

LEČEK and "Stjepan Radić u hrvatskoj politici 20. stoljeća" ("Stjepan Radić in 20th Century Croatian Politics") by BRANKA BOBAN. The conception of STJEPAN MATKOVIĆ's text, "Elementi moderniteta u programima i programatskim spisima hrvatskih političkih stranaka od početka 20. stoljeća do početka prvoga svjetskoga rata" ("The Elements of Modernity in the Programmes and Programmatic Documents of the Croatian Political Parties from the Beginning of the 20th Century to the Beginning of World War I"), methodologically differs from the vast majority of the texts in these collected papers and studies. MARIJAN MATIČKA's study "Hrvatska iskustva s parlamentarizmom u 20. stoljeću" ("Croatian Experiences with Parliamentarism in the 20th Century") is important for our understanding of both the current social relations and "transition torments", although talking of non-experience would most certainly be more accurate. Only one text is expressly dedicated to the period of the royal and first joint state introducing a key dilemma posed already in and by the title — "Hrvatska u prvoj Jugoslaviji — bitne značajke položaja te je li na djelu bila kriza vlasti ili države" ("Croatia in the First Yugoslavia — The Important Features of Its Position and Was This a Crisis of Government or State?") by MIRA KOLAR. The international context between the two World Wars is presented in relation to the most frequent "object of trade" with Croatian territories by STIJEPO OBAD in his "Talijansko i srpsko posezanje na Dalmaciju između dva svjetska rata" ("Italy and Serbia's Territorial Claims on Dalmatia between the Two World Wars"). The entire book brings only one paper on historiography, yet just on the right topic — "Hrvatska historiografija o drugom svjetskom ratu: metodologija i prijepori" ("Croatian Historiography on World War II: Methodology and Controversies") by NADA KISIĆ KOLANOVIĆ. Yet, it appears that the symposium did not touch on an important aspect of this "right topic" (e.g., World War II in Croatia). The two texts that follow should be read almost "parallelly" although this may not be apparent at first sight — IVO GLODSTEIN'S "Osnovne značajke hrvatskog antifascizma" ("The Fundamental Features of Croatian Antifascism") and TIHOMIR ČIPEK'S "Stoljeć diktatura' u Hrvatskoj" ("The Century of Dictatorships' in Cro-

atia"). Until the very end of the 1980s Croatian historiography could not, in actual fact, seriously tackle the topic that Mario Jareb is the first to here provide full insight into — "Hrvatska politička emigracija 1928.-1990." ("Croatian Political Emigration, 1928-1990"). The same question is also analysed by BERISLAV JANDRIĆ in his "Oblici oporbenog djelovanja u sklopu komunističkog sustava. Djelovanje hrvatske političke emigracije" ("The Forms of Opposition Activities within the Communist System. The Activities of the Croatian Political Emigration"). It would have been more appropriate had the study by TVRKO JAKOVINA ("Hrvatski izlaz u svijet. Hrvatska/Jugoslavija u svjetskoj politici 1945.-1991." / "Croatia's Entry into the World. Croatia/Yugoslavia in World Politics, 1945-1991") been published after rather than between the two texts on emigration. It would have also been more befitting if the paper by ZDENKO RADELIĆ "Hrvatska: komunisti i oporba nakon rata 1945." ("Croatia: the Communists and the Opposition after the War in 1945") had followed after the papers on emigration. The topics of the two closing texts are — at least for the older generations — yesterday's news. These are IVICA ŠUTE'S "1971. kao uvod u 1991." ("1971 as an Introduction to 1991") and IVO PERIĆ'S "Hrvatska uoči i nakon osamostaljenja" ("Croatia on the Eve of and after Gaining Independence").

After this indeed very brief "survey of the contents", it would be of the utmost importance for the profession to focus on the critical analysis of the portrait this edition depicts. Calling for dialogue, this book demands it being the first of its kind.

• Srećko LIPOVČAN

¹ A single published study on a single yet immensely important segment of the politics of the Communist Party cannot compensate for a survey of the politics of the Communist Party as a whole (Petar Strčić, "Hrvatsko nacionalno pitanje u KPH/SKH i hrvatskih komunista" / "The Croatian National Question in KPH/SKH and the Croatian Communists").

² It is, admittedly, difficult to imagine that this thematic unit was not planned by the symposium organisers. However, it is, nevertheless, a fact that there are deficiencies in this very segment of Croatian historiography. One segment of the ideas of the Party of (Croat State) Right (based on new sources and data, and with a marked distance from the earlier interpretations) is presented by Stjepan Matković in his book *Čista stranka prava 1895.-1903.*

(*The Pure Party of /Croat State/ Rights, 1895-1903*, Zagreb 2001). As far as the framework of the 20th Century Series is concerned, a text that first follows the Party of (Croat State) Rights from 1895 and then the entire scene of the Party of (Croat State) Rights up to 1928 or 1918 at the least could have sufficed.

Zlatko Matijević: *U sjeni dvaju orlova. Prilozi crkveno-nacionalnoj povijesti u Hrvata u prvim desetljećima 20. stoljeća (In the Shade of Two Eagles. Contributions to the Clerical-National History of Croats in the First Decades of the 20th Century)* published by Golden marketing - Tehnička knjiga, Zagreb 2005, 359 pages

The most recent book by Zlatko Matijević consists of a series of detailed discussions which analyse the history of political parties and political history of the Croatian nation in the first three decades of the 20th century. The focus of his attention are political activities of the organised Croatian Catholics who tried to rise to challenges of new social movements, the unsolved national question and governmental and legal changes. The symbolic title of the book reveals an aspiration to explain their political behaviour under the two monarchies' rules which marked the first half of the previous century. This approach is methodologically justified as it provides an insight into continuous activities of individuals and political groups who arose from one administrative system, but then they attempted to realise their ambitions about the envisaged union in a new state. One of the thus far peculiarities of Croatian historiography was that the objects of research were almost exclusively limited to one state, which is why the results were considerably scarce. True reactions to great changes were not clearly seen, the thread of tradition in expressions of the already established people — as well as the way in which public discourse changed — remained undetected. Thus, Matijević's detailed inclusion of time and space provides very useful results and a series of data which cast off the senti-

mental side of history. In this book such treatment is given to both "Yugoslav clericalism" and, to a certain extent, Radić's narcissism in politics, but neither one has been fully discussed so far.

The book is divided into three chapters: "Pod crnim orlom Habsburgovaca" ("Under the Black Eagle of the Habsburg Dynasty", pp. 13-99); "Pod belim orlom Karađorđevića" ("Under the White Eagle of the Karađorđević Dynasty", pp. 99-215); and "Otpali ili odbačeni anđeli" ("Fallen or Rejected Angels", pp. 215-283). Several articles which appear in the book were published in scientific journals, except these three texts: "Hrvatska pučka stranka i Stjepan Radić u političkom životu Kraljevine SHS" ("Croatian People's Party and Stjepan Radić in the Political Life of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes"); "Stranačko-politički život bosansko-hercegovačkih Hrvata u Kraljevini SHS" (1919.-1929.) ("Parties and Political Life of Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes / 1919-1929"); "Uloga Hrvatskoga kulturnog društva 'Napredak' u obilježavanju tisućgodišnjice hrvatskog kraljevstva (1925. godine)" ("The Role of 'Napredak', the Croatian Cultural Association, in Celebrating A Thousand Years' Anniversary of the Croatian Kingdom in 1925"). All the three texts harmoniously interrelate with the author's intention to deepen his historiographic understanding on insufficiently analysed phenomena or topics which have — so far — been analysed peripherally, or sometimes even in black and white.

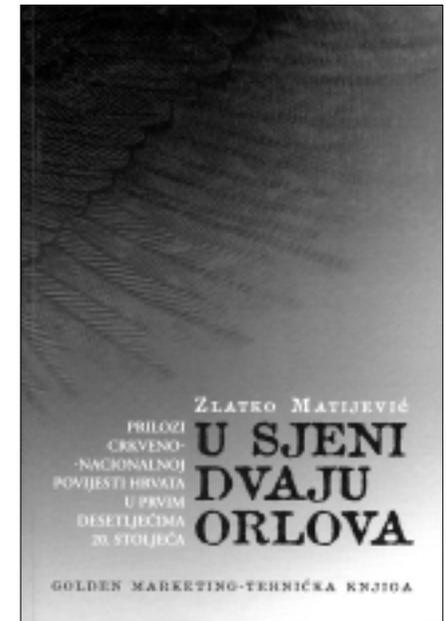
The first chapter analyses in detail important segments of Croatian ecclesiastical, national and political history in the last years of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy — a multi-national state with the epithet "unstable world power" — in which almost all Croats lived. The majority of Croatian politicians were of the opinion that Croats had an unsatisfactory status determined by the constitutional decision, according to which they could not have their own administrative unit, as opposed to Austrian Germans and Hungarians. The economic growth was slow and could not meet modern demands. A dominating idea in that field was that the main culprit in such unfavourable circumstances was

the lack of financial independence as well as the marginal position of administratively unconnected Croatian states. Thus, Croatia's confrontation with modernity reflected the frustration which was the result of unfulfilled political and economic demands. Within this belated and crises filled Dual Monarchy, Hrvatski katolički pokret (the Croatian Catholic Movement / HKP) was established. The author refers to it critically and systematically in the context of its political goals. Introductory studies emphasise foreign influence on its establishing, clearly define the year of its establishing and refer to all models of its activity. Thus, Matijević describes Middle-European origins of Catholic movements, considering, above all, German states, where the Catholics founded the Zentrum Party, and Slovene lands in which the Christian-social idea put down its roots. Furthermore, he concludes — providing convincing arguments — that HKP was established in 1903 when the Bishop of the island of Krk, Mahnić, started the magazine "Hrvatska Straža", and not in 1900 when the First Croatian Catholic Meeting was held. He thoroughly analyses numerous institutions which marked the development of the movement in its formative period until the World War I. Associations such as "Pijevo društvo" (Pius' Society), the Croatian Catholic Academic Society "Domagoj", choirs of spiritual youth et al. as well as readiness to alert the public media ("The Jutro Daily", "The Riječke Novine Daily") witnessed serious organisational efforts and aspirations not to restrict the movement to closed groups of intellectuals, but to enter different social classes, particularly the youth which was — through Catholic education — supposed to be in charge of implementing the ideas of HKP. The author concludes that the movement at the beginning sought a solution within the Habsburg Monarchy, but it soon took the course of its disintegration and considered constituting the union of Yugoslav nations, to apply the Cyril and Method concept, or, in other words, favoured union of the Catholic church and the Orthodox Churches in the Balkans. The picture of the transformation of political goals is not only defined by the momentous and previously known idea about establishing a clerical unity between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox

Churches in the Balkans. Matijević shows that during World War I opinions prevailed that the solution to the Croatian national and state question was closely connected to the expected consequences of the World War. Thus, the winner of the war was of crucial importance. The HKP members accurately predicted the winner as well as the loser, which is why their realignment becomes understandable. It was the way in which they showed their pragmatism and swiftness in adapting to new circumstances. However, Matijević's book shows that notions of values of Yugoslavism as a prophylactic formula were naive and that not all uncertainties and dangers regarding the status of Croats were recognised. The proof of it lies in HKP leaders' incompetence to penetrate to the essence of Serbian imperialism, aspiring to enlarge the Serbian Kingdom and rule the majority of Croatian states. At the National Council of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, the Rev. Janko Šimrak — the future Bishop of Križevci — stated that "employing the strategy of 'national unity' should — 'in two to three generations' — lead to an 'undivided nation'" (page 43). Thus, Matijević lucidly proves that "if there were any clericalism at the time, its function was only to constitute the Yugoslav state, therefore — Yugoslav clericalism" (page 40).

In his two texts, the author describes in detail the roles of two people whose ideas differed from the ideas of the HKP members. These two were the Bosnian archbishop Josip Stadler and Ivo Pilar, a reputable Croatian intellectual and one of the first theoreticians of Croatian modernism. His study entitled "Južnoslavensko pitanje" ("The Southern Slavic Question", Vienna, 1918) left a deep trace in analyses of the strained relations in the South-Eastern Europe, especially between the Croats and the Serbs. In that part of his book, Matijević provides a detailed historiographic survey on how historians and publicists wrote about Stadler, which helps him refer to the fact that views of the past were, for a long time, influenced by the official ideology. The Bishop's statement from November 1917 — which drew attention to the dangers of constituting a union of Southern Slavic nations and proposed tighter connections between the Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Cro-

ats of Banovina — is analysed by Matijević in great detail. In that context, the Bishop's criticism of "Svibanjska deklaracija" ("the May Declaration") is clearly presented, as it helps the author present the ideas of leading Croatian politicians. Part of the book, devoted to Pilar's political life, is a continuation of his approach to the question of the Croatian politicians' adaptation to challenges of problem solving in the South-Eastern Europe. Anxious about the possible results of the World War I, Pilar, supported by the archbishop Stadler's authority, aimed at reconstructing the Monarchy and preserving the unique Middle-European region administered by the "black eagle" as the best solution to the problem of the then overall development of the Croatian nation. Pilar's political circles required the reform of the Monarchy as an indispensable precondition of the proHabsburg orientation, as within the Monarchy the Croatian nation was neglected in many respects. The way out was seen in the Croatian solution to the Southern Slavic question (p. 89). In reality, it meant admitting the complexity of the national problem in the South-Eastern part of the Monarchy. The proposition to the rulers of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was to administratively connect all Croatian lands, including Bosnia and Herzegovina. Namely, Croatian politicians had a strong case for supporting the centripetal solution, i.e. the loyalty to the ruling Dynasty, for the already given reason that all territories on which Croats lived belonged to the existing union. The main obstacle to changes, Pilar saw in the politics of the Austrian and Hungarian authorities which continued to insist on the agreement and kept postponing unavoidable changes. The second important determinant of his political views was his critical evaluation of Serbian politics. Observing the war surroundings, Pilar perceived the restraint of the Serbs outside the Kingdom of Serbia, expecting the Antanta powers to win the war, thus enabling the "realisation of the Great Serbian Empire" led by the "white eagle". Not less ominous were his views on the realisation of the Yugoslav idea outside the Habsburg Monarchy, as he maintained that it eliminated the idea of Croatian statutory right from the political scene. Part of Matijević's study, dedicated to Pilar's activity,



contains descriptions of his communication with the Emperor and King Karl I (Charles IV), general Stjepan Sarkotić, the influential Hungarian politician Istvan Tisza, the Minister of Finance Alexander Spitzmüller and others. It shows his great struggle to win the pillars of the Monarchy over to new solutions. Pilar's activities clearly show his awareness of the unsurmountable obstacles to the realisation of Croatian interests. One of his lectures — held in Vienna on the eve of the Monarchy's breakdown — witnesses it. What he said then was: "The Monarchy can fulfil its life mission only if it — for all those remnants of states and nations who still have the power of life — continues to remain a safe haven. Unfortunately, the old-fashioned Monarchy failed to accomplish the task and therefore, in its today's form, it must fall" (p. 93). The breakdown of the Monarchy marked the end of the pro-Monarchy political ideas of both Ivo Pilar and his circle of followers.

Soon after the breakdown of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the Croats confronted new challenges which greatly influenced their development in the entire 20th century. In the chapter entitled "Pod 'belim orlom' Karadordevića" ("Under the 'White Eagle' of the Karador-

đević”), in his four texts the author discusses party and political topics in the context of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The first study analyses the “Decree on the Denial of the Right to Vote” which was aimed at a significant number of German and Hungarian minority members in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. It created legal grounds for abolishing the civil rights of those citizens who, according to the democrat Ivan Paleček, “in terms of their tribe and language do not belong to our race” (page 105). The two studies which follow analyse the relationship between the Croatian People’s Party and Stjepan Radić, as well as political ideas of the Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina. That part of the book is distinctly useful for historians, as in part it focuses on attitudes of the then politicians against Stjepan Radić. Radić’s practice of rejecting his original ideas and his views on Christianity are discussed here most. The last text in this part of the book describes a celebration marking the 1000th anniversary of the Croatian Kingdom (1924/1925). The celebration was an important event which — as the author remarks — the then politicians ruthlessly misused to promote their current political goals. It was the merit of “Napredak” — the Croatian cultural Association — and its agile members, that the celebration still maintained its cultural and national significance.

The third chapter discusses the reform movement of the part of the lower Catholic clergy in Croatia (1919-1924), which led to the establishment of the Croatian Old Catholic Church. That religious community’s past comprised conspirative discussions of unsatisfied individuals within the Roman-Catholic clergy, several separate and uncoordinated reform streams and the acceptance of old Catholicism as the only possibility of making the demands of the unsatisfied clergy legal. Although this reform movement was led within the Catholic church, the then politicians in power took advantage of the situation and tried to promote their political interests. In 1923, the Government legally recognised a new religious community. Its first Bishop was Marko Kalogjera. The study on Croatian Catholicism is enriched with ten documents which are its integral part.

Matijević’s book successfully answers numerous questions on the history of Croatian church as well as Croatian national history in the first decades of the 20th century. It clearly presents problems analysed by certain elitist circles from Croatian politics, and several crucial events of Croatian history. The results of researches fill the void in historiography not only when the Catholics in politics are analysed, but also those respectable individuals who marked one of the most turbulent times in the region.

• *Stjepan MATKOVIĆ*

CHRONICLE