

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEORY OF INTEGRAL YUGOSLAVISM: A NEW NATION FOR A NEW STATE

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Abstract

In this paper, we elaborate on the origins and the emergence of the ideology of integral Yugoslavism in the territories of the Habsburg monarchy during the 19th century, as well as the role this political theory and its advocates had in pre-war, war and post-war periods in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kingdom of SCS) and its neighbouring countries. Devised in the circles of radicalised young intellectuals, this theory about the existence of a single and unique Yugoslav nation played a significant role in the outbreak of the First World War, the creation of the Kingdom of SCS and a series of cross-border conflicts with neighbouring countries. Originating in the realpolitik – the need for Serbs and Croats to cooperate in the struggle for the political emancipation of the South Slavic peoples in the Danubian monarchy – this theory would eventually, with the help of pseudo-historical constructs, turn into a myth about a single and unique Yugoslav nation that existed on the territories stretching from Szeged to Thessaloniki, and from the Adriatic Sea to the Black Sea. The focus of attention in this paper is on the reconstruction of the origins and the emergence of the theory of integral Yugoslavism, its role in the political life of the Kingdom of SCS, and the impact it had on shaping the public attitude towards neighbouring countries.

Key words: Integral Yugoslavism, pseudo-historical constructs, Organization of Yugoslav Nationalists (ORJUNA), paramilitarism, expansionism.

РАЗВОЈ ТЕОРИЈЕ ИНТЕГРАЛНОГ ЈУГОСЛОВЕНСТВА: НОВА НАЦИЈА ЗА НОВУ ДРЖАВУ

Апстракт

У раду је изложен процес настанка идеологије интегралног југословенства на просторима Хабзбуршке монархије током 19. века, као и улога ове политичке теорије и њених заступника у предратним, ратним и послератним збивањима у

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Краљевини Срба Хрвата и Словенаца и суседним земљама. Настала унутар радикализованих кругова млађих интелектуалаца, ова теорија о постојању јединственог југословенског народа одиграће значајну улогу у избијању Првог светског рата, настанку Краљевине СХС и низу пограничних сукоба са околним државама. Поникла на бази реал политике – потребе сарадње Срба и Хрвата у борби за политичку еманципацију јужнословенских народа у оквиру Дунавске монархије, ова теорија ће временом уз помоћ псеудоисторијских конструкција добити облик мита о јединственом југословенском народу чије се територије простиру од Сегедина до Солуна и од Јадранског до Црног мора. Посебна пажња биће посвећена деловању заступника теорије интегралног југословенства кроз Организацију југословенских националиста (ОРЈУНА) – политичку групуацију која је током 20-их година 20. века представљала главни генератор политички мотивисаног насиља у Краљевини СХС.

Кључне речи: интегрално југословенство, псеудо-историјске конструкције, Организација југословенских националиста (ОРЈУНА), парамилитаризам, експанзионизам.

INTRODUCTION

The roots of the idea of the existence of an integral Yugoslav nation can be traced to specific political circumstances, present in the South Slavic provinces of the Habsburg monarchy in the first decades of the 19th century. The breakthrough of Napoleonic armies in the territory of the Habsburg monarchy, just like in Germany, brought with it the reception of revolutionary ideas about the nation and state (Ekmečić, 1989a, pp. 168-170). These ideas got a wide range of responses within the ranks of the non-Germanic population of the Danube monarchy, particularly in the area of its Hungarian and South Slavic regions, which, during a short period of time (1806-1814), existed within the French Empire (Vošnjak, 1931, pp. 95-102) as Illyrian Provinces (Šišić, 1937, pp. 22-23, 30-31, 42, 50-56). A cultural-political Illyrian movement, which advocated the cultural and political connection of South Slavic nations within the Habsburg monarchy arose in the area of provinces populated by Serbs and Croats, which found themselves under the pressure of the awakened German and Hungarian nationalism during the third decade of the 19th century (Bakić, 2004, p. 71, pp. 75-76). The strengthening of revolutionary nationalism in the Hungarian provinces got its concrete form in the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, with the result of turning the South Slavic provinces into a battlefield on which the universal monarchist imperialism of Vienna clashed with Hungarian revolutionary nationalism (Tejlor, 2001, pp. 63-67). The Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich of 1867 divided the Danube monarchy, which was up to that moment an integral political area, into two entities, in which the political domination of Germans and Hungarians was imposed on the remaining population of the Danube monarchy. Instructed by the experience from 1848, when they caused the armed resistance of South Slavic nations due to the assimilation policy, the ruling circles of Hungary, adopted the tactic of using the political disputes between the

Serbs and Croats, supporting extreme nationalist options within both ethnic corps, along with the formal liberalisation of their attitude to minorities in preservation of their dominant position (Šišić, 1937, pp. 123-124, 154-155).

YUGOSLAV NATIONALIST YOUTH

Pushed to the margin of political life, discredited in the territory of Austria-Hungary by sharp conflicts between Serbs and Croats, and disputed in Serbia by the change of foreign policy orientation (Ekmečić, 1989b, p. 331), the Yugoslav idea survived in the circles of younger intellectuals more as an ideal than an issue of real policy. New formulations of the Yugoslav idea appeared within youth circles, inspired by the need to eliminate Serbo-Croatian conflicts in the Triune Kingdom and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The architect of such formulations was Svetozar Pribičević, the future leader of the Croat-Serb Coalition (CSC). Feeling that the establishment of cooperation between Serbs and Croats represented the precondition for the survival of both nations facing the imperialist ambitions of German and Hungarian nationalism, in his article *Misao vodilja Srba i Hrvata*, published in the magazine *Nova misao* in 1897, Pribičević took the position that Serbs and Croats represent one nation. Pribičević did not quote evidence-based arguments for his position, aside from linguistic kinship, but based his theory on negating the relevance of all factors (religion, culture and historical development) which contributed to differences within the integral nation (Pribičević, 2000, pp. 123-126). Led by the imperative of establishing political cooperation between Serbs and Croats for the purpose of more efficient opposition to German and Hungarian imperialism, Pribičević elevated the concept of cooperation to the level of national integralism (Matković, 1972, pp. 85-88). Pribičević's idea received support from the circle of the Belgrade-based journal *Serbian Literary Herald* (*Srpski književni glasnik*) and its spokesman Jovan Skerlić, an informal ideologue of the South Slavic youth, known as the "apostle of Yugoslavism" (Ković, 2015, pp. 536-539). Like Pribičević, Jovan Skerlić thought that Kingdom of Serbia and the Balkans were in great danger from the imperialist ambitions of Austria-Hungary and Germany (Ković, 2015, pp. 212-215). Skerlić was convinced that, within the plans of the German breakthrough to Asia Minor, the role of the Balkans was to become an Austro-Hungarian colony (Ković, 2015, p. 217). In order to prevent such a scenario, according to Skerlić, it was necessary to establish close political cooperation among the Balkan peoples – first of all between the South Slavs from the Dual monarchy, Serbs and Bulgarians. Within the establishment of cooperation with South Slavs from Austria-Hungary, it was necessary to eliminate Serbo-Croatian conflicts in the Triune Kingdom and Bosnia and Herzegovina. With such a goal, Skerlić, leaning on the scientific work of Jovan Cvijić (Ković, 2015, p. 226), devised a theory according to which Serbs and Croats are two tribes of the

same nation (Bakić, 2004, pp. 133-134). Similarly to Pribičević, Skerlić did not offer any concrete evidence for his thesis, but based the foundation for his position on linguistic kinship, political realism, political freedoms and social solidarity (Ković, 2015, pp. 235-236). Under influence of Pribičević's ideas, the leading politicians of Serbs and Croats from the Triune Kingdom, with the Rijeka and Zadar resolutions of 1905, stopped their long-time conflicts and began the policy of cooperation (Bošković, 2006, p. 19). In 1905, The largest political parties of Serbs and Croats in the Triune Kingdom formed the Croat-Serb Coalition (CSC), which, after winning the elections in 1906, got the majority in the Croatian Parliament and remained in power in Croatia until 1918 (Pribičević, 1990, p. 280-282). The success of CSC at the elections, along with the victories of the Kingdom of Serbia in the Balkan wars, radicalised the supporters of the Yugoslav idea in the Habsburg monarchy. Under pressure from the Austro-Hungarian authorities manifested in the Friedjung and the High Treason Trial (Tejlor, 2001, p. 247-248), which believed that the Serb-Croat Coalition was a political manifestation of the South Slavic irredentism, itself an expansionist agenda covertly pursued by the Kingdom of Serbia, its leadership was forced to take a distinctly loyalist stand (Pribičević, 1990, p. 280-282), which led its young supporters and sympathizers to become increasingly radical (Ković, 2015, 227-228). Having lost their faith in the effectiveness of parliamentary struggle in a state that renounced its legitimacy, the radicalised youth began to self-organise into secret groups and organisations (such as the Progressive Croat Youth, Freedom, Young Bosnia and Young Dalmatia) that advocated armed resistance as the only means left in the struggle for national and political emancipation (Ekmečić, 1989, p. 524). Unlike the leadership of CSC, the members of youth organisation rejected a legitimist form of parliamentary struggle and advocated for armed resistance as the only remaining means in struggle for national and political emancipation (Bartulović, 1925, p. 15, 18). Although the printed media of youth used a sharp rhetoric, violent outbursts of particular members were exclusively personal actions, which did not lean on the logistic support of entire organisations. The attempted assassinations of Slavko Cuvaj and Marijan Varešanin, representatives of the Austro-Hungarian authorities in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, clearly marked the radicalisation of the non-parliamentary resistance and struggle. Luka Jukić and Bogdan Žerajić, who attempted those assassinations, became worthy of veneration among their comrades in arms (Ćorović, 1930, p. 557-558). The groups of radicalised young people united in 1911 in a roof organisation under the name Serb-Croat Progressive Youth (SCPY). This organisation had a very heterogenous character and represented an informally established coalition of minor youth groups and circles, whose ideological discourse ranged widely, from anarchism to nationalism (Ekmečić, 1989b, p. 525). Beside many ideological differences, the members of groups, united in

SCPY, advocated for the common work of all Yugoslav peoples towards the national and political emancipation from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The triumph of Serbia in the Customs war and the Balkan wars (1912-1913) inspired members of part of the SCPY to form the organisation Yugoslav Nationalist Youth (YNY) in Split in 1912 (Ćorović, 1989, p. 205-206). The most radical elements of the youth movement gathered within the YNY, which adopted Pribičević's and Škerlić's thesis on the existence of the integral Yugoslav nation and proclaimed as its political goal the unification of the Yugoslav provinces of Austria-Hungary with the Kingdom of Serbia, which was interpreted as the Yugoslav Piedmont. From the ideas presented in the journals of YNY (Bošković, 2006, p. 51-60) arose the myth on the existence of an integral Yugoslav nation, leaning on the unitarist theses of Pribičević and Škerlić. Unlike Pribičević and Škerlić, who based their integralist theses on the rational needs of real politics (Ković, 2015, p. 550), the YNY ideologists sought the basis for their theory on the existence of an integral Yugoslav nation in the domain of irrational, pseudoscientific historical constructs. In that way, a realpolitik idea based on an irrational justification acquired the form of a myth. We found the initial steps in construction of this myth in the publicist work of Milan Marjanović. A close associate of YNY, Milan Marjanović published a short brochure under title *Emerging nation: The reason of emergence and how the integral Serbo-Croat nation is being formed* in Rijeka in 1913 (Bošković, 2006, p. 24-27). In this brochure, Marjanović presented a theory according to which Serbs and Croats make one integral nation. Having recognised the establishment of two different ethnic and state entities in the Middle Ages, Marjanović boldly suggested a theory that the Ottoman conquest, which destroyed Serbian and Croatian medieval states and caused massive migration movements in the Balkans, resulted in the creation of the integral Serbo-Croatian nation (Marjanović, 1913, p. 30-50). In its further development, and due to the historical circumstances, the newly established integral nation found itself divided between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires and thus exposed to foreign cultural influences, which led to the creation of different cultural identities. This, however, did not jeopardise its ethnic unity. Marjanović identified the imperialist ambitions of Germany and Austria-Hungary, whose final goal was the possession of Trieste, Neum and Thessaloniki, as the main cohesion force providing the preconditions for the final unification of the integral Serbo-Croatian nation. Marjanović presciently estimated that the German-Hungarian pressure was on the line Slavonia-Bosnia and Herzegovina-South Dalmatia, so the main core of the Serbo-Croatian resistance would be formed in that corridor (Marjanović, 1913, p. 46). The further development of the theory of integral Yugoslavism was cut off by the assassination of the heir to the Habsburg throne, Franz Ferdinand, by youth activist Gavrilo Princip, on St. Vitus' Day in 1914 (Antić, 2016, p. 501-503) and the beginning of the First World War (Ekmečić, 1989b, p. 542-543).

In the wake of the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, many members of the Yugoslav Nationalist Youth were arrested and spent the entire war period in the dungeons of the Habsburg monarchy, where they were kept incarcerated as potential revolutionaries. That was the destiny of the future founders of ORJUNA Niko Bartulović (Bartulović, 1925, p. 16) and Mirko Korolija (Bošković, 2006, p. 290). YNY members were exposed to starvation, constant psycho-physical torture and the denial of medical aid in Austro-Hungarian prisons (Bartulović, 1925, p. 51-58). Some of the members of YNY like Ćiro Ćičin Šain, Vladimir Ćerina and Ljubo Leontić, the future ideologues and leaders of ORJUNA, avoided such a fate by fleeing abroad, where they continued their political engagement within the Yugoslav Committee (Bošković, 2006, p. 71). A member of YNY (and later of ORJUNA) in Italy, a distinguished activist of the Slovene part of YNY, Ljudevit Pivko, founded and led the Yugoslav Voluntary Battalion (so-called Pivko's battalion), a unit consisting of Slovene defectors from the Austro-Hungarian army. During the twenties, Ljudevit Pivko distinguished himself as the leader of the Maribor branch of ORJUNA and its Action units, which terrorised members of the German minority (Bartulović, 1925, p. 108). In the turbulent years after the war, the distinguished members of YNY – Milan Marjanović, Ivo Tartalja, Ivan Meštrović, Juraj Demetrović and Prvislav Grisogono led the secret organisation *Seagull*, which was engaged in armed conflict with D'Annunzio's legionnaires and prepared a general uprising of the South Slavic population in the Italian occupation zone in Dalmatia (Meštrović, 1969, p. 50-52). Ferdinand (Marko) Kranjec, Stane Vidmar and Vlatko Fabijančić, YNY members who would later on have important roles in the Slovenian ORJUNA, distinguished themselves in conflicts with Heimwehr during the undeclared Yugoslav-Austrian war in Carinthia (1918-1919). A YNY member, Budislav-Grga Anđelinović who would, together with his brother Berislav, earn the reputation of one of the most violent ORJUNA members, led the units of Dalmatian students who participated in quashing the rebellion of Austro-Hungarian officers in Zagreb in 1919 (Pederin, 2006, p. 297-325).

THE ORGANISATION OF YUGOSLAV NATIONALISTS (ORJUNA)

After the end of the First World War, a part of YNY membership renewed the organisation in 1921 under the name Yugoslav Progressive Nationalist Youth – YPNY (later on renamed the Organization of Yugoslav Nationalists – ORJUNA), keeping its programme and ideology. Established in the period when the new Yugoslav state faced many challenges – territorial pretensions of neighbours, separatist movements and conflicts between the supporters of centralism and federalism, ORJUNA was conceived as the bulwark of national and state unitarism, the guardian of territorial integrity and the champion of Yugoslav ethnic elements which remained outside of the borders of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes after the Treaty of

Versailles (Đorđević, 2006, p. 188-193). The ORJUNA ideologues continued to develop the myth of the integral Yugoslav nation. Marjanović's theory on the existence of an integral Serbo-Croatian nation was accepted and elaborated by the leader of the Yugoslav Democratic Party (political party, which had grown on the foundation of the Croat-Serb Coalition), Prvislav Grisogono, in his brochure *Contemporary national issues*, which was published in Split in 1923, sponsored by ORJUNA. Unlike Marjanović, who talked about the Serbo-Croatian nation, Grisogono used the term Yugoslav nation, whose corps included ethnic Slovenes as well. In this brochure, Grisogono claimed that the differences between the Serbs and Croats only existed before their arrival to the Balkans (Grisogono, 1923, p. 3). The kinship of language and folk customs enabled the beginning of the unification of the two tribes into the integral Yugoslav people (Grisogono, 1923, p. 5-7). This process was slowed down by the acceptance of Christianity, i.e. the division which occurred after the split of the Church into Orthodox and Catholic (Grisogono, 1923, p. 12-14). The author interpreted the Ottoman invasion as an inciting factor in the unification of the Yugoslav nation, because the threat of the Islamic conquerors led to the rapprochement of all Balkan Christians regardless of their confessional differences (Grisogono, 1923, p. 22-24). Grisogono emphasised that the Orthodox Church acted as the guardian of the Serbian national and state tradition, while the Catholic Church was in the service of the Habsburgs and Hungarians and, thus, facilitated the penetration of negative foreign influences into the Western corps of the Yugoslav nation (Grisogono, 1923, p. 13, 18). Unlike Marjanović, who regarded Austria-Hungary and Germany as the main obstacle for the establishment of Yugoslav unity, Grisogono stressed the negative influence of the Catholic (and somewhat less the Orthodox) church and individuals within the Serbian corps who remained bonded with the tribal consciousness as the main obstacles (Grisogono, 1923, p. 12-13). As the main precondition for the finalisation of the process of the unification of the Yugoslav nation, Grisogono stressed the activity of state institutions and the creation of a common (Yugoslav) cultural form, which would demolish artificial obstacles built by foreign factors among the Yugoslav tribes (Grisogono, 1923, p. 24). The theory on the existence of an integral Yugoslav nation got its final form in the brochure of Franjo Malin, titled *Yugoslavism Through the History* and published in 1925 within the ORJUNA publishing house. While Marjanović and Grisogono (more or less) appreciated certain historical facts in their theories, recognising the existence of the Serbian and Croatian cultural identity, and cultural and state traditions, in his paper, Malin denied that ethnic, political or cultural polarisation between the Yugoslav nations ever existed. All the elements which had separated Serbs, Croats, Slovenes and Bulgarians were qualified by Malin as the product of a (unfortunate) set of historical circumstances and the conquering ambitions of neighbouring nations (Malin, 1925, p. 8, 20). As the crowning proof of his claim on the existence of an integral Yugoslav nation, Malin

quoted examples of the medieval state entities of South Slavs, which included both Serbian and Croatian populations. According to Malin's theories, which were in direct collision with basic principles of historical science, and which were later on elaborated by the ORJUNA ideologues, Croatian ruler Ljudevit Posavski, Macedonian emperor Samuel, Serbian emperor Dušan the Mighty, Bosnian king Tvrtko Kotromanić and Bulgarian emperor Simeon got the flattering title of first Yugoslav rulers, whose progressive national vision traced the development of Yugoslavism (Malin 1925, p. 19). By referring to historical science (Malin 1925, p. 12) Malin, actually, tailored it for the purpose of proving his own hypotheses. The claims that medieval rulers like Ljudevit Posavski (810-823) based their political plans on the concept of nation (which came into existence a full thousand years later at the time of the French Revolution) tellingly illustrated the unscrupulousness of ORJUNA ideologues in the creation of historical constructs.

The ORJUNA ideologues presented the integral Yugoslav nation as the chief protagonist in the struggle against the anachronous political (absolutism) and economic (feudalism) forms, religious fanaticism and benightedness (Lahman, 1921). Starting from the theory that the Slavic tribes lived in the autochthonous form of democracy, which was forwarded for the first time by Grisogono in the brochure *Contemporary national issues* (Grisogono, 1923, p. 7), ORJUNA ideologues perceived the fall of Slavic tribes under the power of the feudal empires of the Habsburgs and the Ottomans as a regression in the political, cultural and economic development of the Yugoslav nation. The Yugoslav revolution, which destroyed Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire in the Balkan wars and in the First World War, was interpreted as the victory of Yugoslav forces against the archaic and regressive political, cultural and economic forms (absolutism, clericalism and feudalism). The ORJUNA leadership designated as its main political goal the annexation of parts of the Yugoslav nation existing outside of the borders of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to the mother country, by which the capacity of the Yugoslav nation to perform its cultural-historical mission would increase¹. In accordance with this thesis, the ORJUNA ideologues addressed all the opponents of the theory on the integral Yugoslav nation as "reactionaries"² and "symbols of anachronism"³ and their struggle against the ideology of integral Yugoslavism as the "struggle against the laws of nature"⁴, which is supported only by "unenlightened masses."⁵ The disparaging position of political forces, which denied the pseudo-scientific constructs on which the theory on the exist-

¹ Anonim, Jugoslovenska misija, *Pobeda* year I No. 19, 24. 12. 1921.

² Anonim, Nacionalisti, *Predstraža*, year I No. 4, 15. 10. 1922.

³ Anonim, Za diktaturu, *Budućnost*, year II No. 10, 10. 3. 1923.

⁴ Anonim, Sa vremenom *Predstraža*, year I No. 4, 15. 10. 1922.

⁵ Anonim, Separatizam i unitarizam, *Pobeda* year I No. 5, 6. 9. 1921.

ence of an integral Yugoslav nation was based, was presented in the most explicit manner in the article *Opinions and beliefs*, which states: “To claim that Serbs, Croats and Slovenes are not one nation is to recognize one’s own cretinism“ (Mogorović, 1923). Any denial of the theory of ORJUNA ideologues on the integral Yugoslav nation was characterised by ORJUNA as an act of high treason. This position was most explicitly expressed in the letterhead of all the official documents of ORJUNA, which included the printed text “To battle for Great Yugoslavia, he who is not with us is against us, he who is against us is against the state” (Zgodovinski arhiv Slovenije (ZAS), SI AS 641/I/52/117 – dokument: Pismo ljubljanske ORJUNE lokalnoj sokolskoj organizaciji - 15.12.1922.).

TERROR IN THE IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL PRACTICE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF YUGOSLAV NATIONALISTS

The politically motivated violence of YNY in the pre-war, war (fighting at the front lines and torture suffered in prisons) and post-war period developed a specific cult of struggle and violence among the organisation members, who would renew their operation in 1921 under the name ORJUNA. The ideologues of the ORJUNA movement praised the assassinations by and the deeds of Žerajić, Jukić and Gavrilo Princip, describing them as acts of revolutionary self-sacrifice for the freedom of the Yugoslav people (Jevđević, 1925, p. 49-50). ORJUNA’s local newsletter in Subotica was named after Gavrilo Princip, whose political legacy was glorified as the moral creed of this organisation (Bajić, 2001/2002, p. 63-64). Examples of the glorification of assassinations performed by the YNY members can be found in the work of Niko Bartulović, titled “*From Revolutionary Youth to ORJUNA*” (Bartulović, 1925, p. 5, 16), and the tendency for the further use of terror in the political sphere is most explicitly announced in articles like “*Glory to Sarajevo Vidovdan shooters*” in which the anonymous author concludes “As long as there are Murads and Mussolinis there will be also Obilićs and Principis.”⁶ In accordance with this, in 1922, ORJUNA formed its own armed formations under the name Action Squads (a.k.a. Chetnik Squads), whose members had uniforms and were armed with cold weapons and firearms, purchased on the black market (IAS, SI AS 1931, 935-600-12). The forming of the Action Squads represents the watershed in the ideological development of ORJUNA because, unlike the earlier uncontrolled use of terror for political purposes, a step was made towards its instrumental and systematic use. At the head of each Action Squad was a leader, units were organised in

⁶ Anonim, Slava sarajevskim vidovdanskim atentatorima, *Vidovdan* year V No. 342, 27. 6. 1926.

companies and battalions, and the Commander of all action units had the title of Grand Leader. It cannot be precisely established what the authority of Grand Leader was, but the information put into circulation at the major ORJUNA gathering in Belgrade in 1925 stated that ORJUNA had at its disposal 21 battalions, with a total of 10,000 thousand fighters⁷. The membership of such units consisted of ORJUNA veterans from the First World War, Yugoslav refugees from the territory under Italian occupation, and political neophytes – university and secondary school students. Paradoxically – as ORJUNA ideologues themselves noticed,⁸ the expansionist policy of Italy provided the most militant elements for ORJUNA Actions Squads. The course of the Rome Government, which cooperated with IMRO and Albanian Kaçak movement (Hrabak, 2003, p. 13, 29, 51, 53, 59–60; Antić, 2018, p. 160–162) in the area of Kosovo and Metohija and Macedonia within its anti-Yugoslav policy, drew the Serbian veteran organisation – the Association of Chetniks for the Honour and Glory of Fatherland closer to ORJUNA. This veteran organisation gathered the experienced participants of guerrilla actions and wars from the territory of Old Serbia. During 1922, attracted by the radical anti-Italian rhetoric of ORJUNA publications, many distinguished members of Chetnik organisation, like Kosta Milovanović Pećanac and Ilija Trifunović Birčanin joined ORJUNA. In training the officers, the chetniks-veterans organised the Action Squads according to the model of an official military organisation – in platoons, companies and battalions.

The Action Squads mainly targeted the so-called tribal separatists, that is, the supporters of political parties (People's Radical Party, Croatian Republican Peasant Party, Slovenian People's Party, Yugoslav Muslim organisation and Cemiyet – the political organisation of Sandzak, Kosovo and Metohija, and Macedonian Muslims, Albanians and Turks) that advocated for the preservation of the separate national identities of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian people. ORJUNA's publications disparagingly spoke of the members of such parties as "deadly vermin crawling over the Austrian carcass,"⁹ "filthy remains of the Central Powers," and "anti-Yugoslav animals,"¹⁰ and threatened them with "new Sicilian Vespers,"¹¹ labelling them as legitimate targets of the Action Squads. The Action Squads attacked the political rallies of the abovementioned political parties, burned their headquarters, blew up the offices of political parties' journals and prevented their mem-

⁷ Anonim, Orjune u Jugoslaviji, *Vidovdan* year IV No. 21, 30.5.1925

⁸ Anonim Italija i naše duhovno jedinstvo, *Pobeda* year VII, No.10 (date of publication is illegible)

⁹ Anonim, Kuga u Jugoslaviji, *Pobeda* year I No. 3, 4. 8. 1921.

¹⁰ Anonim, Ima krv da legne, *Budućnost* year II No.6, 10.2.1923.

¹¹ Anonim, Poslednji Mohikanci, *Budućnost* year II No. 2, 13.1.1923.

bers from vote at the elections with physical terror. Out of many conflicts of that kind, the most striking was the attack of the Action Squads on the supporters of Cemiyet in Kosovska Mitrovica on the 19th of August during the local elections. Outraged by the murders of ORJUNA leaders Jovan Mihović and Mihajlo Reljić during the attacks of kachak units on Kosovska Mitrovica and Bitolj (Bartulović 1925, 103, 119), members of the Action Squad from Kosovska Mitrovica, with the support of ORJUNA members from Priština and Skoplje, attacked the election rally of Cemiyet and eliminated 14 participants of the rally with firearms and cold weapons (Hrabak 2003, 191-193).

The ORJUNA Action units unleashed physical terror against members of the German, Hungarian, Italian and Albanian minorities, whom they accused of irredentism and of the active support of the anti-Yugoslav revisionist plans of their mother countries. The Actions Squads demolished the cultural institutions of minorities and the offices of journals in minority languages, and dispersed the rallies of minority political parties. In the territory of Vojvodina, where the Action Squads clashed with the Hungarian ethnic minority, they mostly removed signs written in the Hungarian language,¹² and demolished and planted bombs at the editorial offices of *Delbacka* and *Hirlapa*, Hungarian newspapers that advocated irredentist ideas (Bajić, 2001/2002, p. 63-64; Gligorijević, 1963, p. 329). Members of the German minority were characterised by ORJUNA ideologues as carriers of Pan-Germanism, hidden members of Heimwehr, allies of fascist Italy and associates of tribal separatists¹³. The members of Action units from the Maribor regional committee spearheaded the actions against the German minority, because they comprised the major number of refugees from Carinthia and Gorizia, territories which were taken after the First World War by fascist Italy and Austria (Friš, 2004 p. 511-513). Standing out by the number of participants and its consequences is the attack of the Action units on the German minority in Celje, in May of 1923, when 400 ORJUNA members dispersed the rally of the German minority with cudgels and firearms, and blew up the building of their local newspaper *Cillier Zeitung*¹⁴.

Beside internal troubles, ORJUNA had, with its uncompromising implementation of the theory of integral Yugoslavism, brought into question the foreign policy position of the Yugoslav state. According to ORJUNA ideologues, the historical mission of the Yugoslav nation was to

¹² Anonim, Badnjak u Srpskoj Atini, *Vidovdan* year II No.5, 13. 1. 1923.

¹³ Anonim, Priprave za osnivanje organizacije v Mariboru, *Orjuna* (Ljubljana) year I (publication number is illegible), 1. 1. 1923; Anonim, Veleizdajnici na delu, *Orjuna* (Zagreb) year I No.13, 14. 7. 1923; Anonim, Kronika, *Orjuna* (Ljubljana), year V No. 22, 28. 5. 1927.

¹⁴ Anonim, Živele slovenačke Orjune, *Vidovdan* year II No.13, 6. 2. 1923.

begin the struggle for the unification of all Slavic nations after the completion of its ethnic borders¹⁵. The Slavs, according to the ORJUNA ideologues, are a young race with unused cultural potentials, predestined to contribute to the renaissance of decadent Europe (Silobrić, 1923). This concept of ORJUNA ideologues, in which the Yugoslav nation, performing its historical mission through the unification of Slavs, is to bring salvation to the decadent European civilization had a clear messianic tone. The ORJUNA printed media presented texts, which openly advocated taking the territories of neighbouring states – Italy, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey and Albania¹⁶. The most precise idea on the full scope of the territorial pretensions which ORJUNA had in relation to neighbouring countries can be seen on the map, which was printed on the front page of the journal *Jugoslavija*, chief herald of Belgrade branch of ORJUNA. According to the map, the designated regions comprising Greater Yugoslavia, beside the complete territory of Bulgaria, were the regions of Baranya (Hungary), Shkodër and Debar Malesia (Albania), Dobruja (Romania), Aegean Macedonia and Thrace Littoral (Greece), and East Thrace (Turkey).¹⁷



Image No. 4. Map of Greater Yugoslavia (journal “Jugoslavija” (Belgrade) year I No.14, National library of Serbia)

¹⁵ Anonim, Naš put, *Pobeda* year I No. 1, 28. 6. 1921.

¹⁶ Anonim M, Govor Predsednika Direktorijuma brata Leontića, *Pobeda* year V No.40, publication number is illegible; Anonim, Makedonstvujuščima, *Jugoslavija* (Skoplje) year I No. 3, 28 February 1927; Anonim, Bugarska i Jugoslavija, *Jugoslavija* (Skoplje) year I No.5, 27 March 1927

¹⁷ *Jugoslavija* (Belgrade) year I No.14, 1 December 1927, p.1

As was the case in their showdown with internal enemies of the theory of integral Yugoslavism, terror was the main weapon of ORJUNA members in foreign policy. ORJUNA members saw Italy as the main obstacle for completing the territory of the Yugoslav national corps. In articles like “*Two methods*,”¹⁸ “*Sacro egoismo*,”¹⁹ and “*Italy and our spiritual unity*,”²⁰ ORJUNA ideologues presented their understanding of Italian foreign policy as the integral continuation of the imperialist legacy of the liquidated Habsburg monarchy, stating that they would settle with Italy using the same methods they once used with Austria-Hungary. Responding to the provocations of Italian fascists on the border, the ORJUNA Action units broke into Italian territory and attacked the barracks of the Italian army and fascist militia on several occasions (Dragosavljević, 2019a, p. 31-52). Among these actions are the outstanding events from October of 1922, and August of 1923, i.e. ORJUNA’s expulsion of fascist militia units, which tried to occupy Sušak, and the conflict between ORJUNA members and the Italian Army on the mountain of Triglav (Gligorijević, 1963, p. 332, 349). As the response to such direct provocations of fascist Italy and the aggressive attitude of her satellites, ORJUNA formed its secret organisations in the territories of Italy, Austria and Hungary. The most famous of ORJUNA foreign organisations was ORJUNAVIT (abbreviation for Organizacija jugoslovenskih nacionalistov v Italija), established in 1925 in Friuli-Venezia Giulia. ORJUNAVIT members, recruited from the ranks of the Yugoslav minority in Italy, Yugoslav refugees from Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Italian antifascists, spread antifascist propaganda, gathered intelligence of military and political importance, and performed acts of sabotage of military objects and traffic networks (IAS, SI AS 1931, 935-600-12, dokument: Elaborat o Orjuni.). According to the data of the Italian Ministry of Interior, ORJUNAVIT performed 99 acts of terrorism and sabotage in the period between 1926 and 1930 (Кацин-Wohinz, 1987, p. 91).

The ORJUNA ideologues had a very negative attitude towards Austria as the successor of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and Habsburg pretensions on the Balkan Peninsula. This position was most explicitly expressed in the article “*Balkan affairs*,”²¹ in which the anonymous author called the Austrian capital Vienna the centre in which various anti-Yugoslav forces – from the Croatian Habsburg, through clerical and Hungarian nationalists to Soviets helping the operation of the Communist

¹⁸ Anonim, Dve metode, *Pobeda*, year I No.6, 17 September 1921

¹⁹ Anonim, Sacro egoismo, *Jugoslavija* (Belgrade) year II No.26, publication number is illegible (1928)

²⁰ Anonim, Italija i naše duhovno jedinstvo, *Pobeda* year VII No. 10, publication number is illegible (1927)

²¹ Anonim, Balkanske stvari, *Vidovdan* year V No. 322, 28. 2. 1926.

party in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes from their embassy could gather and act without obstacles. The main point of dispute between two neighbouring states, according to ORJUNA, was the Austrian province of Carinthia. This dispute dated from the final stage of the First World War – the spring of 1919, when forces of Slovenian volunteers, trained and armed by the Serbian Army, entered Carinthia and Styria with the intention of joining these two provinces to the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The Entente Powers made the decision to solve the issue of the disputed territories by plebiscite in 1920, so the majority of Carinthia remained in Austria, while the part of Styria with Maribor became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. This undeclared war contributed to the ideological radicalisation in the Slovene area of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and to the spread of the ideology of integral Yugoslavism, which promoted the creation of Greater Yugoslavia – a state which would recover the Carinthian and Styrian territories settled by Slovenian population. A big number of Slovenian ORJUNA members participated in this undeclared war, and Carinthia and it being joined to the Yugoslav state were the topics of many articles in ORJUNA publications²². In the territory of Carinthia, during the twenties, ORJUNA formed an illegal organisation under the name Fantovska zveza. Organised similarly to ORJUNAVIT, Fantovska zveza performed armed attacks on representatives of the Austrian government and local Austrian nationalists on the territory of Carinthia (Croatian State Archive, Regime and reactionary organizations - group VII, document No. 855.)

The ideologues of ORJUNA had a decidedly negative attitude towards Hungary. Just like Austria, Hungary was portrayed on the pages of ORJUNA's newsletters as the successor of Austria-Hungary, the age-old enemy of the Yugoslav people, and the main supporter of the anti-Yugoslav coalition led by fascist Italy²³. The ORJUNA accused Miklós Horthy's regime of financing the irredentist organisations of the Hungarian ethnic minority in the territory of the Kingdom of SCS with the aim of restoring Greater Hungary²⁴. ORJUNA demanded that the forces of the Little Entente occupy Hungarian territory in order to protect the Ver-

²² Anonim, Diplomacija iredentizma, *Pobeda* year I No.7, 24. 9. 1921; Anonim, Beč i Beograd, *Budućnost* year II No.9, 3. 3. 1923; Anonim, Govor Predsednika Direktorijuma brata Leontića, *Pobeda* year V No.40, publication number is illegible; Anonim, Koruška, *Pobeda* year V No.66, publication number is illegible; Anonim, Orjunaši u Koruškoj, *Pobeda* year V No.78, publication number is illegible.

²³ Anonim, Na Budimpeštu, *Pobeda* year I No.12, 29. 10. 1921; Anonim, O potrebi Orjune u Baranji, *Budućnost* year II No.13, 31. 3. 1923; Anonim, Mađarska nam preti ratom, *Vidovdan* year II, No. 82, 8. 9. 1923.

²⁴ Anonim, O potrebi Orjune u Baranji, *Budućnost* year II No.13, 31. 3. 1923.

sailles-based international order in the Danube region. Demanding the preventive occupation of Hungary, the ideologues of ORJUNA pointed to the presence of the Yugoslav population in Baranya, calling for the annexation of this province by the Kingdom of SCS. Although the territory of Baranya was the main goal of ORJUNA expansionists, it is important to say that the aggressive plans of ORJUNA's leadership had a much wider basis. Namely, according to some texts in the movement's printed media, ORJUNA ideologues viewed the Hungarian state also as a 'wedge stuck in the Slavic flesh,' i.e. a physical obstacle separating South Slavs from Western Slavs, thus preventing the establishment of direct links between them, which would further down the line enable the creation of Greater Slavia (Greater Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Russia), which would ensure the dominant position of Slavs in Europe. Accordingly, in its publications, ORJUNA advocated the "liquidation of the Hungarian race" and that the "the Hungarian state be completely erased from the map of the world" (Gligorijević, 1963, p. 343). The expansionist rhetoric of ORJUNA's press, along with the terrorist activity of ORJUNAVIT and Fantovska zveza, additionally compromised the authority and reputation of the Kingdom of SCS abroad, significantly weakening its foreign policy position.

Created on the eve of the First World War in the circles of radicalised younger intellectuals, the theory of integral Yugoslavism got its final form and full affirmation through the activity of ORJUNA on the political stage of the Kingdom of SCS during the twenties of the 20th century. Its creators and protagonists, using the historical constructions and tendentious interpretation of historical sources, created a phantasmagoric myth of the existence of an integral Yugoslav nation, predestined to create a new Yugoslav empire and play a key role in the destiny of Europe. Convinced in the correctness of their theories, ORJUNA ideologues started an uncompromising struggle for the realisation of their political ideals through any means, creating in that way an integral ideology and daily political practice which was unparalleled on the political stage of the Kingdom of SCS.

Emerging during the war, which its creators understood as the final stage of many centuries of Yugoslav national revolution, performed thanks to the uncounted victims of their generation (Jevđević, 1925, p. 3-5), the theory of integral Yugoslavism created a specific cult of struggle and violence, which imposed itself as the fundament of the ideology and practice of ORJUNA. ORJUNA disappeared from the political stage of the Kingdom of SCS with the introduction of a regime of monarchist dictatorship (the 6th of January, 1929), but the ideology of integral Yugoslavism remained present during the thirties through the activity of minor political organisations like Yugoslav Action (Dragosavljević, 2018, p. 264-272), Association of Fighters of Yugoslavia (Dragosavljević 2019b, 234-

255), and the Yugoslav National Movement Zbor (Dragosavljević, 2021, p. 44-59), who built on the political legacy of ORJUNA in their ideological structure. Through the activity of such political groups, the theory of integral Yugoslavism has continued to exist as the main inspirator of politically motivated terror and extremism in the Yugoslav area during the thirties and forties of the 20th century.

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РАЗВОЈ ТЕОРИЈЕ ИНТЕГРАЛНОГ ЈУГОСЛОВЕНСТВА: НОВА НАЦИЈА ЗА НОВУ ДРЖАВУ

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Резиме

У раду је изложена генеза идеологије интегралног југословенства – политичке теорије по којој Срби, Хрвати, Словенци и Бугари представљају племена јединственог југословенског народа који насељава пространу територију од Сегедина до Солуна, и од Јадранског до Црног мора. Поникла у круговима универзитетски образоване омладине јужнословенских провинција Хабзбуршке монархије крајем 19. и почетком 20. века, ова теорија и њени заступници одиграће важну улогу у успостављању прве југословенске државе, те и у динамици њеног политичког живота. Служећи се псеудонаучним конструкцијама, идеолози интегралног југословенства креирали су југословенски идентитет као прогресиван, али економски и политички обесправљен. Наступајући као ексклузивни тумачи историје и историјске улоге јединственог југословенског народа, присталице теорије интегралног југословенства окупљене унутар покрета Организација југословенских националиста (ОРЈУНА) повеле су бескомпромисну борбу за остварење својих политичких циљева. Служећи се агресивном реториком и систематском употребом терора у обрачуна са политичким неистомишљеницима, припадницима националних мањина и суседним државама, присталице интегралног југословенства успоставиле су политичку праксу која није имала пандан на југословенским просторима. Иако је сама ОРЈУНА нестала након успостављања личног режима краља Александра 1929. године њен политички легат наставио је да egzистира кроз рецепцију орјунашке теорије интегралног југословенства у политичким програмима политичких група попут Борачке организације Југославије, Југословенске акције и Југословенског народног покрета Збор, позиционирајући се на тај начин као идејна основа десног екстремизма на југословенским просторима током тридесетих и четрдесетих година 20. века.