

Stipe Kljaić, *Nikada više Jugoslavija: Intelektualci i hrvatsko nacionalno pitanje (1929. – 1945.)* [Never more Yugoslavia: Croatian Intellectuals and the National Question, 1929-1945] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2017), 436 pages/Seiten; text of the book in Croatian; summary in English on pages 396 to 398

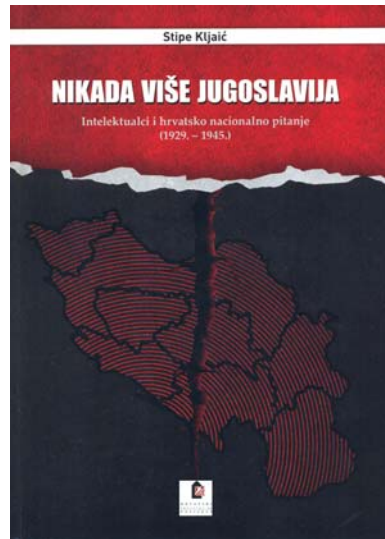
Summary

The topic of this book is the history of Croatian intellectuals from 1929 to 1945 who advocated the independent Croatian state. The methodology used in this research is the intellectual history, which deals with the history of thoughts and ideas. The field of an intellectual entangled with politics, in a politicized cultural sphere, is in the center of the research interests. It is the field where overlapping of culture and politics occurs, therefore the political history is also very important for the framework of this research.

Intellectuals who advocated Croatian independence were engaged in the creation of political ideologies. Intellectuals are managers of cultural capital and nationalism is the cultural product, therefore the relationship between intellectuals and nationalists is inextricable. In Croatia, as a nation that did not have its state between 1918 and 1941, and did not have its national institution, the activities of Croatian intellectuals were especially important in the preservation of the Croatian national myth.

Croatian nationalism was a consequence of the negation of the Croatian national identity during the personal dictatorship Yugoslav king Alexander Karađorđević (1929-1934). Before that, Croatian and Yugoslav national identities coexisted in the Croatian politics and culture, but the suppression of the Croatian national identity under the dictatorship led to radicalization of the Croatian nationalism. Ultimately, those advocating the Croatian identity began to downplay Croatian Slavic/Yugoslav identity, by introducing new theories about the origins of the Croatian nation.

In order to understand the position of certain Croatian intellectuals, the research gives a broader context of the contemporary Croatian intellectual



scene. It deals with conservative and nationalist intellectuals who supported the Ustasha organization, or were of Catholic background, as well as with those who advocated the reorganization of the Yugoslav State into federation. Such reformist line was advocated by the intellectuals close to the Croatian Peasant Party as well as by the Marxist intellectuals. They too adopted the Croatian national discourse, but maintained that the symbiosis of Croatian and Yugoslav national identities was possible.

Croatian peasant movement finally came to an agreement with Belgrade, that led to a creation of an autonomous Croatian unit (Banovina Hrvatska 1939-1941). Communists sought the political and social revolution that should transform Yugoslavia in a federation consisting of five federal units. Their also wanted to overthrow the monarchy and to conduct the revolutionary communist transformation of society.

Beside all these groups there were also those Croatian intellectuals who accepted the ideology of integral Yugoslav nation that was introduced with king Aleksandar's dictatorship and therefore these intellectuals became the open enemies of the Croatian national ideas.

The ideology of integral Yugoslav nation imposed by king Aleksandar's dictatorship united Croatian intellectuals during the early 1930s. This unity was based on joint resistance to the dictatorship that erased Croatian name and Croatian symbols. But already in 1933 Catholic and nationalist intellectuals confronted with the Marxist and in 1935 there was a split with the Croatian Peasant Party. All these divisions between Croatian intellectuals and within Croatian nation would be radicalized during World War II.

Ustasha organization in exile, led by Ante Pavelić, called for the revolutionary establishment of the independent Croatian state. They were finally able to achieve this goal in April 1941, with the collapse of Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The emphasis of this book is on intellectuals, mostly nationalists and Catholics, who supported the Independent State of Croatia and actively participated in its intellectual and cultural life. Main pillars of their ideology were rejection of Yugoslavia and anticommunism. They fought against the ideology of Peasant movement and against the communist ideology, and also against the integral Yugoslav nationalism. Considering the fact that Serbs supported the Yugoslav cause in order to achieve Greater-Serbian goals, these Croatian intellectuals were also orientated against Serbs.

Before the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia these Croatian intellectuals did not accept some aspects of Fascism and Nazism, but they were benevolent toward Italy and Germany because these powers promised the removal of the Versailles system in Europe. However, after the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia and under the new Ustasha regi-

me the Croatian nationalism was influenced by Fascist and Nazi ideologies. Nevertheless, the vast majority of Croatian intellectuals never sincerely and consistently accepted these ideologies. Fascism and Nazism were accepted opportunistically, because Axis powers helped the establishment of the Croatian state and its existence and survival was seen as a supreme goal. During the war these Croatian intellectuals were strongly anti-Serb because Serbs became the back-bone of the two different movements that sought to restore the Yugoslav- state - the communist led Partisan movement and the royalist Chetnik movement - and both of these movements operated against the Independent State of Croatia.

During Ustasha regime Marxist and Yugoslav orientated intellectuals were banished from the cultural sphere. Croatian nationalist intellectuals promoted the Ustasha ideology, while Catholic intellectuals, who were far less liberal, were also active. Differences between the nationalists and the Catholics were visible in their opposed views towards social questions. Nationalists advocated the Nazi models and autocratic dictatorship, while organized Catholics emphasized corporative model in which state would not have control over the autonomous social corporations.

Some prominent intellectuals, Such as Stjepan Zimmermann and Filip Lukas, denounced the Ustasha policies against Serbs and Jews as well as against those Croats who did not accept the new Ustasha regime. From 1943, when the final defeat of Axis powers became more apparent, Croatian intellectuals increased their criticism of the Pavelić's regime. In the final stages of the war opposition of the Croatian intellectuals to Pavelić's pro-German stance grew and they asked for the reorientation of the Independent State of Croatia toward the western Allied powers. In the opinion of the intellectuals the perspective of the Croatian state was seen in the confederation of the Central European states, stretching from the Baltics to the Adriatic Sea and serving as a bulwark against the expansion of Soviet communism in Europe. But such plans could not have been materialized as the Yugoslav communist led Partisan movement triumphed and returned Croatia to a reestablished Yugoslav state.