



EDITED BY
Slobodan G. Markovich

**BRITISH-
SERBIAN
RELATIONS**
FROM THE 18TH TO
THE 21ST CENTURIES



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Belgrade, 2018



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EDITOR'S NOTE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The centenary of the Great War inspired many authors to publish monographs and articles on various forms of British-Serbian co-operation during the Great War covering the fields of humanitarian assistance, sports, culture, and education. The war-time co-operation was also covered by a series of documentaries, including a very remarkable one entitled “The Forgotten Admiral – Sir Ernest Troubridge” (Radio Television of Serbia – RTS, 2017). Documentaries produced by Nataša Djulić of RTS on Serbian Herioters (2012) and on Serbian students studying in Cambridge in the 2010s entitled “When Cambridge speaks Serbian” (2013), focused on the two countries’ extensive cooperation in education since 1916.

Two documentaries demonstrated the influence of British culture on Serbia through British-Serbian personal ties in recent decades, both inspired and produced by Dr. Lavinia Davenport. The first “I Married a Serb” (2012) describes the life stories of five extraordinary British women who married Serbs and stayed in Yugoslavia and Serbia throughout various periods including the most difficult moments in Serbian-British relations. The second, “Brit from Belgrade”, (RTS and Studio B, 2013) portrays the remarkable life of Timothy John Byford.

All the monographs and films have shown that many an important detail in Serbian-British relations has been forgotten or marginalised. In that context the 180th anniversary of mutual diplomatic relations provided a good basis to research and re-assess many aspects of Serbian-British relations from the end of the 18th century up to the most recent events.

June 5, 2017, marks the 180th anniversary of the first audience of a British Consul to a Serbian ruler. The audience of the British Consul Colonel George Lloyd Hodges took place in the Palace of Prince Milosh Obrenovich in Kragujevac on June 5, 1837. The anniversary of the event was commemorated in Kragujevac (on June 12, 2017) by an exhibition on British-Serbian relations with several special panels. The first one was organised with the participation of the Serbian Foreign Minister, HM ambassador D. Keefe and S. G. Markovich, moderated by Mr. Srdjan Gligorijević. Three months later, on October 17, 2017, the “Event to mark the 180th Anniversary of UK-Serbia diplomatic relations” was held at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London. The event included three panels entitled “Engagement through three centuries”, “Post-Brexit perspectives and opportunities”, and “Personal reflections”.

Finally, on January 26-27, 2018, an international conference was held at the Faculty of Political Science of the University of Belgrade and was organised by the Centre for British Studies, Belgrade with the support of the British Embassy in Belgrade and other sponsors. The last similar conference had been held in Kragujevac in 1987, and a collection of essays followed the next year. In the meantime, many things have dramatically changed and a need for a new thematic collection of papers on British – Serbian (Yugoslav) relations has emerged. At the conference in Belgrade it was decided to proceed with the preparation of a thematic collection of essays entitled *British-Serbian Relations from the 18th to the 21st Centuries*, and a special Programme Council was formed for that purpose. The Centre for British Studies –

CBS in Belgrade has been put in charge of preparing the collection of essays. Four members of the Council of CBS (Prof. Katarina Rasulić, Prof. Zorica Bečanović Nikolić, Prof. em. Vukašin Pavlović and Prof. Slobodan G. Markovich) accepted the task of supervising the preparations and Prof. S. G. Markovich was entrusted with the editorship of the collection of essays.

To prepare this collection one needed to get positive replies from numerous distinguished experts, scholars and diplomats. I would like to mention that we have been fortunate and privileged enough to receive papers from all who were asked to contribute. Additionally we have attempted to illustrate the story of British-Serbian (Yugoslav) relations by cartoons, caricatures, photos, title pages, posters, newspaper pages, ads and other similar items. In collecting all such material, we have benefited from the help of many institutions and persons including the National Museum of Serbia, the British Embassy in Belgrade, HRH Prince Alexander Karageorgevich, Mr. Dušan Babac, Mrs. Branka Panić, the Institute of History of Advertising Belgrade and Mr. Vladimir Čeh. We are very thankful for the permission to use materials from the monograph *170 Years of British-Serbian (Yugoslav) Relations*, edited by Dušan Mihajlović and published in 2007. We owe a special gratitude to the British Embassy Belgrade for their support to the conference held in January 2018. In this respect we are indebted to Ambassador Denis Keefe personally, and also to Mr. Srdjan Gligorijević of the British Embassy Belgrade for his personal efforts. For the photo of *Britannia Pacificatrix* we are thankful to FCO and Ms. Tara Finn, historian at FCO. For the preparation of this volume we are very thankful to McCann Grupa Belgrade and Mr. Srdjan Šaper who has supported both the international conference and the publication of this volume. The Dean of the Faculty of Political Science, Prof. Dragan R. Simić, has endorsed this project from the very beginning and has facilitated its implementation for which we owe him special gratitude.

Last but not least, we are indebted to the co-publisher of this collection Zepher Book World and Mrs. Slavka Ilić for having joined efforts with us to have this publication printed.

It is rather difficult, and almost impossible, to cover in a single volume the period of more than 230 years (1784–2018) with focus on both political and cultural relations. To cover all relevant topics and periods in mutual relations one would need at least another volume.

In terms of transliteration of Serbian names, different forms have been used in this collection by different authors, but there are references in the index which may clarify different approaches to this question. In terms of calendar, the Julian calendar (old style) was used in Serbia till January 28, 1919, and in England, Wales and Ireland till 1752. Therefore in those cases where sources or newspapers are quoted with Julian dates (old style), Gregorian dates (new style) are given in parentheses. One should point out that for dates in Serbian sources the difference between the two calendars was 11 days in the 18th century (till February 29, 1800), 12 days in the 19th century (till February 29, 1900), and 13 days till January 28, 1919.

Needless to say, all interpretations of historical and current events in this thematic collection of papers represent the results of scholarly work of their respective authors, and all political statements represent personal views of their authors and do not necessarily correspond to the views of any of the institutions that have supported the preparation of this collection.

S. G. Markovich
Editor

BIOGRAPHIES OF CONTRIBUTORS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

Bojan Aleksov is Senior Lecturer in Balkan History at UCL, SSEES where he researches the nexus of religion and nationalism, the two most powerful identitarian forces in the region. Aleksov obtained his PhD at the Central European University in Budapest and held Humboldt, Max Weber and Fritz Thyssen fellowships. Among other works he has written: *Religious Dissent in the Age of Modernization and Nationalism* (Wiesbaden, 2006, extended version in *Serbian Nazareni među Srbima*, Belgrade, 2010), and *Religious Education in Serbia* (Belgrade, 2004).

Čedomir Antić is Associate Professor at the Department of History, Faculty of Philosophy, UoB. In 2008, Antić obtained a PhD in history from the University of Belgrade with thesis “Great Britain and Serbia during the Great War”. He also published *Ralph Paget: A Diplomat in Serbia* (Belgrade, 2006), and *Neutrality as Independence. Great Britain, Serbia and the Crimean War* (Belgrade, 2007), both in English. He co-authored with Nenad Kecmanović *The History of the Republic of Srpska* (Belgrade, 2016).

Dušan Babac is Director of the Foundation Royal Palace in Belgrade. He has authored numerous articles and books on the military history of Serbia, Montenegro and Yugoslavia including: *Armies in the Balkans 1914–18* for Osprey Publishing, Oxford, 2001; *The Serbian Army in the Wars for Independence against Turkey 1876 – 1878* and *The Serbian Army in the Great War 1914 – 1918*, both for Hellion & Company, Solihull UK, in 2015 and 2016; and *Serbs – American War Heroes*, Belgrade 2017. He is a member of the Privy Council of HRH Crown Prince Alexander II of Serbia.

Dragan Bakić completed his Ph.D. in history at the University of Leeds, UK, in 2011. He has worked as a Research Associate at the Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts since 2012. He is the author of *Britain and Interwar Danubian Europe: Foreign Policy and Security Challenges, 1919–1936* (London, 2017).

Zorica Bečanović Nikolić, Associate Professor at the Faculty of Philology of the University of Belgrade. British Academy Visiting Research Fellow at UCL SSEES in 2009. AECI visiting scholar at the University Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain (2000–2002). Author of books in Serbian *Looking for Shakespeare* (2013), *Shakespeare through the looking glass* (2007), *Hermeneutics and Poetics* (1998) and of numerous academic articles in Serbian, English, French and Spanish. Teaches Shakespeare, Medieval and Renaissance Literatures in Europe, Comparative Literature and Literary Theory.

Ranko Bugarski, Professor of English and General Linguistics, University of Belgrade (retired). Author of many books and articles in different areas of linguistics, guest lecturer at numerous universities worldwide. Former President and currently Honorary Member, European Linguistic Society (SLE); former Vice President, International Association of Applied Linguistics (AILA) and Yugoslav board member,

European Society for the Study of English (ESSE). Member, European Academy of Sciences and Arts (Salzburg). Council of Europe expert on minority languages (Strasbourg). Honorary President, English-speaking Union (ESU) of Serbia.

Christopher Coker is Professor of International Relations at LSE. He is an Adjunct Fellow at the Swedish Defence College. He is the author of many works including *Twilight of the West*, *The Future of War* and *Barbarous Philosophers* (all the three titles translated into Serbian). He is a former NATO Fellow and lectures regularly at the NATO Defence College, the Royal College of Defence Studies, the National Institute of Defence Studies, Tokyo and the Staff College, Singapore.

Spyros Economides is Associate Professor in International Relations and European Politics at the London School of Economics. He is also the Director of the Hellenic Observatory at the LSE and a founder member of the School's research unit on South East Europe (LSEE). His most recent publication is the edited volume *EU Security Strategies: Extending the EU System of Security Governance* (Routledge, 2018). He has co-edited with Max Berdal, *United Nations Interventionism, 1991–2004* (CUP, 2007; Serbian translation, Belgrade, 2010).

Branimir Filipović, ambassador. Completed LLM at the Belgrade Law School (thesis: "Devolution in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland"). Joined MFA in 2001, working as a Political Counsellor, Embassy of the FR Yugoslavia in London 2001–2005, Acting Director for Europe, MFA of Serbia (2007–2008); DHM at the Embassy of Serbia in Canada (July 2008 – May 2009), DHM at the Embassy of Serbia in the UK (May 2009– February 2013). Since March 2015 he has been Acting Assistant Minister for Security Policy in the rank of ambassador.

Vesna Goldsworthy is Professor of Creative Writing at the University of Exeter and at the University of East Anglia. She has authored five internationally bestselling and award winning books, two of which (a memoir, *Chernobyl Strawberries*, and a novel, *Gorsky*) have been serialised by the BBC. Her *Inventing Ruritania* (1998), on the British perceptions of the Balkans, is in its twentieth year on university reading lists worldwide.

David Gowan, CMG, was British Ambassador in Belgrade from 2003 to 2006. He was Minister in the Embassy in Moscow from 2000 to 2003, and much of his earlier career had a focus on Russia. In 1999–2000 he spent a year at St Antony's College, Oxford, during which he published papers about the EU's relations with Russia and about Kosovo. He also worked in Brasilia and Helsinki. Since retiring from the Diplomatic Service, he has taught on courses for overseas students at the University of Oxford and lectured on tours to monasteries and other destinations in Serbia and neighbouring countries.

Boris Hlebec, Professor of English Language at the Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade (retired). He has authored or co-authored numerous Serbian-English and English-Serbian dictionaries of which the most prominent are: *Comprehensive Serbian-English Dictionary* (Belgrade, 2010), and, as general editor, *Standard English-Serbian Dictionary* (Belgrade, 2012). He is also author of *Aspects, Phases and Tenses in English and Serbo-Croatian* (Graz, 1990), *English Semantics* (Belgrade, 2007), *English for Perfectionists* (Belgrade, 2011). He made poetic translation of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* into Serbian (Belgrade, 2015). His latest monograph is *The Vinča Code [Deciphering Balkan Neolithic ideograms]* (Belgrade, 2017).

Aleksandra Joksimović is the founder and president of the Center for Foreign Policy. She got her MA degree in IR from Faculty of political sciences, University of Belgrade, and specialization from Harvard. From 2000 to 2004 she was the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of FR Yugoslavia and Serbia and Montenegro. Among other works, she has published a book *Serbia and the United States. Bilateral Relations in Transition* (Belgrade, 2007). In October 2018 she became ambassador-designate of Serbia to the UK.

Denis Keefe, CMG, has been Her Majesty's Ambassador to Serbia since June 2014, following 4 years as DHM in Moscow, and 3 years as Ambassador to Georgia. Ambassador Keefe joined the FCO in 1982, and has worked on a range of bilateral and multilateral issues (EU Affairs, German Unification, South Asian and Far Eastern Affairs, as well as two postings to Prague and one to Nairobi). In 2002, Ambassador Keefe was seconded to the Cabinet Office to lead the team drawing up the UK's national Counter Terrorism Strategy. He studied Classics at Churchill College Cambridge, gaining an MA, and then spent 3 years at Hertford College Oxford studying Hellenistic Greek poetry.

Saša Knežević is Professor of History and International Relations and former Dean of the Faculty of Political Science of the University of Montenegro. He defended his PhD at the University of Belgrade entitled "Great Britain and the Annexation Crisis". Among other works he has published the following books: *Crna Gora i Velika Britanija* [Montenegro and Great Britain] (Podgorica, 2001); *Velika Britanija i Aneksiona kriza* [Great Britain and the Annexation Crisis] (Podgorica, 2005). From 1997 to 2002 he was President of the Montenegrin Historians' Association.

James Ker-Lindsay is Senior Visiting Fellow at the European Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science and was Professor of Politics and Policy at St Mary's University, Twickenham. His research focuses on conflict, peace and security in South East Europe, EU enlargement, and secession and recognition in international politics. His books include *The Foreign Policy of Counter Secession: Preventing the Recognition of Contested States* (Oxford University Press), and *Kosovo: The Path to Contested Statehood in the Balkans* (I.B. Tauris, available in Serbian translation).

Slobodan G. Markovich, MBE, is Professor of Political Anthropology and Political History of South-East Europe at FPS of the University of Belgrade. His books include *British Perceptions of Serbia and the Balkans 1903–1906* (Paris, 2000), and in Serbian: *Chedomille Mijatovich. A Victorian among Serbs* (Belgrade, 2006). He has been Secretary-General of the Anglo-Serbian Society since 1998, and the head of the Centre for British Studies/FPS since its inception in 2017. He has been Research Associate at LSEE/LSE since 2012.

Zoran Milutinović is Professor of South Slav Literature and Modern Literary Theory at University College London, Member of *Academia Europaea* and Honorary Research Associate of the Graduiertenschule für Ost- und Südosteuropastudien of the University of Regensburg and Ludwig-Maximilians-University in Munich. His works include: *Getting Over Europe. The Construction of Europe in Serbian Culture* (2011), *What is the 'West'? Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism, and the 'West' in Early 20th-Century Serbian Culture* (2010).

David Norris has taught Serbian and Croatian literature, cultural studies, history and language at the University of Nottingham since 1980. His publications include: *Belgrade: A Literary and Cultural History* (2008), *Complete Serbian* (2010) with Vladislava Ribnikar, *Haunted Serbia: Representations of History and War in the Literary Imagination* (2016). His book *Haunted Serbia* has been translated into Serbian and published as *Duhovi kruže Srbijom. Književno predstavljanje istorije i rata* (2018).

Vojislav Pavlović holds PhDs in history from the University of Belgrade and from Sorbonne. His research is focused on the diplomatic history of Serbia and Yugoslavia in the 20th century and especially on the US relations with Yugoslavia during the Second World War and the role France played in the creation of Yugoslavia. He published: *From Monarchy towards Republic* (Belgrade, 1998) and *De la Serbie vers la Yougoslavie. La France et la naissance de la Yougoslavie, 1878–1918* (Belgrade, 2015). He edited in English: *The Balkans in the Cold War* (Belgrade, 2011).

Vukašin Pavlović, Professor Emeritus at FPS of the University of Belgrade. He was Dean of FPS (1996–1998 and 2000–2002), Fulbright Scholar at CUNY (1984/5), Visiting Prof. at the University of Pittsburgh (2003), and at Westminster University in London (Leverhulme Visiting Fellowship, 2004). His published books include: *Political Power* (Belgrade, 2012); *The Society and the State* (Belgrade, 2011); *Civil Society and Democracy* (2004). He co-edited with Jim Seroka *The Tragedy of Yugoslavia* (New York and London, 1992). He has been the President of the Anglo-Serbian Society since 1998.

Radmila Radić, Full Research Professor, at the Institute for Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade. Her research interests are history of the relations between the state and religious communities in the former Yugoslavia, and the history of the Serbian Orthodox Church. She co-edited the book with Aleksandra Djurić: *Orthodox Christian Renewal Movements in Eastern Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017). She published several books in Serbian including: *The State and Religious Communities, 1945–1970*, in 2 vols., (2002).

Baron Randall of Uxbridge (Alexander John Randall) was a Conservative Member of Parliament for 18 years. He was first elected in July 1997 for the Uxbridge and left Parliament in 2015. He was appointed an Opposition Whip and although he resigned his front bench position in order to vote against military action in Iraq he was reappointed a few months later and became Government Deputy Chief Whip in 2010. He resigned his ministerial position in October 2013. John Randall graduated at SSEES in Serbo-Croatian Language. His interests include fighting human trafficking and environmental issues. In 2017 he was appointed Special Adviser on the Environment to Prime Minister Theresa May. In June 2018 he was created a life peer.

Katarina Rasulić is Associate Professor of English Linguistics at the Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade. Her research interests and main publications are in the fields of cognitive linguistics, lexical semantics, discourse analysis and contrastive linguistics. Apart from academic work, she is also active in television journalism (current affairs and documentary programmes). Her books include: *Exploring Semantic Relations* (Belgrade, 2016), and, in Serbian, *Language and Spatial Experience* (Belgrade, 2004).

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Nenad Šebek is a freelance International consultant for media and civil society. In 2016/17 he was the Director of the Belgrade office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. He was the Spokesperson for the Regional Cooperation Council (2014–16) having previously served as Executive Director of the CDRSEE for 12 years. Before 2002, he worked as a journalist for 26 years. He spent his last two years as Moscow Correspondent for the BBC. He started his journalistic career in Radio Belgrade and joined the BBC World Service in 1986.

Eric Beckett Weaver is Associate Professor teaching political science at the University of Debrecen. He has published extensively on the history and political culture of Southeastern Europe, including the book *National Narcissism*, and several edited collections. He completed his doctorate in modern history at the University of Oxford in 2008.

Abbreviations:

CMG – Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of St Michael and St George.

DHM – Deputy Head of mission

FPS – Faculty of Political Science

LSE – London School of Economics and Political Science

MBE – Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire

MFA – Ministry of Foreign Affairs

UCL – University College London

UoB – University of Belgrade