

(Harvard University, 1959), and a multitude of books, articles and pamphlets by contemporaries of Radić, but a major critical work is still to be written.

The Radić correspondence has never been published. In this first effort, Bogdan Krizman has included all of the known extant letters, drawing upon both archival and private collections. Stjepan Radić carefully saved his letters and papers during his lifetime, but many were later lost in police raids and the war, and there is no way of knowing how much of the correspondence has been destroyed. What remains, however, is of major importance, for the 977 letters in the Krizman collection add a much needed dimension to the other available published sources: the writings of Stjepan and Ante Radić, party newspapers and journals and other party literature. The letters help to illuminate Stjepan Radić's personal life, his motivations, the development of his ideas, his close partnership with his older brother Ante, his link to other Croatian politicians, the growth of support for the party, and the day-to-day work of a peasant party leader.

Krizman has transcribed the letters carefully and accurately, explaining the many abbreviations. He has arranged the letters chronologically and identified the author or recipient wherever possible. The collection is divided into two parts. Volume 1 (1885–1918) covers Radić's early career within the political framework of the Habsburg Empire. These were the years in which Stjepan Radić worked closely with his brother Ante (the party ideologist) to establish the organizational basis and ideology of the party. Volume 2 (1919–28) represents a new phase. The peasants were now voters, Ante was dead, and Stjepan had become both leader and ideologist. The Peasant Party was suddenly a major force in Croatia, and Croatia was part of the Yugoslav state.

Krizman, a noted Croatian historian who has worked extensively in the history of the twentieth century, has written a detailed introduction to each volume in which he discusses the life, the ideas, and the work of Stjepan Radić during the relevant periods. The tripartite division is sometimes awkward, for it is impossible to separate a person's life, thought and work. Although Krizman's introductions to the two volumes are meant to serve primarily as necessary background for understanding the letters, they go far beyond this. They represent the best brief narrative and analysis of Stjepan Radić's life and work available at the present time. It is most regrettable that Krizman did not document the sources used in the introductions and that there is no bibliography.

Each volume contains an index of important names, with brief biographical notes, as well as indexes for places and topics. Volume 2 also includes a brief biography of Bogdan Krizman and a list of his major works.

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SERBIA, NIKOLA PAŠIĆ, AND YUGOSLAVIA. By *Alex N. Dragovich*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1974. xiii, 266 pp. \$15.00.

"You're a historian," Milovan Djilas once said to this reviewer. "Tell me, who do you think was the more important in Serbian history—Svetozar Marković or Nikola Pašić?"

"Pašić," I replied without hesitation.

"Then why," Djilas asked wryly, "has so much been written about Marković in Yugoslavia and so little about Pašić?" The ex-communist leader did not need an answer.

It is interesting to recall that Marković, the pioneer of Serbian socialism, and Pašić, the bourgeois nationalist politician *par excellence*, were fellow radicals as students in Zurich. Pašić entered Serbia's political arena in 1875, the year in which Marković died at the age of twenty-eight. Throughout most of the following fifty years, until his own death in 1926, Pašić was undoubtedly the leading Serbian political figure both in Serbia and Yugoslavia. Pašić was leader of the Serbian Radical Party, serving as premier in twenty-two cabinets, and, at various times, as foreign minister and envoy to Russia and Versailles. To find anyone of comparable stature and significance in other Balkan countries during those five decades, one must think of pairs—Trikoupis and Venizelos in Greece, Stambolov and Stamboliiski in Bulgaria, or Ioan and Ion Brătianu in Rumania.

Yet, except for the recollections of a few contemporaries and two commemorative volumes, there has been no full-scale biography of Pašić. The closest anyone has previously come to this task was the Italian statesman Carlo Sforza, whose book, *Pachitch et l'union des Yougoslaves*, has had to serve even Yugoslav readers in a 1937 Serbian translation.

Alex N. Dragnich offers the first scholarly biography of Pašić in any language. Professor Dragnich has served as public affairs officer and cultural attaché in the American embassy in Belgrade, and knows Serbo-Croatian by virtue of his Montenegrin ancestry. While he lacks the personal touch of the memoirists, he enjoys the advantages of scholarly training, perspective, and the availability of recently published, and some unpublished, sources.

It may be precisely because of these advantages that Dragnich's book is at the same time a welcome contribution and somewhat of a disappointment. Dragnich has given his readers a conscientious synthesis of the political activities of an important figure. Yet he tells little that is new and too little of what is already known. Thus his account suffers from all kinds of tantalizing gaps. Moreover, he neglects the intimate side of a personality that has impressed Serbs more than any other Serbian leader except Prince Miloš Obrenović.

Finally, Dragnich occasionally seems to be not only an admirer of Pašić, but an apologist for him as well. He is especially zealous in combating the accusation "that Pašić was not sincere about the creation of Yugoslavia and really wanted a Greater Serbia." He is also sensitive to the charge of Serbian hegemony in the new Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, though he is less sensitive about portraying the Croats as historically determined connivers against governmental authority. Some informed readers will doubtlessly find Dragnich's definition of the issues to be too superficial and his arguments unconvincing. Nevertheless he presents a point of view that is not without merit and which may offer a useful corrective to the more extravagant charges of Pašić's earlier critics.

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REVOLUCIJA KOJA TEČE: MEMOARI. 2 vols. By *Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo*. Belgrade: "Komunist," 1971. Vol. 1: 437 pp. Vol. 2: 501 pp. Illus. Maps. Plates. 300 dinars.

Vukmanović-Tempo's memoirs are unusual and important volumes. They offer the first complete story of the Yugoslav revolution told by a high-ranking participant, and are the first volumes of this kind to be published in Yugoslavia. The