

[The Politics of Croatia-Slavonia 1903–1918](#)

Nationalism, State Allegiance and the Changing International Order

Bearbeitet von
Fernando Veliz

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Fernando Veliz
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For Victoria, Bruno and Mario

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List of Main Political Parties and Politicians

Main political parties and actors in Croatia-Slavonia mentioned in the text

Hrvatsko-srpska koalicija (Croatian-Serbian Coalition or Serbo-Croat Coalition)

Short form: the Coalition

Main Actors: Frano Supilo (until 1909), Svetozar Pribičević

Čista stranka prava (Pure Party of Right)

Short form: the Frankists or the *frankovci* (part of the *pravaši*)

Main actors: Josip Frank, Vladimir Frank

Starčevićeva stranka prava (Starčević's Party of Right)

Short form: the *milinovci* (part of the *pravaši*)

Main actors: Mile Starčević, Ante Pavelić

Hrvatska pučka seljačka stranka (Croatian People's Peasant Party)

Short form: the Peasant party

Main actors: Stjepan Radić, Antun Radić

Other political parties mentioned (not exhaustive)

Narodna stranka (National Party)

Short form: the *mađaroni* or the Magyarones

Srpska radikalna stranka (Serb Radical Party)

Short form: the Serbian radicals

Srpska samostalna stranka (Serbian Independent Party)

Short form: the Serbian independents. Member of the Coalition 1905–1918

Hrvatska napredna stranka (Croatian Progressive Party)

Short form: the Progressives. Member of the Coalition 1905–1909. Merged with the Croatian Party of Right in 1910 to form the Croatian Independents, also part of the Coalition 1910–1918

Hrvatska Stranka Prava (Croatian Party of Right)

Short form: the Party of Right. Member of the Coalition 1905–1909. Merged with the Croatian Progressive Party in 1910 to form the Croatian Independents, also part of the Coalition 1910–1918.

Stranka Prava (Party of Right)

Short form: the Party of Right United front of the *pravaši* in the 1911 elections. It was also the original name of the *pravaši* party founded in 1861 by Ante Starčević

Socijaldemokratska stranka (Social Democrat Party)

Short form: the Social Democrats

Preface

This book is the edited version of my doctoral thesis which was defended in Florence in 2010.

I would like to express my gratitude to the institutions that have provided financial and administrative support for its completion and eventual publication: The British Granting Authority and the European University Institute between 2005 and 2009 and the Chair of South-East European History at the Humboldt University in Berlin between 2010 and 2012.

Two things motivated me to start researching and eventually writing this book. The first was a dissatisfaction with the narratives that had emerged about the creation of the first Yugoslavia (the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) and the consequent application of these narratives to try to interpret the break-up of the second Yugoslavia in the 1990s. The dissatisfaction stemmed from the fact that the debates seem to gravitate between those who saw Yugoslavia as inevitable and those who saw it as inherently unfeasible from its very outset, seemingly ignoring the inherent complexity of any process of state destruction and creation. In addition to this, most of the narratives seemed to concentrate on the high state politics of the Great Powers and Serbia or on the politics of the exile community from the Monarchy that had left at the beginning of the First World War. Little had been done to incorporate the experience of the local elites in Zagreb during the last fifteen years of the Habsburg Empire into the narrative of its eventual collapse and the creation of Yugoslavia after the war. The second factor was an interest in the dynamics of the formulation of nationalist claims and how they relate to the international normative context in which they are produced. The literature of nationalism studies seemed to be obsessed with inward looking debates that either sought to generalize from a limited set of case studies or remained trapped at the other extreme where historical experiences are so particular that any potential for comparison is rejected. At the same time, the literature of international relations tends to consider nationalism as a problem that does not seem to concern the discipline, even though nationalism constitutes the main legitimating agent for the present international order of territorial states.

This book has the objective of trying to address the specific problems of state destruction in Austria-Hungary and state creation in Yugoslavia through the study of a specific region of the Empire while at the same time making a contribution to our understanding of the dynamics of how nationalism relates to the international order in which it operates. In the first instance, I hope, by showing how contingency and external events shape nationalist claims, to produce a re-interpretation of the local politics of Croatia-Slavonia that will sit uncomfortably with the grand narratives that have emerged about the creation of the first Yugoslavia, be it those which see it as inevitable or those which see it as inherently bound to fail from the outset. The sec-

ond objective is to suggest a way to study the formulation of nationalist claims as an essentially internationally dependent event. It is the norms that regulate the interaction between nations and states at a specific point in time which dictate and limit the possibilities of what nationalists may claim and achieve. The book will not formulate a new theoretical paradigm to analyse this phenomenon but will suggest an analytic approach that incorporates history and temporality as fundamental factors in the theoretical understanding of the essentially contingent event of state destruction and creation.

Beyond the institutional support I received during the process of researching and writing this book, I would also like to thank specific individuals who have read my drafts and taken the time to stoically endure my initial formulations and thoughts. Michael Keating, Arfon Rees Christian Thauer were very important in helping me cope with the complexities and challenges of writing a dissertation at the EUI in Florence, often adding a good dose of healthy humour to very complicated and stressful completion deadlines and requirements. Hannes Grandits also played a crucial role, first from Graz and then in Berlin, in making me understand and elaborate my arguments and also acted as constant source of inspiration and encouragement through the last four years of this process. I would also like to thank my fellow researchers at the EUI and my colleagues at the HU Berlin for their support and patience during this process.

Finally, I would like to mention my wife Victoria who has supported me at every stage of this journey, just as she has done for the last twenty years we have been together. Her patience and love have allowed me to complete this work while at the same time embarking on our parallel and wonderful journey of parenthood. Having mentioned and thanked those who have supported me and contributed during this process, I clearly state that I am solely responsible for any errors, omissions and inaccuracies in this book.

Fernando Veliz
Berlin, June 2012