoslav peasants was more varied than that of the English working class, either rural or urban. In the nineteenth century the *zadruga*, or large household of relative sunder the patriarchal rule of an elder, was widespread in most parts of the country. As that gave way to village self-government under a chief chosen by heads of families, there remained the tradition of sturdy self-support for nearly all purposes. Thus the men were often skilled in a number of handicrafts, and the women, besides working in the fields, milking, and keeping house, still made the clothes for both sexes, except where western costume had come within the reach of the peasants and ousted their more decorative home-spun and hand-woven garments. Opportunities for social intercourse were provided by the taverns, by church-going, family celebrations, festivals, and marketing in the towns.

4. The superficial appearance of an Arcadian existence, sometimes given by life in a Yugoslav village, was rendered illusory by excessive dependence on agriculture and on cereal crops in particular. In many parts of the country the population increased very rapidly after 1919 and especially in the less fertile districts, such as western Bosnia or southern Croatia. Moreover, with the creation of their own State and the ambition of their official classes to attain the standards of life of Western Europe, the Yugoslavs found themselves afflicted with heavy taxation. The peasants were often obliged to sell food needed for their own sustenance in order to pay their taxes. Their agricultural implements were, on the whole, primitive, and their task was rendered difficult by the widespread custom of holding land in separated strips, each of about an acre, and by their need, on the smaller holdings, of sharing a plough or a pair of draught animals with their neighbours. Very few farms were large enough to warrant the use of tractors, and in the agricultural crisis of 1932 tractors were prohibited in order to maintain employment. Owing to the low price which the Yugoslav peasants received for their produce, and the high cost of modern machinery and fertilisers, they were unable, in most parts of the country, to improve their holdings. The result was extreme poverty and widespread debt amongst the peasant population.

The Common Language.

5. Another generalisation is that the Yugoslavs were united by language. Certainly Serbian or Croatian, which are but variants of one language, though written in Cyrillic and Latin characters respectively (a matter of little importance to the 44 per cent. of illiterates in the country), would be understood by nearly everybody in the country, except some of the alien minorities on the borders. But the general statement needs some qualification. The Slovenes forming about 8 per cent. of the population, though usually able to understand and to speak Serbo-Croat, themselves used a kindred language which was sufficiently different to be unintelligible to Serbs and Croats. Of Serbo-Croat itself there had been many dialects prevalent in different areas. Of the three major dialects, *Štokavski*, *Kajkavski* and *Čakavski* (derived from the three words, *što*, *kaj* and *ča*, for the pronoun „what”), *Štokavski* had so widely ousted the other two that it might be said to be the normal form of the language. *Kajkavski* remained prevalent only in western Croatia, from the Hungarian border to the valley of the Kupa; while *Čakavski* was only found in the Adriatic islands and along some parts of the Dalmatian coast. *Štokavski* appears certain to prevail yet more decisively, since it is the literary language. The two alphabets introduced no differences of pronunciation; though it is true that there were regional differences of

vowel sounds-e.g., the word for „white” was *belo* in Serbia and the Vojvodina, and *bijelo* in Bosnia and Croatia-and German words were still in use in Croatia, as were Turkish words in Serbia. Lastly, in south-eastern Serbia and Macedonia dialects were still in use that marked stages of transition between Serbo-Croat and Bulgarian.

6. The possession of a common language served to diffuse amongst all the Yugoslavs, even in some degree amongst the Slovenes, their rich store of national poetry and folklore. The cycle of poetic tales connected with the great defeat by the Turks on the plain of Kosovo in 1389, the exploits of Kraljević Marko, those of the Uskoks or pirates, the Bosnian Moslem love lyrics, and other poems, were the common property of all the Yugoslavs. Additions were constantly being made to this store-house of poetry and song, since the peasants easily expressed themselves in verse. A poem whose origin was unknown would undergo a process of adaption and alteration by many mouths until it satisfied the popular taste and became a national possession. The struggle against the occupying Powers from 1941 to 1944 has given rise to a large amount of such heroic poetry, which characteristically celebrates defeats at least as often as victories.

Geographical Zones.

7. There are in Yugoslavia four distinct geographical zones imposing differing conditions of life and labour on their inhabitants: (i) The seaboard is composed of the Adriatic islands and a narrow strip of coast between the sea and the „white mountains”, which run from the environs of Trieste through Croatia, Dalmatia, Hercegovina, and Montenegro. Here life is „Mediterranean”. Poverty-stricken peasants grow meagre crops of cereals on small holdings; but the land is mainly used for the cultivation of olives, fruit, and vines. The numerous small cities and towns bear witness to former prosperity in the days before the railways began to draw away the trade of the interior to Fiume or Salonika. Maritime pursuits, tourist traffic, and cement works have provided employment in recent years. Upon the coastal cities rests the grace conferred by and ancient and continuous culture, rich in artistic and religious tradition.

8.-(ii) Behind the coastal strip are the ranges of the „white mountains” themselves. This zone consists of barren ridges and limestone plateaux separated by long valleys, which are often flooded in winter and spring, but afford pasturage and produce crops in the summer. The area is one of the greatest poverty and economic stagnation, the sparse population being too great for the cultivable area. Most of the streams disappear underground or form series of cascades, so that the Cetina and the Neretva are the only considerable rivers of this zone.

9.-(iii) Further inland is the broad zone of the „green mountains”, in which may be included the whole of the rest of Yugoslavia, except the northern plains, i.e., the mountains and foothills of the Eastern Alps in Slovenia and western Croatia, the hilly country of Slavonia, Bosnia, most of Serbia, the Sandjak, Kosovo and Macedonia. Parts of the south are comparatively barren, but, generally speaking, this zone favours a mixed agriculture of cereals, vegetables, fruit, stock-raising, poultry-breeding, and dairy-produce. The uniformity of peasant life was here broken by mining, industry and towns. In this zone are most of Yugoslavia's considerable, but little developed, mineral resources, e.g., the copper mines, the largest in Europe, at Bor in north-east Serbia, the lead mines of Trepča in Kosovo, the chrome mines of Macedonia, the iron of Bosnia, and the coal of Slovenia, Bosnia and Serbia. The only considerably industrialised part of the country was Slovenia

with its numerous textile mills, chemical works, coal-mines, and a glass and aluminium industry. Most of Yugoslavia's forests, which cover a third of her total area, lie in this zone and sustained the important timber industry, especially in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia. Ljubljana and Maribor, in Slovenia, are cities of the Austrian type; Sarajevo has a metropolitan air combined with Eastern picturesqueness and some dilapidation; Niš is rather a large village than a city. Skoplje and Bitolj, the cities of Macedonia, are Oriental, though the former was extensively modernised after 1920. There are many other towns, none of more than 30,000 inhabitants, which are both agricultural markets and centres of numerous handicrafts.

10.-(iv) Lastly, there is the zone of the great plains round the rivers Danube, Drave, Save, and the Lower Morava. Most of this area devoted to the cultivation of wheat, maize, and other cereals, and to pig- and cattle-breeding, and produced a large surplus of grain, which was exported or transferred to the needy areas. In this zone are the two metropolitan cities of Yugoslavia: Belgrade, whose population trebled in the decade after 1919 and which lost its rural character as the high modern buildings went up, and Zagreb, at the extreme western edge of this zone, with the dignity of many decades of city life. There are also many other towns, of the Hungarian type, which have grown up in the last three centuries: Osijek and Novi Sad, both urban and cultural centres, with industries and riverine ports; and Subotica, Senta, Petrovgrad, and Sombor, large centres of agrarian trade. Amongst the smaller towns, Brod on the Save is Yugoslavia's chief centre of railway engineering, and Zemun has aircraft works. The other towns are markets and retain much of the character of villages.

East and West.

11. Another line of division, having its roots deep in the history of the Yugoslavs, is that between „East” and „West”. The frontier between the two halves of the Roman Empire passed approximately through the centre of Yugoslavia, and was perpetuated by the frontier between the Roman Catholic and the Eastern Orthodox Churches. Thus the northern and western Yugoslav lands came under the influence of Italo-Germanic civilisation, while the eastern and southern lands came under that of Byzantium. This divergence was accentuated by the long period of Turkish domination, which introduced a new manner of life amongst the Moslemised Yugoslavs and some of its elements amongst the rest. After the Turks had been driven from Hungary the frontier between East and West remained stabilised for nearly two centuries along the rivers Danube, Save and Una and the Dalmatian mountains. This eighteenth-century boundary between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires became the demarcation line between „East” and „West” and will be treated as such hereafter.

12. To the „West” of this line lie Slovenia, Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia, and the Vojvodina; to the „East” of it are Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, the Sandjak, Kosovo, and Macedonia.

13. On the „western” side of the line the great majority of the Yugoslavs, as well as of their German and Magyar neighbours, was Catholic-the chief exception being the considerable Orthodox population all along the frontier area (the former „Military Frontier” of the Habsburgs). On the „eastern” side, apart from the considerable Moslem stronghold in Bosnia-Hercegovina, virtually the only exceptions to the prevailing Orthodoxy were the Turkish, Albanian and other Moslems of the south. Bosnia-Hercegovina formed a mixed

area, *sui generis*, where virtually the whole population was Yugoslav, the Serb Orthodox being the largest single confessional element, though outnumbered by the Moslems and the Croat Catholics combined.

14. The census of 1931 showed that this line between „East” and „West” still held good. The figures for the three main confessions were: -

Orthodox.	Catholics.	Moslems.	Total Population.
6.785.501	5.262.518	1.561.166	13.934.038
48 x 70 per cent.	37 x 45 per cent.	11 x 20 per cent.	

About one million of the Orthodox and hardly any of the Moslems were on the „western” side of the line. Of the Catholics only about half a million were on the „eastern” side, and of these more than four-fifths were in Bosnia Hercegovina.

15. The Yugoslav lands displayed a scale of civilisation descending roughly (if measured by Western standards) from north-west to south-east. The Slovenes, living till 1918 inside Austria and learning from and having to compete with the Austrian Germans, acquired a standard of industry and efficiency which was unknown elsewhere in Yugoslav. This enabled them to develop well-organised co-operatives for the marketing of their produce, and brought them to posts of responsibility in business and finance and in the police throughout the country.

16. In Croatia-Slavonia and the Vojvodina, as education developed in the nineteenth century, there emerged a *bourgeois* class of officials, lawyers, teachers, journalists, and business men, mainly Croat in Croatia and Serb in the Vojvodina. Till 1918, however, the continued existence of a landed aristocracy, largely non-Yugoslav (though a few Croat noble families survived), and the illiterate condition of the peasants in Croatia-Slavonia, and to a lesser degree in the Vojvodina, still divided society into the classes of the *ancien régime*. A conservative tradition on manners gave Zagreb and elegance of life which survived even after the war of 1914-18. The peasants north of the Save-Dunabe line enjoyed a rude plenty of the fruits of the earth, but in the hills of the south a stark poverty of Balkan character prevailed. After 1918 the large estates were broken up and the old aristocracy emigrated or otherwise disappeared into obscurity. But the line of separation between the *bourgeoisie*, now several generations old, and the peasantry remained pronounced. The success of the Croat Peasant Party in organising its many social, education, economic, and political activities in the villages owed much to the resentment of the peasantry against their own *bourgeoisie* as well as against the authorities of Belgrade and the *gendarmérie*.

17. The Serbians in the nineteenth century were almost uniformly peasants, many of them still living in *zadruga* (see para. 3) and extremely primitive. Towards the close of the century a Serbian *bourgeoisie* developed, partly the product of education in Serbia, partly consisting of Serb immigrants from south Hungary; and the towns, which had been chiefly inhabited by Vlachs, Jews, Armenians, and nondescript Levantines, became rapidly Serbianised. After 1918, contact with central Europe raised the material standards of this new *bourgeoisie*, who rapidly lost touch with the peasantry, to whom they appeared as natural enemies exploiting the peasants' ignorance and helplessness.

18. In most of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and in the Sandjak, Kosovo and Macedonia, much lower levels of literacy and wealth obtained. Here the continuance of Ottoman rule till 1878 and 1912 respectively had retarded popular education and material development,

and the relatively high percentage of Moslems in the population has so far proved an obstacle to change. Western and southern Bosnia-Hercegovina, with the highest birth-rate in Yugoslavia, are comparatively barren, mountainous, and very difficult of access. The Austro-Hungarian administration (1878-1918) conferred considerable benefits of order and security and the beginnings of education and self-government. It also converted Sarajevo, Mostar, Jajce, Travnik, and Banjaluka into agreeable towns. But it insulated the province from close contacts with the outer world and left the local Moslem ascendancy undisturbed. The mutual hatreds of the Moslems, the Serbs, and the Croats embittered life both before and after 1918 and retarded material and cultural advance. Agrarian reform benefited the Serb and the less numerous Croat unfree peasants; but many of the poorer Moslems found themselves deprived of their source of income from the land and obliged to enter the labour market. Bosnia was well suited to become the scene of the civil war and carnage which devastated it after 1941.

19. The Sandjak, Kosovo, and Macedonia, with their mixed populations of Serbs, Albanians, Turks, Macedonian Slavs, Vlachs, and others, their primitive methods of agriculture and handicraft, and their lack of roads and means of transport, their malarial swamps or barren uplands, were also extremely backward. Developments after 1919 in mining, road-construction, and public works, especially at Skoplje, did something to provide employment and improve the local economy; but Macedonia suffered from political unrest, repression, and official incompetence in the decade after 1919, though conditions began to improve thereafter. Between Serbs and Albanians the centuries have bred hatred and mistrust. In Yugoslavia the Albanians, regarded by the Serbs as interlopers and receiving unsympathetic treatment and no education in their own language, remained poverty-stricken and resentful. Albanian banditry was suppressed with a firm hand, but the tradition of lawlessness can hardly be expected to disappear until other forms of employment have been found for them and a more satisfying standard of life has been established.

20. Lastly, the Montenegrins had their peculiar characteristics. The core of Montenegro consists of the four tribes of the neighbourhood of Cetinje and the head of Lake Scutari. In those inhospitable mountains Serbs of the purest blood have maintained their freedom for centuries against the Turks and displayed in the twentieth century the mentality of the Homeric heroes. These Montenegrins, and to a less degree those of the more eastern districts only liberated from Ottoman rule in modern times, are distinguished by their pugnacity, their pride and splendid physique, their poverty and distaste for systematic and peaceful work. It was not surprising that the toughest of the partisan troops after 1941 were the Montenegrins, who had few possessions to lose and felt that their hour had come. In more settled times they will provide Yugoslavia with a small, but difficult, problem.

21. The differences in cultural and material development between the various regions of Yugoslavia may be roughly illustrated by the percentages for many votes in the most poverty-stricken areas, as it did in 1920, had it not been declared illegal in 1921. In spreading their doctrine the Communists had the advantage, in all the Serb parts of the country, of being able to appeal to the popular affection for Russia.

The Business Community.

27. The Slovenes have developed a vigorous and intelligent class of industrialists, merchants, bankers, and organisers of co-operatives. In Croatia and the Vojvodina a large share in such activities has in the past been taken by Germans and Jews, but the Serbs of these areas have shown an aptitude for business, and in the twentieth century the Croats also have produced a considerable business community. Zagreb was the chief banking centre of Yugoslavia, and retained many financial connections with Vienna. The Serbians took to business more recently, but after 1919 they produced in Belgrade a large community of traders and industrialists much concerned in politics and dependent on official favour. In Bosnia and Macedonia business continued after 1918 to be largely in the hands of Vlachs and Jews and to consist chiefly of trade and of money-lending to the peasants.

The Army and Civil Service.

28. These were the professions specially favoured by the Serbians. The military career, which turned many a peasant's son into a General, was held in the highest regard in Serbia. Both in the officers' training school and in the high command the predominance of Serbian and Montenegrins amounted almost to a monopoly. An occasional Slovene or *prečani* Serb¹⁵, and a still rarer Croat, *rose to a rank above that of major*. The army was traditionally accustomed to intervene in politics. A military group carried out the *coup d'état* of 1903, which reintroduced the Karagjorgjević dynasty, and another organised the *coup d'état* of the 27th March, 1941; and it was difficult for a Government unacceptable to influential military circles to survive for long. Certain medieval, egalitarian traditions lingered in the army. Thus an officer might, in anger, knock a soldier down; while, on the other hand, officers and men would sit down to table, converse and drink together on terms of familiarity. It was probably owing to a growth of westernisation and an assumption of social superiority on the part of the higher Yugoslav officers that as a class they were the objects of considerable unpopularity in recent years.

29. The civil service, which in proportion to the size and wealth of the State, was large, was similarly at first to a disproportionate extent manned by Serbians. But under the dictatorship of King Alexander it was both reduced in numbers and opened to a larger element of Croats and Slovenes. Since Yugoslavia was a police-ridden and authoritarian State, the sub-prefects, police chiefs, and other agents of the central Government wielded wide powers, and the traditional village and urban self-government to which all parts of Yugoslavia had previously been accustomed was greatly diminished after 1918. As Yugoslavia, and especially Serbia and the „eastern„ portion of the country, contained few native capitalists, the State, either directly or through the provincial administrations and the larger urban Councils, both of which were nominated by the central Government, engaged in a wide range of economic activities. These activities, as well as the civil service proper, provided many posts and sinecures for those of whose political allegiance the Government was, or desired to be, sure. Without these pervading ramifications of official influence the electoral triumphs of successive extremely unpopular Governments would have been unintelligible.

¹⁵ I.e., a Serb from the former Austro-Hungarian lands.

The Church.

30. The Serb Orthodox Church was the essential expression of Serb nationalism. A non-Orthodox Serb was virtually a contradiction in terms: though there were a few so-called Catholic Serbs in Dalmatia and the Vojvodina, and atheism was professed in some, especially the Communists, circles in the towns. In Yugoslavia the Roumanian and Vlach Orthodox and the numerous Macedonian Slavs were treated as belonging to the Serb Orthodox Church. Most of the Macedonian Slavs had been included in the Bulgarian Orthodox Church before 1912 and were so included again in 1915-18 and in 1941-44.

31. The Serb Church exercised a nationalistic rather than a religious leadership. The parochial clergy seldom preached and had little spiritual contact with their flocks. Their sacerdotal duties seemed to be confined to saying Mass in Old Slavonic and to presiding over domestic celebrations. They were social and political leaders and had been accustomed also to act as guerrilla chiefs. Being in most cases married and accustomed to add to their livelihood by conducting some economic activity, their way of life often differed little from that of other villagers. Their standard of education, with some striking exceptions, was very low. Amongst the bishops, who were recruited from the small number of monks, there were some extremely able men. Amongst the laity, many of the peasants retained a simple piety; but the *bourgeoisie* seldom attended church, except on formal occasions, and, in general, showed no interest in religion.

32. The atmosphere of the Roman Catholic Church in Yugoslavia was different. The clergy, in virtue of being celibates, being better educated than the peasantry from which they came, and being more subject to ecclesiastical discipline than their Orthodox colleagues, were more subject to ecclesiastical discipline than their Orthodox colleagues, were more evidently devoted to the sacerdotal career. Amongst the Slovene laity there obtained a standard of devotion and practice unknown elsewhere in Yugoslavia. Here the clergy were not only religious, but also political, social, and educational leaders. The People's Party, which dominated Slovenia from 1920 to 1941, was always led by a priest; and priests took a leading part in the organisation of co-operatives and in the press, while Slovenia had some excellent secondary schools run by clergy. Probably, owing to this clerical influence, the Slovene Leftist political parties were extremely anti-clerical.

33. Amongst the Croats Catholicism appeared to be rather a traditional civilisation than a live or vigorous religion. The Croat Peasant Party, which completely captured the allegiance of the peasantry, was courteous rather than devoted to the Church. Its leaders might not practise the Catholic religion, but they were careful to arrange with parish priests that party meetings should not clash, in point of time, with public worship. The Croat *bourgeoisie* seemed to strike a mean between the piety of the Slovenes and the indifference of the Serbs. Churches were numerous and fairly well attended in the Croat towns. The regular orders included some 6,000 religious of both sexes, most of whom were engaged in some form of educational or charitable work. Some of the clergy, especially the Franciscans, to whom the care of the Catholics in Bosnia was entrusted, repaid the anti-Catholic suspicions of the Serbians with vigorous anti-Serbian sentiments; and the Holy See found it necessary to include in the abortive Concordat of 1935 a provision against the arbitrary arrest of clergy. Among the Croat episcopate there has been in modern times a number of distinguished and saintly men.

The Primacy of Politics.

34. Where a community is elevated suddenly from the conditions of primitive village life to the rank and aspirations of a modern sovereign State, it appears inevitable that economic power should become concentrated in the comparatively few hands that control the machinery of government. Only the Government can find the resources, by taxation or the grant of concessions to foreign capital, for the emulation of economically better-developed societies. For the ambitious the road to affluence and dignity, for the humble the path to security, lies in the service of the State. These considerations applied with peculiar force to Yugoslavia, in which to a conscious attempt at rapid economic progress was added the determination of small circles, chiefly Serbian, at Belgrade, to control all the activities of the populations, Croat, Moslem, Macedonian, and non-Yugoslav, joined to Serbia since 1912. The one exception was provided by the Slovenes, to whom Belgrade permitted a large degree of administrative autonomy. In the more advanced society of Slovenia there were promising openings in business and the free professions, but there also much of social and economic life was controlled by the official machine and official favour was shown to the supporters of the dominant Slovene party.

35. A feature of this developing totalitarianism was the determination of the governing class to establish a State monopoly of education. Higher education was such a monopoly as a matter of course. By sweeping away the numerous confessional schools, Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant, in the former Austro-Hungarian lands, the Government removed the only serious obstacles to its monopoly of primary education. Where some small concessions were made in the matter of primary education in the languages of the national minorities, the State's control of the teachers and the curriculum was retained. Only in the concessions to the schools of the German minority in the years immediately preceding 1941, and in the appointment of Catholic catechists acceptable to the Catholic hierarchy, were slight exceptions to this monopoly made. Over secondary education the Slovene Catholics resisted and were successful in protecting the independence of their confessional secondary schools. Apart from the privileges of the small Italian minority in Dalmatia, the State's monopoly of secondary education prevailed elsewhere.

36. It appears that the attempt to foster devotion to the existing régime by this educational monopoly was far from successful. The teachers, removed from the tranquillising influences of the land, confronted with general ideas of progress, and poorly paid, contributed largely to the growth of revolutionary and Communistic sentiments.

37. The concentration of economic power in the hands of those who managed the machinery of State made high political office extremely profitable. A number of men amassed large fortunes while in the enjoyment of ministerial posts. And the corruption ran down in diminishing proportions through lesser officials and hangers-on of political parties, to the detriment of the unfortunate non-political classes who had in the last resort to pay the cost of the system. It was the declared ambition of King Alexander to stamp out this corruption, which he attributed to premature „democracy” and the power of political bosses, by authoritarian Government through civil servants of a higher standard. Unfortunately, he does not to appear to have commanded the services of enough collaborators of the right kind.

38. The maintenance of the régime in Yugoslavia against social discontent caused by the disparity between the wealth of the few and the extreme poverty of the masses, as well as against partially political unrest amongst the Croats, Macedonians, and Albanians,

and in a country where the exploits of the bandit were still admired and celebrated in song, was ensured by a large force of police. Accounts of the brutal methods adopted by this force penetrated to Western Europe and shocked the small public which read them and which had not yet become accustomed to hearing of the similar methods of the Gestapo. The police were supported to some extent by semi-official *četnik* formations which continued the traditions of the pre-1912 Serbian *komitadjis* and aimed at the suppression of „anti-State elements”.

Developments since 1941.

39. Concerning the social changes effected by the appalling catastrophe through which Yugoslavia has passed since April 1941, it is necessary to speak with caution. It seems clear that, under the influence of the Partisan successes and with the presence of Soviet troops in the country, a general transfer of power and wealth to new hands is being effected.

40. The unwilling, but none the less real, dependence of Nedić's Government, of the Serb *četnici*, and of the conservative Slovene population, on German support, as well as the non-resistant attitude of most of the *bourgeoisie* and of the Croat Peasant leaders, has compromised the position of the social elements dominant in pre-1941 Yugoslavia; except for such individuals as succeed in attaching themselves to the Partisans. The only pre-1941 widespread social and political organisation whose survival appears possible is the Croat Peasant Party, which was in opposition till 1939 and till 1941 certainly had secure foundations of popular support.

41. For the purpose of their struggle against the occupying Powers, the quislings, the conservatives and the royalists, the Partisan leaders have called into existence village and town committees, whose tasks have been to supply the Partisan forces. Where such co-operation was not forthcoming, Partisan officials were imposed. Superior committees, of the district, the province, and the region, have also been established in many parts of the country. Alongside of these popular administrative committees, other committees of the „National Liberation Front” have been constituted, to take political action, to ensure the unity of the Partisan movement, and to spread the revolutionary faith.

42. A remarkable feature of the Partisan revolution is said to have been the emergence of women into public activities. Women have been largely employed in the administrative and health services of the National Liberation Army and in the propaganda work of the Partisan movement. They have been placed on an equality with men in electoral matters and the superior committees contain representatives of women's organisations.

Foreign Office, Research Department, 12th December, 1944.