

ŠTÚDIE

# GEOPOLITICAL VISIONS OF CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE VIEWS OF CROATIAN INTELLECTUALS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

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**TOMAS, Domagoj. Geopolitical Visions of Central Europe in the Views of Croatian Intellectuals in the first half of the 20th Century. In *Studia Historica Nitriensia*, 2024, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 3-20, ISSN 1338-7219, DOI: 10.17846/SHN.2024.28.1.3-20.**

Analysis and comparison of the content of eight published views of six prominent Croatian intellectuals (Stjepan Radić, N. Kovačević, Nikola Zvonimir Bjelovučić, Ivo Pilar, Ivo Frank and Alfons Hribar) and politicians of the first half of the 20th century on the geopolitical future of Central Europe will be presented in this article. Although they originated in significantly different socio-political circumstances, their emergence testifies of the continuity of reflection about the Croatian position within the Central European political and cultural space. Among these authors, during the Austro-Hungarian period, Radić advocated Austro-slavism, while Kovačević, Bjelovučić and Pilar advocated trialism. After the First World War, Frank politically tied the potential independent Croatian state to Hungary strengthened by anti-Trianon revisionism, while Hribar observed the Central European area through the possibilities of economic cooperation between the countries of the Little Entente. Also, it will be determined whether the presented geopolitical conceptions of Central Europe in the texts of Radić, Kovačević, Bjelovučić, Pilar, Frank and Hribar correspond to liberal political ideas and to what extent this compatibility is represented. In addition, it will be determined whether the presented geopolitical conceptions coincide with other political ideas and ideologies present in the first half of the 20th century in Europe.

**Ključové slová:** Central Europe; Croatian intellectuals; 20th century; geopolitics;

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Príspevok analyzuje a porovnáva obsah ôsmich publikovaných názorov šiestich významných chorvátskych intelektuálov a politikov prvej polovice 20. storočia (Stjepan Radić, N. Kovačević, Nikola Zvonimir Bjelovučić, Ivo Pilar, Ivo Frank a Alfons Hribar) na geopolitickú budúcnosť strednej Európy. Napriek tomu, že ich názory vznikli v rozdielnych sociálno-politických kontextoch, ukazujú kontinuitu úvah o chorvátskej pozícii v stredoeurópskom politickom a kultúrnom priestore.

Počas Rakúsko-Uhorska Radić podporoval austroslavizmus, zatiaľ čo Kovačević, Bjelovučić a Pilar obhajovali trializmus. Po prvej svetovej vojne Frank spájal potenciálny nezávislý chorvátsky štát s Maďarskom, podporujúc antitrianonský revizionizmus, kým Hribar videl stredoeurópsky priestor cez možnosti hospodárskej spolupráce medzi krajinami Malej dohody. Článok tiež skúma, do akej miery geopolitické koncepcie strednej Európy prezentované Radićom, Kovačevićom, Bjelovučićom, Pilarom, Frankom a Hribarom zodpovedajú liberálnym politickým ideám a do akej miery sú kompatibilné s inými politickými ideami a ideológiami prítomnými v prvej polovici 20. storočia v Európe.

**Kľúčové slová:** stredná Európa; chorvátski intelektuáli; 20. storočie; geopolitiky;

## Introduction

Many ideas of Central Europe<sup>1</sup> throughout history have already been the subject of historiographical analyses and interpretations, whereby their authors have used different approaches. For example, within the framework of contemporary Croatian historiography, Drago Roksandić<sup>2</sup> and Mirela Slukan-Altić<sup>3</sup> dealt with the concept of Central Europe. While Roksandić referred to Central Europe as a cultural phenomenon, Slukan-Altić dealt with Central Europe as a geographical phenomenon, especially through its relationship with the neighboring Balkans. In addition, Mirjana Gross,<sup>4</sup> Stjepan Matković<sup>5</sup> and Željko Holjevac<sup>6</sup> discussed Croatian proposals for the federalist reorganization of Austria-Hungary at the beginning of the 20th century, while contemporary Croatian authors Anđelko Milardović,<sup>7</sup> Tihomir Cipek<sup>8</sup> and Nada Švob-Đokić<sup>9</sup> explained Central Europe as a (geo)political phenomenon from the perspective of political science.

<sup>1</sup> Although the term Central Europe often includes a wider area than Austria-Hungary itself, most of the authors whose texts are analyzed in the article refer to the area of the Habsburg Empire and post-Habsburg states.

<sup>2</sup> ROKSANDIĆ, Drago. Postoji li još uvijek Srednja Europa? In *Historijski zbornik*, 2012, vol. 65, no. 1, pp. 187-201.

<sup>3</sup> SLUKAN ALTIĆ, Mirela. Hrvatska kao zapadni Balkan - geografska stvarnost ili nametnuti identitet? In *Društvena istraživanja*, 2011, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 401-413.

<sup>4</sup> GROSS, Mirjana. Hrvatska politika velikaustrijskog kruga oko prijestolonasljednika Franje Ferdinanda. In *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 1970, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 9-72.

<sup>5</sup> MATKOVIĆ, Stjepan. Viđenje Stjepana Radića o preobražaju Habsburške monarhije (1905. – 1906.). In *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 1993, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 125-139.

<sup>6</sup> HOLJEVAC, Željko. The Croatian Question in Austria-Hungary at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: Between Federalism and Trialism. In MARUŠIĆ, Matko (ed.). *Croatia. Past, Present and Future Perspectives*. New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2020, pp. 135-146.

<sup>7</sup> MILARDOVIĆ, Anđelko. *Srednja Europa između mita i zbilje*. Zagreb: Pan liber, 1998.

<sup>8</sup> CIPEK, Tihomir. Mitteleuropa. Prilog povijesti germanskih ideja Srednje Europe do 1919. godine. In *Politička misao*, 1997, vol. 32, no. 1, pp. 154-166.; CIPEK, Tihomir. Politički sustav „Podunavskog saveza država i naroda“. *Srednjoeuropska ideja Stjepana Radića*. In *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, 2000, vol. 32-33, no. 1, pp. 231-240.; CIPEK, Tihomir. Ideja Srednje Europe Františka Palackog. In *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 2004, vol. 36, no. 2, pp. 597-607.

<sup>9</sup> ŠVOB-ĐOKIĆ, Nada. Srednja Europa: kulturna fikcija ili politička realnost? In *Politička misao*, 1997, vol. 32, no. 1, pp. 167-175.

Also, within contemporary Slovenian historiography, Bojan Godeša,<sup>10</sup> Andrej Rahten<sup>11</sup> and Nataša Podgoršek<sup>12</sup> analyzed the ideas of Central Europe throughout history among Slovenian authors. Contemporary Hungarian authors Géza Jeszenszky,<sup>13</sup> István Németh<sup>14</sup> and Andrea Schmidt<sup>15</sup> in their individual articles studied the ideas of Central Europe throughout history among Hungarian authors. Furthermore, numerous Slovakian, Czech, Polish and other authors dealt with the ideas of Central Europe throughout history, but this article does not provide enough space for a complete analysis all those research contributions, which only proves how intriguing and fruitful the research topic of the idea of Central Europe is.

(Geo)political reflections on the Central European area for the purpose of political influence among Hungarian authors in the 20th century can be found in the texts of the economist Elemér Hantos,<sup>16</sup> the diplomat Stephen Borsody,<sup>17</sup> and the political scientist István Bibó,<sup>18</sup> who was also a well-known political dissident, whom Paul Lendvai would later call „the great and in his opinion an incorruptible thinker“.<sup>19</sup> In the 20th century, Slovenian<sup>20</sup> and Slovak authors<sup>21</sup> also dealt with the concept of Central Europe and its future political structure, as well as some Croatian authors. Some of them published their views in their homeland,<sup>22</sup>

<sup>10</sup> GODEŠA, Bojan. Srednjeevropski integracijski načrti med letoma 1918-1945 in Slovenci. In *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino*, 2003, vol. 43, no. 2, pp. 19-32.

<sup>11</sup> RAHTEN, Andrej. Ideja Srednje Europe u slovenskoj političkoj misli. In *Pilar – Časopis za društvene i humanističke studije*, 2006, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 61-68.

<sup>12</sup> PODGORŠEK, Nataša. Državnopravni koncepti slovenskih in hrvaških politikov od marčne revolucije do preloma stoletja. In *Pilar – Časopis za društvene i humanističke studije*, 2009, vol. 4, no. 7-8, pp. 37-66.

<sup>13</sup> JESZENSZKY, Géza. The Idea of Central Europe and the Antall Government. In *Central European Papers*, 2015, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 108-116.

<sup>14</sup> NÉMETH István. Közép-Európa: német feladat? A Közép-Európa gondolat funkciói 1814–1945 között. In *Korunk*, 2020, vol. 31, no. 8, pp. 15-26.

<sup>15</sup> SCHMIDT, Andrea. The Uncertain Revival of Central Europe – Central European Thought from a Hungarian Perspective. In *Politics in Central Europe*, 2020, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 1-22.

<sup>16</sup> HANTOS, Elemér. Memorandum on the Economic Problems of the Danube States. Budapest: Athenaeum, 1933; HANTOS, Elemér. Der Weg zum neuen Mitteleuropa. Berlin: Mitteleuropa-Verlag, 1933; HANTOS, Elemér. Die Neuordnung des Donaumaumes. Berlin: Carl Heymanns Verlag / Wien: Österreichischer Wirtschaftsverlag, 1935.

<sup>17</sup> BORSODY, Stephen. The Triumph of Tyranny. The Nazi and Soviet Conquest of Central Europe. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960.

<sup>18</sup> BIBÓ, István. A kelet-európai kisállamok nyomorúsága. Budapest: Új Magyarország, 1946.

<sup>19</sup> LENDVAI, Paul. Na crnim listama. Doživljaji jednog Srednjoeuroljanina. Zagreb: Golden marketing – Tehnička knjiga, 2006, p. 39.

<sup>20</sup> Among the Slovenian authors in the period before the Second World War, it is certainly worth mentioning Ivan Šušteršič, Edvard Kocbek and Lambert Ehrlich, as well as Miha Krek, Ciril Žebot and Matija Škerbec in the period after the Second World War. More in: RAHTEN, Ideja Srednje Europe u slovenskoj političkoj misli, pp. 61-67.

<sup>21</sup> HODŽA, Milan. Federation in Central Europe. Reflections and Reminiscences. London: Jarrolds Publishers, 1942.

<sup>22</sup> PILAR, Ivo. Politički zemljopis hrvatskih zemalja. Sarajevo: Komisionalna naklada „Hrvatske Knjižare“, 1918.

and others in exile, both during the interwar period<sup>23</sup> and after the Second World War in South America.<sup>24</sup>

However, reflections on Central Europe from the perspective of Croatian intellectuals have generally not been adequately analyzed and evaluated in the Western European historiography, which is generally less familiar with these contributions or does not take them into account.

Therefore, this article tries to fill the gap that is present in the Western European historiography and humanities in general, when looking at the geopolitical visions of Central Europe in which the contributions of Croatian intellectuals in the first half of the 20th century have been particularly marginalized or completely undiscovered and unknown.

In this article, the geopolitical ideas of Central Europe among Croatian intellectuals in the first half of the 20th century are approached from the perspective of intellectual history and the history of political ideas. In this way, the concept of Central Europe will be processed as an intellectual structure in the socio-political context of that period. Therefore, as an intellectual structure in terms of content it can be defined by the concept of elastic stability,<sup>25</sup> while in the practical sense it has the purpose of practical political influence on the social reality of its time.

By analyzing the content and comparing several proposals for the future geopolitical organization of Central Europe by prominent Croatian intellectuals of different ideological profiles from the first half of the 20th century (Stjepan Radić, N. Kovačević,<sup>26</sup> Nikola Zvonimir Bjelovučić, Ivo Pilar, Ivo Frank and Alfons Hribar; **Table 2**), I will try to determine the extent of the intellectual heritage of liberal ideas within these proposals. Above mentioned authors were selected to be analysed because they were the only ones who offered and published clearly structured and determined geopolitical visions of Central Europe from the Croatian perspective in the period of the first half of the 20th century, according to my current knowledge.

<sup>23</sup> FRANK, Ivo. *A revízió és a Horvátság*. Budapest: Erdélyi Férfiak Egyesülete, 1933.

<sup>24</sup> LENDIĆ, Ivo. *Hrvatska u Podunavlju i Europi*. In *Glas sv. Antuna*, 1949, vol. 3, no. 5, pp. 2., 9., 11.; LENDIĆ, Ivo. *Podunavska konfederacija najbolje rješenje. Konfederacija suverenih država Hrvatske, Slovenije, Austrije, Mađarske, Slovačke i Češke*. In *Glas sv. Antuna*, 1949, vol. 3, no. 7, pp. 6., 8.; LENDIĆ, Ivo. *Mađarski planovi o Podunavlju. Uz pojavu časopisa na francuskom jeziku »Europe danubienne«*. In *Glas sv. Antuna*, 1952, vol. 12, no. 5, pp. 2., 8.; ORŠANIĆ, Ivan. *Srednja i istočna Europa*. In *Republika Hrvatska*, 1952, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 14-18.; LENDIĆ, Ivo. *Za Balkan ili Srednju Evropu? Uz najnoviju argumentaciju dra Ante Cilige*. In *Glas sv. Antuna*, 1953, vol. 13, no. 6, pp. 1-2., 5-6.; WEISSENBERGER RAGANZINI, Prvislav. *El destino de los pueblos de la Cuenca del Danubio*. Santiago de Chile: Tall. Ed. Universitaria, 1965.

<sup>25</sup> Elastic stability is a term taken from linguistics, and it denotes the dynamic tension between codification and normativity, as a contradiction to the principles of historical purity and linear regularity. (More in: MIĆANOVIĆ, Krešimir. *Mjesto standardologije u jezikoslovnoj kroatistici*. In SAMARDŽIJA, Marko, PRANJKOVIĆ, Ivo (ed.). *Hrvatski jezik u XX. stoljeću*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2006, pp. 559-585. This concept applied to the notion of Central Europe indicates its partial spatial, political and cultural extensibility, which nevertheless has its minimum and maximum limits throughout the entire period of presence in modern and contemporary European history.

<sup>26</sup> It was not possible to determine what his personal name was.

But firstly, I will give a brief overview of the socio-political, cultural and spiritual-intellectual context of the „long“ 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century in the Habsburg Monarchy / Austria-Hungary, where most of these proposals were formed, which will help in the clearer understanding of their genesis. I will also briefly look at other non-Croatian similar proposals from that period (**Table 1**), some of which directly influenced the proposals of Radić, Kovačević, Bjelovučić, Pilar, Frank and Hribar.

### **The idea of Central Europe in the Habsburg Monarchy and post-Habsburg area from the beginning of the „long“ 19th century to the beginning of the Second World War**

The geopolitical concept of Central Europe emerged in various forms throughout modern and contemporary history. The bearers of those ideas were most often prominent individuals who marked the intellectual life of the Habsburg Monarchy / Austria-Hungary and the German Empire, as well as the states that emerged on their former territory after the collapse of these empires, which we still consider Central European. Most of these intellectuals also participated in active political life through various political parties. When thinking about the geopolitical future of the area, they mainly took into account liberal understandings of the social order and political structure, respecting the individual rights of citizens, but also the collective rights of peoples. Namely, with the synthesis of liberal ideas (individual freedoms, expansion of political rights, representative democracy, secular state, etc.) and national romanticism in the 19th century, the collective rights of peoples and interethnic relations will hold an important place in federalist concepts of reorganization of the Habsburg Monarchy / Austria-Hungary, as complex multinational political community in Central Europe. These proposals will often highlight historical rights (the legacy of feudal territorial autonomies) and natural rights (ethnic / linguistic distribution) and the complex relationships between them.

The principle of ethnic federalism has been present in the ideas of intellectuals in Hungary since the beginning of the „long“ 19th century. It first appeared in the ideas of Ignjat Martinović, inspired by Enlightenment revolutionary ideas, who even advocated the ethno-territorial federalization of Hungary as a republic.<sup>27</sup> After him, Miklós Wesselényi in 1843 offered the possibility of a federalist reorganization of the entire Habsburg Monarchy according to the principle of ethnic federalism,<sup>28</sup> and the most famous similar proposal in the „long“ 19th century was that of Lajos Kossuth, formed in political emigration and published in

<sup>27</sup> ŠOKČEVIĆ, Dinko. Hrvatska u trokutu mađarsko-hrvatsko-austrijskih odnosa od 1790. do 1918. In ŠVOGER, Vlasta, TURKALJ, Jasna (ed.). *Temelji moderne Hrvatske*. Hrvatske zemlje u „dugom“ 19. stoljeću. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2016, p. 569.

<sup>28</sup> ŠOKČEVIĆ, Dinko. Hrvati u očima Mađara, Mađari u očima Hrvata. Kako se u pogledu preko Drave mijenjala slika drugoga. Zagreb: Naklada Pavičić, 2006, pp. 102-103.; TRENCSENYI, Balázs, JANOWSKI, Maciej, BAÁR, Mónika, FALINA, Maria, KOPEČEK, Michal. *A History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe. Volume I: Negotiating Modernity in the 'Long Nineteenth Century'*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 201-202.



Milan in 1862 under the name of Danube Confederation.<sup>29</sup> This plan covered the Danube area significantly wider than Hungary itself, and in confederal form it was to be joined by Hungary, Croatia, the Romanian principalities and Serbia. In 1865, József Eötvös presented his vision of the territorial reorganization of the Habsburg Monarchy, within which he advocated territorial autonomy for some of the nations, while offering others the possibility of institutional protection of collective rights.<sup>30</sup>

In parallel with the federalist ideas in Hungary, the Slavic peoples within the Habsburg Monarchy independently developed their own geopolitical concepts and directions of territorial reorganization of the state, the most famous being Austro-Slavism, which culminated in the Slavic Congress in 1848 in Prague. Designed and presented by Czech authors, such as Karel Havlíček Borovský and František Palacký, it also found its advocates among Croats, so in 1848 Ognjeslav Utješenović Ostrožinski published a draft for the federalization of the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>31</sup> His draft, like the Austro-Slavic concepts of Havlíček Borovský and Palacký, was based on the principle of ethnic federalism. The Austro-Slavic concept will come to life at the beginning of the 20th century in the publications of the Croatian politician Stjepan Radić,<sup>32</sup> which will be discussed later.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, Austro-Marxism also developed as an intellectual movement and political direction within the Austria-Hungary, with prominent representatives like Karl Renner and Otto Bauer. Through the concept of „national personal autonomy“, they offered an interesting alternative possibility of non-territorial solution of the national question in the Austria-Hungary.<sup>33</sup> This concept was also advocated by the Slovenian intellectual Etbin Kristan.<sup>34</sup>

In the early 20th century, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne, gathered around military, political and intellectual circles which advocated trialism as a model for the federal reorganization of the Austria-Hungary. This model would imply the emergence of a third, South Slavic, territorial unit, based primarily on „historical Croatian state rights“ as a legitimation principle. Although Franz Ferdinand showed sympathy for the idea, it is often

<sup>29</sup> KONTLER, László. *Povijest Mađarske*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2007, pp. 280-281.

<sup>30</sup> BÓKA, Éva. *Hungarian Thinkers in Search of Democratic European Identity*. In Grotius [Online]. Budapest: Institute of International Relations of the Corvinus University of Budapest, 2006, p. 35. Available on internet <[http://www.grotius.hu/doc/pub/DJUNCB/eva\\_boka\\_hungarian\\_thinkers\\_eu\\_identity.pdf](http://www.grotius.hu/doc/pub/DJUNCB/eva_boka_hungarian_thinkers_eu_identity.pdf)>

<sup>31</sup> UTJEŠENOVIĆ OSTROŽINSKI, Ognjeslav. *Osnova za savezno preporođenje cesarovine austrijske po načelu ustavne slobode i narodne naravnstvene jednakosti*. In *Slavenski jug, 1848*, vol. 1, no. 36-40.

<sup>32</sup> RADIĆ, Štepan. *Slovanská politika v Habsburské monarchii*. Praha: nákladem vlastním, 1902; RADIĆ, Stjepan. *Slavenska politika u Habsburškoj monarkiji*. Zagreb: vlastita naklada, 1906.

<sup>33</sup> TRENCSENYI, JANOWSKI, BAÁR, FALINA, KOPEČEK, *A History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe*. Volume I: Negotiating Modernity in the 'Long Nineteenth Century', p. 452.

<sup>34</sup> TRENCSENYI, JANOWSKI, BAÁR, FALINA, KOPEČEK, *A History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe*. Volume I: Negotiating Modernity in the 'Long Nineteenth Century', pp. 513-514.

pointed out in historiography that it was not actually a real political option, but only an Austrian means of political pressure on the Hungarians. Slovenian politician Ivan Šušteršič also showed a tendency toward trialism,<sup>35</sup> and in Croatian intellectual and political circles trialism had many sympathizers, including historian Bjelovučić, as well as lawyer Pilar, who presented concrete trialist proposals in their brochures, which will be analyzed later.

In addition to the trialist proposals, the circles around Franz Ferdinand also presented more complex proposals for the reorganization of the Austria-Hungary based on the principle of ethnic federalism, among which the proposal of the Romanian intellectual Aurel Constantin Popovici from 1906 is worth mentioning.<sup>36</sup>

Apart from the area of the Habsburg Monarchy / Austria-Hungary, the Central European area was being reflected on at the beginning of the 20th century from the perspective of the German Empire. A very illustrative example of this perspective is the concept of *Mitteleuropa* by Friedrich Naumann from 1915, based on the pan-Germanist idea of political and economic domination over the whole area.<sup>37</sup> However, Naumann's idea was never accepted by the Central European peoples, and over time it became synonymous with German imperialism.<sup>38</sup>

Immediately after the end of the First World War, at the end of 1918, Oszkár Jászi<sup>39</sup> and Miksa Strobl<sup>40</sup> sought to satisfy the appetites of national emancipation of non-Hungarian peoples, with their proposals for the cantonization of Hungary on the principle of ethnic federalism, following the example of Switzerland. However, there was no more political will for more serious consideration of such solutions, as the Austria-Hungary faced the war defeat and disintegration that soon followed, with exceptionally unfavourable conditions for the Hungarians, which included substantially altered and reduced borders established by the 1920 Trianon Treaty.

In the period between the two world wars, Hungarian economist Elemér Hantos sought to build a Central European economic integration, establishing

<sup>35</sup> TRENCSENYI, JANOWSKI, BAÁR, FALINA, KOPEČEK, A History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe. Volume I: Negotiating Modernity in the 'Long Nineteenth Century', p. 517.

<sup>36</sup> TRENCSENYI, JANOWSKI, BAÁR, FALINA, KOPEČEK, A History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe. Volume I: Negotiating Modernity in the 'Long Nineteenth Century', pp. 514-515.

<sup>37</sup> TRENCSENYI, JANOWSKI, BAÁR, FALINA, KOPEČEK, A History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe. Volume I: Negotiating Modernity in the 'Long Nineteenth Century', pp. 624-625.

<sup>38</sup> ŠABIČ, Zlatko, DRULÁK, Petr. Introduction to 'Central Europe'. In ŠABIČ, Zlatko, DRULÁK, Petr (ed.). Regional and International Relations of Central Europe. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, p. 4.

<sup>39</sup> TRENCSENYI, Balázs, KOPEČEK, Michal, LISJAK GABRIJELČIĆ, Luka, FALINA, Maria, BAÁR, Mónika, JANOWSKI, Maciej. A History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe. Volume II: Negotiating Modernity in the 'Short Twentieth Century' and Beyond. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, pp. 47-48.

<sup>40</sup> SZARKA, László. A méltányos nemzeti elhatárolódás lehetősége 1918 végén. In Regio. Kisebbségtudományi Szemle, 1990, vol.1, no. 1, p. 54.

various institutions that worked to achieve this goal.<sup>41</sup> Finally, in 1930s Slovenian philologist Fran Ilešič proposed the idea of connection and integration of all the small states between the area of German and Russian political and cultural influence, from the Baltic to the Adriatic and Black Sea, but it remained in manuscript.<sup>42</sup>

### **Croatian intellectuals in the first half of the 20th century towards Central Europe**

Among Croatian intellectuals in the 20th century, Radić was the first who seriously considered the possibility of reorganizing the Austria-Hungary on a federalist principle. He made his proposal during a discussion entitled *Slovanská politika v Habsburské monarchii / Slavenska politika u Habsburžkoj monarkiji* (Eng. Slavic Politics in the Habsburg Monarchy), published in Prague in 1902 and Zagreb in 1906. Also, Radić, as an active politician and leader of the Croatian People's Peasant Party, based on the principles of political agrarianism, inherited intellectual heritage of liberal nationalism of Ante Starčević, Yugoslavism of Josip Juraj Strossmayer, progressivism of Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk and pacifism of Leo Nikolayevich Tolstoy.

In the second chapter of his discussion (entitled „Politički program“<sup>43</sup>), Radić presented his view of the future organization of the Austria-Hungary, explaining it in detail in the fourth subchapter (entitled „Pravo značenje narodnih i faktičnih skupina u monarkiji. Razdioba na pet državnih teritorija“<sup>44</sup>). His proposal of the Danube Alliance of States and Peoples, based on historical, economic and cultural reasons, consisted of five units (German Alpine, Czech, Galician, Hungarian and „Croatian-Slovenian-Serbian banovina“), connected by common affairs and the ruler.<sup>45</sup> At the same time, Vienna, as the capital, would have separate administration, which would enable its structure to „become the de facto capital of the monarchy and to implement national equality in all its decrees“.<sup>46</sup> According to Radić's exposed Austro-Slavic concept, the unification of the South Slavic areas would be the primary goal, and the connection with other Slavs in the Austria-Hungary („Czechoslovaks, Poles and Little Russians“) would be secondary. Radić found support for his proposal in „historical Croatian state rights“, hoping that it would be accepted by Slovenes and Serbs, although he was aware of possible resistance among Serbs. He looked for the reasons for such attitudes among Serbs in Starčević's „exclusive Croatism“ and the traditional resistance of the „Serbian intelligentsia to historical Croatian state rights“.<sup>47</sup> Radić's proposal included a

<sup>41</sup> TRENCSENYI, KOPEČEK, LISJAK GABRIJELČIĆ, FALINA, BAÁR, JANOWSKI, A History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe. Volume II: Negotiating Modernity in the 'Short Twentieth Century' and Beyond, p. 49.

<sup>42</sup> More in: ZLODI, Zdravka. Ideja Frana Ilešića o uređenju srednjo-istočne Europe iz 1930-ih godina. In Časopis za suvremenu povijest, 2004, vol. 36, no. 3, pp. 981-995.

<sup>43</sup> Eng. „Political program“.

<sup>44</sup> Eng. „The true meaning of people's and factual groups in the monarchy. Division into five state territories“.

<sup>45</sup> RADIĆ, Slavenska politika u Habsburžkoj monarkiji, p. 40.

<sup>46</sup> RADIĆ, Slavenska politika u Habsburžkoj monarkiji, p. 38.

<sup>47</sup> RADIĆ, Slavenska politika u Habsburžkoj monarkiji, p. 37.



joint political administration „with a double alphabet (Cyrillic and Latin)“ and a triple national education system.<sup>48</sup>

N. Kovačević published in Zagreb in 1911 a brochure entitled *Put do trializma* (Eng. The Road to Trialism). The author was convinced that permanent peace between the Croats and the Hungarians was not possible because of several reasons. One of those reasons was the preference of Hungarians for the ideology of „Hungarian imperialism“, which implies feelings of Hungarian supremacy and dominance over the neighboring nations living within the Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen.<sup>49</sup> Also, Kovačević attributed a tendency to collectivism to the Hungarian people, finding the causes for such a state in their ethnogenesis. „A Hungarian is relatively a man of the masses,<sup>50</sup> of collectivism in opposition to individualism“, claims Kovačević. He directly links Hungarian chauvinism to the Hungarian-speaking Jewish community, arguing that this community benefits from Hungarian chauvinism, and vice versa.<sup>51</sup>

By analyzing the inter-ethnic relations in Austria-Hungary throughout history, Kovačević concludes that its dualistic arrangement is extremely unfavorable for Croats, as well as for the other South Slavs. Therefore, as a solution, he offers the idea of trialism, which would in political practice make the South Slavic element in Austria-Hungary politically equal to the Austrian and Hungarian elements. Consequently, he sees a part of Austrian political circles as potential allies, among whom he singles out Prince Friedrich Schwarzenberg,<sup>52</sup> who nominally advocated trialism.<sup>53</sup> However, not long after, Schwarzenberg spoke up in favour of a different form of trialism from the one represented by the Croatian political representatives, which was based on ethnic federalism.<sup>54</sup>

When analyzing Croatian-Serbian relations, Kovačević sees two problems: Serbian national and political assimilation of „everything from Timok to the Adriatic“ and the negation of the Serbian name and „the Serbs within the old Croatian borders“, which in the tradition of Starčević's thought is a tendency of a part of the Croatian political elite.<sup>55</sup> However, Kovačević sees Bosnia and Herzegovina as the biggest obstacle to the South Slavic political harmony, specifi-

<sup>48</sup> RADIĆ, Slavenska politika u Habsburžkoj monarkiji, p. 38.

<sup>49</sup> The Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen (Transleithania) were the Hungarian territories of Austria-Hungary. The name referenced the historic coronation crown of Hungary, known as the Crown of Saint Stephen of Hungary, which had a symbolic importance to the Kingdom of Hungary.

<sup>50</sup> The phenomenon of the modern „mass-man“ was exhaustively analyzed between the two world wars by the Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset in his work *Revolt of the Masses* (1930).

<sup>51</sup> KOVAČEVIĆ, N. *Put do trializma*. Zagreb: vlastita naklada, 1911, pp. 5-8.

<sup>52</sup> Friedrich (Bedřich) Edmund Marcel zu Schwarzenberg (1862. – 1936.), German politician from Bohemia. More in: MATKOVIĆ, Stjepan, MATIJEVIĆ, Zlatko. *Političke uspomene Stjepana Zagorca: u vrtlogu hrvatske politike*. In *Pilar – Časopis za društvene i humanističke studije*, 2019, vol. 14, no. 27-28, pp. 61-62.

<sup>53</sup> KOVAČEVIĆ, *Put do trializma*, pp. 9-19., 32-33.

<sup>54</sup> GROSS, Hrvatska politika velikaustrijskog kruga oko prijestolonasljednika Franje Ferdinanda, pp. 41-42.; IVAŠKOVIĆ, Igor. How Littoral Slovenians Viewed the Idea of a South Slavic Unit in the Habsburg Monarchy. In *Journal of Modern European History*, vol. 21, č 1, p. 54.

<sup>55</sup> KOVAČEVIĆ, *Put do trializma*, pp. 28-29.

cally the presence of the Muslim population there, which in his opinion „partly behaves as if it was really of Ottoman blood“, „encouraged by its material interests of medieval nature“.<sup>56</sup>

Among the analyzed Croatian intellectuals who presented geopolitical visions of Central Europe, Bjelovučić was the only one to come from Dalmatia, which was within the Austrian part of the Austria-Hungary, while others operated in Croatia and Slavonia within the Hungarian part of the state. His trial proposal was presented in a short brochure entitled *Trializam i Hrvatska država* (Eng. Trialism and the Croatian State), published in 1911 in Dubrovnik in his own edition.

In it, Bjelovučić foresaw the future political organization of the Habsburg state with three entities: „the Austrian Empire, the Kingdom of Hungary and the Kingdom of Croatia“.<sup>57</sup> According to his proposal, the „Austrian Empire“ would consist of „German provinces in the monarchy, the Czech Republic and Poland“, the „Hungarian Kingdom“ would include the territory of Hungary proper (excluding Croatia and Slavonia), while the „Croatian Kingdom“ would include „all southern Slavs in the monarchy“.<sup>58</sup> Croatia and Slavonia (with Međimurje and Rijeka), Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, The Austrian Littoral and the „Slovenian lands“.<sup>59</sup> In his proposal, Bjelovučić combined historical and natural law, trying to provide the southern Slavs with the best possible position and the largest possible territorial unit. Bjelovučić spoke of Croats and Serbs as one nation who speak the same language, and are divided only by religion, while he considered Slovenes to be „mountainous Croats“.<sup>60</sup> Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslims (today's Bosniaks) were not explicitly mentioned by Bjelovučić, because at the time of his pamphlet they were not built as a separate nation, but were usually considered as part of the Croatian (or Serbian) nation. Bjelovučić's trialist proposal implied a joint ruling Habsburg dynasty,<sup>61</sup> foreign affairs, defense and finance,<sup>62</sup> while other departments (internal affairs, judiciary, agriculture, education, transport, trade) would fall entirely under the autonomous jurisdiction of each of the federal units.<sup>63</sup>

Two years later (1913), Bjelovučić published another short pamphlet in self-edition in Dubrovnik, entitled *Federalistična monarhija i hrvatsko pitanje* (Eng. The Federalist Monarchy and the Croatian Question). The federalist concept of reorganization of the Austria-Hungary that he proposed there was based on the principle of ethnic federalism, not trialism, from which it can be concluded that his thinking about the future internal organization of the Austria-Hungary evolved rather quickly. He himself talked about this in the „Introduction“ of that brochure, emphasizing the understanding for the dissatisfaction of Czechs and Poles

<sup>56</sup> KOVAČEVIĆ, Put do trializma, p. 30.

<sup>57</sup> BJELOVUČIĆ, Nikola Zvonimir. Trializam i Hrvatska država. Dubrovnik: vlastita naklada, 1911, p. 3.

<sup>58</sup> BJELOVUČIĆ, Trializam i Hrvatska država, p. 4.

<sup>59</sup> BJELOVUČIĆ, Trializam i Hrvatska država, p. 8.

<sup>60</sup> BJELOVUČIĆ, Trializam i Hrvatska država, p. 4.

<sup>61</sup> BJELOVUČIĆ, Trializam i Hrvatska država, p. 7.

<sup>62</sup> BJELOVUČIĆ, Trializam i Hrvatska država, pp. 11-13.

<sup>63</sup> BJELOVUČIĆ, Trializam i Hrvatska država, pp. 14-20.

with the trialistic concepts, in which there were no clear solutions to their national issues.<sup>64</sup> Therefore, in his new vision, Bjelovučić proposed seven federal units („German-Austrian countries, Czech countries, Polish countries, Ukraine, Romanian-Austrian countries, Hungary and Croatia“), based mainly on natural law, and in some of them envisaged additional autonomous territorial units for individual national groups (for example the province of „Trentino“ for the Italians in the „German-Austrian lands“ and separate provinces for the German Saxons and the Hungarian Szeklers in the „Romanian-Austrian lands“).<sup>65</sup> In that part, his proposal recalled Popovici's (*Die Vereinigten Staaten von Gross-Österreich: politische Studien*, 1906.). In this respect, Bjelovučić envisioned the Kingdom of Croatia, which would include Croatia and Slavonia, Dalmatia, Rijeka, Međimurje, the former Serbian Vojvodina, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Istria and Slovenia (Carniola, Slovenian parts of Styria and Carinthia, Goričko and Trieste).<sup>66</sup> In such community „Croats, Serbs and Slovenes would each use their own language“, and Bjelovučić respected the collective rights of Italians in the western parts of the area, implying their linguistic and cultural-educational autonomy (the right to establish an Italian university).<sup>67</sup>

Pilar was an advocate of cultural and social modernization, and his public and political activities until the end of the First World War were mainly related to the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where he participated in the foundation of the political party Croatian National Union in 1907. The political party programme was based on liberal nationalism, and enjoyed great support among the Franciscans, as well as among some Muslim intellectuals.<sup>68</sup> Masaryk's influence is noticeable on Pilar as well as on Radić. Pilar is most often referred to as the founder of geopolitics among Croats, and it is his work *Politički zemljopis hrvatskih zemalja* (Eng. Political Geography of Croatian Lands) that is considered to be the first Croatian geopolitical study. The Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences in Zagreb has also been named after him.

In the geopolitical study *Politički zemljopis hrvatskih zemalja*, which was published before the end of the First World War in Sarajevo in 1918, Pilar saw „Croatian lands“ (Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Istria) largely as the southern part of Central Europe (Croatia, Slavonia, Istria) and to a lesser extent as the northwestern part of the Balkans (Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina).<sup>69</sup> Although he did not explicitly mention trialism, he concluded that „all these lands were reunited by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy“ and that „Croatian lands can be held together only by one force, capable of paralyzing their natural centrifugality“. <sup>70</sup> Therefore, in historiography, the term „concealed trialism“ is often used to denote Pilar's geopolitical concept.

<sup>64</sup> BJELOVUČIĆ, Nikola Zvonimir. Federalistična monarhija i hrvatsko pitanje. Dubrovnik: vlastita naklada, 1913, p. III.

<sup>65</sup> BJELOVUČIĆ, Federalistična monarhija i hrvatsko pitanje, pp. 8-11.

<sup>66</sup> BJELOVUČIĆ, Federalistična monarhija i hrvatsko pitanje, pp. 12-14.

<sup>67</sup> BJELOVUČIĆ, Federalistična monarhija i hrvatsko pitanje, p. 15.

<sup>68</sup> More in: JONJIĆ, Tomislav. Ivo Pilar - pisac, političar, ideolog (1898. - 1918.). Zagreb: AGM, 2020.

<sup>69</sup> PILAR, Politički zemljopis hrvatskih zemalja, pp. 5-6.

<sup>70</sup> PILAR, Politički zemljopis hrvatskih zemalja, p. 31.

However, Pilar's geopolitical assessment of the possibility of a trialistic vision of the organization of the Austria-Hungary in the work *Južnoslavensko pitanje i svjetski rat* (Eng. The South Slavic Question and the World war), published in German in Vienna in 1918 under the pseudonym L. v. Südland (*Die südslawische Frage und der Weltkrieg*), was nevertheless unfavorable. There, Pilar offered three arguments that he considered crucial for the practical impossibility of realizing the trialist proposals: 1. unclear and undefined territorial space of the South Slavic federal unit; 2. the lack of common historical state rights (historical law) of the South Slavic area; 3. irreconcilability between the Croatian and Serbian national ideas and between Catholic and Orthodox culture.<sup>71</sup> In the continuation of the same work, he presented his concept of reorganization of the Austria-Hungary, which would be based on „historical Croatian state rights“, in the service of the unification of „Croatian lands“ - Croatia and Slavonia, Dalmatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina into a single administrative area, which would become a condominium of the Austrian and Hungarian parts of the state.<sup>72</sup>

What all the geopolitical visions of Central Europe that appeared among Croatian intellectuals until the end of the First World War have in common is the acceptance of the default Austro-Hungarian political framework. The disintegration of Austria-Hungary and the creation of the South Slavic state represent the first major political and cultural turning point in the observed period. These processes were initially supported by the majority of Croatian intellectuals, but there were also notable exceptions, such as Pilar and Josip Stadler, the archbishop of Vrhbosna (Sarajevo).<sup>73</sup> A more massive turn towards anti-Yugoslavism and Croatian sovereignty among Croatian intellectuals occurred only in the 1930s, after the assassination of Stjepan Radić and a group of Croatian representatives in the National Assembly in Belgrade in 1928 and the establishment of the dictatorship of King Aleksandar Karađorđević in 1929.

An interesting geopolitical vision of Central Europe was presented by Frank between the two world wars. His father was Croatian politician Josip Frank, a former trainee lawyer with Karl Lueger and a longtime leader of the Pure Party of Rights (1895-1910). This political party sought to achieve the goal of consolidating „Croatian lands“ within the Austria-Hungary in cooperation with the Viennese court and the ruling Habsburg dynasty, and strongly opposed unionism („Hungarianism“) and Yugoslavism. All this significantly influenced Frank's spiritual-intellectual and political formation, and during the visit of Emperor Francis Joseph I to Zagreb in 1895, Frank, along with Radić and other students, participated in the burning of the Hungarian flag in the central square of Zagreb.<sup>74</sup> For this reason, it is interesting that after the collapse of the Austria-Hungary, Frank found his political refuge in Budapest, where he connected with

<sup>71</sup> PILAR, Ivo. *Južnoslavensko pitanje i svjetski rat*. Vinkovci: Ogranak Matice hrvatske u Vinkovcima, 2017, pp. 367-370

<sup>72</sup> PILAR, *Južnoslavensko pitanje i svjetski rat*, pp. 387-401.

<sup>73</sup> KLJAIĆ, Stipe. *Nikada više Jugoslavija. Intelektualci i hrvatsko nacionalno pitanje (1929. – 1945.)*. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2017, p. 63.

<sup>74</sup> MATKOVIĆ, Stjepan. *Prilozi za politički životopis Ive Franka i evoluciju pravaštva*. In *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 2008, vol. 40, no. 3, p. 1069.

Hungarian revisionist circles and in 1933 published a pamphlet entitled *A revízió és a Horvátság* (Eng. The Croats and the revision).

In this brochure, Frank offered his geopolitical vision of the organization of Central Europe, as a Danube confederation of small states and peoples, including an independent Croatian state in political partnership with Hungary. According to Frank, these states and nations could, through joint political efforts, resist German Pan-Germanism and Russian Orthodox Pan-Slavism. Frank offered Hungarians the political, cultural and demographic potential of Croats living in the Hungarian borderlands, who would focus on anti-Trianon revisionism, while Hungarians should in return provide clear support for the realization of the Croatian state-building idea in the former eight Croatian and Slavonian counties.<sup>75</sup>

The last geopolitical vision of Central Europe among Croatian intellectuals before the Second World War was presented by Hribar. Like Bjelovučić, Hribar was born in Dalmatia, where he began his social and journalistic activities before the First World War. He was an advocate of political agrarianism, as well as political and economic cooperation among Slavic peoples, and among politicians he portrayed Milan Hodža particularly positively.<sup>76</sup> For some time, Hribar worked at the Ministry of Agriculture on agrarian reform and subdivision of large estates. His contribution to the geopolitical analyzes of Central Europe was manifested in the brochure *Podunavlje i Slaveni* (Eng. Danube region and the Slavs), published in 1938 in Belgrade.

In the preface of that brochure, Hribar labeled „green Slavic agrarianism“ as an alternative to „today’s extreme social struggle between the reds and the blacks“.<sup>77</sup> That alternative, according to Hribar, could alleviate „political-social contradictions“ and enable „peaceful coexistence of a divided Central Europe“.<sup>78</sup> In the central part of the brochure Hribar marked the Ottoman conquests, pan-Germanism and Austro-Hungarian dualism as negative political forces that prevented the political equality of the Central European peoples, primarily the Slavic ones.<sup>79</sup> During the analysis of the possibilities offered in the political framework of the Little Entente, Hribar showed his knowledge of Naumann’s and Hantos’s visions of Central Europe,<sup>80</sup> concluding that in order to strengthen the Little Entente countries, their economic cooperation is necessary, which should also include Hungary.<sup>81</sup>

A year after the publication of Hribar’s brochure, the Second World War broke out in Europe, becoming a new major political and cultural turning point of the first half of the 20th century. As the war progressed, Catholic intellectuals in the newly formed Independent State of Croatia renewed their interest in the

<sup>75</sup> More in: TOMAS, Domagoj, NJARI, Denis. Ivo Frank i revizija Trianonskoga ugovora. In *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 2022, vol. 54, no. 2, pp. 421-444.

<sup>76</sup> HRIBAR, Alfons. *Podunavlje i Slaveni*. Beograd: vlastita naklada, 1938, pp. 21-32.

<sup>77</sup> HRIBAR, *Podunavlje i Slaveni*, p. 3.

<sup>78</sup> HRIBAR, *Podunavlje i Slaveni*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>79</sup> HRIBAR, *Podunavlje i Slaveni*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>80</sup> HRIBAR, *Podunavlje i Slaveni*, pp. 10-13.

<sup>81</sup> HRIBAR, *Podunavlje i Slaveni*, pp. 14-18.



possibility of creating a Danube confederation on the soil of the former Austria-Hungary, which Otto von Habsburg also advocated at the time.<sup>82</sup> However, among their published works, there is no systematically developed and clearly structured proposal that would meet the needs of this article.

## Conclusion

The geopolitical visions of Central Europe by Croatian intellectuals in the first half of the 20th century were diverse and conditioned by broader political shifts and changes in Europe. These concepts related to Austro-Slavism and trialism (Radić, Kovačević, Bjelovučić, Pilar) are based on a combination of historical and natural laws, respecting the liberal idea of collective rights of peoples, but were not realized due to the lack of political will within the dualist Austria-Hungary. There was also no political will among the European powers for Frank's interwar proposal of the Danube-Pannonian community of peoples and states, nor was there political agreement among the Central European peoples and states that Frank's proposal concerned. Finally, any serious consideration of Hribar's idea was made impossible by the collapse of the Little Entente in 1938 and the beginning of the Second World War.

Thus, all the above mentioned proposals have the legacy of liberal nationalism of the 19th century in common, further refreshed by the influences of Masaryk's progressivism among some intellectuals (Radić, Pilar). Also, it is common for all Croatian intellectuals not to consider within the Hungarian political territory at all, because there are no proposals by Croatian authors for a possible federalization of Hungary based on the principle of ethnic federalism.

Politically active intellectuals who made these proposals, especially those in the interwar period, were aware of the position of Central European small nations, sandwiched between Pan-Germanism as an ideological tool for realizing the political and economic imperialism of the German state and Pan-Slavism as an ideological tool for realizing the political and economic imperialism of the Russian state. Therefore, presented geopolitical visions of Central Europe among Croatian intellectuals, as well as those of Hungarian, Slovenian and Czech, primarily sought to affirm their uniqueness and sustainability, as well as various forms of mutual cooperation and integration, which could prevent domination of German and Russian influence over those territories.

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<sup>82</sup> KLJAIĆ, Nikada više Jugoslavija. Intelektualci i hrvatsko nacionalno pitanje (1929. – 1945.), p. 81.

## Tables

Territorial area	Federalist and other concepts	Author	Year of publication
Hungary	Hungarian republic	Ignjat Martinović	1794
	„Switzerland of the East“	Oszkár Jászi Miksa Strobl	1918
Habsburg monarchy/ Austro-Hungarian Empire	Austro-Slavism	Karel Havlíček Borovsky	1848
		František Palacký	
	Trialism	Ivan Šušteršič	1905
	Austro-Hungarian ethnic federalism	Miklós Wesselényi	1843
		József Eötvös	1865
		Aurel Constantin Popovici	1906
	National personal autonomy (Austromarxism)	Otto Bauer Karl Renner Etbin Kristan	1899
Danube region	Danubian Confederation	Lajos Kossuth	1862
	Central European economic integration	Elemér Hantos	1925
Area of German influence (pangermanism)	<i>Mitteleuropa</i> (German Empire and Austro- Hungarian Empire)	Friedrich Naumann	1915
Central and Eastern Europe	The idea of organizing the countries of Central and Eastern Europe	Fran Ilešič	Manuscript from the 1930s

*Table 1. Important federalist and other proposals for the geopolitical organization of Central Europe by non-Croatian intellectuals from the beginning of the „long“ 19th century to the beginning of the Second World War. Source: author.*

Territorial area	(Con)federalist concepts	Author	Title, place and year of publication
Habsburg monarchy / Austro-Hungarian Empire	Austro-Slavism	Ognjeslav Utješenović Ostrožinski	<i>Osnova za savezno preporođenje cesarovine austrijske po načelu ustaone slobode i narodne naravstvene jednakosti</i> , Zagreb, 1848.
		Stjepan Radić	<i>Slovanská politika v Habsburgské monarchii</i> , Prag, 1902. <i>Slavenska politika u Habsburžkoj monarkiji</i> , Zagreb, 1906.
	Trialism	N. Kovačević	<i>Put do trializma</i> , Zagreb, 1911.
		Nikola Zvonimir Bjelovučić	<i>Trializam i Hrvatska država</i> , Dubrovnik, 1911.
	„Concealed trialism“	Ivo Pilar	<i>Politički zemljopis hrvatskih zemalja</i> , Sarajevo, 1918. <i>Južnoslavensko pitanje i svjetski rat – Die südslawische Frage und der Weltkrieg</i> , Wien, 1918.
	Austro-Hungarian ethnic federalism	Nikola Zvonimir Bjelovučić	<i>Federalistična monarhija i hrvatsko pitanje</i> , Dubrovnik, 1913.
Danube region	Danubian Confederation	Ivo Frank	<i>A revízió és a Horvátság</i> , Budapest, 1933.
	Little Entente	Alfons Hribar	<i>Podunavlje i Slaveni</i> , Beograd, 1938.

Table 2. Important (con)federalist proposals for the geopolitical organization of Central Europe by Croatian Intellectuals from the Slavic Congress in 1848 to the beginning of the Second World War. Source: author.

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Word count: 8 154

Number of characters, including spaces: 56 981