

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

**Discussion**

**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

**Christian Kurzydowski**, Independent Researcher, London

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

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

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

**Enis Sulstarova**, University of Tirana, Tirana

**Filip Lyapov**, Central European University, Vienna

**Gözde Emen Gökatalay**, Middle East Technical University, Ankara

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

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

**Inxhi Brisku**, University of Haifa, Haifa

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

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

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

**Marko Milošev**, Central European University, Vienna

**Nikola Zečević**, University of Donja Gorica, Podgorica

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

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

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

**Raul Carstorcea**, Maynooth University, Maynooth

**Rory Yeomans**, Independent Researcher, London

**Svetlana Šeatović**, Institute for Literature and Arts, Belgrade

**Vasilije Dragosavljević**, Institute of History, Belgrade

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

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

**Zoran Janjetović**, Institute for Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade