

ITALIJA, SAVEZNICI I JUGOSLAVENSKO PITANJE, 1914–1918. By *Dragovan Šepić*. Zagreb: Školska Knjiga, 1970. 431 pp.

FRANO SUPILO: POLITIČKI SPISI: ČLANCI, GOVORI, PISMA, MEMORANDUMI. Edited by *Dragovan Šepić*. Zagreb: Znanje, 1970. 577 pp.

These two books by the Croatian historian Dr. Dragovan Šepić deal with the formation of Yugoslavia, Serbo-Croat relations, the Adriatic Question, and the towering personality of the Croatian political leader Frano Supilo (1870–1917). An established authority on Supilo, Šepić has now brought new insights into the problem of Yugoslav unification and the related Adriatic Question.

Italy, the Allies and the Yugoslav Question, 1914–1918 establishes a relation between the creation of the Yugoslav state and Italian aspirations to control the Adriatic. "In studying the Adriatic Question as it evolved on a day-to-day basis during World War I," writes Šepić, "it became clear to me that it is difficult to separate it from the Yugoslav problem. Without delving into the history of the struggle for Yugoslav unification it is impossible to understand the Adriatic Question and the attitude of the Italian government toward the South Slavs. In order to write a meaningful history of the Adriatic Question it is imperative to study not only the Yugoslav-Italian border conflict but also the question of Yugoslav unification" (p. vii). Yugoslav unification was greatly complicated by the aspirations of the Italian ruling establishment to control the Istrian Peninsula and the whole of Dalmatia. In struggling for Yugoslav unification, the Croatian exile leaders Frano Supilo, Ante Trumbić, and Ivan Meštrović were handicapped by Italian efforts to control the eastern shores of the Adriatic. The Croats feared that the Pan-Serbians led by Nikola Pašić would make a deal with Italian imperialists, such as Sonnino, or even Sforza, at the expense of a vital part of the Croatian national territory. Italian imperialist pressure helped to undermine Croatian efforts to construct a federal Yugoslavia. Šepić, however, rightly distinguishes between official Italian policy that expressed the aggressive imperialism of the Italian bourgeoisie and the broad sympathy for Yugoslav unification expressed by many prominent Italian intellectuals, notably Ferrero, Salvemini, Albertini, Bissolati, Amendola, and many other opponents of Italian imperialistic nationalism.

This work is an expanded version of Šepić's doctoral dissertation. It is also valuable because it clarifies the attitude of the various Serbian political leaders toward Yugoslav unification. While Pašić's Serbian Radical Party worked for the "unification of the Serbian people by stages aiming at the eventual formation of a Great Serbian state," the Independent Radical Party was much more sympathetic toward the idea of a genuine Yugoslav union. Some of the Serbian left-wing parties even advocated the formation of a South Slav federation that would include Bulgaria. The Serbian Social Democratic Party of Dimitrije Tucović talked about a Balkan federation made up of socialist republics. Eventually, of course, Pašić's centralist views prevailed against the concepts of the dissident Serbs and the Croats. Šepić's study is based on extensive and thorough research. He has dug into the archives of the Yugoslav Committee, the personal papers of Ante Trumbić and Frano Supilo, the archives of the Serbian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the documents left by Jovan M. Jovanović, who served as Serbian undersecretary of foreign affairs and during World War I as the Serbian minister in London and who sympathized with the Yugoslav concept. Šepić also consulted the records of the British

Foreign Office, the collection of Italian diplomatic documents, and some Russian documents, and examined the personal archives of R. W. Seton-Watson, H. W. Steed, Sir Arthur Evans, Gaetano Salvemini, and others.

Šepić's other book under review, entitled *Frano Supilo*, is a collection of the Croat leader's political essays, newspaper articles, speeches, letters, and memoranda written mainly during the war to such leading Allied statesmen as Lord Grey, Sergei Sazanov, Paul Miliukov, Pašić, Trumbić, and others. This selection of Supilo's war writings is understandably less complete than the comprehensive volume *Pisma i memorandumima Frana Supila (1914–17)* that Šepić edited and which was published by the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts in 1967.

Nevertheless, Šepić's selection of Supilo's writings is valuable in shedding light on the development of relations between Croats and Serbs before and after the issuance of the Fiume Resolution (Riječka Rezolucija) in 1905. Many of Supilo's thoughts and observations were prophetic. One is impressed by his comments on the difficulty of making the Serbs understand the Croats and keeping them "from constantly making common cause with the enemies of the Croats." Even though Supilo had few illusions about Serbo-Croat relations, he was so irrevocably opposed to Pan-Germanism and to the Habsburg Monarchy that he supported the formation of a Yugoslavia in which Croats and Serbs would be equal partners. To the *Supilo* book Šepić has written a long introduction that is definitely the most conclusive analysis available of Supilo's political thought and action.

The two books establish Šepić as a leading Yugoslav authority on the Adriatic Question and its impact on Yugoslav unification. Both volumes have comprehensive bibliographies of books and articles published in several languages. They also include an index of names in which the political significance of each person is objectively and informatively described—an innovation to be commended.

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HRVATI I SRBI: DVA STARA, RAZLIČITA NARODA. By *O. Dominik Mandić*. Redovita izdanja, vol. 6. Munich and Barcelona: Knjižnica Hrvatske Revije, 1971. 299 pp. \$8.00, paper.

HRVATSKO DRUŠTVO U REVOLUCIONARNOM PROCESU: NAŠ ČOVJEK I DRUŠTVO U PRIJELOMU POVIJESNOG RAZDOBLJA. By *Bonifacije Perović*. Ljudi i krajevi, vol. 7. Munich and Barcelona: Knjižnica Hrvatske Revije, 1971. 267 pp. \$6.00, paper.

The post-World War II Croatian national exodus has constantly been replenished by new waves of political exiles and "economic" immigrants seeking a better livelihood in the West. Some of the thousands of writers, poets, journalists, teachers, and other intellectuals who have fled Croatia over the past quarter-century have sought to continue from exile their struggle against the Communist regime established in their homeland by publishing newspapers and books and forming cultural, political, or conspiratorial organizations dedicated to the establishment of a free Croatia. Of course, exile political activities are precarious, funds are lacking, the exiles are divided into bitterly feuding factions, and many become demoralized and abandon the fight.