

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

The Right-Wing Parties
and Intellectuals
in Interwar South Eastern
Europe:
Between Conservatism
and Fascism



Science Fund
of the Republic of Serbia



Belgrade, 7 – 8 April 2022

This conference is stemming from the project entitled *The Serbian Right-Wing Parties and Intellectuals in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 1934-1941* and it is thus supported by the Science Fund of the Republic of Serbia, PROMIS, Grant No. 6062708, SerbRightWing.

Organizer

Institute for Balkan Studies
Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

Балканолошки институт
Српска академија наука и уметности

Conveners

Dragan Bakić, Institute for Balkan Studies SASA
Dušan Fundić, Institute for Balkan Studies SASA
Rastko Lompar, Institute for Balkan Studies SASA

Venue

Hotel Majestic
Great Conference Hall
Obilićev venac 28, Belgrade

Due to the Covid-19 limitations the conference is held in a hybrid form with both on-site and online participation.

DAY 1: Thursday, 7 April 2022

REGISTRATION: 9:00 am to 9:10 am

INTRODUCTION

9:10 am to
9:20 am

**Vojislav G. Pavlović, Director of the
Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian
Academy of Sciences and Arts,
Belgrade**

Welcome Address

9:20 am to
9:30 am

**Dragan Bakić, Institute for Balkan
Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences
and Arts, Belgrade**

Introductory Remarks

PANEL 1: The Right-Wing Culture: Utopian Visions of the Past and Modernist Impulses Chair: Dušan Fundić

9:30 am to
9:50 am

**Vladimir Cvetković, Institute of
Philosophy and Social Theory,
Belgrade**

“Svetosavlje”, Fascism, Holocaust

9:50 am to
10:10 am

**Ivana Vesić, Institute of Musicology,
Serbian Academy of Sciences and
Arts, Belgrade**

**Maja Vasiljević, Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Belgrade, Belgrade**

A Return to the Roots and Authenticity:
The Place of Art in the Cultural Projects of
Serbian Conservative and Radical Right
Circles (1920s–1940s)

10:10 am to
10:30 am

**Dimitrios Soulakakis, Democritus
University of Trace, Alexandroupolis**

The Ancient Greek Past as a Utopia as
well as Guidance at Present: The Case of
the Educational Policy-Making of the 4th
of August 1936 Regime

10:30 am to
10:50 am

**Aleksandar Stojanović, Institute for
Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade**

Serbian Right-Wing Intellectuals and the
Past: Inventing Traditions and Forging a
New Culture

10:50 am to
11:20 am

Discussion

COFFEE BREAK: 11:20 am to 11:30 am

PANEL 2: Exploring the Link between Fascism and Conservatism

Chair: Aleksandar Stojanović

11:30 am to
11:50 am

Filip Lyapov, Central European University, Vienna

Ideological Preconditions for the Growth of an Authoritarian Royal Dictatorship in Interwar Bulgaria: Between an Embrace of Anti-Systemic Fascist Ideas and the Upholding of Traditional Conservative Structures

11:50 am to
12:10 pm

Voin Bojinov, Institute for Historical Research, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia

Was the Bulgarian Tsardom a Fascist State?

12:10 pm to
12:30 pm

Marko Milošev, Central European University, Vienna

Strenuous Relationship: Conservatism as a Cause of Fascist Radicalization in Yugoslavia

12:30 pm to
12:50 pm

Vasilije Dragosavljević, Institute of History, Belgrade

Radical Right-Wing Yugoslav Integralist Movements between Conservatism and Fascism

12:50 pm to
1:20 pm

Discussion

LUNCH BREAK: 1:20 PM TO 3:00 PM

PANEL 3: Separatism, Irredentism and Minority Politics

Chair: Vladimir Cvetković

3:00 pm to
3:20 pm

Gözde Emen Gökatalay, Middle East Technical University, Ankara

Patterns of Far-Right and Anti-Minority Mobilization in the Era of Fascism: the Case of Muslim Communities in Inter-War Bulgaria

3:20 pm to
3:40 pm

Zoran Janjetović, Institute for Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade

Extreme Right-Wing Movements with the Germans, Hungarians and Romanians in the Vojvodina 1931-1945

3:40 pm to
4:00 pm

Dušan Fundić, Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade

Yugoslav Radical Union and Muslim Minorities in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 1935–1941

4:00 pm to
4:20 pm

Irina Lyubomirova Ognyanova, Institute for Balkan Studies and Centre of Thracology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia

Ustasha Nationalism in Interwar Yugoslavia (1929–1941)

4:20 pm to
4:50 pm

Discussion

COFFEE BREAK: 4:50 pm to 5:00 pm

PANEL 4: Between Empire and Nation: The Case of Interwar Albania

Chair: Zoran Janjetović

5:00 pm to
5:20 pm

Igor Vukadinović, Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade

The Subordination of Ideologies to Pragmatic Policies: Albanian Political Leaders and the Fascist Italy, 1925–1939

5:20 pm to
5:40 pm

Enis Sulstarova, University of Tirana, Tirana

“Enlightened Dictatorship”: Ismet Toto as a Right-Wing Intellectual in the Albanian Kingdom, 1929-1936

5:40 pm to
6:00 pm

Inxhi Brisku, University of Haifa, Haifa

The Real Albanian Is Only the One Who Is a Loyal Citizen of the Empire! The Discourse of Albanian Political Leaders during the Italian Occupation, between Albanian Nationalism and Fascism

6:00 pm to
6:30pm

Discussion

DAY 2: Friday, 8 April 2022

KEYNOTE LECTURE

10:00 am to
11:00 am

Prof. Antonio Costa Pinto, Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, Lisbon

Building Dictatorships in the Era of Fascism. A Global View

COFFEE BREAK: 11:00 am to 11:10 am

PANEL 5: Expanding Support: The Youth, Women, and Fascist Movements

Chair: Raul Carstocea

11:10 am to
11:30 am

Andrei Dălălău, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca

From Culture to Politics. The Fascist Radicalization of the „Young Generation” in Interwar Romania

11:30 am to
11:50 am

Rastko Lompar, Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade

Between Patriarchal Stereotypes and Avant-garde Interpretations: The Yugoslav Right-Wing and the *Woman Question*

11:50 am to
12:10 pm

**Anca Diana Axinia, European
University Institute, Florence**

Fascism, Feminism and the Woman
Question in Interwar Romania

12:10 pm to
12:30 pm

**Rade Ristanović, Institute for
Contemporary History, Belgrade**

Right-Wing Organizations at the
University of Belgrade 1939–1941

12:30 pm to
1:00 pm

Discussion

COFFEE BREAK: 1:00 pm to 1:10 pm

PANEL 6: Cutting across Borders

Chair: Dragan Bakić

1:10 pm to
1:30 pm

**Grzegorz Krzywiec, The Tadeusz
Manteuffel Institute of History, Polish
Academy of Sciences, Warsaw**

Eastern European Selective Affinities of
Choice? Polish Nationalist Subculture and
the Rise and Development of Romanian
Fascism (Second Half of the 1930s)

1:30 pm to
1:50 pm

**Olga Aganson, Lomonosov Moscow
State University, Moscow**

A Road to Percentage Agreement of
1944? Soviet and British Attitudes towards
the Rightist Tendencies of the Balkan
Politics in the Late 1930s

1:50 pm to
2:10 pm

**Raul Carstorcea, Maynooth University,
Maynooth**

Imagining a Global Fascist New Order in
the European periphery: The Case of the
Legion of the Archangel Michael

2:10 pm to
2:30 pm

**Rory Yeomans, Independent
Researcher, London**

Experiencing Transnational Fascism on
the Periphery of “New Europe”: Travel
Writing, Modernization and the Trap of
Backwardness in Croatia, 1930s–1940s

2:30 pm to
3:00 pm

Disucssion

LUNCH BREAK: 3:00 pm to 4:40 pm

PANEL 7: The Right-Wing Intellectuals in the Era of Mass Politics

Chair: Rastko Lompar

4:40 pm to
5:00 pm

Dragan Bakić, Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade

Danilo Gregorić: A Case Study of Fascistization in Interwar Yugoslavia

5:00 pm to
5:20 pm

Svetlana Šeatović, Institute for Literature and Arts, Belgrade

Serbian National Question in Non-Fiction Works of Miloš Crnjanski: Literary and Historical Context

5:20 pm to
5:40 pm

Christian Kurzydowski, Independent Researcher, London

Dimitirje Ljotić: Visionary or False Prophet

5:40 pm to
6:00 pm

Nikola Zečević, University of Donja Gorica, Podgorica

Sekula Drljević and Montenegrin (Federalist) Party – Roots and Causes of Fascist Ideas in Montenegro

6:00 pm to
6:30 pm

Discussion

CONCLUDING REMARKS: 6:30 pm to 6:40 pm

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Aleksandar Stojanović, Institute for Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade

Anca Diana Axinia, European University Institute, Florence

Andrei Dălălaşu, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca

Antonio Costa Pinto, Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, Lisbon

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