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Revija ***Dve domovini • Two Homelands*** je osrednja slovenska znanstvena revija, namenjena objavi izvirnih znanstvenih in strokovnih člankov, ki obravnavajo različne vidike migracij. Revijo je leta 1990 ustanovil Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti in izhaja dvakrat letno v slovenskem in angleškem jeziku. Vsi članki so dvojno anonimno recenzirani.

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T E M A T S K I   S K L O P

T H E M A T I C   S E C T I O N

THE HISTORY OF STATE-DIASPORA RELATIONS IN  
CENTRAL AND SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE  
ZGODOVINA ODNOSOV MED DRŽAVO IN DIASPORO  
V SREDNJI IN JUGOVZHODNI EVROPI





## INTRODUCTION: TALKING PAST EACH OTHER AND OTHER CATCH-22 SITUATIONS: STATES, EMIGRATION, AND “DIASPORAS”

Ulf BRUNNBAUER<sup>1</sup>

COBISS: 1.20

Neither migrants nor minorities always behave the way their governments want them to. This reality is a lesson that Yugoslavia, in both its embodiments, frequently made—amplified by the fact that both the interwar kingdom and the post-war communist regime pursued ambitious nation-building projects. These projects addressed not only the domestic population but also emigrants coming from its territory. In a region where minority issues and migration intersected in complex ways, such projects could go only wrong, one might have predicted. And they often did when policymakers and local bureaucrats struggled with inherently contradictory agendas.

Such was the experience of the captain of the district of Bitola in Southern Serbia, today North Macedonia, in 1925 (Brunnbauer, 2016: 238–239). He was caught between the government’s official and hidden agendas and their implication on the question of who was allowed to leave and who was not. As is well known, officially, there was neither a Bulgarian nor a Macedonian population in “Southern Serbia”—the Slavs there were considered Serbs after Serbia had occupied Vardar Macedonia in the Balkan Wars. So, they belonged to the titular nation of the tri-unite kingdom, which also meant that they should be discouraged from emigration: interwar Yugoslavia pursued an ethnically differentiated emigration policy. “A-national elements,” that is, members of the large non-Slavic minorities such as Hungarians, Albanians, Turks, and Germans, should be encouraged to leave. At the same time, “national” families should be denied permission to emigrate. This policy was unofficial because the Law on Emigration, passed in 1921, did not include any ethnically discriminating language. But the government commanded local authorities, who issued passports, to not hand out passports to “national elements” of whom they assumed they might emigrate. The government even tried to prevent the return of citizens who belonged to one of the large “a-national” minorities. In the distribution of the few immigrant US visas allocated to Yugoslavia, a clear preponderance of regions with large minority populations is evident.

At the same time, local authorities in Macedonia continued to issue emigration passports to local Slavs until the bold decision to stop this by the district captain

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in Bitola. Why would Macedonians be allowed to leave, although they should be banned from emigration as an official part of the titular nation? Why did the unofficial minority policies thwart the unofficial emigration policies? The local authorities in Macedonia were aware that many local Slavs did not identify as Serbs, their official nationality. They either supported Bulgarian irredentism—brought into the province by the IMRO organization that operated from safe havens in south-western Bulgaria—or felt a separate Macedonian consciousness. For this reason, behind closed doors, the authorities considered them “a-national” elements whose emigration should be facilitated. Upon consultation from lower-level authorities, the Ministry of Social Policy, which handled emigration matters in interwar Yugoslavia, declared that “regarding the emigration of national minorities, the Ministry shares the view that their emigration must be favored”—hence acknowledging that there was a Bulgarian or Macedonian minority in “Southern Serbia” that created problems (Brunnbauer, 2016: 239).

Until the district captain decided otherwise in 1925 and stopped issuing passports, thereby causing frustration in the government, he argued that locals used passports to travel to Bulgaria, where they received Bulgarian passports allowing them to migrate overseas. Many of them would join pro-Bulgarian and anti-Yugoslav organizations in North America and Australia, where concentrations of immigrants from Macedonia had existed since the beginning of the twentieth century. These groups promoted the separation of the Serb-controlled part of Macedonia from Yugoslavia and its transfer to Bulgaria. They also supported the terrorist IMRO organization that killed government officials in Macedonia. Successive Bulgarian governments supported these pro-Bulgarian emigrant organizations. The Yugoslav General Consul in Chicago confirmed that in 1925, writing that many of the immigrants from “Southern Serbia” were successfully recruited by the anti-Yugoslav “Macedonian Political Organization” (MPO) in the United States. They were lost to “our propaganda” because they “are forced to find jobs here with the help of their compatriots who had settled earlier and thus maintain bonds with the *Bugaraši* [Bulgarophiles]. They join their organizations. This is made even easier by the fact that the local Serb colony has completely different customs and a different mentality than our Macedonians” (Archive of Yugoslavia, n. d.).

As a matter of fact, the MPO, established in Indiana in 1922, was quite a formidable organization, maintaining an interest in the Macedonian “struggle” and distributing Bulgarian propaganda among many immigrants from Macedonia. Their conventions attracted thousands of participants. To prevent immigrants from Yugoslav Macedonia from joining the MPO, Yugoslavia’s Consul General to Chicago suggested halting Macedonian emigration. The Ministry for Social Policy responded by reiterating its preference for facilitating minority emigration, thus acknowledging the existence of a Bulgarian minority in Macedonia. The Ministry wrote that it was well known that members of the Bulgarian and Hungarian minorities supported irredentist causes and, therefore, preferred for them to leave for good. However, the Ministry was

also aware that many emigrants would continue their anti-Yugoslav propaganda abroad. Therefore, it requested other ministries to opine on the question “whether these elements are more dangerous within the borders of the state or abroad, i.e., whether their emigration should be favored or obstructed” (quoted in Brunnbauer, 2016: 238). The government, thus, became aware that its repressive minority policies and the facilitation of minority emigration actually contributed to the creation of a disloyal and anti-Yugoslav counter-diaspora. The question for them now was, where did these people cause less trouble: at home, where the police could observe and repress them, or on the other side of the Atlantic, far away, yet also out of the state’s sovereign purview.

The articles of this special issue of *Dve Domovini / Two Homelands* look at the policies of governments in Central and Southeastern Europe in the early twentieth century toward emigrants and, on the reverse side of this relationship, the attitudes of emigrants toward their “home country.” These explorations contribute new knowledge not only to the complex migration history of the region but also to our understanding of the politics of belonging in a time of intensified nation and state-building. In the introduction to their seminal volume on the connection between citizenship and the politics of emigration, Nancy Green and François Weil contend that “Defining emigrants was thus part of a larger process of defining citizens (and their obligations), national character, as well as the notion of a cultural nation” (Green & Weil, 2007: 3). Our special issue builds on this insight and positions “diaspora” and governments’ outreach toward emigrants firmly in the politics of belonging and national identification. It also makes a case for the special interest of Central and Southeastern Europe in the twentieth century for a discussion of these issues: it is here where persistent emigration of different kinds intersected with particularly dynamic and contradictory nation-building processes. These are not the result of any innate proclivity of Central and Southeastern European societies toward nationalism but of the frequency of border changes and the difficulty to carve out national spaces in an ethnically heterogeneous region, where embordering almost naturally became a vexed and contested matter.

These complexities are also evident in the politics of emigration, as our special issue aims to show. In this region, transnationalism is very much a product of the transterritorial nature of spaces of national belonging, and vice versa: the transterritorial nature of nations stimulated transnational practices “from the top” and “from below.” The ideal-typical case is Greece and the Hellenic nation, where “the transterritorial conception of the national subject was a constitutive element of modern Greek nationalism from the moment of its genesis and thereafter” (Laliotou, 2004: 54). But to different degrees, these entanglements are evident in most other nation-building projects in the region. Our special issue has, thus, two main objectives. *First*, it showcases the importance of Central and Southeastern Europe as a laboratory of modern emigration and diaspora politics, as they have emerged since the late nineteenth century. The concern for “diasporas,” evident today in dedicated

ministries and state agencies, is nothing new in this region. Like Nancy Foner (2000), we provide further evidence for the continuity of transnational connections and especially highlight the state's role for them. *Second*, the contributions evince the heuristic productivity of out-migration for elucidating concepts and techniques of nation and state-building. The amount of political attention and capital spent by modern states on attempts to control and regulate migration indicates that migration obviously touches some of the fundamental tenets of modern statehood. Migration threatens to dissolve what Charles Maier has described as the congruence between "decision" and "identity spaces," to which modern states aspire (Maier, 2000). They do undertake measures to remedy this problem. Hence, the study of migration—even if it might not seem so important from a purely quantitative point of view—tells us a lot about the modern state and its politics of sovereignty.

Conceptually, the special issue builds on Rogers Brubaker's urge to not take groups and collective identities for granted but consider them as projects manifest in concrete practices. Diasporas often were, and still are, characterized in essentialist terms—especially by those who make claims toward or in the name of the "diaspora." Nationalists come up with grossly inflated numbers of their "diasporas," counting any offspring of the original emigrants as their members, regardless of how many generations they might be detached or how they identify themselves. Brubaker, in contrast, thinks of diaspora

In the first instance as a category of practice, and only then ask[s] whether, and how, it can fruitfully be used as a category of analysis. As a category of practice, "diaspora" is used to make claims, to articulate projects, to formulate expectations, to mobilize energies, to appeal to loyalties. It is often a category with a strong normative charge. It does not so much describe the world as seek to remake it (Brubaker, 2005: 12).

The articles of this special issue showcase that diasporas indeed are neither fixed nor bounded entities but "stances, projects, claims, idioms, practices" (Brubaker, 2005: 12). This does not mean that they are not real: as this special issue shows, we can explore how, why, and by whom diasporas are constructed, how states and other home-grown actors attribute identities on those who have left, how emigrants form groups that pursue home-oriented projects. The articles also highlight the shifting boundaries of identity spaces, the floating nature of emigrant identifications, and the contingent character of diasporic belongings. Dramatic events in the home country, such as war or natural disaster, might stimulate temporary diasporas which do not survive long beyond the triggering event. Diaspora, thus, is not only a project but also a process: diasporic identities thin out. If not predicated upon institutions, they may fade away, as most emigrants have other day-to-day concerns than to spend their time thinking about identity and formulating projects that address issues in far-away places. For this reason, state policies are important for the stability of diaspora identities, either because the home state provides support for its emigrants or

because the host state wants to use immigrants for its foreign policies toward their native country and provides institutional support.

The second body of research upon which this special issue builds explores the politics of belonging in connection with mass emigration. It appears that those European countries where massive overseas emigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries coincided with intense nation-building were particularly likely to engage in diaspora-building efforts. The paradigmatic case is Italy, where the government soon after unification started with attempts to control emigrants and bind them to the new nation-state. Mark Choate and Donna Gabaccia have impressively analyzed the Italian national state's motivations, strategies, and measures to convert the millions of Italian emigrants into a loyal diaspora. They were expected to feel continuous affiliation for Italy, rally for its support, send money, and, if the times dictated, heed to its call for war. Italy, thus, became an "emigrant nation" (Choate, 2008: 2; cf. Gabaccia, 2000). Italy pioneered a range of techniques to maintain the emigrants' loyalty and foster their return. The first Law on Emigration was passed already in 1888. In 1901, the government set up the General Emigration Commission, and in 1908, the Italian Colonial Institute helped organize the first congress of the *italiani all'estero*. These measures were discursively framed in terms of the "global" Italian nation and rooted in the sense of a unifying civilization that allowed one to remain Italian wherever one lived (very similar to the Greek concept of a transnational Hellenic nation—see Laliotou, 2004). These policies had real-life consequences—for example, the continued right to vote in Italian elections even while being a citizen of a different country or the liberal extension of citizenship to the offspring of emigrants. Yet, as Donna Gabaccia's work makes clear, official concepts of diaspora identity ("Italians abroad") and the self-perceptions of such addressed people could be notably different, as emigrants professed regional, local, or other forms of sub-national identity (Gabaccia, 2000) if other ambitious diaspora makers had only learned from that lesson.

Similar policies were observed by the Kingdom of Hungary, whose emigration experts studied the Italian model, or by interwar Poland. On the example of Slovak emigrants in the United States, Monika Glettler (1980) has analyzed the policies of the government of the Kingdom of Hungary to facilitate minority emigration, to prevent minority organizations abroad to support their discriminated brethren in Hungary, and to maintain the loyalty of Magyar emigrants in America. Interwar Poland tried to steer emigration toward countries where the government hoped Polish emigrants would maintain their national identity because the host society was considered to have less civilization and thus less assimilatory appeal. This attitude pertained especially to Latin American countries. The government of the second Polish Republic and more than 20 non-governmental associations carried out activities to bind the trans-Atlantic *Polonia* to the new state. In 1929, the first congress of Poles abroad took place, which resulted in the establishment of the "Organizational Council of the Poles Abroad" (*Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy*). The Polish

case also highlights the ethnic discrimination often built into these activities. The diaspora outreach was targeted exclusively toward ethnic Poles. At the same time, the government in 1936 developed a plan to assist the departure of ethnic minorities (especially Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Jews) from Poland (Gabaccia et al., 2007: 78–80). Interwar Yugoslavia, thus, was in good company. What was at stake here is summarized by Donna Gabaccia, Dirk Hoerder, and Adam Walaszek in their comparative explorations of German, Italian, and Polish attitudes toward the “diaspora”:

Discussions of how emigrants spread Polish, Italian, and German influence internationally also revealed a transition that we might characterize as a shift from predominantly cultural or romantic to increasingly racial or biological understandings of the three nations. [...] States saw them as potential “transmission belts” to encourage support for the changing foreign policies of the homeland (Gabaccia et al., 2007: 81).

Hence, while more often than not diaspora builders faced disappointing results as emigrants would neither behave nor identify in the ways they had designed for them, these pursuits were relevant beyond their immediate result or failure: they helped to solidify ethnic definitions of national belonging, centered on “culture,” descent, or even “blood.” At around 1900, in places like Hungary and Croatia, or among Polish national activists, the triumph of the ethnic definition of the nation and of citizenship had not yet been a forgone conclusion. Influential intellectuals and political groups still articulated more inclusive, political concepts of the nation, which would have allowed the integration of diverse linguistic or even confessional groups. However, the emigration experience and the identity policies toward emigrants helped to shift the debate decisively toward the ethnic conceptualizations of nationhood, as shared culture seemed the only possible clamp powerful enough to bind dispersed populations to their “motherland.” So, it is not only debates about immigration but also about emigration that led to a narrowing of viable identity options, as belonging became increasingly ethnicized.

The contributions to this special issue make clear why these problems were particularly vexed in Central and Southeastern Europe. The authors highlight important intersections between empire and nationalism, between sending and host state, between majority and minority relations, between irredenta and emigration politics. At the points of all these intersections, contradictions and contestations appeared that changed the initial vector of state agendas. The emigrants’ own agendas often undermined policies to create loyal diasporas, and migrant communities were invariably shaped by the divisions of their native country, such as regional and religious attachments. Diaspora hopefuls also often faced the question of which kind of loyalty to prioritize—policymakers fretted, for example, of socialist leanings of their “emigrants,” even if they belonged to the right nationality. Thus, diaspora-building and emigrant self-organization were rarely

congruent, and policymakers and emigrants were sometimes forced into awkward compromises. For example, the emigration organizations called *Matica*, established in the Yugoslav republics in the 1950s, reached out to non- or even anti-communist emigrant organizations in the United States. The socialist Yugoslav authorities also cooperated with Catholic parishes abroad in caring for the needs and loyalties of the *Gastarbeiter* emigrants in the 1970s. Theodora Dragostinova (2021) has shown on the example of socialist Bulgaria's ambitious cultural diplomacy during the 1970s that—as long as a shared commitment to propagating Bulgaria's grandeur was maintained and overtly anti-regime rhetoric avoided—state officials learned to interact with anti-communist diaspora activists. Central and Southeastern Europe, thus, have not only a long but also a very colorful history of government engagement with emigrants.

Two contributions address diaspora policies and emigrant identifications in the context of the Habsburg Monarchy, which in the decades before World War I was one of the prime sending countries of emigrants to the United States. More than 3.5 million people left the Dual Monarchy since the 1870s, in roughly equal numbers from its two constitutive parts, Austria and Hungary. **Ursula Prutsch** follows two successful emigrants from Dalmatia, which was then the poorest part of Austria and at the same time a laboratory of contested nation-building projects. One of them, Nikolaus Mihanovich (born 1844), left Dalmatia in 1868 for Argentina, where he became the owner of the largest shipping company in Latin America, employing many fellow countrymen. He became a stalwart of loyalty toward Austria-Hungary, serving as honorary consul. In contrast to him, Pascual Barburizza (born in Dalmatia in 1875), who became a rich mining tycoon in Chile, supported the struggle of his Slavic countrymen against the “prison of nations” with massive financial donations. During World War I, the space for pro-Habsburg activities and sentiments notably narrowed, while South-Slavic emigrants in Latin America organized for the “liberation” and unification of their territories. Prutsch shows two things. Emigrants coming from a pluri-ethnic background, such as Austria in general and Dalmatia in particular, could identify in very different, hardly predictable ways. These diverging articulations of belonging reflected divisions in the native country. Yet, with a changing foreign policy context, immigrants had to redefine themselves, especially those who ran the risk of being identified with an enemy in war.

**Kristina Poznan** also focuses on emigrants from Austria-Hungary, but this time primarily those from the Hungarian “half.” She highlights the efforts of Austro-Hungarian diplomacy, faced with such a massive emigration, especially to the United States, to protect the emigrants and maintain their loyalty toward the monarchy. After all, they were supposed to come back. Emigrants were quite happy to accept the support of consuls for their day-to-day problems or being repatriated when they fell into destitution. Hungary's ambitions, though, were more far-reaching. The “American Action,” launched by the Prime Minister's Office in Budapest, aimed to link Magyar emigrants to the Kingdom of Hungary and its government more firmly.

Working through “loyal” clergy, subsidizing immigrant newspapers and organizations, and trying to isolate migrants from elements unfriendly toward the monarchy were among the arsenal of measures taken. At the same time, the Hungarian government tried to stifle separatism among Slavic immigrant organizations in the United States. The transnational state efforts at imperial loyalty sparked protests by Slavic immigrants from Hungary in America, most notably Slovaks, who protested when prominent representatives of the Hungarian regime visited the United States. In the context of a pluri-ethnic emigrant community from a pluri-ethnic country, several of the more narrowly ethno-nationalist diaspora-building efforts created a backlash even as other support services remained utilized.

The contribution by **Miha Zobec** offers a uniquely complex case of intersecting historical changes. By evaluating state-diaspora relations in the case of two distinct groups of Slovenian speakers, Zobec highlights the importance of historical legacies and the entanglement of minority and diaspora policies in the interwar period. Slovene-speaking emigrants from the Prekmurje region, which had been part of historical Hungary, were reluctant to embrace Yugoslavia, even though the Yugoslav authorities considered them part of the titular nation. Yet before 1918, when most of these emigrants had left, neither the Slovenian nor the Yugoslav national idea had gotten much traction in this rural, conservative corner of Hungary. In contrast to them, emigrants from the Julian March, which after 1918 was ruled by Italy and where the Slovenian population faced severe discrimination, were fond of the Yugoslav idea. It appears that in the first case, translocal (and less politicized) links based on family and local affiliations and amplified by Lutheran priests were more important than transnational ones. In contrast, emigrants from the Julian March could link their personal fate to a larger narrative, that is, the fight against fascism and for the liberation of Yugoslavia’s “unredeemed” territories. Analyzing immigrant press and material of the Yugoslav embassies, Zobec also shows that the Kingdom of Yugoslavia alienated even well-inclined emigrants.

Staying with emigrants from the territory of Yugoslavia in the United States, **Ethan Larson’s** piece forces us to question the salience of ethnicity for identifying with a diaspora. “Trans-ethnicity,” another concept coined by Rogers Brubaker, led to identifications with the Serb cause not predicated on descent but conviction. Larson presents five intriguing cases and their background: the reporter Ruth Mitchell, “a quintessential old-stock American” of Scottish ancestry, who even fought with the Chetniks in occupied Serbia; the Californian actress Eleanor Calhoun, who joined pro-Serbian circles during the Balkan Wars, when Serbian nationalists welcomed anyone in their “diaspora” as long as they supported their cause; the Pennsylvania born musician and singer Johann M. Blose, who after getting in touch with Serbs in Pittsburgh established a Serbian singing society in 1928; Charles DeHarrack, a Jewish-American musician who set up his own Serbian singing society in Cleveland; and finally the filmmaker Frank Melford, who in 1932 produced one of the first sound-films in Serbo-Croatian. In these intriguing stories, Larson shows that official



Yugoslav policies toward its “diaspora” were not always coherent because different actors pursued diverging agendas. At the same time, such far-away causes such as Yugoslavia’s unification and Serbia’s liberation had enough appeal for people without any direct family connection to become enthusiastic supporters, thereby carving out a small role in history for themselves.

**Vesna Đikanović** continues the discussion of the relationship between the complex realities in Yugoslavia and its connections with “its” emigrants and the relations among different emigrant groups. The emigrants claimed by Yugoslavia represented the multi-layered heterogeneity of the country, coming from different polities, speaking different languages, and adhering to different faiths. Times of extremes can accentuate and overcome such divisions, which is what Đikanović reveals in her analysis of humanitarian efforts by Yugoslav emigrants of different political convictions during World War II. The unification of pro-liberation immigrant organizations under one roof was a difficult task, given their fundamental disagreements over the political setup of Yugoslavia. Slovenian, Serb, and Croat immigrant organizations in the United States pursued different visions for “their” country after eventual liberation. Neither were they unanimous between themselves as their political leanings reached from left to right. Nevertheless, the humanitarian needs of war, the successes of Tito’s partisans, and the pressure by US foreign policy helped achieve more cooperation than any time before and after that. From Đikanović’s analysis, we can conclude that diasporas are events.

Finally, **Anna Mazurkiewicz** takes the story into the Cold War as another period of far-reaching politicization of foreign policy. The dramatic event of the communist takeover helped diasporas to flourish as emigrant activists suddenly had a new political mission and enjoyed support from governments. Both sides in the bloc confrontation tried to win “hearts and minds.” Émigrés played an important role in that. Communist regimes, for example, invited like-minded emigrants to repatriate. The United States and other Western powers, in their turn, supported anti-communist exile groups hoping to affect change behind the Iron Curtain. State and private cooperation led in 1949 to the establishment of the National Committee for a Free Europe (in 1954, renamed Free Europe Committee), which supported the anti-communist émigré association. The Soviet Union and its allies worked to undermine it, indicating that the Cold War was also a period of intense transnational contestation. In the 1950s, the Free Europe Committee successfully influenced public opinion, especially in the United States, which lived through a wave of intense anti-Communism. Communist repatriation campaigns were less successful—in the Polish case, where numbers were high, many “repatriates” were people forced to leave their homes in those parts of Poland that the Soviet Union had annexed. So again, minority and migration policy became intertwined.

With this special issue, we hope to provide new explanations why the assumption that there is a “diaspora” is so widespread and powerful in Central and Southeastern Europe. On the one hand, this idea is grounded on discourses and political responses

triggered by persistent migration since the nineteenth century. On the other hand, it reflects the complexities of nation-building in a pluri-ethnic region with recurrent border changes. The envisioned diasporas were a chronotopos, in which the timeline of national awakening merged with the spatial spread of the nation. The appreciation of diasporas also had a compensatory function, giving a positive spin to emigration rather than scrutinizing the failure of the native country to retain people. The authors of this special issue show that diaspora is not a natural form of being but a cognitive and political construct—and, as such, it is something real, as people do certain things because they believe to be a diaspora or are addressed as such. Such as any other group category, the diaspora needs constant work to be maintained; it is especially fluid and volatile because it is not built on the solid foundations of a state apparatus. Identities like these, which are not daily reproduced by powerful institutions governing the lives of their citizens, can quickly emerge but are also likely to quickly dissipate if no institutionalization happens. However, the very fact of the possibility of becoming a diaspora was not completely random and contingent. The various state-led diaspora-building initiatives contributed to fertilizing the soil from whence—at least short-lived—diaspora identities could grow.

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# THE HUNGARIAN STATE AND DIASPORIC INTERVENTION IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

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## ABSTRACT

### **The Hungarian State and Diasporic Intervention in the United States in the Early Twentieth Century**

Austria-Hungary's leaders were highly interventionist in their response to trans-Atlantic migration, eager to maintain loyalty among their diaspora in America. This article explores the very active role that the Austro-Hungarian government—especially the Hungarian Prime Minister's Office—played in overseeing migrant loyalty in the United States from 1902 until World War I, examining both its successes and the protests it inspired. Intervention followed migrants overseas: the government integrated itself into the migration bureaucracy and attempted to integrate the home government into migrants' American lives through the press, churches, and cultural events. Several of Austria-Hungary's efforts to maintain the loyalty of its migrating citizens backfired, sparking protest.

**KEYWORDS:** migration, Austria-Hungary, American Action, Pan-Slavism

## IZVLEČEK

### **Kraljevina Ogrska in diasporična intervencija v ZDA v zgodnjem 20. stoletju**

Avstro-ogrski voditelji so v odgovoru na čezatlantske migracije delovali zelo intervencijsko, prizadevali so si vzdrževati lojalnost svoje diaspore v Ameriki. Ta prispevek razkriva aktivno vlogo, ki jo je imela avstro-ogrška vlada – še posebej pa Urad ogrskega predsednika vlade – pri nadzoru lojalnosti migrantov v ZDA od leta 1902 do izbruha prve svetovne vojne. Raziskuje tako uspehe politike kot proteste, ki jih je ta povzročala. Intervencija je sledila čezmorskim selitvam – vlada je upravljala s selitveno birokracijo in si je prek tiska, cerkve in kulturnih dogodkov prizadevala za vključitev v življenje izseljencev. Več ukrepov Avstro-Ogrske za vzdrževanje lojalnosti je imelo ravno nasprotno učinke od želenih in je podžgalo proteste migrantov.

**KLJUČNE BESEDE:** migracije, Avstro-Ogrska, Ameriška akcija, panslavizem

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## INTRODUCTION

Austria-Hungary's leaders perceived mass migration as a crisis and were thus highly interventionist in their response to migration to America. The Austro-Hungarian government initially opposed emigration but subsequently decided to insert itself into the process to both restrict and shape migration in ways that might protect citizens while serving the needs of Austria and Hungary. Historian Tara Zahra has argued that policymakers "sought to control and redirect emigration for the good of both migrants and the state" by "transforming mass emigration into purposeful forms of 'colonization,'"—planting and nurturing settlements of citizens elsewhere—"and expanding social protections for citizens abroad, creating what amounted to new transnational welfare states" (Zahra, 2016). Furthermore, Austria-Hungary's intervention sought to keep migrants loyal to their home governments and quash the threat of competing nationalisms. This essay explores the very active role that the Habsburg government—especially the Hungarian Prime Minister's Office—played in ensuring migrant loyalty in the United States from 1902 until World War I. Alongside its successes, Austro-Hungarian state intervention in migrant affairs sparked substantial backlash.

Austro-Hungarian officials joined migrants in traveling overseas, putting people on the ground in the United States to watch and work on the government's behalf, and keeping tabs on migrants' American lives through the press, churches, and cultural events and institutions. Austria-Hungary operated way-houses for migrants in New York City, utilized a large and growing consular network on US soil, subsidized several immigrant newspapers and social organizations, sent religious figures to serve migrants' spiritual needs, engaged in cultural education and propaganda, advocated on behalf of its subjects in serious labor problems, and, most controversially, spied on migrants, particularly those whose ideas were perceived as a threat to the empire (Poznan, 2018).

Austria-Hungary's responses to emigration and its actions in the United States reveal some of the challenges of the empire's dualist structure in responding to an issue with both foreign (and therefore joint) and domestic (and therefore separate) implications. Although the Dual Monarchy shared a military and set joint foreign and economic policy, domestic affairs were handled through separate parliaments in Austria and in Hungary. Emigration was not simple to categorize as an exclusively foreign or domestic affair. The empire operated unified consulates in American cities. Still, emigration was also a domestic affair, in the depopulation of districts and counties, different official Austrian and Hungarian ports (Trieste and Fiume), and different internal needs for labor (Phelps, 2013; Steidl, 2020).

Hungarian politicians seem to have concerned themselves with emigration and migrants' lives abroad more actively at the outset of the twentieth century than Austria. As Hungarian-speakers from Hungary increasingly emigrated at the beginning of the twentieth century, following earlier migrations with a greater share of

Slovak- and Rusyn-speakers, Hungarian officials became concerned with maintaining the modest statistical majority, according to many counts, that Hungarian-speakers held within the Kingdom (Puskás, 1982). Hungary not only participated in joint Foreign Ministry initiatives but also intervened more in the lives of its migrants abroad through the Prime Minister's Office and other Hungarian ministries such as the Ministry of Religion, which did not require consensus with Austrian officials.

The Austro-Hungarian government used several strategies to address mass emigration, some of which seemed to or did contradict each other. To limit and control legal migration, Hungary, for its part, defined emigration laws, designated ports of embarkation, and provided a series of migrant services to facilitate the process. From there, the empire traveled across the Atlantic with migrants to support them in their lives abroad bureaucratically, religiously, and culturally, all the while attempting to navigate and avoid offending US governmental authorities. But Austria-Hungary's long reach across the Atlantic could just as easily be manipulative as supportive, especially to Slavic nationalists, and efforts to maintain the loyalty of the empire's citizens regularly backfired.

The controversy surrounding Hungary's transatlantic campaign for migrants' loyalty is encapsulated in a scathing 1906 remark from US Immigration Bureau inspector Marcus Braun, who had emigrated from there himself. He mockingly described the position of the Hungarian government as follows: "Let them gather in the American dollars, but let us continue our paternal [...] supervision. Let us prevent them from assimilating with the American people; [...] let us insist that they, instead of becoming Hungarian-Americans, remain American-Hungarians, let us edit for them their newspapers; let us teach them by our own teachers and preachers; let us continue our control over them. [...] The Government of Hungary," he concluded, "went about the accomplishment of these purposes with a vengeance" (Braun, 1906).

## EMIGRANT HOUSES

The Austro-Hungarian government joined other European governments in establishing quasi-governmental immigrant homes in the United States. Each had an official agent at Ellis Island to advise new arrivals. They offered subsidized food and lodging to migrants staying overnight in New York before continuing to their final destinations or, longer, as they sought permanent lodging and employment in the city. The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry supported at least three homes with the stated purpose of preventing imperial citizens from being swindled. The curious division of these houses—one for German-speakers from the empire, a Hungarian Home for migrants of all nationalities and languages from the kingdom, and a "Polish" (Austrian Pole) house for Catholic Slavic-language-speakers broadly—shows how the relationship between loyalty, ethnicity, and religion was very much

in flux. The linguistic, territorial, and religious divisions among the homes show the Austro-Hungarian government's attempt to bureaucratically manage the contested nature of identity among Austro-Hungarians. The nationality politics being debated in the empire about language, race, and citizenship—regarding the rights of nations within states, as opposed to individuals—were also being played out across the Atlantic.

As quasi-governmental but officially US-based institutions, the emigrant houses also illustrate the power dynamics and profound disagreements between Austro-Hungarian officials and various American parties. The Foreign Ministry had to work through US-based boards to operate the homes. It sometimes disagreed with the American operators about who was to be served and at whose expense. US Immigration and Health Department officials also influenced the homes' histories, forcing their temporary closure and stranding migrants in the short term, but ultimately bettering conditions by demanding renovations for reauthorization. Operated by ethnic Americans, subsidized by Austria-Hungary, and overseen by US Immigration Service officials, the emigrant houses operated at the confluence of transnational interests and power.

The Leo House was charged in 1904 with overseeing "immigrants of the German tongue, without difference of race or religion, coming hither from the Austrian Empire." The home received a quarterly stipend of 1250 Austrian crowns to subsidize operating costs. Contracting with the pre-existing immigrant house placed certain restrictions on whom the home was willing to house in exchange for a governmental subsidy; it had previously operated as a German Catholic institution. The agreement with the Austrian Foreign Ministry dropped the religious affiliation. Still, when the home's rector, Urbam C. Nageleisen, was asked by the consul general whether the home would also accept "Italians and Rumanians, hailing from Austria," he replied that "the House is not sufficiently large and spacious enough to accommodate more than those of the German tongue." Nageleisen's letter explicitly excluding those of the "Latin race" exhibits the slippage between "race" and "tongue" (Nageleisen, 1904). But even a stipulation that migrants be German speakers would not make for a mono-ethnic clientele. Among its guests for March 1913, the Leo House's director listed Croats, Poles, Bohemians, and Rusyns, ostensibly all also German speakers.

The situation at the Hungarian House reflected the different priorities of both the Hungarian government and the home's American-based operators. Inaugurating a new institution rather than contracting with an existing one, the Hungarian Relief Society had more liberty in deciding who the home would serve. Dominated by ethnic Hungarians, the home nevertheless would house all migrants hailing from the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, "without distinction of nationality" (von Nuber, 1910). The house opened in 1909 to much fanfare from the immigrant press in New York, among both Hungarian-language and German-language



papers.<sup>1</sup> Advertisements were printed in Budapest in Hungarian, German, Slovenian, Romanian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovak, and Ruthenian, actively soliciting among all potential migrants (von Nuber, 1910). The Hungarian government aimed to simultaneously provide migrant services to the kingdom's subjects and limit minority subjects' potential ethnic separatism by offering services in a Hungarian orbit.

And yet, the Hungarian House still became a site of tensions. Alleged Slavic nationalists tried to have the Hungarian House investigated by US officials on at least two occasions in 1910. According to the home's president, Morris Cukor, false allegations were made against the home by a "pronounced Pan-Slav" with ties to the president of the Slavonic Home, an immigrant aid house not affiliated and in competition with those subsidized by the imperial Foreign Ministry (von Nuber, 1910). In the scramble to offer migrant services, the nationality politics of the Hungarian Kingdom were, to officials' dismay, being played out in New York.

The government-contracted houses did not have exclusive rights to migrants' business; several private institutions competed with them, even without the benefit of subsidies, to further national aims. "Self-identified Polish, Slovak, Czech, or Hungarian associations, homes, and cooperative societies increasingly [...] encouraged migrants to think of themselves as Polish Americans, Czech Americans, or Hungarian Americans, rather than as loyal subjects of the Austrian Kaiser," Zahra (2016) explains. Austrian Consul von Ploennies charged that these national homes were "founded precisely on the rejection of Austrian patriotism" (von Ploennies, 1911). The failure of the Leo House to accept all Austrian migrants further undermined Austria's ability to compete with ethnically oriented houses. Its unwillingness to accept Italian-speakers from the empire might route them to Italian houses operated by the Society for Protection of Italian Immigrants or the Italian Benevolent Institute. With the Italian government, like the Austro-Hungarian government, actively pursuing a close relationship with its migrants abroad, the possibility that Italian-speaking Austrian subjects would associate with an Italian institution could be threatening (Choate, 2008).

The emigrant houses were thus places of both ethnic coexistence and emerging contestation. Of the thousands of pages of archival material on the homes, the only mention of ethnic conflict is bureaucratic—the Slavonic Home's alleged sabotage attempt—rather than any discord or violence among migrants themselves. Transplanted subjects of the same crown, the peoples of the emigrant houses had more in common than their divergent paths in America and the new states formed after World War I suggest. Rather than a multiethnic anomaly, the transnational spaces of the emigrant houses in New York reflect the realities of a diverse empire and the increasingly globalized world accompanying mass transatlantic migration. Through sponsorship of the Emigrant Houses, the Austro-Hungarian government attempted

1 For example, *Szabadság*, Nov. 24, 1909; *Amerikai Magyar Népszava*, Nov. 22, 1909; *Sonntagsblatt der New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, Nov. 21, 1909; *New Yorker Revue*, Nov. 21, 1909; *Morgen-Journal*, Nov. 21, 1909.

to protect and channel migrants in their formative first days in America; after that, the task fell primarily to consuls and clergy.

With a series of consulates abroad, Austria-Hungary could coordinate complicated affairs of citizens in that country (Phelps, 2013). The number of Austro-Hungarian consulates in the United States to assist and oversee migrants mushroomed dramatically in the early twentieth century, performing numerous duties with both practical and ideological purposes. Alongside Washington, DC, New York, and Philadelphia, by World War I, the empire had operated consulates in Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo, St. Paul, West Virginia's Charleston and Clarksburg, along with Pittsburgh, Hazelton, Uniontown, and Wilkes-Barre in Pennsylvania (Agstner, 2012). These consular services were important for migrant workers who intended to return home. Practically, consuls could advocate on behalf of Austro-Hungarian citizens in problems with citizenship, labor, and international exchange. Their areas of assistance varied from helping families locate one another to facilitating the payment of migrants' insurance benefits when they died in mining accidents to family members back home. The consuls did not take a particularly proactive role in ameliorating labor conditions, resolving strikes, or addressing employer abuse, but they *did* help migrants hold companies responsible for paying benefits. Consular offices also promoted imperial loyalty among migrants and surveilled anti-Habsburg or anti-Hungarian activity at the Foreign Ministry's instruction. Many aspects of the American Action program, described more fully below, were coordinated through consular employees, who collected reports from loyal ministers and sent articles from the American immigrant press hostile to the empire back to authorities in Vienna and Budapest. Even if migrants were largely unaware of consular offices' role in surveillance, they had other reasons to complain. In 1911, the Czech-American National Council asked Bohemian deputies serving in the imperial diet in Vienna to lobby for more Czech speakers among the Austro-Hungarian consular agents in the United States to better serve migrants there (The Cesko-Americka Tiskova Kancelar, 1912; The Third Year of Activity, 1912).

Austria-Hungary's bureaucrats aimed to become involved in every phase of migrants' transatlantic journeys, legislating the terms of legal exit, increasingly accessible on the ground in the United States, and encouraging migrants to return home. Austria-Hungary's bureaucratic presence in migration affairs was organized, decently funded, and committed to active intervention abroad. The emigrant houses—the first stop for many arriving migrants—set the tone for continued intervention throughout their time in America.

## MANAGING POLITICAL LOYALTY ON US SOIL: POLITICAL INTERVENTION AND THE AMERICAN ACTION

Austria-Hungary's intervention in migrants' American lives grew as the twentieth century progressed, sometimes in concert with the Foreign Ministry and consular service and, in other cases, outside it. Through this mix of interventions, Austria-Hungary subsidized needed migrant services for all subjects of the empire while simultaneously suppressing Slavic nationalisms at home and abroad. The "American Action" was one of at least three organized programs the Hungarian government pursued to deal with a growing crisis of loyalty to the Kingdom (Benkart, 1983). The Hungarian government's sincere interest in the welfare of its migrants can be viewed as tainted by assimilationist aims. The American Action program, which operated through the Hungarian Prime Minister's Office and Ministry of Religion and Public Instruction, was the most active at attempting to maintain migrant loyalty abroad through the political press, churches, and cultural events and institutions.

The main goals of the American Action were to bolster Hungarian identity abroad to encourage return-migration of Hungarians and to assure that Slavic return migrants were not openly antagonistic to Hungarian political leadership and did not bring oppositional ideas back to Europe. These goals would quickly come into conflict. Attempts to strengthen the Hungarianness of migrants living in the United States antagonized leaders of various Slavic movements and offered Slavic nationalists opportunities to publicize their grievances before the American press and public. This only further confirmed Austria-Hungary's perception of the need to combat Pan-Slavism and Slavic national projects in America. The American Action addressed migrant Hungarian-, Slovak, and Rusyn-speakers in somewhat distinct campaigns, subdivided further by religious denomination, with targeted efforts and programming (Benkart, 1983).

Although much of the work of the Action could be conducted through the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Religion and Public Instruction, foreign financial transactions could not, bringing the joint Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry into the program's administration and into migrant services more broadly to pay expenditures out of Foreign Ministry accounts. The Foreign Ministry was on the same page as the architects of the American Action regarding the press in particular; subsidizing organs of the immigrant press was among their favored investments in managing migrant loyalty abroad.

By offering financial support to newspapers, awarded first and foremost for "patriotism" and fidelity to the empire, the Austro-Hungarian government could assure a patriotic message and that the right kind of information would be passed on to its subjects. One Slovak-language newspaper, the *Slobodni Orel*, justified the continuation of its government subsidy by explaining that it sent free copies of the paper to heavily Pan-Slav areas to try to sway the readership back to imperial loyalty. In another case, when World War I was well underway and the stakes high, the

Foreign Ministry offered 20,000 crowns in start-up costs and a 4,000-crown annual subsidy for a pro-monarchy newspaper to circulate among American South Slavs (Letter to Ottokar Czernin, 1915). Austria-Hungary's support of the immigrant press emphasized the centrality of information, influence, and patriotism in its intervention in the United States.

Hungarian nationalists identified churches as crucial sites of nation-building in the United States as a cornerstone of many migrants' social lives; Austro-Hungarian governmental concern about imperial loyalty and the threat of Pan-Slavic nationalism in America peaked in regard to Slavic newspapermen and clergy. Officials feared Hungary's migrants could be politically compromised through otherwise holy religious observance. As early as 1884, the *Budapesti Hírlap* reported on the political danger of Hungary's Slavic-language speakers associating with other US-based Slavs and called on the government to intervene. "Hungarian Slavs . . . are forced to listen to the homilies of other denominations and Czech Pan-Slav missionaries." Thus, they lamented, "the Slovak brothers in America fall entirely into the hands of Polish and Czech Pan-Slav priests and stuffed with these ideas they return to the homeland" (*Budapesti Hírlap*, 1884).

Officials working on the American Action used churches and the clergy as their primary conduits of intervention. The Prime Minister's Office files contain an elaborate table of Catholic priests serving congregations of migrants from Hungary, featuring their name, nationality, national conduct or attitude, congregation, seminary, diocese served in Austria-Hungary, whether they had ever been fired, whether they promoted an Eastern European diocese in America, etc. The columns on nationality and national conduct illustrate the full range of government diagnoses of Pan-Slavism, from "Slovak Angry panslav" to "very suspicious" to "Hungarian-Slovak loyal," with additional notes to denote the level of threat over whether or not they "scribble" in the press and evidence of alcoholism. A report from Alexander von Nuber, the consul in Pittsburgh, categorized Slovak priests serving in the US into groups: those under Father Januscsek of Scranton, who had appointed a large number of young Pan-Slav clergy in America; and those under Fathers Jankola and Stass, who founded a Catholic newspaper in which Hungary and Hungarians were attacked in articles (von Nuber, 1902).

Austria-Hungary had limited influence over how new American congregations chose their ministers. Still, the Ministry of Religion and Public Instruction and homeland religious authorities tried to intervene, using allies among the loyal clergy. The Braddock, Pennsylvania, parish priest Béla Kazinczy came to the Habsburg consulate in Pittsburgh in April 1902 and asked consul Alexander von Nuber to send patriotic Slovak-speaking priests who could also speak Hungarian to Charleroi and Duquesne, PA, which had started their own congregations. "From a Hungarian cultural perspective, and the state's interest," Kazinczy told von Nuber, "it would be important that a good Hungarian-feeling Slovak-speaking roman catholic priest would end up in these two communities," lest "the leadership of these new communities falls into

the hands of a Czech, Moravian, or Slovak Pan-Slav priest" (Kazinczy, 1902). Von Nuber agreed; the Hungarian government worked through the Reformed Church of Hungary and through the Catholic Archbishop of Esztergom to place ministers and priests loyal to the monarchy in new and vacated American clerical posts. This activity created an international contest over empty pulpits that brought Austria-Hungary into greater contact and sometimes conflict with the Vatican, American Catholic officials, and American Protestant denominations, which all saw the same immigrant churches as fruitful mission fields for themselves.

The most tangible outcome of the American Action was Hungary's subsidizing of Hungarian churches, particularly Reformed churches. The localized funding of Calvinist congregations could make their finances uncertain. The Hungarian government made the salaries of American migrant clergy livable by supplementing their local church paycheck with a government stipend and subsidizing an education back in Hungary for clergymen's sons. So vital were these supplemental salaries that the clergy fell into dire financial straits when World War I prevented them from receiving their stipends (Kuthy, 1918). The greatest ecclesiastical expense was the Hungarian government's refinancing of Hungarian-American church loans through Budapest's General Credit Bank. Churches founded before 1905 often had mortgages with American banks, facilitated by American Reformed or Presbyterian mission projects; many congregations later formally joined the Reformed Church of Hungary and also took advantage of mortgage refinancing. The Ministry of Religion was aware that financial support was the only real way to entice churches away from American denominations to pursue union with the mother church, offering a few hundred dollars in outright grants for building improvements alongside the thousands in loans (Benkart, 1983). Bringing emigrant churches under the umbrella of the Reformed Church of Hungary enabled homeland religious leaders to assure that patriotic candidates served as ministers. Hungarian authorities considered the massive costs of taking on these loans well worth the national and spiritual benefits of union and the potential benefit of thwarting Slavic ecclesiastical separatism.

The Hungarian government's meddling efforts did not go unopposed by Slavic nationalists. In 1902, a group of Slovak and other Slavic priests serving in America published a secret message from an officer at the Ministry of Religion, Ferenc Komlóssy, to the Archbishop of Esztergom, the head of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church. It detailed the steps the Church might take to assure the loyalty to the Hungarian state of minority priests serving in the United States. How Slovak- and Ruthenian-American priests came to possess a copy of Komlóssy's letter is unclear. Still, it quickly became the central document in a Slovak-American propaganda war and Hungarian attempts at damage control. The priests published it in two pamphlets, *Hungary Exposed* and *Memorial Presented by the Roman Catholic Priests of Slovak Nationality*, addressed specifically to the Cardinal Archbishop and Bishops of the United States. *Hungary Exposed* illustrates the backlash against the American Action and how America had become a new front in the elite nationality

politics of the Hungarian kingdom. The pamphlets raise several questions pertinent to Austria-Hungary's interventions abroad more generally: Was there an effective and unobtrusive way to maintain the loyalty of imperial subjects on US soil? Whose responsibility was it to oversee the best interests of migrants coming from Hungary: clergy, the Vatican, American Catholic officials, or Austro-Hungarian officials? What role, if any, would American public opinion play?

Speaking from the government's perspective, Komlóssy justified keeping Slovak- and Rusin-speakers from the Kingdom now in America "under surveillance in the interest of their spiritual guidance," a statement that reveals both the benevolence and chauvinism in Hungary's migrant welfare philosophy (*Hungary Exposed*, 1903). The Vatican seemed to agree to the necessity of serving migrants abroad; the Hungarian government had already made arrangements with the Congregation of Propaganda Fide to appoint an Apostolic Delegate from Hungary to Washington DC to oversee emigrants (von Nuber, 1903). "This great aggregate of humanity in a strange land," Komlóssy explained in *Hungary Exposed*, "is for the most part in the hands of the priests, owing to the profoundly religious spirit of the Slovaks. [...] This great moral factor, however," he lamented, "is unfortunately wielded against us." Only seven Roman Catholic parishes were presided over by patriotic priests, he complained, "while the Slovak and Bohemian priests of Pan-Slavic sympathies, hailing from the Western Highlands lead the other 35" (*Hungary Exposed*, 1903). He explained that the predominance of Western Slovak priests in American congregations was pushing Slovaks closer to Czechs and other Slavs and away from Hungary. He complained of "schismatic bishops" who lured Ruthenian-Americans into joining the Greek Catholic denomination. Migrants, Komlóssy reasoned, "may on their return spread erroneous views among their co-religionists at home." Komlóssy offered two solutions: the government should "prohibit the emigration of [...] hostile spirited priests," and the bishop should send only "well-meaning priests speaking the eastern Slovak dialect" to fill vacancies and a new post, including a list of parishes where patriotic priests might be sent in the future. Priests who were loyal to Hungary should report on Pan-Slavic activity and the conduct of their less trustworthy and even traitorous colleagues (*Hungary Exposed*, 1903).

The protesting priests' most scathing charges in *Hungary Exposed* and the Memorial called the leaked Hungarian report "highly pernicious," featuring accusations of "espionage," "coercion," "intimidation," and, most damningly, "discouraging [immigrants] from American citizenship." The intended secrecy of the document was cast as evidence of "plotting" and "scheming." They highlighted the threat that Hungarian surveillance and intervention posed to American sovereignty. Komlóssy's suggestions, they explained, "would seriously interfere with the rights and privileges of ecclesiastical authorities" in America. "From the time they land at our seaports," the priests assured American audiences, "our Slovak people recognize one country only—that country is the Republic of the United States." Komlóssy's order, they charged, "retards the natural process of Americanization among our Slovak and

Ruthenian fellow countrymen" (Hungary Exposed, 1903; Memorial, 1902). The prefaces to the pamphlets also reveal the tension between the authors' appeal to American sensibilities about immigrant assimilation and their obvious discontent at Hungarian policies. They charged that Komlóssy's interest in the religious welfare of Eastern Slovaks was insincere. "Under the guise of the spiritual necessities of the faithful, it really aims at the political tutelage of the Slovaks and Ruthenians of the Greek rite in the United States. 'Well-meaning priests' does not mean pious, good and efficient priests [...] if he preaches to his people in Slovak and instructs them by means of their native language, in which after all they can best commune with their God, he is doomed to fail" (Memorial, 1902).

The Hungarian government's grievance was not against the use of Slovak itself, as the pamphlet authors charged, but the correlation between language groups and Pan-Slavic views. Indeed, Komlóssy's letter called for *more* Slovak-speaking priests and nuns to serve Slovak-American congregations. The language problem for Hungarian officials was framed—intentionally—as a matter of "dialect." Congregations of Eastern Slovaks in America needed priests who spoke the Eastern dialect, which would conveniently shelter those congregations from priests who spoke the Western Slovak dialect or Czech and were more likely to hold Pan-Slavic or Slovak nationalist views (Hungary Exposed, 1903; Maxwell, 2009). In the wake of the publication of Hungary Exposed, a government communiqué lamented that, before US-bound emigration began, Pan-Slavism had been unknown in the northeastern counties of Hungary, where the eastern Slovak dialect was spoken. The allegedly Pan-Slav Western Slovak priests serving in America now comprised an expansive network of aid organizations seeking to "ply" the people with wide-circulating Slavic-American newspapers, and even, he suggested, *pálinka* [distilled brandy], leading Eastern Slovaks astray. He stated, "the returning Eastern Slovaks take the dangerous seedling [of Pan-Slavism] to heretofore immune soil." According to Hungarian officials, the "Roman Catholic Priests of Slovak Nationality" who wrote to American bishops were not all "Slovak." Among the twenty-nine signatories, they identified seven as Czech and one each as Moravian, Polish, and German; sixteen as Western Slovaks and only two Eastern Slovaks (Memorial, 1902). The sizable number labeled "Czech" and the variety of "Slavs" made it easy to call the dissident priests Pan-Slavic. But what Czech, Western Slovak, Eastern Slovak, Pan-Slav, Magyar, Hungarian, and American all meant in 1903 is not clear-cut. Indeed, the Hungarian government relied on this multiplicity of meaning, intent on convincing Slovak-speakers at home and abroad that Slovak language use or identification and Hungarian loyalty were not mutually exclusive.

The American newspapers that covered the conflict over the leaked Hungarian memo and the ensuing pamphlets reported very differently about the dispute. The *Washington Post* largely took the Slovak- and Ruthenian-American accusations against the Hungarian government at face value, quoting heavily from the pamphlet and offering few additional details. The article headline, "Priest Exposes Plot," echoed

the priests' language in calling Hungarian actions a "scheme." According to the *Post*, the most severe charge was the Budapest government's efforts to "Prevent the Americanization of Slovaks and Ruthenians" (Priest Exposes Plot, 1903). The headlines, however, were more critical than the articles. The *Boston Evening Transcript's* coverage was more restrained. The mildly condemnatory title of "Hungary Active Here ... Tries to Retain Hold on Slavonians and Ruthenians" was quickly followed by more amenable subheadings: "No Objection to Their Becoming Citizens, Seeks Loyalty Only of Those Likely to Return." The *Transcript* relied on Joseph Horvath, editor of the Hungarian-American newspaper *Szabadság*, for additional insights. For him, the defection of Hungarian Greek Catholic churches in America to US branches of the Russian Orthodox church was less a matter of political Pan-Slavism, as the Hungarian government feared, than an expedient practice in linguistically mixed migrant congregations and the lure of Russian financial support. Horvath's reframing put the emphasis not on the invasive actions of the Hungarian state but on their concerns over emigrants likely to return to the empire. "The purpose of this edict was not to make of Hungarians in this country less loyal citizens of America," he assured American readers, "[...] only to avoid sowing the seed of disloyalty among those liable to go back" (Hungary Active Here, 1903). But *Szabadság* was by no means free of propaganda; the paper received subsidies from the Hungarian government and regularly denounced Pan-Slavic activity. Horvath could surely make Hungary's intervention seem innocuous if he wanted to. In a recurring theme of the American Action, it is questionable whether the backlash made the homeland government's efforts worthwhile.

## CULTURAL ACTIONS AND BACKLASH

The American Action and Austria-Hungary's long arm in the United States consistently employed cultural propaganda. Communities of migrants from Austria-Hungary hosted visiting dignitaries, and some groups received banners and statues from organizations in the mother country. Events surrounding these items and people featured prominent cultural symbolism, from the traditional Hungarian goulash and *Dobos* cake served at a visiting journalist's farewell supper to the concerts of Austrian music held in conjunction with the Chicago World's Fair. And yet, these cultural celebrations also became flashpoints for national protest. Alternating jubilation and backlash met much of Austria-Hungary's cultural propaganda, best seen in the arrival of a ceremonial banner in 1902 and visits by Count Albert Apponyi, Hungarian Minister of Education, in 1904 and 1911. The events of his visit might knit the Hungarian-speaking community in America together. At the same time, it became an ideal opportunity for Slovak-speakers to protest his policies back home and his presence in the United States.



In 1902, the Hungarian Nationality League, an organization in Hungary, sent a decorative flag to the United States “For the Hungarian Americans” (Kende, 1927); it was the first major event to bring large numbers of Hungarian-Americans together from different regions of the United States as a coherent immigrant community and with an explicit symbol of the mother country. The celebrations planned for the arrival of the flag and its tour of various Hungarian-American societies successfully nurtured public expressions of Hungarian-ness abroad, in the spirit (if not the jurisdiction) of the American Action program. The flag also illustrates the ways that migration heightened the national consciousness not only of emigrants but also of those who stayed behind: it was a gift from a Hungarian association at home to their compatriots in America.

The dual meaning of “Hungarian”—one of ethnicity and one of citizenship—was enormously significant in the reception of this gift. According to Tihámér Kohányi, then editor of *Szabadság*,

The flag that they are sending refers to the “American Hungarians,” all of us, who were born in Hungary. The Slovak, the Croat, the Romanian, who believes in the sanctity of this flag, should not believe that those who are planning this event or those who only speak Hungarian want to, with this flag, distance those who do not speak Hungarian so, but are the Hungarian homeland’s citizens (Kohányi in Kende, 1927).

Kohányi was perhaps naive, perhaps disingenuous in calling for the participation of all with “true patriotic feeling” (Kohányi in Kende, 1927). The imagery and culture of the event were decidedly Hungarian in the narrow sense: a hundred young women dressed in red, white, and green; a Rákóczi march for the procession music; and speeches in Hungarian and English, not in any other language. The delivery of a flag, so often a symbol of sovereignty, became a point of critique. The series of receptions brought together American Magyars but provoked American Slavic nationalists. Slavic opposition accomplished little in terms of prompting American governmental opposition to the flag or the Hungarian government. Still, the sudden appearance of Hungarian symbolism in the United States galvanized more American Slavs into becoming immigrant nation-builders. Increasingly segregated linguistically in North America, the empire’s former subjects were diverging politically as well.

Apponyi’s opponents—primarily Slovak-speakers and, according to one source, Hungarian-speaking socialists—were quick to get their own perspective into major New York newspapers and to President Roosevelt, but to little avail. Anthony S. Ambrose, president of the National Slavonic Society of the United States, informed the State Department of the flag’s tour and alleged that it was a gift paid for “by official representatives” of the Hungarian government and aimed to prevent migrants’ “absorption into the great body of the American people” (Hale, 1902; *More About that Hungarian Flag*, 1902). Ambrose’s letter failed to elicit objections

from Washington beyond ensuring that a duty would be paid on the shipment. The *Springfield Republican* concluded that “the most jealous patriotic scrutiny fails to detect a menace to American institutions in this banner of the Hungarian people.” Referring to it as a “banner” rather than a “flag,” a verbal distinction non-existent in Hungarian, lessened its association with sovereignty (More About that Hungarian Flag, 1902). The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office insisted to the State Department that “the Hungarian National League which [...] carried out this idea has been actuated in doing so by patriotic, and not political, motives.” “No blame can be attached to anyone,” a Foreign Ministry official reasoned, “who exhorts his countrymen, even when living in a foreign land, to be faithful to their native home” (Mérey, 1902). The State Department briefly looked into the details of the case, noting that the German Emperor had bestowed a similar gift on German singing groups in Chicago and turned to other matters (That Hungarian Flag, 1902). But Slovak-Americans had cooperated in protesting Hungarian incursions abroad, a practice they would find a reason to repeat.

Hungarian Count Albert Apponyi’s American tours in 1904 and 1912 prompted a similar set of reactions: jubilant Hungarian celebrations, Slavic protests, and no opposition from the American government. The mixed reactions to Apponyi’s visit again illustrate the contradictory outcomes of Austria-Hungary’s intervention abroad. A prominent Hungarian aristocracy and government member came to US soil to nurture ties between the mother country and the Hungarian communities abroad. But Apponyi’s tour became a flashpoint for Slavic nationalists to protest Apponyi’s chauvinism and the policies he had enacted. Apponyi was the namesake of Hungarian education laws known as the *Lex Apponyi*, which had prompted the closing of several Slavic-language schools. The backlash to Apponyi’s 1912 visit, in particular, reveals how the American Action failed to assure imperial loyalty beyond Hungarian speakers and even contributed to the sharpening of tensions between Slavic nation-builders and the Hungarian state.

The primary purposes of Apponyi’s visits to the United States were to lecture at Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference and several universities and to nurture Hungary’s ties with the US government. Apponyi met with Theodore Roosevelt during his visits and spoke before Congress in 1904. Western politicians credited him with keeping the peace in Austria-Hungary’s fragile dualist compromise, overlooking his chauvinism on minority policy. Apponyi’s tours fit neatly with the American Action’s goal of promoting Hungarian identity abroad, not only because of American respect for him but, like the traveling banner, creating cultural events that brought together the Hungarian-speaking community across the northeast and Midwest.

Slavic protests during Apponyi’s visit in 1912 were particularly notable (as well as troubling to Hungarian officials) because American Slovaks were joined by Czechs and Poles, groups hardly affected by the *Lex Apponyi*. Czech paper *Denní Hlasatel* reported that “the harassing of Count Apponyi, the archenemy of the Slovak people” was the Czech-American Press Office’s “outstanding achievement” of the

year, noting that it “succeeded in minimizing the ill effects of the Count’s visit to this country” (*The Cesko-Americka Tiskova Kancelar*, 1912; *The Third Year of Activity*, 1912). Indeed, the Washington Festival Committee rescinded Apponyi’s invitation to lecture after threats that protesters would “ruin” the event. Apponyi charged that “a systematic Czech campaign [...] [to] make our Slovak emigrants, at least politically, into Czechs” was responsible. While organizers feared massive Slavic protests at Apponyi’s lectures in Chicago, they were uneventful. The “terrorism,” as Apponyi dramatically phrased it, came later, in the newspaper coverage of the event: “malevolent lies” of “uproar and wild disorder” at the lecture in the Chicago papers, even though the only altercation at the lecture itself, Apponyi claimed, was one hostile question from Hungarian-speaking socialists blasting Apponyi’s lack of support for expanding the franchise (Apponyi, 1935). Furthering the propaganda effort, the Slovak National Committee reprinted critiques of Apponyi by western intellectuals like R.W. Seton-Watson, purposefully using “non-Slavs” as the “witnesses to truth” to convince international audiences of Apponyi’s unwarranted reputation as an “Angel of Peace” (Slovak National Committee, 1911). Opposition to Apponyi’s 1912 visit set the stage for Slavic nation-building actions in response to opportunities in the context of World War I.

## CONCLUSION

Austria-Hungary’s transatlantic reach to maintain migrant loyalty in America included many successes in promoting migrants’ community and church life, particularly for the Hungarian government in regard to Hungarian speakers. It may have bolstered the imperial loyalty of some migrants at the individual level but failed to keep the empire’s national projects from developing rapidly overseas. The empire’s migrant Slavs increasingly embraced conceptions of the nation that operated outside the bounds of imperial loyalty. Many increasingly viewed Hungary as an oppressor, including migrants for whom national oppression played no part in their emigration. Austria-Hungary’s long arm across the Atlantic provided vital services to early twentieth-century migrants, but many chafed at the empire’s cultural propaganda. When Marcus Braun himself interviewed Prime Minister Tisza about Hungary’s emigration intervention and suggested that the American Action’s distribution of patriotic literature, flag tour, and church work created “friction among the various nationalities” coming to the United States from Hungary, Tisza replied, “Why, we have to do something to protect ourselves against Pan-Slavistic disturbances constantly going on and tolerated in the United States” (Tisza in Frank, 1999). The goals of Austria-Hungary’s intervention—to keep migrants loyal to the homeland and mitigate the effects of competing nationalisms overseas—worked against each other.

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## POVZETEK

### KRALJEVINA OGRSKA IN DIASPORIČNA INTERVENCIJA V ZDA V ZGODNJEM 20. STOLETJU

Kristina E. POZNAN

Voditelji Avstro-Ogrske so množične migracije dojemali kot krizo in so se na čezatlantske migracije odzvali zelo intervencionistično, pri čemer so si zelo, zdi se, da včasih celo obupano prizadevali, da bi ohranili zvestobo migrantov v Ameriki Avstro-Ogrskemu cesarstvu. Avstroogrška vlada je emigracijam najprej nasprotovala, nato pa se je odločila, da se vplete v migracijski proces, da bi tako omejevala in usmerjala migracije na takšne načine, da bi teoretično štela državljane, obenem pa še vedno služila potrebam Avstrije in Madžarske. Delovanje države pri na področju migracijskih vprašanj in ohranjanja zvestobe migrantov je bilo agresivno, zlasti kar zadeva nacionalno politiko: vlada je skušala ohraniti zvestobo migrantov do svojih domačih oblasti in nevtralizirati grožnjo konkurenčnih nacionalizmov v tujini. Članek raziskuje zelo aktivno vlogo, ki jo je imela avstroogrška vlada – zlasti urad madžarskega predsednika vlade – pri nadzoru nad zvestobo migrantov v Združenih državah Amerike od leta 1902 do 1. svetovne vojne, ter pri tem obravnava tako njene uspehe kot tudi proteste, ki jih je vzbudila. Vlada je pri svojem delovanju sledila migrantom v tujino: na več ravneh se je integrirala v migracijske birokratske postopke in v ZDA na teren poslala ljudi, ki so opazovali in delali v njenem imenu, ter je poskušala s pomočjo tiska, cerkev ter kulturnih dogodkov in institucij integrirati domačo državo v ameriška življenja migrantov. Avstro-Ogrska je v New Yorku upravljala prehodna bivališča za migrante, uporabljala je obsežno in vse večjo konzularno mrežo v ZDA, subvencionirala številne priseljske časopise in družbene organizacije, pošiljala verske uslužbenke za zadovoljevanje duhovnih potreb priseljencev, pošiljala na obiske visoke predstavnike ter, kar je najbolj sporno, vohunila za migranti, zlasti za tistimi, katerih ideje je smatrala kot grožnjo cesarstvu. Pri tem ni šlo zgolj za simbolna dejanja, ampak tudi za finančno pomoč, vključno s subvencijami medijem in cerkvam. Avstro-ogrška vlada je na zvestobo migrantov v ZDA vseskozi poskušala vplivati na konkretne načine, s katerimi bi se še vedno izognila diplomatskim konfliktom z ameriškimi uradniki. Številna prizadevanja Avstro-Ogrske, da bi ohranila zvestobo državljanov cesarstvu, so se nazadnje izkazala za neuspešna. To velja predvsem za pobude, kot so bili programi American Action, katerih namen je bil krepiti madžarsko identiteto v diaspori ter omejiti vse močnejša slovanska nacionalna gibanja v tujini. Poskusi prvega so redno sprožali proteste, povezani s slednjim.

# BETWEEN NOSTALGIA AND NATIONALISM: EMIGRANTS FROM THE HABSBURG EMPIRE IN SOUTH AMERICA

Ursula PRUTSCH<sup>1</sup>

COBISS 1.01

## ABSTRACT

### **Between Nostalgia and Nationalism: Emigrants from the Habsburg Empire in South America**

This article offers four migration narratives from three states—Brazil, Argentina, and Chile—including biographic approaches and group identities, cultural nostalgia and nationalist resentment. The divergent trajectories of the Dalmatian business tycoons Nicolás Mihanovich in Argentina and Pascual Baburizza in Chile, the celebration of inter-ethnic Austrian-ness in Ijuí (Brazil) vs. the symbolic construction of a “second Poland” by Polish immigrants in Paraná (Brazil) seek to open different windows into the highly complex panorama of Austrian-Hungarian emigration to Latin America. Although approximately 300,000 Habsburg subjects sought there their new homeland, the topic remains underresearched.

**KEYWORDS:** Habsburg Empire, South America, nationalism, supranational identity

## IZVLEČEK

### **Med nostalgijo in nacionalizmom: Izseljenci iz Habsburškega imperija v Južni Ameriki**

Članek predstavlja štiri migracijske pripovedi iz treh držav: Brazilije, Argentine in Čila. Vključuje tako biografske pristope kot prikaze skupinskih identitet, analizira kulturno nostalgijo in nacionalistični odpor. Za ponazoritev kompleksne zgodovine avstro-ogrskega izseljevanja v Latinsko Ameriko članek predstavi zgodbe dalmatinskih poslovnih tajkunov Nicolása Mihanoviča v Argentini in Pascuala Baburizze v Čilu, praznovanje medetnične avstrijskosti v Ijuju v Braziliji ter simbolično oblikovanje »druge Poljske«, ki so jo poljski migranti oblikovali v državi Paraná v Braziliji. Kljub temu, da je okrog 300.000 izseljencev iz Avstro-Ogrske novo domovino našlo v Latinski Ameriki, je bila ta tema doslej deležna le skromnega zanimanja raziskovalcev.

**KLJUČNE BESEDE:** Habsburški imperij, Južna Amerika, nacionalizem, nadnacionalna identiteta

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## INTRODUCTION: HABSBURG IDENTITY VS. ETHNIC NATIONALISM

Nikola Mihanović left Dalmatia in 1868 for Argentina, where he became the owner of the largest shipping company in Latin America. Under the name Nicolás Mihanovich, he employed many fellow countrymen and crowned his career by serving as honorary consul for Austria-Hungary. In neighborly Chile instead, the rich Dalmatian mining tycoon Pascual Baburizza (Paško Baburica Šoletić) expressed his deep resentment against the “prison of nations” by pouring thousands of dollars into the political emancipation process of his Southern Slavic brothers from the Habsburg Empire in World War I. The first two chapters of this essay will examine their roles in Latin America among co-nationals and the repercussions in Austria-Hungary.

The political impact of Mihanovich and Baburizza can be reconstructed, as both Croats have left traces in the papers of the National Archives (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, n. d.) in Vienna. However, thousands of other migrants from the Austro-Hungarian Empire have not. Their stories and social environments were often only recorded when emigrants asked the Austro-Hungarian diplomats for assistance. The reasons for their complaints were manifold. They ranged from economic hardship, exploitation by migration agents and landowners, diseases, and indebtedness to the problems of the religious and inter-ethnic quarrels which the migrants had transferred from Austria-Hungary to the New World.

Three narratives of this article are based on diplomatic sources in the National Archives in Vienna. The fourth narrative on migrants from Upper Austria to Ijuí in Southern Brazil is based on Austrian and Brazilian newspapers and secondary sources. While the establishment of Ijuí could be seen as a success story, it played little role in the communication between the diplomatic personnel and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Vienna. Ijuí is worth examining as a case study, as migration history tends to reconstruct emigration movements between specific states, regions, or/and specific ethnic groups. Thus, it is more common to concentrate on the migration of “Germans,” “Italians,” “Poles,” or to perceive a country as identical with a distinct ethnic group than to focus on multiculturally planned places.

The ethnic and religious complexity of a state entity like the Dual Monarchy is one reason why reconstructing migration movements is difficult and why there are thus so few studies on migrations to the Americas. Some 3.5 million migrants had left the Habsburg Monarchy between 1876 and 1910 for the Americas, with the United States and Canada ranking ahead of Brazil, Argentina, and Chile as receiving countries. An estimated 300,000 subjects of the Habsburg Monarchy migrated to Latin America between 1876 (the beginning of emigration statistics) and 1910 (the year of the Austrian census) in the age of accelerating globalization. The governments in Vienna and Budapest jointly established almost one hundred diplomatic posts, named honorary consuls who were merchants and traders in urban centers or transshipment points of cash crops and mineral resources. The diplomats usually addressed those migrants who worked in urban areas but seldom contacted isolated



small farmers on the “frontier.” (Chmelar, 1974; Englisch, 1913: 119; Phelps, 2015; Prutsch et al., 2017: 22).

Occasionally, commissars from imperial and royal military-geographical expeditions came to visit the colonies. They sought to establish successful trade relations with former subjects of the Habsburg Monarchy. These emissaries were then greeted by the colonists with an inventory of supranational identity, from march music to imperial images, uniforms, and medals, while the visitors donated them scores of the Radetzky March and images of Emperor Francis Joseph. These symbolical acts celebrated persisting transatlantic ties and emotional dependencies but also camouflaged or ignored situations of economic fragility, nationalisms, and anti-Habsburg feelings.

The diplomatic reports that were sent to Vienna seldom reflected the reasons for migration. The diplomatic personnel used to be loyal to the Habsburgs, they had to apply censorship, and the diplomats mostly stemmed from the Austro-Hungarian nobility. Criticisms like that of envoy Baron Hoenning in Buenos Aires, that too few representatives of the Dual Monarchy spoke Croatian, given the strong (South) Slavic migrant community in Argentina, were a rare voice in the elitist self-image of the diplomatic bureaucracy.

The reasons for migration to Latin America were numerous: escape from military service, global modernization processes, the divergence of rich centers vs. socio-economically disadvantaged areas, such as Galicia, Bukovina, Carniola, Küstenland, and Dalmatia. Tenure, geological conditions, and the power of local potentates who did not distribute funds from Vienna “downward” for the development of local businesses, infrastructure, and schools were conducive to emigration. In the peripheries of the monarchy, illiteracy rates were high, and so was the susceptibility to the propaganda of fraudulent emigration agents whose clever strategies alluded to nationality conflicts (Caro, 1909; Fleig Frank, 2007).

The travelogues, memoranda, newspaper reports, and occasional inventories of migrated subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire do not provide an overall picture of emigration movements from the Habsburg Monarchy. They are but fragments of a complex migration history. Many consular archives that would have provided posterity with helpful insights into interethnic coexistence or the search for ethnic identity were never returned to Vienna after the collapse of 1918. Therefore, the reconstruction of a migration history from the pluricultural empire to Latin America is only possible in exchange with other migration researchers from Austria-Hungary’s successor states.

The four narratives presented here are linked together through the topics of transatlantic ties, ethnic nationalism vs. multi-ethnic heritage, tradition, and nostalgia. They are based on the research question, why were some individual actors and ethnic groups interested in maintaining emotional ties, based on nostalgia toward the European Empire, while others saw themselves as agents of an ethnonational mission to punish a hierarchically-structured and socio-economically unjust state from outside, and even contribute to its collapse?

## NICOLÁS MIHANOVICH: THE “KING OF THE PAMPA”

Nikola Mihanović was born in 1844 on the island of Doli near Dubrovnik (Ragusa) into a family of fishermen. Seeking to avoid military service, he migrated to Argentina, adapted his Croatian name to the Spanish-speaking context, and rented a boat with which he piloted larger ships into the river port of La Plata.

In 1874, he caught up with his younger brother Miguel. When both learned that the port of Buenos Aires was going to be expanded, which would make their pilotage services no longer necessary, they found in Gerónimo Zuanich and Octavio Cosulich two Croatian-Argentine partners. After the Triple Alliance war against Paraguay was won and indigenous Argentines were systematically expelled from these territories or killed, they professionalized navigation on the Paraná and Uruguay rivers to transport all the European migrants who had specifically been recruited in Europe as “agents of modernization.” Mihanovich’s group bought powerful steamers and gave them names like Dalmatia and Austria. Likewise, Mihanovich contracted with the Buenos Aires Great Southern Railway for freight transportation. As early as 1887, he offered the first ferry service across the broad delta of the Rio de la Plata between Buenos Aires and Colonia de Sacramento, located in Uruguay. Apart from that, he took over the insolvent La Plata Steamship Company and, at the turn of the century, when he had already been appointed k.u.k. Honorary Consul, he owned fifty steamships and sixty sailing ships. As the owner of the largest coastal fleet in South America, the *Compañía de Navegación Nicolás Mihanovich*, he found his way into the local Austrian press (Agstner, 2012: 130; *Der Schiffspark eines Oesterreicher*, 1896).

His appointment as honorary consul apart from the envoy Raoul Prince Wrede was a reaction to the growing community of Croats in Argentina. Many of them worked for Mihanovich. The *Ostdeutsche Rundschau* of November 30, 1900, reveals that German nationalist trade circles in Austria were irritated by the choice of the wealthy Dalmatian. They publicly wondered what his merits for Austrian interests were and affirmed that Mihanovich was unknown to most Austrians living in Buenos Aires and that he would prefer the migrants of his own nationality: “Our assumption that Mr. Mihanovich has no time to take care of the consulate is confirmed by the fact that in the consulate the German-Austrian and Hungarian are regarded as foreigners, [the] Italians and Dalmatians, on the other hand, as countrymen. This casts a strange light on the view of nationality and patriotism prevailing in this consulate” (*Österreichische Konsularmisswirtschaft*, 1900).

The statement definitely reflects ethno-hierarchical competitive thinking, shaped by prejudices, which sought to see the German-speaking and even German merchants granted a privilege. Mihanovich was not impressed by this insult. In 1908, on the anniversary of the reign of Emperor Franz Joseph, he donated the equivalent of 900,000 euros for the construction of an Austro-Hungarian hospital in Buenos Aires and money for the aid societies *Beneficencia Francisco José I* and *Socorro Mutuo* (Agstner, 2012: 130). His fortune was estimated at two hundred

million euros at the time. His company was listed on the London Stock Exchange; he invested in quebracho wood and wheat mills and acquired 800 km<sup>2</sup> of land in the Argentine province of Chaco, which he named Colonia Dalmacia. With his brother Miguel, he established a social foundation for his hometown of Doli, the *Zaklada-Mihanovic* (Kadic, 1961).

While on August 18, 1911, the Austro-Hungarian Club and the Legation celebrated the birthday of Emperor Franz Joseph with a “*Te Deum*” and a ceremonial act, as they did every year, the supporters of the Club *Zajednica* (Community) thought differently (El Aniversario Austro-Hungaro, 1911). That year, a newspaper of the same name was founded as the successor journal of the weekly *Materinska Riječ* (Mother Tongue) in Rosario de Santa Fé. It claimed to represent all Southern Slavs. The Argentine *Zajednica* was the offshoot of a newspaper launched in the United States. There, nationalist South Slavic groups such as the *Hrvatski Savez* (Croatian League) existed. The cleric Nikola Gršković was particularly active in promoting such associations in North and South America. With its forums, *Zajednica* publicly opposed the House of Habsburg and promoted the independence of Croatia, which—according to Gršković—could also be part of a future Yugoslav state (Martínez-Flener & Prutsch, 2018).

Nicolás Mihanovich, who was awarded the title of Baron in 1912, knew about these nationalist aspirations in Argentina and tried to balance the situation. In return for his title of nobility, he donated a plot of land in metropolitan Buenos Aires to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and built an elegant Art Nouveau palace for the Imperial and Royal legation. Its architect Joseph Markovich stemmed from the Croatian town of Sisak and had built the pavilion of Bosnia-Herzegovina at the Paris World’s Fair in 1900 (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, n. d.).

The new Imperial and Royal Envoy to Argentina, Baron Otto von Hoening, belonged to the minority of Austro-Hungarian diplomats sensitive enough to understand nationalist tones among emigrants. In 1913, he asked the emigrant community for donations to rearm the imperial and royal air forces. His request was met with a series of criticisms. Namely, the Dual Monarchy only cared about its subjects when it needed money but had failed to build schools, hospitals, or other social facilities, as the Germans and Italians had to support their emigrants. Even Hungary would give its subjects of the Hungarian language a hand in the Americas, while the government in Vienna would regard Baron Nicolás Mihanovich as its private paying agent. Hoening’s accounts of the diplomatic dilemma he faced were prescient and reflective. And so, he wrote in July 1913:

It is natural that the large groups of Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes from Austria, as well as from Hungary, come together here on the basis of their language, their same culture, and against this united majority, there is no counterweight available to us here.—So either with them or not at all. To fight against this national current, which, as long as it remains loyal, cannot be denied a certain justification, is no longer

possible; if one ignores our local southern Slavs, the entire colony in Buenos Aires and most of the provinces will be completely lost to us [sic] (Hoenning, 1913a).

Hoenning's conclusions went unheard in Vienna, even when he asked for competent personnel from Austria-Hungary, he lamented "At present not a single concept official in Argentina knows this language [Croatian] and yet the great colony would have some claim to it" (Hoenning, 1913a).

As a counter-strategy to the rising nationalism, Hoenning planned to establish a society of Southern Slavs in Argentina, loyal to Habsburg. An initial name proposal was *Asociación Francisco José*, but the majority Slavic group voted for *Sociedad Eslava Francisco José*, which provoked immediate reactions from the Austro-German-speaking community. The idea of Ban Jelacic was also immediately discarded. Finally, a compromise seemed to have been found with the name *Sociedad Baron Nicolás Mihanovich*, which, however, was again rejected by Hoenning as too personalistic, even though the legation was to be housed in the mansion Mihanovich built (Hoenning, 1913b).

When World War I began, the Mihanovich family donated over two thousand pesos to the Imperial and Royal Air Force (Spenden, 1914). Two years later, Great Britain put pressure on his shipping company, in which the British had shares, because Austria-Hungary was its enemy in the war, although Argentina officially remained neutral. Mihanovich withdrew from his shipping consortium. Probably for war reasons, the property he bequeathed to the Imperial House was not registered in the Buenos Aires Land Registry as property of the Habsburg Monarchy, so Mihanovich revoked the donation in 1918 and dedicated the building to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

## **PASCUAL BABURIZZA, CROATIAN NATIONALISM, AND YUGOSLAV IDENTITY IN CHILE**

Paško Baburica Šoletić stemmed from the same region as Mihanovich, although he belonged to a different generation. He was born in 1875 in the settlement of Donje Celo on the island of Koločep near Dubrovnik into a family of fishermen. After his father's death, the eldest brother took over the business. The underage Paško migrated with his younger brother in 1892 via Buenos Aires to the northern Chilean province of Iquique, where saltpeter production was booming. In Iquique, he seemed to have quickly connected with the small group of Croats who worked in commerce. He found a job in a hardware store owned by Nicolás Gjik, then moved to a large haberdashery named *La Culebra*, run by two Croatian immigrants named Stancic and Dobrevic (Torres Dujisin, 2003: 27).

Eventually, he gained a reputation by supplying the saltpeter workers with unspoiled meat and fish that he transported from the coastal region to the

inhospitable Atacama Desert. He befriended the railroad owner Remigio Gazzari, who transported saltpeter to the pacific ports Iquique, Taltal, and Antofagasta, where Austria-Hungary also had diplomatic representations. By 1910 at the latest, Paško Baburica, had Chileanized his name to Pascual Baburizza, owned a transport company, and entered the saltpeter business as a shareholder.

The same year, a spectacular railroad line was inaugurated as part of the centennial celebrations of the wars of independence against Spain. The Ferrocarril Transandina Los Andes-Mendoza, or Transandino, ran from Valparaiso north along the coast and east to Mendoza, Argentina, covering more than three thousand meters in altitude. For Baburizza, who settled in Valparaiso, the railroad raised his profits. For many young Croats, railroad construction meant not only work but also a symbol of progress and modernity, which they missed in Dalmatia.

A few years earlier, the small Croatian-speaking community in Antofagasta had begun printing anti-Habsburg articles in Spanish. In *El Mercurio* (The Mercury), they declared Croatia and Dalmatia a “pariah of Europe.” The Habsburg monarchy would neglect the Slavic peoples, while the Germans from Austria would play up their sense of superiority, but not invest in the imperial territories:

The Slavic peoples are one of the most interesting of Europe because of their cultural customs and because of the serenity and resignation that characterizes them; in this, they are comparable only to that of the Blessed. [...] The Slavs of Europe live in a condition that we could well call semi-barbaric, given the simplicity with which they develop their thoughts since they cannot even clearly distinguish between truth and lies, between good and bad. It is true that they have the Catholic creed, but the great diversity of faiths of the peoples with whom they live, among which there are Jews, Greek Uniate, Greek Orthodox, Mohammedan, etc., has caused such disorder and confusion among them [...] and our people are literally dying of hunger and misery. [...] Those Austrians, Germans, Hungarians, and the renegades who Germanize them – do they even know their unfortunate Slavic subjects? [...] But everything has an end [...] must have an end, and therefore the day of revenge will come for those too (Los Parias de Europa, 1903).

The bitter complaint in *El Mercurio* can be interpreted as a reaction against the neglect Croatia and Dalmatia suffered, as money from Vienna or Budapest for infrastructure and education did not arrive there. The archival material in the National Archives in Vienna illustrates that anti-Habsburg feelings and arguments were a reaction to the Magyarization policy of the Hungarians against the Croats, against the policy of the Hungarian Ban Károly Kluen-Héderváry a year prior. The violent protests in 1902 in Zagreb against the Ban were known to South Slavic emigrants in Latin America, as was the formation of a Serbo-Croat coalition, which repeatedly criticized demands in the monarchy that all state railroad employees speak Hungarian (Judson, 2016; Martínez-Flener, 2017: 176–183, 192).

The Austro-Hungarian community in Chile was smaller than that in Argentina. Austro-Hungarian diplomats estimated them at five to six thousand. According to the Chilean census of 1907, there were 3,813 (Comisión Central del Censo, 1908). They worked as sailors, cowboys, saltpeter miners, and small entrepreneurs. In solidarity with the victims of the uprising against the Ban Khuen-Héderváry in Zagreb, Croats in Iquique raised the Croatian flag, which upset the Austro-Hungarian authorities. Subsequently, nationalist Croats raised their flag at every available opportunity. After the outbreak of war, they used to sing “La Marseillaise” to it (Braun, 1915).

In *El Mercurio*, the Habsburg Monarchy was accused not only of failure in its ethnic policies but also of neglecting the needs of its peripheries. When the article in *El Mercurio* was published, the railroad construction for the Transandino was already underway, and from a geographical perspective, it was obvious to compare Dalmatia with Chile. Thus, the group of Croats critical of the Habsburgs noted that a central European state had not even managed to establish a solid railroad connection in Dalmatia. Embittered Croatian migrants in Santiago left the Austro-Hungarian Society of Mutual Help in 1910 and founded their own. In the same year, when they sponsored the asphaltting of a square for the 100th anniversary of Spanish-American independence from Spain, they named themselves *La colonia croata* on the commemorative plaque after clearly rejecting the version *La Colonia Austro-Croata*. They were not Austrians, they explained, because when you say “Austrian,” you don’t understand a nationality or a language (*Materinska Riječ*, 1910).

Baburizza, who had risen to become one of Chile’s saltpeter kings in the year before World War I, thought similarly. He now was the director of the Progreso saltpeter company, which had several sites in the country’s north. He brought on board the Croatian José Lukinovic and an engineer named Augusto Bruna. One of his company’s locations was the important transshipment center of Valparaíso, located not far from Santiago de Chile. At the beginning of the war, the southern Slavs living there refused to donate to the imperial and royal monarchy. A newspaper article stated that those Slavs who had served in the Austro-Hungarian Army fought against their Serbian, Montenegrin, and Russian brothers, thus against their French, English, and Belgian friends. Therefore, they formed a committee to collect money for their Slavic brothers. Baburizza was the main financier of the local Croatian national politics (Torres Dujisin, 2003: 102; Martínez-Flener & Prutsch, 2018: 328).

Similar to the case of Argentina, Baburizza’s group was influenced by the European South Slavic movement and its propagandistic activities in both North and South America. In November 1914, South Slav politicians from the Habsburg territories gathered in Rome to devise strategies for “liberating the Yugoslavs.” The Serb government initially rejected their idea of integrating Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes as equals in a single state and advocated the primacy of the Serb nation instead. Finally, the group came to an agreement with the Serb authorities and established a Yugoslav Committee in Paris, with Ante Trumbić as its president. The committee also organized a congress in Chicago, where envoys from Chile participated (Stokes, 1980).

At the beginning of 1916, the South Slav anti-Habsburg community in Antofagasta, supported by the Committee in London, organized the First Congress of South Slavs in South America, which gathered delegates from Chile, Peru, Argentina, Bolivia, and Uruguay. They formed a Jugoslavenska narodna odbrana (Yugoslav Defense Committee), which in turn established local subdivisions in some coastal cities. In addition, a senate was formed which, apart from Baburizza, included Miguel Mihanovich, Nicolás's brother from Buenos Aires. It may well be that at that time, the Mihanovich family was acting with duplicity, officially still representing the interests of the Habsburg Monarchy but at the same time adjusting to new times. The nineteen members of the Senate of the South Slav Congress were all entrepreneurs. In their political program, they stated that Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs were "one people" united by the common language, common cultural practices, mentalities, and "ethnic strength" (Böös, 1915). The Austro-Hungarian ambassador in Washington, DC, Konstantin Dumba, and consul Ernst Ludwig in Cleveland found explanations for the emerging nationalist "dilemma" much more in the uncensored press of the United States and the "half-education" of emigrants who fell for money-grabbing nationalist agitators than in the socio-economic failures of the Dual Monarchy (Ludwig, 1914).

Baburizza and other Croats donated eagerly to the Croatian and Serbian Red Cross, widows and orphans, and the Yugoslav Committee in London, which also sent emissaries to South America from 1915 onwards. Pascual Baburizza paid for the trip of Ljubo Leontić, the South Slav youth movement representative. In 1916, the Jugoslavenska narodna odbrana declared in Chile that it was severing relations with the Habsburg monarchy and accepting the London Committee as the only legal representative of "the captured Yugoslav territories" (Stokes, 1980: 51).

Pascual Baburizza alone sent about 15,000 pesos a month to the Yugoslav Committee in London and founded a Yugoslav high school in Chile, the first of its kind in Latin America. In 1917, Baburizza established a branch of Banco Yugoslavo in Antofagasta (Torres Dujisin, 2003: 51). Among other things, it financed the expansion of its port. After the end of the war, he also supplied the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes state with saltpeter and founded the Compañía Navegación Yugoslava-Americana. Baburizza was decorated by King Alexander for all his services and was offered a diplomatic post in Paris, which he did not accept.

He continued to donate to political and cultural causes after the creation of Yugoslavia (Torres Dujisin, 2003: 106) and resided in his palace overlooking the port of Valparaíso. The beautiful mansion was built by two architects of the Austro-Hungarian school, Arnaldo Barison, and Renato Schiavon, who had studied in Vienna and worked in Trieste. But the imperial and royal architecture and art were known to be above ethnic-national policies or resentments. Today the Palacio Baburizza is a museum of the Chilean and European art the millionaire had gathered throughout his life.

## CELEBRATING AUSTRIANITY VS. LOOKING FOR A NATIONAL DREAM IN SOUTHERN BRAZIL

At the end of December 1892, ninety-three families from Steyr in Upper Austria boarded the steamer *Arno* in the port of Genoa. They arrived at the southern Brazilian port of Porto Alegre on January 13, 1893. Five children had died on board. Steyr was home to one of the largest arms forges in the monarchy and had a strong influx of workers from Bohemia and Moravia. In 1890, almost ten thousand workers made arms at the factory of the *Österreichische Waffenfabrik Steyr*, whose Steyr-Mannlicher weapons were sold to various Latin American countries, especially to Chile. In 1891, as a result of the worldwide recession and entrepreneurial wrong decisions, production collapsed. Seven thousand workers were laid off, and over ninety families emigrated to Brazil to the just-established colony of Ijuhy (now Ijuí) in Rio Grande do Sul. The territories to be colonized were inhabited by indigenous Guarani, whom the Brazilian government expelled to offer the “emptied” land to second-generation Germans and Italians from Rio Grande do Sul and settlers from Europe (Haiske, 2017; Stögmüller, 2012: 294).

At this time, social Darwinism was greatly influencing migration policies, also in Latin America. Thus, the Europeans were welcomed as “actors of progress” who should help “whiten” a population shaped by indigenous and Afro-Brazilian inhabitants. Newspapers in Europe had regularly reported since the 1850s about yellow fever and the exploitation of migrants in the coffee plantations of São Paulo. As a result, several regions of Brazil had lost much of their attraction at the end of the century. Thus, the families from Steyr sought to avoid the state of São Paulo and chose Ijuí in Rio Grande do Sul instead. They became small farmers and artisans and received influxes from other parts of the Habsburg Empire and Italy, Switzerland, the Netherlands, the German Reich, and Russia. Ijuí quickly grew as a pluricultural microcosm when it was connected to the railroad network. Apart from that, its multi-ethnic structure reflected the federal government’s guidelines around 1900. It wanted to avoid further single-ethnic settlements shaped by Europeans who celebrated their ethnic superiority within a world of “virgin woods” and “backward” natives. Around 1912, the colony of Ijuí proudly called itself *Babel do Novo Mundo* (Babel of the New World) (Cuber, 2002).

Already in 1898, the emigrants from Steyr had founded a school society. That they—in contrast to Slavic migrants in Chile and Argentina—preserved their feeling of cultural belonging to the Habsburg Empire has to do with the fact that the emigrants came from Upper Austria and from the German-speaking areas of Bohemia and Moravia, which had a greater linguistic and cultural proximity to the Habsburg family and the metropolis of Vienna than peripheral areas such as Dalmatia and Galicia. The emigrants did not blame the Austrian government for their fate, as they were victims of neither ethnic superiority nor governmental economic failures. Another factor for their emotional loyalty to the Habsburg Empire must have



been the Jewish Prager, Robert Löw, who settled in Ijuí. In May 1911, he founded the newspaper *Serra-Post*, which printed local and European news and circulated among German-speaking immigrants in Rio Grande do Sul.

In 1917, Brazil entered World War I on the side of the Entente, which resulted in a ban on German-language media and anti-German resentments. This ban may have been a reason for the Austrian immigrants to distance themselves from any German nationalism and refer to their Austrian-ness. Löw's wife saved the *Serra-Post* from closure by publishing it in Portuguese as *Correio Serrano* and bilingually from 1918 to 1938. Nevertheless, German-Brazilian historian Regina Weber analyzed the emergence of ethnonational self-descriptions in the *Serra-Post* (Weber, 1994: 107), with "Deutschtum" identity spilling over into Ijuí in the 1930s and celebrated in the Clube Alemão (German Club). German-ness was explained as industrious, intelligent, strong, progressive.

Apart from the Clube Alemão, the Clube Polonês was established in Ijuí. It represented Polish workers' identities, while the Clube Ijuí presented itself as an upper-middle-class circle of high-brow culture. Although such associations represented distinct ethnic groups, interethnic marriages were not uncommon (Haiske & Praher, 2021). By 1938, the Brazilian government under Getúlio Vargas prohibited all political parties and followed a consequent strategy of ethnic nationalization. Consequently, schools were nationalized, and Brazilian Portuguese had to be the dominant language used in class. As the government declared war against the Third Reich in 1942, German newspapers and associations were closed down for a second time. While looking for their European roots, some Ijuí residents discovered their former Austrian origins and decided to capitalize on this interculturality. Every year since 1981, the traditional Festival of Diversified Cultures takes place, reflecting the micro-history of the small town but also celebrating its multicultural origin and tradition. In the premises of the Centro Cultural Austríaco, a Tyrolean-style house founded in 1987, are dance events at the Viennese Restaurant with "Sissi evenings." For an immigration story that had its roots in the late-nineteenth century, the recourse to "Austria" is rare.

A contrast to Ijuí was the migration policy in Brazilian Paraná, which Polish nationalists propagated as one crucial nucleus for Polish-speaking migrants from Russia, the Habsburg Monarchy, and Germany. As Poland had been torn apart in 1772 and divided by the three empires, Polish politicians and migration propagandists fostered the idea and utopia of a possible reunification, at least in "America."

Edmund Saporski, who had fled Prussian military service, played a crucial role in propagating Brazil as a heaven for Polish settlers. He worked as a teacher in Brazil and, from 1869 onwards, fostered Polish immigration. The colony of Pilarzinho, which he founded in 1871, was paradigmatic for his visions. Helped by a Polish priest, Saporski spread the "promised land" narrative for future Polish settlers, who were attracted by the utopias of one's own soil beyond the ocean. The often-repeated metaphor of accessible and fertile land for members of the Polish diaspora was frequently used in

travel narratives, propaganda brochures as well as Saporski's messianic activism. He published the first Polish newspaper in Paraná, and as a deputy in the local Congress, he dreamt of transforming Paraná into the center of the Polish diaspora (Janik-Freis, 2020: 34, 143, 395). His goals were taken up by the Polish national politician Roman Dmowski, who spoke of Paraná as a "new Poland." Saporski's nationalist policy led to the foundation of 167 Polish primary schools only in Paraná but came to a radical end in the late 1930s due to Vargas's homogeneous nation-building policy.

It was partially Saporski's activism that made Paraná an almost mythical homeland not only for Polish but also for Ukrainian or Ruthenian migrants from Austrian Galizia. The crownland was shaped by feudal structures, massive economic inequality, small-scale agriculture, and unfavorable inheritance law that barely ensured the majority of the population's survival. It was characterized by hunger and ethnic conflicts between Poles and Ruthenians, with the latter at a disadvantage. At the end of the nineteenth century, this interweaving of economic, ethnoreligious, and political motives led to a real "emigration fever" to Brazil. Resourceful agents took advantage of the national yearnings of Polish emigrants by promising land and freedom in the New World for each of the two groups. Thus, the rumor circulated that Crown Prince Rudolf had not died but had emigrated to Brazil and become emperor there to support his "favorite Polish subjects." (Pollack, 2010; Prutsch, 2001). A comparable rumor circulated in Polish areas of Germany. Namely, that Otto von Bismarck's son, Herbert, had converted to Catholicism and was particularly committed to the interests of the Poles (Janik-Freis, 2020: 158).

Although Galicia offered fertile ground for migration propagandists, Elisabeth Janik-Freis analyzed in her thesis that, around 1899/91, when the "Brazil fever" had broken out, most emigrants were well aware of the destinations they were aiming for, through private correspondence, guides, institutions specialized on emigration issues such as the *Polskie Towarzystwo Emigracyjne* (Polish Emigration Society) (Janik-Freis, 2020: 160).

Paraná alone received about "50,000 Austrians, mostly Poles and Ruthenians, who have founded large colonies in various places," reported Consul Julius Pisko in 1903. When he arrived in the state capital of Curitiba with a delegation, "more than six thousand people were gathered in and around the station" and expressed pro-Habsburg sentiments (Agstner, 2014: 194). Vice-Konsul Karl Bertoni traveled to the "Galizian colonies" Tomás Coelho, Lucena, and Abranches, where—as he reported—"our Austrian nationals live together with other nationalities" (Agstner, 2014: 196). His perception differed from those shaped by Polish nationalist interests. For Saporski, Tomás Coelho was another symbol of Polish national aspirations. But back home, Bertoni reported that his delegation passed triumphal arches with inscriptions such as *Viribus Unitis*, *Willkommen*, *Witajcie* (*Welcome*) and *Long live the emperor Francis Joseph I* in German and Polish. The reception convinced the delegation that the subjects of the Habsburg Monarchy had lost none of their loyalty to the House of Habsburg (Agstner, 2014: 194). The documents in the Austrian

National Archives also suggest that Tomás Coelho, Lucena, and Abranches were not inhabited only by Poles.

From today's perspective, it cannot be reconstructed whether this pro-Habsburg nostalgia was honest or a camouflage. The Austrian government reacted to the strong influx of migrants from Galizia by founding an Austro-Hungarian consulate and a Society of Mutual Aid in the capital of Paraná, in Curitiba. The possibility of contact persons, the organization of cultural events may have bound the sense of belonging to the former Habsburg Empire for a while, especially in the city. But it may have been different in the villages in the then sparsely populated hinterland. Moreover, the Poles' goal of sending compatriots to Brazil continued after the establishment of the independent Polish state.

## CONCLUSION

Emigration was part of the life strategies in different regions of the Habsburg Monarchy. Migrants transferred ethnic belongings, their religious beliefs, and political convictions to the New World. There, the confrontation with the respective "others" could have a formative effect, strengthening the consolidation of one's own identity, especially through political influences from outside. The case study of Paraná illustrates that a strong nationalist Polish impact from Europe, fostered by local agents, helped strengthen the perception and the practice of ethnic nationalism that aimed to build a "New Poland." Supposedly this policy was easier to realize in rural colonies than in urban centers.

On the contrary, the reports that Austro-Hungarian delegations sent to Vienna reflect sentiments of loyalty and nostalgia. Both attitudes did not have to exclude each other. Habsburg nostalgia conveyed the past and the dream of the Polish state the future. It is also possible that some settlers, influenced by emigration propaganda, believed that members of the House of Habsburg like Rudolf had made the promised land possible for them. Whether settlement was possible in more ethnically homogeneous structures also depended heavily on the migration policies of the respective Brazilian states. While Paraná intervened little in local settlement practices until the 1930s, the state of Rio Grande do Sul tried to be much more attentive to multi-ethnic settlements. This attention also has to do with the fact that the southernmost state received European settlers as early as the early nineteenth century, initially mainly German or German-speaking and Italian. Since ethnically rather homogeneous villages with corresponding names were formed throughout the nineteenth century, the state and federal governments made efforts to diversify migration policy around 1900.

Ijuí in Rio Grande do Sul is an antithesis to the Polish colonies in Paraná. Because Germany was one of Brazil's enemies during World Wars I and II, the German-speaking emigrants from Austria distanced themselves from German national affiliations and

insisted on their autonomy. Finally, the inhabitants of Ijuí understood that after the end of the military dictatorship in Brazil and the increase in European tourism, they could successfully present themselves as a multicultural cosmos on a small scale.

The biographies of the two Croatian self-made men Nicolás Mihanovich and Pascual Baburizza show that the positioning between ethnonationalism and Habsburg pluriculturalism could be very different. One left for Argentina to pursue shipping business, the other to Chile to profit from saltpeter mines. But Baburizza was a generation younger than Mihanovich. He absorbed the nationalism that had advanced in the Habsburg Monarchy much more than Mihanovich. The latter was made honorary consul of the Dual Monarchy after becoming a successful millionaire and had the opportunity to show that Slavs, historically marginalized by the Viennese government, could also represent the agendas of the monarchy. Baburizza increased his fortune at the beginning of the twentieth century when nationalism and South Slavic political interests were advanced and constantly received and reflected among Slavic migrants in Chile. His mission, unlike Mihanovich, was to contribute to the disintegration of the monarchy.

The cases presented here are snapshots of a fascinating, multi-layered migration history that, despite their diversity, exhibit relationships to the country of origin, whether nostalgically discursive or ethno-nationalistically pejorative. All in all, the history of migration from the Austro-Hungarian Empire to Latin America still allows for many exciting analyses.

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## POVZETEK

### MED NOSTALGIJO IN NACIONALIZMOM: IZSELJENCI IZ HABSBURŠKEGA IMPERIJA V JUŽNI AMERIKI

Ursula PRUTSCH

Članek predstavlja štiri migracijske pripovedi bivših državljanov avstroogrske monarhije, ki so zapustili svoje domovine in se odpravili v Brazilijo, Argentino oziroma Čile. Analiza vključuje tako vizije kot samoopredelitve posameznih migrantov, etničnih manjšin, pa tudi političnih subjektov, ter tako rekonstruira njihov odnos do nekdanje domovine. Priseljenci so nihali med nadnacionalno nostalgijo in nacionalistično jezo, v kombinaciji s protihabsburško politiko. Prvi dve pripovedi primerjata različni poti dalmatinskega poslovnega tajkuna Nicolása Mihanovicha v Argentini in Pascuala Baburizze v Čilu. Mihanovich je vzpostavil največje ladjarsko podjetje v Južni Ameriki, s sedežem v Buenos Airesu. Na drugi strani je Baburizza svojo kariero zgradil z dostavljanjem hrane rudarjem v rudnikih solitra ter z naložbami v rudarstvo, pa tudi v infrastrukturo, ki je boljše povežala Čile s Kraljevino Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev. Baburizza je nacionalizem, ki je naraščal v habsburški monarhiji, posvojil precej bolj kot Mihanovich, ki je po uspešni poslovni karieri postal tudi častni konzul Avstro-Ogrske. Mihanovich je svoj diplomatski položaj izkoristil za to, da je pokazal, da bi lahko tudi Južni Slovani, ki jih je dunajska vlada zgodovinsko marginalizirala, zastopali politično agendo monarhije v tujini. Baburizza, ki je pripadal mlajši generaciji, je svojo kariero ustvaril v času, ko je med priseljenci v Čilu prišlo do razmaha nacionalizma in stalnih razprav o južnoslovanskih političnih interesih.

Tretja in četrta pripoved, ki sta predstavljeni v tretjem poglavju članka, se osredotočata na različne migracijske politike v južni Braziliji. Študija primera o zvezni državi Paraná kaže, da je močan nacionalistični vpliv Poljakov iz Evrope, ki so ga spodbujali lokalni akterji, pripomogel h krepitvi percepcije in prakse etničnega nacionalizma, katerega cilj je bila izgradnja »Nove Poljske«. Medtem ko so v zvezni državi Paraná do 1930ih let le malo posegali v lokalne naselivitvene prakse, so se v zvezni državi poskušali precej bolj posvečati večetničnim naseljem. Ta država je migracijske politike podpirala precej prej kot Paraná in se je soočala s kolonizacijskimi praksami, na katere so močno vplivale nemške in italijanske etnične skupine. Zato so si okoli leta 1900 lokalne oblasti prizadevale za diverzifikacijo svoje migracijske politike, da bi se tako izognile homogenemu naseljevanju Evropejcev. Kolonijo Ijuí v zvezni državi Rio Grande do Sul je mogoče razumeti kot antipod poljskim kolonijam v Parani. Ker je bila Nemčija med prvo in drugo svetovno vojno eden izmed sovražnikov Brazilije, so se nemško govoreči priseljenci iz Avstrije distancirali od nemške nacionalne pripadnosti in so vztrajali pri svoji avtonomiji. Končno so tudi prebivalci kolonije Ijuí razumeli, da se bodo lahko po koncu vojaške diktature v Braziliji in razmahu evropskega turizma uspešno predstavljali kot multikulturni svet v malem.





# OPEN TO THE PUBLIC: SERBS AND ETHNIC CROSSOVER IN THE UNITED STATES

Ethan LARSON<sup>1</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

### **Open to the Public: Serbs and Ethnic Crossover in the United States**

Diasporas are often imagined as impermeable communities. Yet the boundaries of the Serbian diaspora in the United States were surprisingly porous to certain outsiders, such as Ruth Mitchell, who routinely dressed as a Chetnik to address Serbian immigrants. Mitchell's act of ethnic crossover, this paper argues, fits into a broader pattern of ethnic outsiders joining Serbian organizations in the United States. Four case studies besides Ruth Mitchell are discussed: Eleanor Calhoun, Johann Blose, Charles DeHarrack, and Frank Melford. Diplomats acted as gatekeepers to these Serbophiles, limiting access to emigrant social and political networks as they saw fit—but only rarely was the Serbophiles' ethnic background a factor.

**KEYWORDS:** Serbian Diaspora, Serbophilia, United States, Yugoslavia, Ruth Mitchell

## IZVLEČEK

### **Odperto za javnost: Srbi in etnični prehod v Združenih državah Amerike**

Diaspore si pogosto predstavljamo kot neprodušno zaprte skupnosti. Vendar pa so bile meje srbske diaspore v Združenih državah Amerike za nekatere tujce presenetljivo prepustne – takšna je bila Ruth Mitchell, ki se je redno oblačila v četniška oblačila in tako nagovarjala srbske priseljence. Prispevek podaja tezo, da to dejanje etničnega prehoda spada v širši vzorec etničnih tujcev, ki so se pridruževali srbskim organizacijam v ZDA. Poleg Ruth Mitchell članek obravnava še štiri druge študije primera: Eleanor Calhoun, Johann Blose, Charles DeHarrack in Frank Melford. Diplomati so pri tem imeli vlogo paznikov teh srbofilov in so po svoji volji omejevali dostop do družbenih in političnih omrežij priseljencev – pri čemer pa je na to le redko vplivala etnična pripadnost teh srbofilov.

**KLJUČNE BESEDE:** srbska diaspora, srbofilija, ZDA, Jugoslavija, Ruth Mitchell

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## INTRODUCTION

On June 28, 1943, Ruth Mitchell strode out in front of a crowd of Serbian Americans in Chicago. Brandishing a curved dagger and donning an outfit worn by the Chetniks, Serbian guerrillas in Nazi-occupied Yugoslavia, Mitchell cut a strange figure (Figure 1). Her speech, calling for the creation of a “pure” Serbian ethnostate, added to the incongruity (Vukmirović, 1943). To her most fervent supporters, she was “our Serbian knightly Chetnik Ruth Mitchell” and honorary president of the Serbian National Defense, a political club for Serbian immigrants (Fotić, 1943a; Marković, 1943). Even so, this Serbian nationalist was also a quintessential old-stock American—Scottish ancestry, senator father, English husband, Ivy League education, and an American general as a brother. Yet the most striking thing about Mitchell is not that she was unique, but that she was not—during the first half of the twentieth century, four other Americans participated in Serbian-American cultural and political life. In this article, I examine these five cases, paying particular attention to how the state assisted or hindered the activities of these Serbophiles.



Figure 1: Ruth Mitchell with dagger and speech, est. 1943. Source: *The Lady Guerilla Comes Home to the Marital Wars* (1944). *American Weekly*, 2. 1. 1944.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Reading about Ruth Mitchell, contemporary Americans might be reminded of Rachel Dolezal, the most famous (or infamous) of a series of “racial imposters” in the United States. Both Mitchell and Dolezal were active members of an ethnic organization—in Dolezal’s case, the NAACP—identifying strongly with the ethnic group whose cause they worked to advance. There are important distinctions between the two—Mitchell did not conceal her ethnic background, whereas Dolezal did. Nonetheless, Dolezal is a useful theoretical springboard for the phenomenon she represents, which Rogers Brubaker (2016a) terms “transracialism” or “transethnicity.” Although the study of this phenomenon is still embryonic, most scholars agree that “transracialism” or “transethnicity” has become increasingly common since the 1980s. David Roediger (2002), for instance, identified a trend toward “racial crossover,” citing the growing popularity of yoga, east-Asian martial arts, Buddhism, and hip-hop among white Americans.

Similarly, Kanchan Chandra (2012: 2) has observed that the percent of Americans claiming Native-American ancestry grew by over eighty percent in 1980 and an additional thirty percent in 1990. In turn, Philip Deloria (1998: 170–173) connects the fad of faux-Native American new-age spirituality among whites with the 1980s-era multiculturalism and the blurring of ethnic boundaries. Mary Waters (1990: 7–10), meanwhile, describes how the US census added a question about ancestry in 1980, pleasing whites seeking to add “spice to an otherwise bland postindustrial existence.” The descendants of Slavic, Italian, and Irish immigrants have taken a renewed interest in the language and culture of their forebears, even if this is just an ancestral dish, holiday, phrase, or family story.

However, the most detailed deconstruction of this phenomenon has come from Rogers Brubaker (2016b: 7–8, 10–11, 72, 141–142), who argues that we live in an “Age of Unsettled Identities.” The power of the American government to enforce racial and ethnic distinctions, he contends, has been eroded over the past several decades by the multiracial movement, intermarriage, and genetic testing. Ancestry, Brubaker argues, is increasingly a choice. Moreover, the Butlerian turn toward the performative and fluid understanding of gender has reinforced the elective treatment of race. Brubaker concludes that these trends culminate in the logic of transgenderism being applied to racial and ethnic identity, albeit not without considerable controversy, as Dolezal’s case illustrates.

Much of this literature focuses on the movement between races rather than ethnicities. Indeed, in 2021 there is a crucial distinction between a white American posturing as a Serb and a white American adopting an African American persona. Nonetheless, as Matthew Jacobson (1999: 6) shows, the boundary between race and ethnicity was blurrier one hundred years ago. In popular discourse, Slavs, Jews, Italians, etc. really *were* different races, even if the US naturalization law categorized these groups as “white.” In fact, “Serbo-Croatians” were seen as the most racially

distinct. When “white Americans” were polled in 1926 to rank their aversion to various groups, “Serbo-Croatians” were the least liked of the white ethnics (i.e., Poles, Greeks, etc.), just above African Americans, Filipinos, and Japanese. On the other hand, “whiteness,” despite its ostensible biological underpinnings, was a porous category to which Balkan migrants could aspire, so long as they learned English, dressed as Americans did, and passed through the naturalization process (Barrett, 2002: 141–145). Thus, by the standards and methods of her time, Ruth Mitchell really did move between racial categories—by learning a new language and adopting a new mode of dress.

As such, theoretical insights from the literature on the trans-ethnic and trans-racial phenomenon seem germane. Even so, the cases of Ruth Mitchell and those like her suggest that Brubaker’s “Age of Unsettled Identities” framework is perhaps too restrictive. Instead, this piece will expand on a separate question that Brubaker poses: “who controls—and patrols—the boundaries of categories?” For Brubaker, part of the answer is the American state (2016b: 5–8). Indeed, other scholars, such as James Barrett (2002: 145) and Daniel Sharfstein (2003), have identified how American race laws, racialized litigation, and immigration restrictions, such as the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act, shaped the discursive frameworks in which race and ethnicity were constituted. One could also point to Benedict Anderson’s (Anderson, 2006: 163–185) brief but insightful discussion of colonial-era censuses and maps in Southeast Asia, which created the classificatory frameworks that still structure the ways post-colonial states imagine ethnic divisions. States clearly shape the cognition of ethnic categories, and by extension, the possibilities for inter-ethnic movement.

But the US state did not have a monopoly on structuring ethnicity in the United States. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, several states—Italy, most notably, but also Serbia, and later, Yugoslavia—discovered that a loyal and patriotic diaspora could advance national goals (Brunnbauer, 2016; Choate, 2008; Gabaccia, 2000). These goals varied. Through its well-connected honorary consul, the émigré scientist Mihajlo Pupin, Serbia benefitted from its diaspora lobby—which ultimately helped it acquire the Banat after WWI (Brunnbauer, 2016: 169, 225; Djikanović, 2016: 11). Yugoslavia, meanwhile, saw creating a patriotic diaspora as one front in a transnational campaign to make Yugoslavs out of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—a policy inspired by a similar effort, *mutatis mutandis*, in Italy (Emigration Commissariat, 1925; Gabaccia, 2000: 142). Yugoslavia relied more on professional diplomats than emigrant volunteers than Serbia, although partnerships with emigrant civil society organizations remained important. This different approach did not deny emigrants agency—independent powerbrokers, like John Palandech in Chicago, alternately aided and frustrated Yugoslav diplomats throughout this period (Fischer-Nebmaier, 2019). Even so, much as Pupin did, Yugoslav diplomats networked extensively with self-help societies, choral groups, churches, and newspapers—especially Serbian ones (Grčić & Gnjata, 2004; Larson, 2020: 72–171, 243–300).

As such, the state figures prominently in all five of our cases of ethnic crossover: Eleanor Calhoun, Johann Blose, Charles DeHarrack, Frank Melford, and Ruth Mitchell. These cases are grouped chronologically and thematically. We will first explore what drew each person to Serbian culture, followed by their encounter with state agents. Ethnic crossover, a term I borrow from Roediger (2002), is based on *doing*—identifying with Serbian culture and taking part in organizations devoted to it—rather than *being*. Nobody discussed here claimed to be Serbian, à la Dolezal, even if some saw Serbs as kindred spirits. Crossover, as it is used here, is also a matter of degree rather than kind. Some of our cases *did* more than others, Mitchell being an extreme example. In all these cases, however, diplomats were determined to “patrol the boundaries” of Serbian-American civil society. Admittedly, the actions and explanations of consuls for their decisions were not guided by a consistent policy. Even so, it is surprising how rarely a non-Serbian background was considered an *ipso facto* dealbreaker. Serbian organizations were, as a result, largely “open to the public.”

## FROM ACTRESS TO PRINCESS—THE STRANGE JOURNEY OF ELEANOR LAZAROVICH-HREBELIANOVICH

Our first case, Eleanor Calhoun (a Californian by birth), was an actress by profession (Princess Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, 1957). In early 1903, at a soirée in London, Eleanor Calhoun met a man calling himself Prince Stephan Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich. Despite his title, the “prince” had no relation to Serbia’s ruling dynasty, the house of Obrenović. This status was fortunate for him since the Obrenovići would be massacred and overthrown by the house of Karađorđević just days before Eleanor and the prince’s wedding in June 1903. Although Calhoun asserts that the British press, outraged at the regicide, floated Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich as a replacement, regime change was not in the cards—in October, Prince Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich issued a statement denying any royal ambitions (Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, 1915: 313–323). The Karađorđevići, meanwhile, would remain in power until 1945, first as kings of Serbia, and, after 1918, Yugoslavia.

This setback notwithstanding, “Princess Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich,” as she began to call herself, became a vocal defender of Serbia’s claims to Macedonia, still owned by the Ottoman Empire in 1903. Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria all coveted Macedonia, and paramilitary violence between Bulgarian and Serbian squads/bands, called *čete* (the forerunners of Ruth Mitchell’s Chetniks), was endemic to Macedonia during the first decades of the twentieth century (Newman, 2013). For the princess, the upshot of this simmering conflict was that Serbia’s ethnic claim to Macedonia required continuous (verbal) defense.

Traveling around the Balkans with her husband, the princess increasingly identified with the Serbs (Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, 1915: 324–338). In her memoirs,

the princess—despite her initial prejudice against “the half-civilized inhabitants of a small district somewhere to the east”—describes how

the more I learned of these peoples, the more did their cause lay hold of my thoughts [...] I discovered that they were democratic [...] that their institutions took note of individual human dignity [...] I learned of their pure home ideals, of the nobility and devotion of their women, of their unaffected and natural religious conceptions, of their old ballads [...] of their courage, their undying natural faith [...] Finally I learned that they alone of all European nations never admitted slavery during the Middle Ages (Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, 1915: 316–318).

In 1910, having moved to New York, the princess and her husband co-authored a four-hundred-page omnibus history, in English, of the “Servian People” (Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich & Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, 1910). Despite its historical and ethnographic focus, this book also included a survey of unredeemed “Servian Lands:” Croatia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Vojvodina, and Macedonia (Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich & Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, 1910: 142–176). This book thus dovetailed with the Serbian state’s irredentist agenda, especially after the Austrian annexation of Bosnia in 1908.

In 1912, however, Mihajlo Pupin, an honorary consul of Serbia in the United States, denounced the couple (Servian Princess Clashes with Pupin, 1912). Pupin was a prime example of the leverage diplomats could bring to bear, reigning as the grey eminence of the Serbian American community in the United States until his death in 1935. Pupin was well connected, serving as the president of several immigrant self-help societies before becoming honorary consul in 1911. After his appointment, Pupin leveraged these connections to support Serbia’s efforts in the Balkan Wars (Grčić & Gnjato, 2004; Pavlović, 1999). In this regard, Pupin and the princess were in alignment. Yet Pupin had other considerations as well. The house of Lazarović-Hrebelianović was quite ancient compared to the Karadjordjević dynasty (although it was thought to have gone extinct in the fifteenth century). A claimant from that dynasty could potentially delegitimize Serbia’s government, even if he had little chance of taking power. Probably, for this reason, Pupin almost immediately denounced the prince as a “pretender to the Servian throne” (Servian Princess Clashes with Pupin, 1912). Following Pupin’s lead, various Serbian organizations distributed leaflets with attacks in a similar vein (Tesla, 1912).

Even so, the Princess and her husband found supporters in the Serbian American community, most notably Nikola Tesla. Responding to Pupin’s accusations, Tesla argued that while Prince Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich possibly *did* have royal blood (a telling framing), it ultimately did not matter, “for he has won a better claim to distinction through his labors and rare intelligence.” Acceptance was a matter of pragmatism. Tesla acknowledged, however, that his had become a minority view

(Tesla, 1912). Soon afterward, Princess Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich disengaged from Serbian émigré politics entirely (Princess Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, 1957).

Three significant takeaways emerge from this instance of failed crossover. First, Eleanor Calhoun had no issue penetrating Serbian circles from 1903–1912. Serbian nationalists welcomed anyone advancing their political cause, even if they were not ethnic Serbs or authentic royals. Tesla, moreover, stated the latter point explicitly. Second, the person who curtailed Calhoun’s engagement with Serbian affairs was an agent (honorary consul) of the Serbian state. Pupin was not interested in the sincerity of Calhoun’s Serbophilia but in the authenticity of her husband’s royal pedigree. Third, Serbian immigrants followed Pupin’s lead in attacking Calhoun, disregarding Tesla, who was not an honorary consul.

## AMERICAN CONDUCTORS AND SERBIAN CHOIRS

The twentieth century was a fertile field for ethnic crossover in music—especially in genres dominated by African-Americans. Besides Elvis, one could point to Mezz Mezzrow, a jazzman of Russian-Jewish provenance, and Johnny Otis, a mid-twentieth-century rhythm and blues musician of Greek extraction (Brubaker, 2016b: 88–89).

Johann M. Blose was cut from a similar cloth. Born in 1870 in rural Pennsylvania to German-American parents, Blose was a musical prodigy, possessing perfect pitch and an eidetic memory. Between 1885 and 1924, Blose taught music in and around Pittsburgh, a major destination for south-Slavic migrants (Yugoslavs in the United States, 1923). In 1924, Blose moved to Lebanon, Pennsylvania, and in 1928, established there the Binički Choir, a Serbian singing society (Godcharles, 1933: 459–460).

As the Binički Choir’s director, Blose immersed himself in Serbian culture, collecting and arranging his favorite melodies and dances from approximately two-hundred religious and secular pieces. Claiming to be, perhaps truthfully, “the first and most famous exponent of Serbian music in America,” over the next several years, Blose sought to “spread the Gospel of Serbian music,” touring emigrant communities in Pittsburgh, New York City, Chicago, Akron, Detroit, and Gary, Indiana (Godcharles, 1933: 459–460).

In 1934, Blose and the Binički Choir caught the eye of the Yugoslav consul in New York, Radoje Janković. Janković, a Serb, praised Blose as “an excellent musician, composer, and director [...] to whom most of the success of this group can be attributed,” even recommending that Blose receive the Order of St. Sava—a physical stamp of approval—“for his beautiful and self-sacrificing labor disseminating our songs and cultural propaganda in this country” (Janković, 1934). Folk choirs were, moreover, central to Yugoslavia’s immigrant cultural outreach. Several were even subsidized (Emigration Commissariat, 1925: 22; Larson, 2020: 108–109, 258–259). This treatment of Blose suggests that Yugoslavia’s enforcement of ethnic boundaries was pragmatic—Blose was talented and successful, the thinking went,

the preservation of Serbian consciousness among immigrants outweighed the Germanness of its proponent.

And yet, a contemporary of Blose, Charles DeHarrack, represents one of the few instances where Yugoslav diplomats took issue with the ethnic background of their American collaborators. Born in 1881 in Brest-Litovsk to Jewish parents, DeHarrack emigrated to the United States at the age of four, pursuing his musical education and then a career back in Europe. There, DeHarrack worked as the court pianist for King Peter I of Serbia—where, presumably, he was exposed to Serbian folk music (DeHarrack, 2021). After returning to the United States, DeHarrack founded a Serbian singing society in Cleveland.

DeHarrack, perhaps even more than Blose, understood the importance of a consular endorsement, inviting the Yugoslav vice-consul Cerrezin, a Croat, to the tenth-anniversary celebration of his singing society in 1939. But Cerrezin was suspicious, writing: “some of the features of this celebration I cannot help but feel are out of place. Mr. DeHarrack is the director of a Serbian Singing Society and *is a Russian (I believe a Jew)* [emphasis mine]” (Cerrezin, 1939a). In a subsequent letter, the consul called the episode “peculiar,” noting that “two thirds of [the guests] are of Jewish extraction,” and insinuated that DeHarrack’s true motive was money from ticket sales. The combination of these factors, he argued, “places us in an unfavorable light, meaning, of course, the Yugoslav cause (Cerrezin, 1939b).” Cerrezin doubtless had an eye on the international context: after 1938, Nazi Germany, famously hostile to Jews, shared a border with Yugoslavia. Antagonizing them was to be avoided.

Yet DeHarrack’s case also shows that Yugoslav diplomats were not a monolithic group—Cerrezin would be overruled by his superior, minister Konstantin Fотиć. Why Fотиć did so is unclear. In his reply to Cerrezin, Fотиć (1939) merely told Cerrezin to politely decline DeHarrack’s request for a radio interview—stating that “in the current circumstances I could not make statements of a political nature, which would be difficult to avoid.” “Current circumstances” was a capacious phrase—Fотиć may have been concerned that dropping DeHarrack might outrage American audiences, just as appearing on the radio at his behest might send another message. Or perhaps Fотиć (a Serb) wanted to rebuke Cerrezin (a Croat) since the two had clashed before—Cerrezin even threatened to resign in 1937, claiming that he was “not being treated fairly” by Fотиć (Cerrezin, 1937). Regardless, with the backing of Fотиć, DeHarrack’s choir would perform at the Cleveland celebration of Yugoslav Unity Day. Fотиć attended personally (Grđina et al., 1939). Ultimately, DeHarrack was the exception that proves the rule—though some Yugoslav diplomats may have been suspicious of these ethnic outsiders, DeHarrack’s diplomatic endorsement suggests that a foreign background was not disqualifying.



## LOVE, PASSION, AND YUGOSLAV CINEMA

In 1932, one of the earliest sound films in Serbo-Croatian premiered in a cinema on the upper east side of Manhattan (Janković, 1933). Directed and co-written by Frank Melford, this film, titled *Ljubav i Strast* (Love and Passion), depicts a romance between a stenographer, Helen, and her boss, Richard. Both were played by South-Slavic actors. Complications ensue after Rachel discovers that Richard has bet five thousand dollars that he can seduce her, but in the end, the two reconcile and are married. The film was, judging by a review in the *New York Times*, workmanlike and “lively,” if “too melodramatic at times” (H. T. S., 1932).

This film presents an intriguing puzzle: how did a man named Frank Melford come to make a film called *Ljubav i Strast*? How is it that one of the first Serbo-Croatian talkies remains obscure, even though Yugoslav elites saw developing an indigenous film industry as integral to national prestige (Babović, 2015)?

The key to the first mystery is a romance: one between Frank Melford, an aspiring filmmaker, and his wife, Rakela Davidović, an actress who was born in Belgrade. Both were Jewish. Like Eleanor Calhoun, marriage was the gateway to Melford’s cultural crossover. On Rakela’s prompting, Melford organized a company, Yugoslav Pictures Inc., to produce films in Serbo-Croatian for the South-Slavic immigrants in the United States. Melford and Davidović also co-wrote the script for their debut offering, *Ljubav i Strast*, for which Davidović took the leading role as “Helen.” Other characters were played by small-time Serbian and Croatian actors in New York City (Janković, 1933). Although Melford was more of a Yugoslavophile than a Serbophile *per se*, the former did not preclude the latter. The boundary between “Serbian” and “Yugoslav” was especially blurred during Yugoslavia’s royal dictatorship (1929–1934), when Serbian, Croatian, and Slovene cultures were seen as elements to be synthesized into a broader Yugoslav culture (Troch, 2010).

Given this context, if *Ljubav i Strast* could catch the eye of the Yugoslav consul in New York, Yugoslav Pictures could obtain funding, filming, and distribution rights in Yugoslavia (Janković, 1932). During the 1930s, Yugoslav diplomats in the United States screened silent films to migrants to promote patriotism. The subject matter for these films skewed Serbian: footage of Serbian soldiers in World War I, the Serbian King, or religious buildings (Pavlović, 1928). A sound film like *Ljubav i Strast* would have been a definite upgrade.

Consul Janković was initially receptive. Janković soured on the proposal, however, after learning that Melford and company had fabricated employment histories at MGM, Fox, and Paramount to pad their resumes. Melford is an interesting counterpoint to DeHarrack since anti-Semitism also played a role—in his report, Janković observed that everyone employed by Yugoslav Pictures was Jewish and had refused his demand that “they take some Yugoslav into the management.” Their main objective, Janković argued, was “to earn money.” Janković also disliked the film,

calling it “a banal patchwork” that was unlikely to be financially successful. Janković declined to recommend *Ljubav i Strast* to the foreign ministry (Janković, 1933).

Thus ended Yugoslav Pictures. Frank Melford never made another Serbo-Croatian film (IMDB, 2021a). Rakela Davidović fared worse, dropping out of the acting scene entirely after 1938 (IMDB, 2021b). Several additional lessons can be drawn from this episode. Interethnic boundaries in New York were fluid, especially due to intermarriage, and apparently, few people thought it odd that non-Slavs would produce a movie in Serbo-Croatian. Success in this endeavor hinged on the Yugoslav consul, who restricted access to resources and immigrant networks. Melford is a necessary caveat to the case of DeHarrack, showing that anti-Semitism could influence the decisions of Yugoslav diplomats—Yugoslav policy toward Serbophiles was not wholly coherent. Even so, it is worth noting that Janković did not treat Melford’s Jewish origin as an immediate disqualifier. If Melford had acceded to Janković’s request to hire more Yugoslavs, or if Janković had not uncovered the falsified resumes, the outcome might have been different.

## RUTH MITCHELL AND THE CHETNIKS

The Yugoslav state is especially central to our last case of ethnic crossover, Ruth Mitchell. An American, Mitchell first arrived in the Balkans as a correspondent for a British newspaper and a wife of a British diplomat in Albania (The Lady Guerilla, 1944; Mitchell, 1943). Mitchell was initially indifferent to the Serbs (Mitchell, 1943: 7). Yet as Mitchell relates, “the more I saw of them, the more they filled me with affection and admiration (Mitchell, 1943: 9). Like Calhoun, Mitchell saw the Serbs as the Americans of Europe, writing that “the Serbian Chetniks are the product of a purely Serbian tradition, a Serbian way of life and ideal, just as much as the American frontiersmen were the product of purely American conditions and American pioneering ideals. The American and the Serbian ideals are the same: the great ideal of liberty” (Mitchell, 1943: 37). This was an ironic mirror to contemporary prejudice against the Balkans, in which the Balkans was imagined as a window into Europe’s past and a wild frontier filled with “noble savages”—although in these cases, this sparked admiration rather than contempt (Todorova, 2009: 107, 111, 120).

Admiration turned to identification. By 1939, Mitchell writes, “I began to feel as if *Serbia were my real home, the place where I was meant to be* [emphasis mine]” (1943: 40). In her memoirs, she claimed broad knowledge of Serbian culture: collecting epic poems, antique weapons, icons, and rugs and trekking into the mountains to view frescos in crumbling monasteries. Mitchell learned ballads for the *gusla*, a traditional string instrument. And, after a couple of years, she acquired (basic) proficiency in the Serbian language (Mitchell, 1943: 29–45).

Identification became affiliation. In November 1940, Mitchell joined the Chetniks, a far-right Serbian paramilitary organization, her subgroup being led by Kosta

Pećanac (Mitchell, 1943: 34–35). Even then, Pećanac was notoriously brutal toward Yugoslavia's Macedonian and Muslim populations—Mitchell, enamored, described him as a “great fighter” and a “perfect viking of a fellow” (Newman, 2013; Mitchell, 1943: 35). Timing also played a role—on October 28, just before Mitchell joined Pećanac, Italy invaded Greece. If fascists invaded Yugoslavia (as they would in April 1941), the Chetniks seemed likely to resist them. And so, Mitchell enlisted, swearing a short oath: “Till death for Serbia, by the help of God” (Mitchell, 1943: 50).

After joining the Chetniks, Mitchell worked as a spy, attending British and American diplomatic mixers, traveling around Yugoslavia to feel out public opinion, and identifying and feeding false information to German agents (Mitchell, 1943: 51–60). For whom Mitchell spied, however, is ambiguous. German and Italian intelligence suspected Britain, as did the Yugoslav secret police in early 1940—before she had joined the Chetniks (Mitchell, 1943: 17, 40, 43–44, 52–59). As Mitchell recounts:

When I first arrived, there were acrid arguments in government offices as to whether I was or was not a British secret service agent. It was apparently the thing fiercely to take sides [...] My leading champion, tired of it all, had a brilliant inspiration. “Well,” he said suddenly one day, “well—and why not?” [...] “Well—and why not?” became my household joke (Mitchell, 1943: 52).

Why not, indeed? Elsewhere in her book, Mitchell hints at her assignment:

My own role was to be this: if the British succeeded in landing in force on the Greek coast and coming up through Macedonia, I was to act as liaison officer on the Chetnik staff [...] If the British did not succeed in getting through, my job would be to act as intelligence officer, spy, in the most important place I could get to. America was not yet in the war, and my American passport would be invaluable (Mitchell, 1943: 85).

When Nazi Germany invaded Yugoslavia in April 1941, Mitchell continued to spy for Pećanac's Chetnik band (Mitchell, 1943: 124–152). Operating behind enemy lines, Mitchell was captured in May 1941 and charged with spying for Britain (Mitchell, 1943: 153). She spent over a year in German captivity before being returned to the United States via a prisoner exchange in June 1942 (Mitchell, 1943: 238).

Shortly after her return to the United States, Mitchell began writing articles for *Srbobran*, the most widely circulated Serbian-language newspaper in the United States, and for the main organ of the Serbian National Federation (SNF), an immigrant self-help society (OSS, 1942). She had arrived at an opportune moment—*Srbobran*'s editorial policy had just undergone a *volte-face*, prompted by massacres of Serbs carried out by the Independent State of Croatia. These massacres, *Srbobran* argued, made Yugoslavism a dead letter (Lees, 2007). After these revelations, a militant subsidiary to the Serbian National Union emerged: the Serbian National Defense (SND) (Parry, 1942, 1943; OSS, 1943). The SNF, SND, and *Srbobran* now supported

Serbian independence, rather than Yugoslavia, as did Mitchell, who believed that Croats were intrinsically “a guilty race” (Mitchell, 1943: 246).

Not all Serbs followed suit—a substantial fraction supported Tito as part of the United Committee of South Slavic Americans, founded in 1943. Likewise, at least some within the SNU remained sympathetic to Yugoslavism, despite the editorializing in *Srbobran* (Larson, 2020: 311–312, 322). Nonetheless, *Srbobran’s* readers were desperate for information about their homeland, and Mitchell had been there in person. Mitchell, in turn, may have sought publicity for her wartime memoirs, which she would publish in 1943 (Ivanovich, 1943). It was a natural partnership—what did it matter that Mitchell was not a Serb?

Although Mitchell was working against the interests of the Yugoslav state, its government-in-exile was paralyzed by infighting between Serbian and Croatian ministers. Moreover, the head of the Yugoslav legation, Konstantin Fotić, had abandoned Yugoslavism for Serbian nationalism—a fact of which the government in exile was aware but powerless to address (Pavlowitch, 1981). In October 1942, Fotić recommended to the foreign ministry that Mitchell be awarded a medal—just as consul Vukmirović had with Johann Blose (Fotić, 1942). Fotić may have also supplied Mitchell with documentation of Ustaša massacres in occupied Yugoslavia in late 1942. The Yugoslav Information Center in New York let slip that Mitchell had been “inspired by the embassy,” which Fotić denied to the foreign ministry (Yugoslav Foreign Ministry, 1942).

Fotić’s endorsement and support gave Mitchell real clout among Serbian American organizations—Fotić could quash or plant articles at will in *Srbobran*, the main Serbian-American newspaper (Fotić, 1943b, 1943c; Jovanović, 1943; Poole, 1942). *Srbobran* immediately accepted Mitchell as one of their own—the front page of the December 2, 1942, issue of *Srbobran* called Mitchell a “great friend of the Serbian people” and “our sister and heroine” (Ivanovich, 1943). Mitchell even became the honorary president of the Serbian National Defense (Vukmirović, 1943).

In July 1943, the secretary of the Serbian National Defense, Filip Marković, sent a threatening letter to another representative of the Yugoslav government-in-exile, Sava Kosanović, a Serb, who had been attempting (with limited success) to curb Mitchell’s activities. In this letter, Marković promised that “if I see in the newspapers any more attacks on our Serbian Knightly Chetnik Ruth Mitchell [sic] [...] I will break all the bones, which the Germanic Croats put in your body” (Marković, 1943). Kosanović went to the police, Marković was arrested and put on trial, and Mitchell was dragged in as a codefendant. After a perfunctory trial, the judge reprimanded all parties and advised them to “restrain from factional strife on behalf of the war effort” (Serb Patriot Held in Yugoslav Row, 1943; Serb Warned on Threat, 1943b).

Following this episode, Mitchell disengaged from Serbian emigrant politics. Aside from the threat of retribution from the US government, she also had less to gain. After the Tehran conference of November 1943, American support switched from Mihailović’s Chetniks to Tito’s Partisans, undercutting the Yugoslav government

in exile. As that government-in-exile dissolved into dysfunction and irrelevancy during 1944 and 1945 and Tito's Partisans liberated more of Yugoslavia from fascist occupation, Mitchell's relationship with Serbian nationalists frayed. Mitchell wanted more—more money in speaking fees and even, allegedly, a colonelship from Draža Mihailović (Butts, 1943). By the beginning of 1945, Mitchell and the Serbian far-right had parted ways. As the head of the Serbian National Federation quipped: "She is busy with other things these days, not our Serbian plight. Small loss to us, really" (OSS, 1945).

## CONCLUSION

Given how it ended, Mitchell's story reaffirms the importance of the state to those who navigated a fluid field of ethnic identity in the United States—Mitchell remained committed to the greater-Serbianists only so long as the American government also supported Draža Mihailović and the Yugoslav government-in-exile remained a factor. Yet this is not to say Mitchell or her Serbophile predecessors were motivated purely by cynical calculation. Despite the prejudices of the time, it is worth underlining that all our cases seem to have felt a genuine cultural admiration for the Serbs that sometimes, but not always, led to nationalist activism.

The Yugoslav state, meanwhile, attempted to control which outsiders were permitted to become Serbian national activists. In so doing, diplomats, hardly a monolithic bloc, were guided by a mix of caprice and geopolitical calculation. While this did not lead to a coherent policy toward these Serbophiles, one pattern that emerges is the relative irrelevance of ethnicity to nationalist activism during these years. Serbian organizations and political life were, I argue, largely "open to the public."

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## POVZETEK

### ODPRTO ZA JAVNOST: SRBI IN ETNIČNI PREHOD V ZDRUŽENIH DRŽAVAH AMERIKE

Ethan LARSON

V prvi polovici devetnajstega stoletja je več Američanov, ki jih je privlačila srbska ljudska kultura, postalo zagovornikov srbskoameriške kulture in političnih interesov. Vseh pet je pritegnila tradicionalna vizija srbske kulture, ki so ji bili izpostavljeni zaradi medkulturnih zakonskih zvez ali zaposlitvenih okoliščin. Priseljenci so na drugi strani te tujce sprejeli, tudi ko so ti prevzeli vodilne vloge v svojih organizacijah.

Odločitev diplomatov o tem, ali bodo tem Nesrbom pomagali, je bila odvisna od mešanice pragmatizma in predsodkov – čeprav je bila etnična pripadnost določenega srbofila pri tem le redko odločilni dejavnik. Kot bi pričakovali v 1930ih, so bili diplomati deljenih mnenj glede sprejemanja Judov – nekateri med njimi so nasprotovali njihovemu sodelovanju v srbskem javnem življenju. Vendar pa teh nasprotovanj niso vedno tudi udejanjili.

Če se vrnemo k teoriji – sodobne razprave o transetičnosti se osredotočajo na to, kako so ameriška država in sodobni diskurzi vplivali na krepitev ali rahljanje etničnih in rasnih meja. Navsezadnje nam lahko ti primeri, čeprav potrjujejo pomen države, služijo kot opomnik, da ZDA niso bile edini (v teh primerih pa niti ne najvplivnejši) arbiter o etnični pripadnosti.

# BUILDING LOYALTY ON THE MARGINS: INTERWAR YUGOSLAVIA AND EMIGRANTS FROM THE JULIAN MARCH AND PREKMURJE

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## ABSTRACT

### **Building Loyalty on the Margins: Interwar Yugoslavia and Emigrants from the Julian March and Prekmurje**

By examining the cases of emigrants coming from the Julian March to Argentina and Prekmurje to the United States, the article evaluates state-diaspora relations in the interwar context of shifting borders and changing political regimes. Whereas the Slovene-speaking population of Prekmurje, due to lasting Hungarian influence, was reluctant to embrace the Yugoslav idea, Slovene and Croat emigrants from the Julian March were fond of it. Assessing the methods of the Yugoslav extraterritorial nation-building process and emigrants' identifications, the author suggests that while Prekmurje emigrants maintained their non-national identity, the Julian March diaspora developed its own vision of the Yugoslav "homeland."

**KEYWORDS:** disputed territories, state-diaspora relations, Julian March, Prekmurje, interwar Yugoslavia

## IZVLEČEK

### **Oblikovanje lojalnosti na obrobjih: Izseljenci iz Julijske krajine in Prekmurja ter prva Jugoslavija**

Da bi prikazal odnose med državo in diasporo v kontekstu spreminjajočih mej in političnih sistemov po prvi svetovni vojni, avtor predstavi primera izseljencev iz Julijske krajine in Prekmurja. Medtem ko slovensko govoreče prebivalstvo Prekmurja zaradi dolgotrajnega madžarskega vpliva ni sprejemalo Jugoslavije, so bili slovenski in hrvaški izseljenci iz Julijske krajine navdušeni nad jugoslovansko idejo. Z raziskavo jugoslovanskega zunajteritorialnega narodotvornega procesa in identifikacij izseljencev avtor ugotavlja, da so prekmurski izseljenci ohranjali svojo nenacionalno identiteto, diaspora iz Julijske krajine pa je razvila svojo lastno vizijo jugoslovanske »domovine«.

**KLJUČNE BESEDE:** sporna ozemlja, odnosi med državo in diasporo, Julijska krajina, Prekmurje, prva Jugoslavija

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## INTRODUCTION

In 1930, when the region of Prekmurje was already integrated into the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav ambassador to Washington, Leonid Pitamic, an acclaimed lawyer of Slovene origin, pointed out the difficulties the Yugoslav diplomatic corps faced in engaging Prekmurje emigrants. Pitamic underlined that the attitude of these emigrants toward Yugoslavia was anything but favorable. As the emigrants came from the northeastern region, ceded to Yugoslavia with the Treaty of Trianon, Pitamic regarded them to be brought up in strictly “Hungarian spirit” and therefore recommended prudence in addressing them (Pitamic, 1930). Similarly, the Yugoslav ambassador to Buenos Aires, Ivan Švegel, a Slovene career diplomat with experience in the Austro-Hungarian service and an admirer of King Aleksandar, emphasized caution in dealing with emigrants who derived from the Julian March region, incorporated to Italy with the Treaty of Rapallo (Švegel, 1932).

To create a loyal Yugoslav diaspora, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, from 1929, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (hereafter, I will refer to the state simply as Yugoslavia), followed the practices of other states. For example, by the end of the nineteenth century, Italy strived to transform “its” emigrants into a loyal diaspora, known under the name *italiani all'estero* (Choate, 2008; Brunnbauer, 2016: 224). To maintain their national allegiance and extract their economic resources, Yugoslavia attempted to govern members of the tripartite Serbo-Croat-Slovene nation (as proclaimed by the state’s ideology) abroad as Yugoslavs at home, disregarding the state’s borders (cf. Ragazzi, 2017: 13). To pursue this policy, Yugoslavia treated the emigrants (including their descendants) who originated from its territory as subjects unless they renounced their citizenship (Đikanović, 2016: 46–49; Official Gazette, 1928: 741). While the state could not police the emigrants, Yugoslavia’s diplomatic corps worked on channeling emigrants’ remittances, interfered in emigrants’ associations, toured their communities, and monitored their attitudes (cf. Larson, 2020: 85). Yugoslavia’s sway over emigrant communities was, however, curtailed by host states’ governments, such as that of the United States, which implemented Americanization programs and introduced immigration restrictions (cf. Varlez, 1929: 11). Moreover, the fact that the majority of those whom Yugoslavia claimed as its emigrants departed as subjects of the Habsburg crown additionally hindered Yugoslavia’s capacities to engage its presumed co-nationals (Brunnbauer, 2016: 228). Yet it seems that nowhere was this task as challenging as with the emigrants coming from the disputed areas such as Prekmurje (part of Yugoslavia but aspired by Hungary) and the Julian March (an Italian region with a substantial presence of Slovenes and Croats). These migrants either did not have Yugoslav citizenship or were brought up in a different cultural background than the bulk of their presumed compatriots (Figure 1).



Figure 1: Map of the Interwar Yugoslavia showing the regions of Julian March and Prekmurje (source: Digitalne zbirke Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice u Zagrebu [Digital Collections of the National and University Library in Zagreb], <https://digitalna.nsk.hr/pb/?object=info&id=578344>).

Instead of justifying Wilsonian principles, the Paris Peace Conference created nation-states whose borders hardly overlapped with their presumed ethnonational boundaries. Due to the perception of the state in terms of “property” of its titular nation, issues of ethnic minorities, along with irredentism and border revisionism, burdened interwar East-Central Europe (cf. Brubaker, 1996: 6; Poznan, 2018: 165). Many states believed that the territories with a high amount of their co-nationals, which by postwar agreements had been adjudicated to other states, ought to be annexed (redeemed, according to the official slogan), basing their requests on ethnonational grounds. Likewise, state authorities regarded those incorporated regions where numerous “co-nationals” lived as being reunited with their homelands. Therefore, while Yugoslavia considered the annexation of Prekmurje as that territory’s liberation from the Hungarian yoke, the Julian March, with its Slovene and Croat populations, remained an area of “unredeemed brothers.”

Although the Yugoslav authorities considered the Slovene-speaking population of Prekmurje to form part of its titular nation, this population’s long-standing embeddedness in the Hungarian framework, impositions by the new authorities, and lasting particular ethnic identifications obstructed the incorporation of the region to its “homeland” (Kosi, 2020). Considering that the incorporation at “home” was not free from obstacles, the difficulties in engaging Prekmurje emigrants could be hardly surprising. The Julian March largely corresponded to the territory known as the Austrian Littoral in the epoch before the Great War. The annexation of this region to Italy and the accompanying Italianization, along with the ensuing economic crisis, resulted in the emigration of Slovene and Croat populations primarily to neighboring Yugoslavia and Argentina.

By examining the emigrants' newspapers, as well as the material of Yugoslav embassies in Buenos Aires and Washington, I aim to analyze how the emigrants from the Julian March and Prekmurje developed their particular identifications and, consequently, attitudes toward the self-proclaimed Yugoslav "homeland." Shedding light on their attitudes, I aim to find out how the emigrants from these disputed territories re-created the society they had abandoned while integrating into the new world. Coming from the region where political mobilization dated to the Austrian state context, the Julian March emigrants rallied around the image of their region, which they viewed as enslaved by Fascism. In so doing, they inscribed into the wider anti-Fascist resistance, becoming thus disturbing not only to Italy but also to their Yugoslav "motherland," which persecuted communists and was afraid that anti-Fascist sentiments might hinder relations with Italy. By contrast, as Prekmurje emigrants derived from the Kingdom of Hungary, where local and parliamentary politics were in the hands of the gentry, they were not as politically engaged (cf. Judson, 2016: 359). Instead, they considered priests as those who could facilitate the perpetuation of their local traditions. Consequently, the legacies of different political cultures shaped distinctive emigrants' attitudes.

The emergence of mass politics saw the development of the press. While the Julian March enjoyed a tradition of publishing, in Prekmurje, the first newspaper in Prekmurje Slovene appeared only in 1913 (*Novine*, edited by Jožef Klekl Sr.). Two separate practices can also be observed by examining the newspapers' structures. Contrary to the Julian March emigrants' newspapers (*Novi list/Slovenski list* and *Slovenski tednik*), which delivered the news on international politics on the first page, the most prominent newspaper of Prekmurje emigrants *Amerikanski Szlovecov Glász* (ASG, known in English as the *American Wendish Voice*, published in their largest settlement, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania) reported on American events, politics, and associational life on the front. Furthermore, whereas news from the "old place" in ASG (in the section "*Ka novoga vu sztárom kráji?*") referred mostly to local chronicles, those in Julian March newspapers contained information on the Fascist persecution in the area. In addition, while the Julian March newspapers reported amply on Yugoslavia, reference to the South Slavic state can only rarely be found in ASG. Given the Hungarian legacy, it is not surprising that a particular inclination toward Hungary, also manifest in cooperation with Hungarian emigrants, could be discerned in the newspaper. Yet, it would be too far-reaching to claim that the newspaper politically supported Hungary, at least during the years for which archival issues are accessible, hence from 1924 on (1924, 1927, 1936, 1939).

What united the Julian March and Prekmurje emigrants was their state of being bereft of "homeland," a condition that, in the wake of post-World War I border shifts, many East-Central European migrants had in common (cf. Poznan, 2018: 187). While historiography on states' emigration and diaspora policies has been expanding

recently,<sup>1</sup> the issues of complex loyalties following the postwar transformations have received only scarce attention. In addition, scholars dealing with Prekmurje or Julian March emigrants have mostly dealt with these groups separately, and not through the lenses of state-diaspora relations (cf. Kuzmič, 2001; Kalc, 1996, 2016; Mislej, 1994). Therefore, by comparing these two cases of disputed territories in the wake of post-World War I transitions, this analysis aims to render a more nuanced image of migrations, nation-building, and sovereignty and to suggest their transnational dimension.

## EMIGRATION AND INCORPORATION OF PREKMURJE TO YUGOSLAVIA

The region of Prekmurje (Hungarian *Muravidék*, German *Übermurgebiet*) was historically (up to 1920) linked to the Kingdom of Hungary and its westernmost counties of Vas and Zala. With poor traffic connections to urban districts and administrative centers, the area was continuously on the margins of successive state formations, the Kingdom of Hungary, the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia, socialist Yugoslavia, and even for a certain period in Slovenia. Land fragmentation, demographic pressure, and shortage of jobs in the wider region made seasonal migrations to the Hungarian interior common among Prekmurje inhabitants (Olas, 1957: 176–181; Kalc et al., 2020: 82). In addition, before the Great War, these migrants participated in transoceanic movements. Most of these movements were temporary, but eventually, many of them stabilized. They established their communities in Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, with their largest settlement in the latter state's town of Bethlehem (Horváth, 1922: 55–58; Kuzmič, 2001: 38). In the interwar period, transoceanic movements carried on. However, because of the US immigration quota, they redirected to Argentina, where most Prekmurje emigrants settled in the Avellaneda district of Buenos Aires (Cmor, 2003).

The nationalization and economic as well as infrastructural integration of Prekmurje into the Hungarian framework (the bridge over the Mur River was built only in 1922) meant that around 90,000 (Olas, 1957: 183) Slovene-speaking inhabitants of the region had, at best, minimal contacts with Slovenian Carniolans and Styrians. Consequently, the Slovene national movement, which had flourished in Carniola and Styria by the end of the nineteenth century, was nearly absent in Prekmurje. Furthermore, grounding their beliefs in ethnolinguistic nationalism, Slovene nationalists aimed at incorporating the Slovene-speaking population of Prekmurje into a

1 See, for instance, Green and Weil (2007) for the link between emigration and constitution of modern states, Green and Waldinger (2016) for the way migrant-sending states' shape emigrant transnational practices, Brunnbauer (2016) for the link between Yugoslavia's migration policies and nation-building processes, and Larson (2020) and Đikanović (2016) for the analysis of Yugoslav diaspora in the United States.

unified Slovene polity. However, the Slovene-speakers of Prekmurje conceived their “Sloveneness” (referring to themselves as *Sloveni* or *vogrski* (Hungarian) *Slovenci*) predominantly in regional terms (Kosi, 2018: 96). In addition, the Hungarian authorities stimulated regional identification by supporting the press in the Slovene of Prekmurje and discouraging the circulation of books in standard Slovene (particularly religious books published by Mohorjeva družba (Mohor’s Society) were popular among the peasants) (Jerič, 2001: 36–37). Furthermore, to dissociate them from the Slavic background, Hungarian nationalists claimed that Slovene-speakers of Prekmurje belonged to a particular Wendish ethnicity (Kuzmič, 2001: 101).

As the Hungarian authorities regarded Prekmurje Slovenes as a friendly ethnicity, many Slovene-speaking individuals viewed the emerging South Slavic state as unwelcome. Even though younger Catholic priests who studied in Styria and Carniola generally supported the incorporation, the older ones who enjoyed wider popular support, such as Jožef Klekl Sr., were reluctant to embrace the Yugoslav rule. What encouraged them to devise autonomism within the Hungarian context was a fear of the (possible) domination of Serbian orthodoxy over Catholicism in the emerging state as well as the lack of interest for the region of Prekmurje by the new authorities (Jerič, 2000: 67; Jerič, 2001: 80). This very characteristic—the Serb supremacy—was also used by the priests in emigration to steer Prekmurje emigrants away from Yugoslavia. Many natives, who were used to living in the Hungarian state, saw the incorporation to Hungary as a promise of stability.

In the attempt to contain Hungarian influence, which remained considerable until the international demarcation commission finally settled the Hungarian border in 1924, the Yugoslav authorities confiscated the otherwise forbidden emigrant press. They considered the latter as one of the principal vehicles disseminating pro-Hungarian views (District Captain of Murska Sobota, 1926: 39). Despite being prohibited in Yugoslavia because of their pro-Hungarian views, newspapers such as *ASG* circulated widely among natives of Prekmurje. The emigrant newspapers, written in the old mother tongue, facilitated transoceanic connections and were accessible to those who were not keen users of Slovene standard (Kardoš, 1934: 82). Ultimately, whereas most of the press in Prekmurje was published in the Slovene orthography, *ASG* was among the few papers which continued to be published in the old tongue using the Hungarian orthography. This fact also manifested its distance from the new state of Yugoslavia.

## **BETWEEN HUNGARY, YUGOSLAVIA, AND THE LOCAL CONTEXT: PREKMURJE MIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES**

The struggle to remain within the Hungarian state context resonated widely among Prekmurje emigrants. They were among those emigrant groups that post-war Hungarian authorities, disregarding the territorial losses, considered “inherited”



from the Kingdom of Hungary. Consequently, in the attempt to discard the Trianon territorial provisions, Hungary continued to court and monitor these emigrants (Poznan, 2018: 181–182). Yet as Prekmurje was annexed to Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav authorities also believed they had the right over the same emigrant group. However, despite the effort in devising an institutional apparatus targeting the emigrants, called *Isejlenička služba* (Emigration Service) (Hranilović, 1987; Đikanović, 2012; Brunnbauer, 2016), Yugoslavia faced greater challenges in engaging this emigrant community. Having emigrated in the pre-World War I period,<sup>2</sup> these emigrants had scarcely any contact with Slovene (or Croat) emigrants. Therefore, winning their loyalty was a strenuous endeavor.

As was the case with the rest of Hungarian emigrants in the pre-World War I period, the Hungarian authorities attempted to obtain the support of Prekmurje emigrants (regarded as members of a friendly Wendish ethnicity) by controlling and supporting the emigrant clergy. Particularly Lutheran pastors (about one-third of Slovene-speakers of Prekmurje were evangelical), not subject to the Vatican, were prone to follow the commands of Hungarian authorities (Antalics, 1998: 133–134; Kuzmič, 2001: 116–117; Poznan, 2018: 184). Following Hungarian policies, in the aftermath of World War I, the Lutheran pastor Ernest Stiegler and Catholic cleric Lovrenc Horváth established the Hungarian Wend's Federation of America. This organization aimed at convincing victorious powers of the Great War about the necessity of annexing Prekmurje to Hungary. The federation could count on both supporters in Prekmurje and irredentists in Budapest (Kuzmič, 2001: 120–135). To raise public awareness, the organization instigated a wave of protests against the Yugoslav rule over Prekmurje in the settlements of Prekmurje emigrants (*Amerikan-szki vogrszki-szlovenov*, 1921: 13).

However, not all the emigrants supported the “Wendish option.” A part of the Catholic community vocally advocated the union with the rest of Slovenia, considering “Hungarian Slovenes” deluded. In the paper *Vogrszki Szlovenecz*, edited by Martin Godina,<sup>3</sup> they rejected the notion that Slovenes (*Szloveni*) of Prekmurje formed a separate ethnicity, distinct from Carniolan and Styrian Slovenes, claiming that “state borders do not separate nations!” (*Krajina szlovenstva*, 1917: 1). They seem to be influenced by Slovene clergy who, via the Raphael Society, an organization catering to emigrant support and pastoral care, worked on co-opting Prekmurje emigrants into the national framework (cf. Kolar, 1990; Kalc & Zobec, 2021). Thanks to the society's links to American clergy, the Slovene parish in Bridgeport, Connecticut, was

2 Their number is hard to assess: the Yugoslav authorities in Prekmurje consistently wrote about 60,000–70,000 emigrants (District Captain of Murska Sobota, 1924) whereas the statistics of the United States set the figure of Slovene-speaking emigrants born in Hungary at a mere 7,000 (Kuzmič, 2001: 31). Whereas the first number seems exaggerated, the second is probably underestimated given the number of settlements in which the emigrants lived.

3 Probably the brother of the Slovene national activist, pro-Yugoslav military leader and priest Jožef Godina (cf. Hozjan, 2020: 156).

established. There, Prekmurje emigrants welcomed a Slovene priest from Styria (Arnez, 1971: 9–10). Finally, with the settlement of Hungarian borders in 1924, Prekmurje emigrants in Chicago began cooperating with their Slovenian Catholic peers. In the city, previously the center of *Hungarian Wend's Federation*, they started referring to themselves as “Slovenci” or “prekmurski Slovenci” and rejected the term “Hungarian Slovenes” (*vogrski Slovenci*) (Horwath, 1924a: 5; Horwath, 1924b: 4).

Yet convergence with the Slovenian emigrant community was virtually absent in the emigrants' most compact settlement, Bethlehem. Some emigrants there remained in favor of Hungary even by the end of the 1920s when the emigrants claimed the revision of Trianon (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1929; cf. Puskás, 2000: 230). As ambassador Leonid Pitamic observed, the emigrants in Bethlehem were under the influence of pastor Stiegler, an educated and capable person who helped them handle official affairs and managed to dominate a relatively homogenous and non-structured emigrant community (Kuzmič, 2001: 290). A man of German origin (born in Sopron, Hungary), Stiegler settled in Bethlehem in 1914 and quickly familiarized himself with the language of Prekmurje emigrants. Allegedly, he criticized Yugoslavia because the state was dominated by Serbs who subjugated Croats and Slovenes. Given emigrants' legacy and the priest's influence, it is understandable that they did not relate to “Carniolans or Carniolan Slovenes.” Moreover, the Yugoslav Ambassador Pitamic realized that winning their support was an arduous endeavor that could be accomplished only by disseminating literature written in Prekmurje “dialect” with the Hungarian orthography (Pitamic, 1930). Nevertheless, the Yugoslav diplomatic corps did not seem to have invested any further effort in courting the community. This disinterest might be attributed to the fact that the emigrants eventually refrained from supporting Hungarian recovery of “lost territories.”

Ultimately, as Stiegler helped them re-create the image of their homeland and integrate into the host society, the emigrants instead commemorated the anniversary of his ordainment than the Hungarian or Yugoslavian holidays. The twenty-fifth anniversary of Stiegler's service was pompously celebrated with prominent guests such as American politicians and the Hungarian diplomatic corps (Prevecs dobro sze poszrecso, 1936, 1). Eventually, Stiegler and the emigrants accepted the border settlement and refrained from territorial revisionism. Consequently, they could handle unproblematic relations with Yugoslavia and travel to Prekmurje without losing attachment to Hungary. Yet translocal links to their communities in Prekmurje remained more relevant than transnational concerns. This local channel served to perpetuate traditions threatened by the implementation of annexation policies in Prekmurje.

## THE JULIAN MARCH AND “ITS” EMIGRATION

Massive transoceanic migrations were a latecomer to the major part of the Julian March (Italian *Venezia Giulia*). Before the Great War, because of rapid industrial development, Trieste—the principal port of Cisleithania—, Rijeka, Pula, and eventually Monfalcone and Gorizia, functioned as magnets absorbing workforce from the surrounding crownlands (Kalc et al., 2020: 39–40). Following the war, the region underwent a tumultuous period of transition, which signaled an economic downturn and massive emigrations from the territory. With the introduction of the Fascist dictatorship in 1926, the emigration of non-Italian teachers and other state-employees was followed by those active in the clandestine anti-Fascist struggle. Finally, the economic, and in particular agrarian crisis, accompanied by the dissolution of saving banks and cooperatives, triggered the outflow of the (semi) agrarian population, directed primarily to Argentina (Vovko, 1978: 450–451; Kalc, 1996: 26–27; Kalc, 2016). Of around 100,000 Slovenes and Croats who emigrated from Italy in this period, about 70,000 relocated to Yugoslavia, 22,000 to Argentina, and 5,000 to France and Belgium (Kalc, 1996: 28–29; cf. Purini, 1998: 39–40). This massive emigration was embedded in the context of the Italian prohibition on the emigration of ethnic Italians (the law of 1927). This practice also indicates that the state encouraged the outflow of ethnic minorities. Nonetheless, the Italian policy was not dissimilar to the one pursued elsewhere in Europe. To put it bluntly, the departure of ethnic minorities was invariably seen as a mechanism for realizing states’ nation-building objectives—also by interwar Yugoslavia (Brunnbauer, 2012: 605; Zahra, 2016: 109–110).

The fact that the emigrants fled Fascist repression decisively shaped their political attitudes. In addition, their activities were marked by the aim to recreate the social life dismantled by the Fascist measures. Relying on a tradition of associational life and newspaper publishing, they quickly began establishing their associations. Like in the Julian March and Yugoslavia, the division between those who regarded the struggle against Fascism in national terms and socialist internationalists also appeared in Argentina (Kalc, 2016: 3; Zobec, 2019: 225). Whereas the former were essentially “heirs” of Trieste’s liberal and Catholic politics, the latter perpetuated the traditions of the disbanded socialist association *Ljudski oder* (The Popular Stage). The viewpoints of nationalist liberals in Argentina roughly corresponded to those advocated by the older generation of emigrants (*stara struja*) in Yugoslavia. Many of them were fond of Yugoslav centralism and unitarism (the belief that Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were but tribes of a Yugoslav nation). They believed that powerful Yugoslavia represented a bulwark against the Italian threat. With the advent of European border revisionism, they began to consider that the solution to the issue of Julian March lay in the annexation to its “motherland,” hence Yugoslavia (Vovko, 1978: 458–459; Kalc, 1996: 35–36). By contrast, socialist emigrants, forming part of the younger generation of Julian March emigrants in Yugoslavia (*mlada struja*), believed

in the necessity of an international struggle against Fascism and considered fighting against injustice in Argentina of vital importance for defeating the Fascist domination and, consequently, also for liberating the Julian March (Zobec, 2021a: 11). As the Yugoslav diplomatic corps denounced the disloyal emigrants to the Argentine police, these schematic differences began to alter, and the overwhelming support for Yugoslavia among nationalists withered. Likewise, the state repression undermined socialist bellicosity. Consequently, while many emigrants continued to identify with Yugoslavia, their point of reference was not the actual Yugoslav state but its reconfigured image.

## THE JULIAN MARCH EMIGRANTS IN ARGENTINA AND THEIR “HOMELAND”

Inimical relations between the emigrants and the diplomatic corps almost coincided with the implementation of dictatorship in Argentina. The *coup d'état* of General Uriburu in 1930 initiated a period of undemocratic governments and electoral fraud known in Argentine history as *Decada infame*—the Infamous Decade. During this era, the Yugoslav embassy cooperated with the Argentine police in persecuting Croat and Slovene emigrants, including those coming from the Julian March, accusing them of communist activism. As it turned out, both socialists affiliated with the association *Ljudski oder* and those who criticized the Yugoslav government or the embassy were harassed (cf. Dragutinović, 1931; Kacin, 1937: 123–128). The Yugoslav diplomatic service exercised such policy not only in Argentina. In fact, within the whole Yugoslav emigration (the “tenth banovina”), the state emissaries followed the ideology practiced in the other nine administrative units and combated disloyal emigrants (Larson, 2020: 126). Unsurprisingly, the measures that the Yugoslav diplomatic corps undertook ultimately backfired. As the emigrant priest Jože Kastelic observed, the Yugoslav embassy was incredibly successful in alienating the emigrants and discrediting the country it represented. Finally, the denunciations proved to be the best marketing campaign for anathematized newspapers, increasing their circulation (Kastelic, 1933).

As a result, many emigrants began to unite on the grounds of opposition to the Yugoslav government. The Julian March emigrants presumably found stimulus by the Italian opponents of Fascism who, when the anti-Fascist movement was gaining momentum in Argentina, rejected Mussolini's extraterritorial nation-building project (Aliano, 2012; Bisso, 2016). In 1936, with the arrival of the ambassador of Slovene origin, Izidor Cankar, relations with the emigrants improved, although not substantially. Despite the ambassador's care for the emigrant press and education, the divisions were hard to overcome. The emigrants were apparently disappointed by the ambassador's ignorance of their social issues (Kacin, 1958). Eventually, the Julian March emigrants who unremittingly supported Yugoslavia composed Cankar's most

loyal personnel, beginning with his secretary Viktor Kjuder, an emigrant and former journalist of the liberal Triestine Slovene newspaper *Edinost* (Unity). Kjuder cooperated with the Union of Yugoslav Emigrants from the Julian March, an umbrella association of Julian March emigrants in Yugoslavia whose leadership allied with the Yugoslav authorities and King Aleksandar in particular (Zobec, 2021b).

The disillusionment with Yugoslavia could be clearly recognized by analyzing emigrants' commemorative practices.<sup>4</sup> Following Pierre Nora (1996: 7), I argue that the need to commemorate the events symbolizing past realities was especially pronounced among the emigrants simply because they were not in touch with the world they had left. Although many emigrants called Yugoslavia their homeland, the analysis of commemorative practices shows what they attributed to the state-promoted celebration of Unification Day (*Dan ujedinjenja*, the commemoration of the establishment of Yugoslavia on December 1, 1918) was not always congruous to the meaning imposed by the state. After all, commemorative practices constitute a contested field even though they might appear consensual (Gillis, 1994: 5). Whereas the celebration of unitary Yugoslavia was at the forefront of official commemorations, demands for social restructuring and incorporation of Julian March often appeared in the emigrant newspapers (Zobec, 2021a: 14).

Moreover, as the emigrants identified with the misery of Julian March, they organized events condemning Fascist policy over the region. Specifically, the Trieste Trial, the Fascist show trial at which four activists were given death sentences, and many were incarcerated, was transformed into *un lieu de mémoire*. The Trial, which coincided with Uriburu's coup, provoked protests of Slovene and Yugoslav emigrants around the world, with particularly pronounced demonstrations in the United States (Kalc & Milharčič Hladnik, 2015). In Argentina, the leftist emigrants participated in the manifestation organized by the Italian anti-Fascists, but the dictatorial regime dissolved the event (Mislej, 1994: 98). Subsequently, more manifestations were held to commemorate the Trial. The greatest of them followed the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and was animated by the Defense Alliance of Yugoslavs in Italy, the organization of Julian March emigrants in the United States (Veličastna manifestacija za primorske brate, 1936: 1), and probably also by protests of the Italian emigrants against the imperialism of their "homeland" (Bertagna, 2009: 3). The Yugoslav diplomatic corps never endorsed these manifestations so as not to provoke diplomatic scandal with Italy, which, in the second half of the 1930s, was becoming an ever more crucial Yugoslav partner.

The "plight" of the Julian March was not absent from the memorial frame of the "ordinary" emigrants. However, their recollections were more linked to the public representation than private remembrance. In the emigrant correspondence, instead of references to the Fascist terror, one finds affirmations of familial solidarity and ties to a particular village community (Zobec, 2013). In this perspective, it is essential to

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4 For a detailed analysis see Zobec, 2021a.

note *when* references to the Julian March, informing the communal identity, were evoked. It could be argued that remembrance of the “enslaved” region came to the fore when the Fascist persecution was especially pronounced or Yugoslav “liberation” was drawing near. After all, following World War II, the campaign for incorporating the region into socialist Yugoslavia acquired massive emigrant support. Numerous signatures demanding annexation were sent to the Paris Peace Conference in 1947 (Mislej, 1994). Yet even though memorial references to the Julian March united these emigrants, not everybody felt invoked by this vision. Among them were those who volunteered for Italy to fight in Ethiopia, despicably called “lost sons” by the emigrant newspaper (*Izguljeni sinovi*, 1935: 1). They were expelled from the community sharing the memory of the region’s misery. In addition, as dictatorial governments in Argentina introduced an atmosphere hostile to non-Argentines, and dominant prejudices, particularly against Slavs associated with socialism, became widespread, many Julian March immigrants embraced anonymization in the Argentinian society. Furthermore, to evade stigmatization, some immigrants began to identify themselves as Italians, adopting a widespread and accepted identity in Argentina (Molek, 2016: 18).

## CONCLUSION

The ways Julian March and Prekmurje emigrants devised their relation to the self-proclaimed Yugoslav “homeland” reveal contrasting attitudes. Whereas the emigrants of Prekmurje often demonstrated their adherence to local traditions, the emigrants of Julian March stressed their allegiance to Yugoslavia. Yet, their attachment to the Yugoslav state was particular as it foresaw the rearrangement of the state they considered their homeland.

The distinction in Prekmurje and Julian March emigrants’ attachment to Yugoslavia owed mainly to the legacy of the pre-World War I period. In the Julian March, then the Austrian Littoral, Slovene nationalist associations emerged with the advent of politicization. They advocated the unification of Slovene-inhabited crownlands and pan-Slavism. By contrast, in the Hungarian Prekmurje, the links to Styria and Carniola were virtually absent. The Slovene-speaking population there often considered its position to be separate from Slovenia proper. As politics in Hungary were in the hands of the gentry, social activities in Prekmurje mainly revolved around the parish. Therefore, it is not surprising that priests fared much better than state emissaries in the contest for winning Prekmurje emigrants’ loyalty. While identifications depend on many factors, Prekmurje emigrants’ relation with the priest often determined their attitudes.

Even though both emigrant groups were subject to competing states’ interests, it seems that eventually, no state of origin could engage the targeted emigrants. While Yugoslavia and Hungary did demonstrate ambitions to control their

presumed co-nationals, postwar circumstances and limited consular infrastructure eventually curtailed their engagement. In the face of this weak role of states, most emigrants from both groups were in general more translocal than transnational in their attitudes. Even if many Julian March emigrants, especially in times of increased Fascist oppression, identified with the image of an imperiled minority and vowed for the liberation of Yugoslavia's "unredeemed territories," tying their cause to the international anti-Fascist movement, still only a minority was politically engaged. Consequently, many emigrants maintained translocal connections to their communities, as exemplified in the emigrant newspapers circulating in Prekmurje and emigrant correspondence in the Julian March. These connections were more relevant than transnational links to the states, which were absent for them. Prekmurje migrants thus nurtured their "localism" by maintaining ties with their compatriots at home, who, in turn, embraced emigrants' press and used it to affirm the specialty of Prekmurje Slovene.

The post-World War I context of shifting borders created areas whose links to national frameworks were fragile and ambiguous. Even though the states endeavored to build their respective "emigrant nations" (Choate, 2008), they faced difficulties engaging the emigrants coming from these disputed territories. Diaspora building projects were, therefore, from the very beginning challenged by the migrant-sending states' inability to treat many of their presumed co-nationals as diaspora members. State-diaspora relations were, however, not unidirectional: it was not just that states aimed at building diasporas; migrants, too, exercised influence on state formation. As the case of Prekmurje shows, migrant transoceanic connections, which often bypassed states' initiatives, did not just serve to perpetuate relations threatened by emigrants' dislocation. They also shaped the process of state (dis)integration of these disputed territories.

Despite being embedded in the interwar context, the issues of migrations from disputed areas continue to be relevant for studying transnational dimensions of state- and nation-building processes, especially in the contexts of transitions. The case of Trieste emigrants in Australia in post-World War II is a case in point. These emigrants who fled to Australia with the annexation of Trieste to Italy in 1954 nurtured non-national belonging that was later challenged by the Italian state and emigrant associations which managed to dominate the community and incorporate them into the national framework (Nelli, 2000). Even though many emigrants embraced national narratives, they often kept their particular identifications, not infrequently also by corresponding with members of their communities at "home." Understanding these processes is instructive not only for challenging state-promoted notions of diasporas as homogenous entities but also for displaying the importance of transnational and translocal contacts within the context of transitions.

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## Povzetek

### OBLIKOVANJE LOJALNOSTI NA OBROBJIH: IZSELJENCI IZ JULIJSKE KRAJINE IN PREKMURJA TER PRVA JUGOSLAVIJA Miha ZOBEC

Avtor v prispevku proučuje odnose med izseljenci iz Prekmurja in Julijske krajine ter njihovo jugoslovansko »domovino«, s čimer želi predstaviti zapletene odnose med državo in diasporo v obdobju med obema svetovnjima vojnama. S Pariško mirovno konferenco so namesto etnično enotnih nacionalnih držav, kot je bilo pričakovano, nastale države, katerih meje so se le v majhni meri prekrivale z njihovimi etničnonacionalnimi ozemlji. Zato je bilo medvojno obdobje obremenjeno z vprašanji revizionizma meja ter etničnih manjšin. Poleg omejitve priseljevanja, ki so jih postavljale ciljne države, so odnose med državami in diasporo obremenjevale tudi spremembe meja. Ker so bili izseljenci iz Julijske krajine italijanski državljani, izseljenci iz Prekmurja pa so prihajali z območja s stalnim madžarskim vplivom, se je Jugoslavija soočala z velikimi težavami pri naslavljanju teh izseljenskih skupnosti. Ti dve skupini izseljencev se nista razlikovali le po svojem odnosu do Jugoslavije, temveč tudi po svoji družbeni strukturi. Medtem ko je bila za Julijsko krajino značilna tradicija društvenega življenja in izdajanja tiskanih medijev, se je življenje slovensko govorečega prebivalstva v Prekmurju vrtelo v glavnem okoli cerkve.

Posledično so prekmurske izseljence »usmerjali« duhovniki, izseljenci iz Julijske krajine pa so tvorili strukturirano skupnost, ki je izražala različna mnenja, tudi glede Jugoslavije. Vendar pa so si zaradi represivne politike jugoslovanskega diplomatskega zbora kljub podpiranju Jugoslavije na koncu ustvarili alternativne vizije »domovine«. Jugoslavija se je torej izkazala za neuspešno pri vzpostavljanju nadnacionalnih vezi s prekmurskimi izseljenci ter pri pridobivanju naklonjenosti izseljencev iz Julijske krajine. Namesto nadnacionalnih sta ti dve izseljenski skupnosti vzpostavili translokalne in transregionalne povezave, katerih cilj je bil bodisi ohranjanje lokalnih tradicij, kot je to veljalo za prekmurske izseljence, bodisi ozaveščanje o »zaslužnji« regiji, kar je bila stalna tema komemoracij priseljencev iz Julijske krajine.



# BETWEEN HUMANITARIANISM AND POLITICS: SOME ASPECTS OF THE RELIEF EFFORTS BY YUGOSLAV IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Vesna ĐIKANOVIĆ<sup>1</sup>

COBISS 1.01

## ABSTRACT

### **Between Humanitarianism and Politics: Some Aspects of the Relief Efforts by Yugoslav Immigrants in the United States**

The article examines specific aspects of the humanitarian engagement of Yugoslav immigrants in the United States during World War II. In addition, it aims to highlight how particular ideological, political, and ethnonational views were expressed through the organization, cooperation, and engagement in humanitarian actions. The article reviews the engagement of the United Committee of South-Slavic Americans (UCSSA), an organization whose one activity was sending aid to vulnerable compatriots in the old homeland. It also sheds light on a specific endeavor, namely, the process of loading the Yugoslav ship with humanitarian aid for the partisans and civilians in the liberated parts of Yugoslavia.

**KEYWORDS:** United Committee of South-Slavic Americans, War Relief Fund of Americans of South Slavic Descent, Yugoslav immigration, humanitarian aid

## IZVLEČEK

### **Med dobroteljstvom in politiko: nekateri vidiki prizadevanj jugoslovanskih priseljencev v ZDA za pomoč domovini**

Članek se ukvarja z različnimi vidiki humanitarnega angažmaja jugoslovanskih priseljencev v ZDA med drugo svetovno vojno. Poleg tega si članek prizadeva predstaviti določene politične, ideološke in etničnonacionalne poglede, kot so se razkrivali skozi proces organiziranja, sodelovanja in angažmaja v humanitarnih akcijah. V članku so predstavljene aktivnosti Združenega odbora južnih Slovanov Amerike, organizacije, ki si je prizadevala za pošiljanje pomoči porušeni domovini. Posveča se tudi vprašanju natovarjanja jugoslovanske ladje s humanitarno pomočjo partizanom in civilistom v osvobojenih delih Jugoslavije.

**KLJUČNE BESEDE:** Združeni odbor južnih Slovanov Amerike, Vojni fond pomoči Američanov južnoslovanskega porekla, jugoslovansko priseljenstvo, humanitarna pomoč

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## INTRODUCTION

War years testify not only to the worst presentations of human nature but also to expressions of true nobility and solidarity. News and images from the war-torn areas and individual experiences of the war events summon a sense of empathy and humanity with a clear need to move from verbal expressions of support to precise ways of assisting the victims. The ingression into active work through individual engagement or institutional organization meets the current or immediate needs. It lays the foundation for long-term work for the benefit of those who need help. Humanitarian activities, particularly in the war years when the need for them is undeniable, primarily bear the stamp of philanthropy and humanity. However, they also make room for expressing other contents and interests (political, ideological, economic, personal) that do not necessarily exclusively contain principles of humanity and humane actions. These contents do not have to distort the positive context of engagement in providing assistance, but they can certainly indicate the complex nature of humanitarian work. Their recognition makes room for and offers a new, or at least, a different perspective of perceiving and understanding various social phenomena, contents, and occurrences at a particular historical moment which find their expression through the process of organizing and participating in various forms of humanitarian actions. In this regard, research related to the humanitarian activities of migrants, in this case of Yugoslav immigrants in the United States, is becoming interesting for several reasons. Besides a particular contribution to understanding the complexity of humanitarian activism, organizational forms, and the force of individual initiatives, the opportunities to acquire valuable knowledge in the context of research on migration as a social phenomenon, consideration of particular aspects such as the relationships between emigrants and the states of emigration or immigration, identity issues, and transnational connectivity are undoubted. Indirectly, this type of activism analysis offers a specific and somewhat different angle for observing the encounters or conflicts of diverse political interests, ideologies, and values during a crisis such as World War II.

In the context of the analysis of the relief efforts of Yugoslav immigrants in the United States, the field of assistance to the old homeland during the war became a place of visible political and ideological occurrences whose character was not exclusively that of a humane endeavor. In other words, the activities of émigrés and other Yugoslav factors in the field of providing/seeking assistance, in their final meaning, remain as an expression of empathy for vulnerable compatriots. In an almost undisguised form, these humanitarian activities also reflect the then-current political affiliations and attitudes toward the ethnonational issue and political and ideological subjects and perspectives related to the Yugoslav space. Some aspects of the relief efforts of Yugoslav migrants during World War II have been the subject of analysis, however, primarily as part of broader analyses of different issues related to Yugoslav emigrants (Čizmić, 1978; Hacin et al., 2018). The



historian Lorraine Lees offered important insight into the complexity of relief work among Yugoslav immigrants in the United States during the war, including the attitude of US authorities toward the issue (2007: 173–193). Historian Matjaž Klemenčič (1987) offered a more detailed account of the relief efforts of Slovenian migrants in the United States. Given the number of actors, individuals, and organizations that organized, collected, and distributed humanitarian aid, this paper concentrates on those aspects and examples of humanitarian activities that offer a paradigmatic example of the complexity and ambiguity of this engagement. Therefore, the relief efforts of the United Committee of South-Slavic Americans (UCSSA) in the direction of assisting the Yugoslav people and the partisan movement, with an emphasis on the attempt to send a ship with humanitarian aid in the second half of 1944, will occupy the primary place of analysis.

## YUGOSLAV IMMIGRANTS AND RELIEF EFFORTS—AN (UN)EXPECTED FIELD OF DIVISIONS

Despite the experiences of the migrants' attitude toward the Yugoslav state in the interwar period, marked by cooperation but also misunderstanding, conflicts, and even open hostility, the Yugoslav community in America showed almost undivided readiness to offer help to the old homeland in times of new challenges.<sup>1</sup> Immediately after the first days of the occupation in April 1941, they organized themselves to collect and send aid to vulnerable compatriots in and outside the occupied state. These activities will incessantly go in step with the public engagement of immigrants until the end of the war and immediately after. Through organizing humanitarian events, donations, also supporting the US war industry by buying US war bonds and personal involvement in the US military (Šotra, 1990: 373–381), the Yugoslav ethnic groups made a direct or indirect contribution to the Yugoslav struggle against the occupiers. Still, the complexity of inherited political and ethnic relations within the Yugoslav state, the continuity of conflicts in emigration that took the form of ethnic divisions and hostility after the news of atrocities committed against the Serbian population in the Independent State of Croatia, and the new challenges posed by

1 A number of different migrant societies existed in the United States. Yet, the largest, and most influential were the benefit societies established to provide protection and support to members during times of distress. However, they also articulated the political views of different ethnic groups. The biggest Croatian organization, Croatian Fraternal Union (CFU) was a firm supporter of the Croatian peasant party and its leader Vladko Maček. The Serbian national federation (SNF) established numerous channels of cooperation with the Yugoslav state during the interwar period. During World War II, the Serbian National Defense was formed, advocating the establishment of a Serbian state instead of Yugoslavia. Slovenian migrants were members of several Slovenian organizations (jednote) with different political views ranging from socialist to clerical (Klemenčič, 1987). More on the history of CFU (Čizmić, 1994) on relations between Yugoslav immigration and Yugoslav state in the interwar period, see Brunnbauer (2016); Đikanović (2016); Miletić (2012).

the inclusion of military and political alternatives with the emergence of the partisan movement in Yugoslavia eventually marked this humanitarian aspect of the public engagement in emigration. The political life of Yugoslav émigrés mirrored the one in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia before and during the war. Ethnicity played a crucial role when the question arose about the future of the Yugoslav state. Ethnonational political leaders from the old homeland were supported. Most Slovenian migrants endorsed the idea of all Slovenians in a united Slovenia as part of federal Yugoslavia. Representing the majority of Croatian migrants in America, the Croatian Fraternal Union advocated the policy of the Croatian peasant party. This policy included insisting on the agreement that resulted in the formation of Banovina Hrvatska. A large part of Serbian immigrants at the beginning of the war supported the Yugoslav state. However, news from occupied Yugoslavia, and the Independent State of Croatia, influenced the attitude toward the idea of a common state, shifting their support toward the idea of an independent Serbian state. The news from the occupied homeland also affected relations among different Yugoslav ethnic groups, especially among Serbs and Croats. An atmosphere of open hostility, accusations, and open conflicts marked relations between the two immigrant groups.

Ivan Molek, the editor of the Slovenian *Prosveta*, wrote that the issue of relief work for the old homeland was discussed at a meeting of Slovenian immigrants. The attendees emphasized the need to avoid all the controversial problems. Thus, the newly formed committee “would perform only humanitarian acts” (Molek, 1979: 251). Molek himself concluded, “it was not so,” citing the statement of the Slovenian Socialists “that every action pertaining to the old country must also be political” (Molek, 1979: 252). It was not possible to confirm the authenticity of this statement based on the available sources, but it certainly proved to be correct. Namely, the initial activities of the largest migrant organizations and the Yugoslav ambassador to the United States, Konstantin Fotić, left an impression of unity and togetherness. In May 1941, a joint organization of Yugoslav immigrants was established in Cleveland on the initiative of the Croatian Fraternal Union (CFU) (Klemenčič, 1987: 169). Furthermore, Fotić’s initiative led to the founding of the organization American Friends of Yugoslavia (AFY), which included both prominent Americans and Americans of Yugoslav origin. A United Yugoslav Relief Fund (UYRF) was formed shortly after, under the auspices of the AFY, to consolidate the work of collecting aid for Yugoslavia (Fotić, 1995: 82–83; Lees, 2007: 173). It turned out that this unity was short-lived. The inherited contradictions, but also the new challenges, the divisions within the government in exile that took an unmistakable nationalistic character, the news on the formation of the Independent State of Croatia, and the mutual accusations of the rapid defeat of the Yugoslav state, shortly began to affect relief efforts in the United States. Accusing the Croatian factor in Yugoslavia of the quick defeat, the Serbian bishop Dionisije stated in a letter to K. Fotić, “I think that we should either wait for a little with the Yugoslav Relief Fund now, or continue not for the Croats and Zagreb, but for the reconstruction of Belgrade” (Dionisije, 1941).

On the other hand, professor Dinko Tomašić interpreted Fotić's action as an attempt to achieve full control over the work in America. Tomašić was a member of the Croatian Peasant Party and soon to become personal secretary to the Ban of Croatia,<sup>2</sup> Ivan Šubašić. Tomašić saw the establishment of the Fund as damaging "because the constitution of such a Fund will prevent relief efforts because all our migrant institutions in America are organized on the people's principle and not on the Yugoslav principle." He concluded that the Fund failed in collecting donations among Croats and was used "to break the Croatian Fraternal Union by the united communist and 'yugoslav' elements" (Tomašić, 1941). The Zagreb professor's message was a warning to the Yugoslav diplomat to respect the independence of the Croatian factor in his work also in America. It was a kind of articulation of the Croatian, that is, HSS policy. Already the first year of the war made it evident that humanitarian work was becoming a platform for political and nationalistic declarations at the same time. Even Fotić himself had no illusions about real unity, neither in terms of the cooperation nor the perception of the events related to the Yugoslav future. As early as June 1941, he stated that, when it came to the help of emigrants, they could count on the Serbian community in the first place because "the prisoners are exclusively Serbs and that the destroyed areas are mostly Serbian" (Fotić, 1941).

Both the news about the partisan resistance movement on the territory of occupied Yugoslavia and it becoming a political alternative to the existing Yugoslav Government-in-Exile (YGIE) by the decisions of AVNOJ in 1942 and 1943<sup>3</sup> instituted new divisions and content. According to one of the supporters of the National Liberation Movement (NLM), Martin Bogdanovic, the news of the conflict between Draža Mihailović and the partisans "affected all political and relief activities of every Yugoslav community within the United States" (Bogdanović, 1944). On American soil, the support for partisans and their leadership came from the Yugoslav communists, as expected, and from certain Yugoslav politicians (Sava N. Kosanović), public figures (the author Louis Adamic<sup>4</sup> and world-famous violinist Zlatko Baloković). With the formation of the United Committee of South Slavic Americans (UCSSA) on August 7, 1943, the support for the NLM gained its institutional visibility. This organization, led by Louis Adamic, undertook the obligation to represent the interests of the South Slavs from the occupied territories and to promote the unity of the South Slavic peoples on the territory of the United States to support the war efforts of the United States and its allies (The Bulletin, 1943). However, the UCSSA also came to concrete conclusions regarding the Yugoslav state that positioned the organization as open support for the NLM. Thus, the work of the committee went

2 In 1939, Banovina of Croatia was established by an agreement between the prime minister Dragiša Cvetković and the politician enjoying widest support in the Croat-inhabited lands, Vladko Maček. The first and only person to hold the title of Ban of Croatia was Ivan Šubašić.

3 On different aspects and decisions of AVNOJ see Petranović (1992: 526–534).

4 On activities of Louis Adamic during the World War II (Novak, 1998; Klemenčič & Mrdenović, 2020).

in the direction of giving “moral and (as soon as possible) financial support to the National Liberation Army and Partisans of Yugoslavia...” (Adamic, 1943). After the military recognition of the NLM by the allied countries at the conference in Teheran in November 1943, the committee’s primary task became the work on the political recognition of the NLM and the denial of the legitimacy of the old political forces, i.e., the YGiE. It soon became apparent that the field of humanitarian engagement would be within reach of new political and ideological divisions and conflicting interests. Sava Kosanović, a former minister in the Yugoslav government and then one of the most active supporters of the partisan forces, emphasized the close or almost unbreakable link between the political and the humanitarian aspect. He welcomed the decision made in Teheran, but he also emphasizes the importance of political recognition as a gesture of respect for the actual events on the ground and the mood of the Yugoslav people, which would also “find immediate expression in increased aid through lend-lease and other channels” (Kosanović, 1944a). Kosanović made this remark at the beginning of an ongoing fight of the UCSSA for obtaining the license of the American state for the collection and distribution of humanitarian aid. Alongside news about the successes of the partisan forces and the liberation of parts of the occupied country came news about the tragic situation of the people in the liberated territories. Therefore, one of the UCSSA’s work priorities in 1944 became creating conditions to send aid to partisans and the people of Yugoslavia. The condition for initiating relief efforts was the possession of a license from the American authorities, i.e., War Relief Control Board, which, in addition to collecting, was also supposed to enable the distribution of humanitarian aid. To obtain the permission, the representatives of the UCSSA used an argument aimed at confirming the justification of their requests. Apart from emphasizing the grave situation in Yugoslavia, at the same time, these arguments went toward discrediting the work of the existing UYRF. Namely, there were allegations as to the poor performance and achievements of the fund, which was believed to be under the control of the Yugoslav Ambassador Fotić (Marković, 1945: 280). To underline the claim about the essential inefficiency of the fund, they emphasized the complete absence of cooperation between this body and the Yugoslav community in America. Zlatko Baloković stated, “It is evident that the present board of the United Yugoslav Relief Fund remains adamant in their refusal to cooperate with the representatives of the vast majority of Americans of the Yugoslav descent” (Baloković, 1944a). Yet again, on another occasion, emphasizing the readiness of Yugoslav emigrants to help the people in the liberated parts of Yugoslavia, Baloković, justifying their refusal to cooperate with the fund, concluded, “They do not have confidence in the United Yugoslav Relief Fund” (Baloković, 1944b). Hence, the UCSSA asked the US authorities for permission to run a relief campaign “until such time as the United Yugoslav Relief Fund is reorganized so that it draws strength from all Americans of the South Slavic Descent” (Baloković, 1944b). Indirectly, such an argument conveyed the message that even those forces that stood behind the work of this fund no longer enjoyed

any support from the Yugoslav people, certainly not those who lived in the United States. S. Kosanović went a step further and was more expressive in using the issue of humanitarian aid as an argument for political and moral disqualification of political rivals. In a statement to the *New York Times*, as reported by this paper, Kosanović pointed out that YGiE, during a crucial time in the fortunes of the fight against the Nazis, had “misrepresented” the state of affairs to the United States Government and the relief agencies. As a result, lend-lease, UNRRA, and Red Cross aid “were being used against the Yugoslav people” (*Balkan Unity*, 1944). In his Memorandum to the American authorities, Kosanović emphasized that the humanitarian aid distribution policy was erroneous not only for the Yugoslav side “but also for the American.” As he stated, one million Yugoslav-Americans were living in the United States, and “the greatest majority of them are pro-Tito.” He concluded, “the Yugoslavs in Yugoslavia are under the impression that official America is backing Fotic and all the enemies of the Yugoslav people” (Kosanović, 1944b). The American side was also aware of the potential political implications of granting permission to the United Committee. Lorraine Lees concludes after quoting an American official “War relief (had) become a principal arena in the United States for discussion and agitation of foreign political questions; [...] The Yugoslavs were a case in point” (Lees, 2007: 173, 174). The issuance of the license could have introduced additional divisions and conflicts in the otherwise complex relations within the Yugoslav factor in America. However, after several months of negotiations, but also in somewhat changed political circumstances resulting from the formation of the Tito-Šubašić government in July 1944, the American authorities decided to grant a license to the UCSSA on August 24, thus enabling the collection and distribution of aid (Control Board, 1944).

The UCSSA was expected to form a new organization that would work exclusively on relief work. Thus, they established the War Relief Fund of Americans of the South Slavic Descent (WRFASDD) with Zlatko Baloković as its president. In this manner, they made a distinction between political and relief actions. Moreover, the new organization, WRFASDD, was expected to take “all measures necessary” to achieve cooperation with other Yugoslav organizations having a license to collect aid.<sup>5</sup> Undoubtedly, obtaining such a license was a great victory for the UCSSA and the entire partisan issue; its procurement represented political legitimacy and acknowledgment. Unquestionably, the objective Yugoslav needs prompted the effort to secure a permit for relief work. Obtaining a license was welcomed by the leaders of the NLM (Velevit, 1944b). It was important to NLM since its negotiations with UNRRA on receiving humanitarian aid, also with political implications, produced no result at the time (Ajlec, 2020: 131; Velevit, 1983: 314, 345). Alternatively, relief work provided an opportunity to exercise activities of a much more pragmatic nature. An additional sphere of political propaganda that favored the new military and political forces on

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5 Support was primarily sought from organizations that obtained a license to collect aid on US soil (CFU, JPO-SS, SND, UYRF).

the territory of the Yugoslav state was entered. Despite the regulations forbidding humanitarian organizations from entering the sphere of political activism through direct contact with the migrant community and the promotion of a new narrative centered on a positive image of the NLM, the supporters of Tito's leadership had new opportunities for propaganda work opening to them. Zlatko Baloković highlighted the fact that "a successful relief campaign on such a great scale will automatically be of great value in arousing sympathy and interest in Tito and the entire liberation movement" (Baloković, 1944d).

## WAITING FOR THE SHIP TO COME—BETWEEN RELIEF EFFORTS AND POLITICAL ACTIVISM

The news from London would soon bring new dynamics into the work of WRFASSD. Namely, the Yugoslav government in London informed the Yugoslav consulate in Montreal about its intention to send a ship to the United States to deliver humanitarian aid from Canada and the United States directly to the people in the liberated parts of Yugoslavia (Pijevac & Jončić, 2004: 456). This information was also forwarded to the WRFASSD leadership. It was specified that the ship with a carrying capacity of 5,000 tons should arrive in New York in mid-November 1944 (Maletić, 1944c). The Yugoslav government appointed Toma Babin, the president of the Yugoslav Seamen's Club in New York, as the official organizer of the ship-loading action (*Poziv za davanje pomoći*, 1944). As the leadership of WRFASSD was informed by Ivan Šubašić, the ship *Timok* was designated for the loading of goods, but for security reasons, the name and date of arrival of the ship were supposed to be kept secret (Šubašić, 1944). Only two weeks after its founding, the WRFASSD leadership faced a great challenge that tested the organization's ability to meet the needs and expectations of the NLM and to confirm its status as a true representative of the Yugoslav people in the United States.

Although immigrants from Canada were involved in the action, and a few organizations from South and Central America also contributed, the highest expectations were still associated with the United States, given the number of immigrants of Yugoslav origin. Certain expectations from WRFASSD were also present among the partisan leadership. These circumstances created a need to provide broad support, which included all relevant Yugoslav organizations, as necessary. It also meant seeking support from those organizations and individuals who held opposite political perspectives about the future of the common state. Gaining support was essential for several reasons. Primarily, a decisive advantage is reflected in the success of the humanitarian actions themselves, that is, in the increased volume of collected aid, which was only attainable through achieving masses. Reaching unity, however, also had a significance that entered the field of proving authenticity and political grounding. One of the main arguments supporting the UYRF's failure thesis

was the lack of support from Americans of Yugoslav descent. Therefore, the new organization had to demonstrate its authenticity and justify its existence by uniting immigrants behind combined actions. Namely, as it was indicated, "The fraternal cooperation of all South Slavic Americans in the relief action is the strongest manifestation of our unity and the best guarantee for successful work" (Appeal, 1944). The accord behind the work of WRFASSD conveyed a clear political message. The inclusion of more migrants, and more importantly, major immigrant organizations sent a message to the United States and all other allies that the military and political force in the country had the sincere support of the Yugoslav people.

In an attempt to increase the network of associates and due to the answers WRFASSD received, the words of the president of the Serbian support society *Jedinstvo*, Milo Marinković, sounded almost like political excess. Agreeing to take a seat on the board of the new organization, Marinković added

I think that it is NOT a QUESTION OF WHETHER I PERSONALLY AGREE COMPLETELY WITH THE POLITICAL IDEOLOGY OF ALL OTHER OR INDIVIDUAL BOARD MEMBERS. My conscience DOES NOT ALLOW me to inhibit or disable help to the people from my place of origin due to incongruities with some insignificant political points (Marinković, 1944).

This attitude proved to be an isolated incident within the Yugoslav emigrant community. Despite the previous experience marked by conflicts and disputes, WRFASSD sent an invitation to the Serbian National Defense and Bishop Dionisije to participate in the action of the ship loading (Maletić, 1944b; WRFASSD, 1944b). The call insisted on the apolitical nature of the organization and the exclusively humanitarian nature of the entire act. The WRFASSD is, as stated, "dedicated solely to the humanitarian task of alleviating the desperate suffering of the Yugoslav people." (WRFASSD, 1944a). The SND did not respond to the invitation. There were certain expectations about a possible positive reaction from Bishop Dionisije (Maletić, 1944d; Maletić, 1944e). However, the complexity of differences proved too great to overcome with a single plea to action.

There was not too much hope for the success of the inclusion of the largest Serbian organizations. Still, those expectations certainly existed in the case of such individuals and organizations that expressed support or at least sympathy for the NLM. However, it proved that even those in the diaspora who publicly supported the NLM and some USCCA members were not ready to unconditionally support the committee's actions, even when they were humanitarian. It was not a matter of the current situation but rather a matter of continuity in public performance and declaration, which could have had particular political implications. Specific interests would not allow unconditional participation in the action led by the WRFASSD. The Slovensko ameriški narodni svet (SANS, Slovenian American National Council), an organization established in December 1942 as a representative body of Slovenian

immigrants (Klemenčič, 1987; 214–266), provided support for the establishment of WRFASSD, sent a financial contribution, and expressed its readiness to participate in the action of loading the ship furthermore (SANS, 1944).

Conversely, the organization of Slovenian immigrants formed to collect aid for compatriots in the old homeland, Jugoslovanski pomožni odbor-slovenska sekcija (JPO-SS, Yugoslav Auxiliary Campaign-Slovenian Section), did not demonstrate equal willingness for combined action. They discussed participation in the joint effort at the meeting on October 19, 1944, and again a month later. The final decision was to set a sum of money without becoming a part of the new organization's work since they were not sure that the help would reach Slovenia (Klemenčič, 1987: 270). At the meeting held on November 14, the leadership of JPO-SS approved \$25,000 of aid to purchase medical equipment intended for a Yugoslav ship but "for use in Slovenia" (Cainkar, 1944a). This decision was certainly disappointing news for WRFASSD representatives. Zlatko Baloković, in a letter to Vincent Cainkar, warned, "To keep back money already collected and available for immediate relief for the people of Yugoslavia would be nothing less than murder" (Baloković, 1944e). This statement did not import that some Slovenian organizations and the members of JPO-SS would not participate in the work of WRFASSD. The SNPJ (Slovenska narodna podporna jednota – Slovene National Benefit Society), as the most prominent support alliance of Slovenian migrants to the United States, sent financial aid, and Vincent Cainkar, the president of both this alliance and the JPO-SS, openly promoted collaboration with this organization (Cainkar, 1944b).<sup>6</sup>

When Anna Traven asked V. Cainkar to make an influence on JPO-SS to join the action of the new organization, she stated, among other things, that the CFU would buy goods worth \$ 150,000 as well as that "they lost no time in deciding once they were sure of the ship" (Traven, 1944). However, Traven did not comment on the period of painful negotiations and uncertainty in connection with the involvement of the CFU in the combined humanitarian action. The leadership of the UCSSA indeed counted on this cooperation. However, at the time of launching the ship loading, in October 1944, the WRFASSD stated that the CFU was "separately conducting a relief action" (WRFASSD, 1944a). There is no doubt that one of the reasons for the behavior of the Croatian organization, similar to the Slovenian one, was the need to establish complete control over the collected money and its use. Agreeing to collaborate with WRFASSD meant that the priority in this sphere of activity was somehow conceded to another organization and leadership. However, some other reasons also shaped the behavior of migrant organizations, especially those that, given the number of members, were considered true representatives of the immigrant community. Alike the experience in the Great War, the years of the new world conflict, from the point of view of Yugoslav immigrants in America, made them a free and authentic voice of

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6 From 1941, there was a separate relief action conducted by the Union of Slovenian Parishes. As M. Klemenčič explained, the funds were delivered through the Vatican bank to occupied Slovenia (Klemenčič, 1987: 170–171, 293).



the people who had the opportunity, obligation, and duty to represent the interests of their own people. Thus, a message was sent from the Serbian Assembly in October 1941, that the Assembly was “the only free forum in the world where the word of our national religious feelings, desires, pain, and protests can, must and is to be heard” (Memorandum, 1941). In February 1943, one could hear from the lines of Croatian emigrants that “American Croats have the right and duty to interpret the feelings of the Croatian people in the old homeland ...” (Spomen knjiga, 1943). Despite some opposite views in that regard, it is actually that this fact gained an essential place in the attempt to understand the attitudes and actions of the immigrant public in relation to the events related to the Yugoslav state, in addition to the inherited situations and the need for a new position due to the changed circumstances made by the war. Then again, the UCCSA was the bearer of relief action (through WRFASDD), but this body was also an important political ally of the NLM in the United States, a factor to coordinate measures and plans with (Velebit, 1944a; Baloković, 1944c). Hence, the cooperation of migrant organizations with the WRFASDD could indirectly mean recognizing the new political situation and the idea of a new Yugoslavia. At a time when the future of the country was still not clearly visible, any such action carried the weight of political and/or ideological interpretation. Considering such possible implications, one could understand the care and attention when making decisions, accepting obligations, and entering various forms of collaboration.

It turned out that the realization of the cooperation with CFU would not be easy. On one occasion, WRFASDD leadership stated that “there are indications entitling us to think that all this has a very complex political background” (WRFASDD, 1944a). In the new political circumstances, the status of the Croatian Peasant Party’s leader Vladko Maček affected also the position of the CFU. By all odds, the news about the attitude of the new partisan forces toward Maček, the so-called “Maček controversy,” as Louis Adamic would put it, left a mark on the behavior of the Croatian element in America. Namely, the Yugoslav communists wanted the support of the migrants, which came from understanding the goals of the NLM struggle. In this respect, the issue of Maček had to be understood as a matter of creating a new society in which there was no place for a politician whom Yugoslav communists considered a “traitor” (Velebit, 1944a). Based on the insight into the available documents, the argumentation of V. Velebit did not find a place in the attempts to persuade the CFU to cooperate. Quite the reverse, it was precisely individuals from the ranks of Croatian political life in exile who were asked to support the negotiations with the Croatian organization. Thus, Rudolf Bičanić was asked to influence the president of the CFU, Ivan Butković, to join the action of the ship loading “even if they had to indicate with huge letters on the boxes that it is a special help from Butković and the Croatian community” (WRFASDD, 1944a). Finally, the support of the Croatian side was obtained, despite occasional stumbling, and according to Z. Baloković, the WRFASDD Fund, which amounted to \$200,000, also included the amount of \$175,000 provided by the CFU and the Croatian National Council (Baloković, 1944e). Following the idea

of Yugoslav unity and the policy expressed by the decisions of AVNOJ, there was a demonstration of openness declared for the inclusion of organizations that were not exclusively Serbian, Croatian, or Slovenian (WRFASSD, 1944c). The steps were taken to connect with the UYRF, but they did not yield results (Maletić, 1944a).

In addition to the primary goal of fundraising, they entered the sphere of political activism in favor of partisan forces and political leadership led by Josip Broz Tito. After all, there was a connection and interdependence of the success of the two actions, one conducted openly and the other more subtly. Receiving mass support was closely tied to the positive perception of those to whom help was intended. Through public appeals, in private communication with individuals and organizations, the message was conveyed about the authenticity of the partisan movement in the fight against Nazism in Yugoslavia and the correctness of the NLM leadership's policy. Across the United States, forms with an image of a young partisan woman with names of donors and the amounts of donations were issued. The political message was more openly accentuated in letters to individuals (Maletić, 1944f). It was difficult to refrain from political activism. Despite the clear instructions by the organizers of a Pittsburgh rally to refrain from mentioning Tito and political issues, Oskar Magazinović proudly informed Maletić, "I wanted to talk about Tito [...], and that is precisely what I did" (Magazinović, 1944).

Despite the efforts and dedicated work by WRSSDF representatives and Yugoslav communists in the United States, the results were not satisfactory. Strahinja Maletić, recognizing the dire situation, appealed to "ask for help everywhere" (Maletić, 1944c). Hence, more intensive work was done to gain support from the American public, including prominent political and public figures. With the support of Russian War Relief, the Allen-Klarnet Associate had been hired to promote relief efforts among Americans. A special organization was established in mid-November, the American Committee for the Yugoslav Relief Ship, as part of WRFASSD (Basic information, 1944). An appeal to the Americans' pragmatism took place. American soldiers in Italy, as it was stated, were alive partly because of "Tito's Yugoslav Liberation Army [...] keeping large German forces pinned down in Jugoslavia" (To the Editors, 1944). It was also an opportunity to create a valuable network of allies among Americans. The accomplishment of gaining American support was even more significant. Josip Broz Tito stated, "The Ship with humanitarian aid that our friends from America want to send, will be a valuable support, not only as a sign of compassion [...] but as a manifestation of understanding our struggle from the great land of Washington, Lincoln, Roosevelt, according to which Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and Macedonians have undivided sympathy and respect" (Marshal Tito, n.d.). Sava Kosanović, in a letter to the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief<sup>7</sup> concluded that besides the relief efforts, this board had "a deeper political meaning because it develops the friendship between the USA and Yugoslavia" (Kosanović, 1944c). However,

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7 This committee inherited the existing organization WRFASSD at the end of 1944.

this process also prompted to the surface the harsh reality of wartime. The satiety of the American public with the strong appeals for help came to the fore this time as well. Despite this, WRFASSD gathered 350 American sponsors for the American Committee for the Yugoslav Relief Ship, including popular radio presenters, public figures, and politicians (Basic information, 1944).

The sphere for political activism was opened, but the primary goal was to send aid. Despite great efforts and specific results, it was not enough. The ship intended to deliver aid was used to transport timber from Halifax to England (Maletić, 1944c). It did not entail that the collected aid did not reach the Yugoslav territory. Other ships provided necessary assistance to the Yugoslav people and army, followed by the final agreement with UNRRA in 1945 that made room for continuous provision to the country (Ajlec, 2020: 139).

## CONCLUSION

In the years of profound political transformations, changes, and tragic yet dynamic movements, it seemed that no aspect of public activism could remain outside the political content. The divisions and differences that accompanied the public life of immigration were too deep for this essentially humane aspect of public expression to remain intact. Alternatively, according to the actors of public life in America, the field of humanitarian work also became a political arena in which politics, ideas, and ethnonational interests were an issue for which to fight. Simultaneously, the networking of the political status of the actors in the Yugoslav drama and the approach to humanitarian aid in the complex world of international relations was perceived. One thing meant the other; that is, one issue was a reflection of the other. The efforts of the United Committee and the newly established relief organizations were directed at providing political support to the Partisan movement and supplying humanitarian aid. Despite the occasional failures and unimplemented plans, the latter yielded real and tangible results that reached those who needed help. As for political work, several other factors, primarily the reality on the ground, the political and military affirmation of the NLM, would settle the fate of the new Yugoslav state.

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## POVZETEK

### MED DOBRODELNOSTJO IN POLITIKO: NEKATERI VIDIKI PRIZADEVANJ JUGOSLOVANSKIH PRISELJENCEV V ZDA ZA POMOČ DOMOVINI

Vesna ĐIKANOVIĆ

Med drugo svetovno vojno se je zdelo, da se noben vidik političnega aktivizma ne more izogniti politični zaznamovanosti. V prvih dneh po razpadu Jugoslavije je področje humanitarnega dela ponujalo podobo enotnosti in sodelovanja. Humanitarno delo, pri katerem je takoj sodelovalo tudi veliko število priseljencev, je kmalu vključevalo številne aktivnosti, ki so se vse bolj spreminjale v izražanje političnih, nacionalističnih in ideoloških prepričanj. Nasprotujoča si stališča in politične preference so ponovno prišli do izraza, ko sta Združeni odbor južnih Slovanov Amerike (UCSSA) in novoustanovljena dobrodelna organizacija, Vojni fond pomoči Američanov južnoslovenskega porekla (WRFASSD) izvajali operacije pošiljanja pomoči osvobojenim delom Jugoslavije. Na pripravljenost posameznih etničnih skupin za sodelovanje v kampanji natovarjanja ladje s pomočjo so vplivali njihovi različni pogledi na prihodnost skupne države.

Na drugi strani je odbor UCSSA hkrati izkoriščal humanitarno delo za politično propagando v korist narodnoosvobodilnega boja (NOB). Kampanja natovarjanja jugoslovanske ladje s pomočjo jim je ponujala priložnost za uresničitev tako dobrodelnih kot političnih ciljev. Na koncu težko pričakovana ladja ni pristala v newyorškem pristanišču – vseeno pa so partizani in civilisti v Jugoslaviji pomoč dobili po drugih kanalih.





# REPATRIATION OR REDEFECTION? COLD WAR REFUGEES AS CONTESTED ASSETS, 1955–1956

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## ABSTRACT

**Repatriation or Redefection? Cold War Refugees as Contested Assets, 1955–1956**  
The article examines the response of a united representation of Cold War era exiles (Assembly of Captive European Nations, ACEN) to the Moscow-inspired repatriation campaign of 1955. The article's focus rests on the US-sponsored exile political activities carried under the aegis of the Free Europe Committee. The year 1955 serves as a particularly interesting moment when both key adversaries in the Cold War were engaged in programs using migration as a tool to advance their political goals. The issue of political exiles' agency is signaled based on the Polish case in the context of American redefection programs and Washington's response to the Soviet Bloc campaign to demoralize anti-communist escapees and *induce* their return.

**KEYWORDS:** repatriation campaign, Cold War, political exile, Assembly of Captive European Nations

## IZVLEČEK

**Repatriacija ali vrnitev prebežnikov? Tekmovanje za begunce hladne vojne, 1955–1956**  
Članek predstavlja odziv skupnega zastopništva izgnancev hladne vojne (znanega pod imenom Assembly of Captive European Nations, ACEN – Skupščina evropskih narodov v ujetništvu) na kampanjo repatriacije, ki jo je Moskva izvedla leta 1955. V središče pozornosti postavlja politične dejavnosti izgnancev, ki so jih podpirale ZDA pod okriljem Odbora svobodne Evrope (angl. Free Europe Committee). Leto 1955 je zanimivo obdobje, ko sta glavna nasprotnika hladne vojne uporabljala migracije kot orodje za uresničevanje svojih političnih ciljev. Članek na poljskem primeru obravnava dejavnosti političnih izgnancev v kontekstu ameriških programov za pridobitev prebežnikov iz sovjetskega bloka in odgovora Washingtona na sovjetsko kampanjo demoralizacije ubežnikov.

**KLJUČNE BESEDE:** kampanja repatriacije, hladna vojna, politični izgnanci, Skupščina evropskih narodov v ujetništvu

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## INTRODUCTION

One way to study the Cold War is to look at the competition for the “hearts and minds” on both sides of the Cold War divide. Works related to psychological warfare and propaganda struggles offer multiple areas of focus, one of which is examining the fate of the migrants (Mazurkiewicz, 2019b: 41–58). In the bipolar world, each adversary argued the superiority of its socio-economic regime. People who crossed the Cold War divide were living testimonies to such claims, and as such, exploitable propaganda assets. In 1955, two propaganda systems collided over the issue of the Soviet repatriation campaign, swiftly branded redefection by the opposing side. While there are studies within national historiographies on how individual countries in the region organized repatriation campaigns under Moscow’s direction (Mazurkiewicz, 2019a) and on émigré responses to calls for return, this text looks at the problem from a slightly different angle. Focusing the attention on the agency of political exiles places them within a larger context of US psychological warfare. Looking from the vantage point of a transnational organization working in symbiosis with the US government, the main research question relates to the impact the repatriation/redefection campaign had on the role that both sides assigned to Cold War refugees.

In this text, I chose to examine the repatriation campaign through the perspective of the Assembly of Captive European Nations (ACEN), an organization of political exiles from nine East-Central European countries which were seized by the Soviet Union after World War II. ACEN was established in 1954 based on national councils and committees in exile. These political organizations, created after the mid-1940s, consisted of the democratic (non-communist, non-fascist) exiles from East-Central Europe who resided in the West. The New York-based Free Europe Committee (FEC), an organization underwritten by the US government and prominent private US citizens, financially and politically supported the ACEN (Mazurkiewicz, 2021: 22–50). Through this symbiosis, the exiles from nine East-Central European states who gathered under the ACEN umbrella strived to confront the Soviet repatriation campaign. The ACEN perspective is particularly interesting since the assembly was the voice of people who, had it not been for the forcible imposition of the Communist rule across the region, would have likely played prominent roles in the political and socio-cultural lives of their homelands. Thus, ACEN offers a unique view on their consideration for the possibilities and circumstances regarding returning home. One must remember that the sole concept of returning home seems to be the single most definite feature distinguishing the political exiles from the Cold War refugees (from displaced persons to escapees and defectors) (Mazurkiewicz, 2015: 159–171).

This text begins with a brief survey of the US and Soviet programs that exploited the Cold War refugees as psychological warfare assets in the early 1950s. Against this background, I describe the ACEN response, which consists of three elements representative of their political operations in general (Mazurkiewicz, 2021). The first

area of intervention was the international relations forum. The second area was rallying support for their organizational activities in the United States. The third, divided here into two separate fields, was to orchestrate coordinated exile action to effectuate real change behind the Iron Curtain. The first task was to halt Soviet efforts to rally returns. The second was to seek the return of the wartime refugees held against their will within the USSR. Poles were the largest group among these. Due to the coerced migrations (deportations, population transfers, forced labor and military service, imprisonment, exile, and expulsions, etc.) perpetrated by both the Nazis and Soviets during and after the war, and also a result of the significant shift of the country's borders to the West (based on decisions made at Yalta and Potsdam in 1945), millions of people in the Polish lands were forced to move in 1939–1948 (Stola, 2010: 10, 24).

While the 1955 Soviet repatriation campaign targeted the entire region, an investigation of the Polish case serves the readers to address the question of exile agency—between Moscow and Washington. The issue of repatriation was especially pertinent for the Polish members of the ACEN since, among the nine united delegations, Poland's post-World War II diaspora was also particularly numerous. A significant amount of research already exists related to the story of the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe's (RFE) activities for the release of pre-war Polish citizens stranded in the USSR (Machcewicz, 1999; Stanek, 2009). However, no mention thus far has been made on the political exiles gathered under ACEN's umbrella—an obvious target of the Soviet campaign. What was their response to repatriation? Were they considered an asset for the Americans, and if so, in which forums? Did they advance any original agenda that would deliver a concrete outcome? Since the issue of the exiles' political agency seems to stand out as the least addressed in research, the final question should be: were the political exiles in the non-Communist world mere objects of the Soviet repatriation campaign?

## **FROM REPATRIATION TO REDEFECTION: REFUGEES AS A COLD WAR ASSET**

The end of World War II in Europe marked the beginning of a major repatriation campaign. Former prisoners of war (POWs), forced laborers, people displaced by the military conflict, hunger, or border changes that followed the defeat of Nazi Germany in Europe were on the move (Shephard, 2012: 62–119). These return migrations were instinctive, individually organized, and facilitated by states based on international agreements or resulting from forcible population transfers. The largest scale of repatriation was based on the provisions of both Yalta and Potsdam agreements with the assistance of the liberation armies and international organizations such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA, established in

November 1943), International Refugee Organization (IRO, December 1946), (Judt, 2006: 23–40). However, not all returns were voluntary (H. Res. 137, 1955).<sup>1</sup>

With the post-war border changes, intertwined with the imposition of Communist rule across the region of East-Central Europe, came the unwillingness of many refugees to return home. Refugee camps across Western Europe became sites of dramatic actions protesting return. Within a year after the war's end, many displaced persons (those with a home to return to) became refugees awaiting resettlement in displaced person (DP) camps. Many refugees experienced discrimination because of their health, age, or lack of skills. Thus, their resettlement in the West was hindered for many years after the war. Moreover, by 1948, a new phenomenon became evident: spectacular yet often tragic escapes across the descending Iron Curtain (Carruthers, 2009: 4–5; Mazurkiewicz, 2016: 416–418, 435–459). Consequently, by the early 1950s, thousands of people across Western Europe still refused to return to the countries of their origin for fear of Communist persecution.

Mindful of the militarization of the borders dividing Europe and the fact that legal departure from Communist-dominated countries had become almost impossible, the United States decided to exploit the vulnerability of the Soviet Union and the countries it controlled in East-Central Europe. Thus, it focused on inducing further defections. The United States did not expect a mass influx of new refugees. Still, dangerous and dramatic escapes across the Iron Curtain served as evidence to the Western public of the unbearable living conditions under Communism. Based on the policy proposal regarding Soviet and Satellite Defectors spelled out in the NSC 86/1 and approved by President Truman in April 1951, the US government decided to weaken the Soviet party and military apparatus by inducing defections (Mazurkiewicz, 2016: 78). In spring 1952, a special operation called the US Escapee Program (USEP) was inaugurated to assist those fleeing to the West. Notably, it expanded the program's scope to include refugees already needing resettling. The program grew significantly when President Eisenhower assumed office in 1953. While planning for the fiscal year 1954, Harold E. Stassen, the director of the Foreign Operations Administration (formerly the Mutual Security Agency), said the Escapee Program was particularly important in "re-building hope among the victims of oppression by offering them an opportunity to become self-respecting and productive members of a democratic society" (Bureau of Public Affairs, 1953). Among the many agencies receiving assistance from USEP, there were also ethnic organizations such as the American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees, the American Polish War Relief, and the United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America, etc.

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1 Repatriation carried a negative connotation due to the forced repatriation program carried out by US military and civilian authorities in Germany in 1945–1947. It was proposed as a subject of investigation by a House of Representatives Committee in February 1955. Of course, this could hardly be considered a coincidence. A copy of a proposed resolution was forwarded to the ACEN Office by American journalist Julius Epstein.

The program was not just about refugee maintenance and resettlement. The US psychological warfare planning included inducing defections, especially from within the Communist military and high-ranking party members. The most spectacular success of this policy followed the defection of Józef Światło, the high-ranking official responsible for internal security within the ranks of the Polish Communist Party. He defected in Berlin in December 1953. In making the information public, he sent shock waves across People's Poland and prompted personal changes in the country's regime (Machcewicz, 2007: 94–95; Mazurkiewicz, 2016: 452–457). Communist defectors became a new, powerful asset in the hands of US propaganda. However, their usefulness for psychological warfare was only temporary, and most of the defectors were promptly rejected by both ethnic and émigré communities in the free world.

Another measure developed by the US government in cooperation with its public partners (representing business, media, prominent politicians, and former diplomats) became a long-term and efficient weapon in confronting the Soviets. In 1949, state-private cooperation resulted in the establishment of the National Committee for a Free Europe (renamed Free Europe Committee, FEC in 1954). This publicly operating organization assisted the work of the democratic exiles from East-Central Europe. The committee engaged in "political warfare" in which exiled leaders played an important role (Kádár Lynn, 2013: 7–69). Most of the exiled political leaders who received assistance from FEC left their homelands in 1944–1947. Headquartered in New York, FEC sought to facilitate exile organizational structures and programming to help maintain these leaders' potential while abroad (temporarily, it seemed at the time). At the same time, FEC was using their knowledge, skills, contacts, and willingness to cooperate with the West to weaken Soviet claims of representative governments established under Moscow's aegis in East-Central Europe. By the early 1950s, the Cold War political exiles active in the West were, in fact, a surrogate opposition in place of crushed domestic anti-Communist and democratic forces across East-Central Europe (Mazurkiewicz, 2016: 473).

The FEC ran numerous programs: from supporting political committees and councils intended to coordinate exile political activities, radio broadcasts, and publications to break the Communist-imposed censorship in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, regional study centers for the advantage of the Western policy-making to citizen services which aimed at assisting refugees stuck in the DP camps with the help of respective political, social, and cultural émigré organizations (Mazurkiewicz, 2021: 51–85). The most impactful of all these programs was Radio Free Europe (RFE), which broadcast news and cultural content to five countries of the region: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania (Johnson, 2010: 39–78). This elaborate structure was, of course, a result of the new doctrine of containment announced in 1947, which sought not just to prevent further Soviet expansion. The US policy aimed to weaken the Soviet Union by ensuring that the people of the countries the Communists seized control over would not be dominated in their spirits. The

struggle “for hearts and minds” was part of a much greater effort of economic, diplomatic, and other forms of pressure on the USSR. Obviously, at stake was a global confrontation in which Moscow and Washington wished to present themselves as guarantors of peace, stability, and cooperation, hence the propaganda clashes in which Cold War refugees played a visible role.

By 1955, the Soviet Union was well aware of the elaborate US-made support system established to assist members of political, cultural, and intellectual elites who did not return home after World War II or fled their homelands when the Communists took over. As mentioned above, the refugee became an asset in the Cold War competition for hearts and minds. Communists quickly realized that the same was even more true in the case of re-defectors, the disillusioned political exiles in the West who decided to return home. In the Moscow-led propaganda machine, these returnees were ultimate proof of the West’s inability to deliver on its promises of support in the areas ranging from political engagement on behalf of the captives to issues such as resettlement and standard of living.

In 1953, the Soviet Union announced the first amnesties, foretelling more advanced steps to induce returns via the Moscow-coordinated effort. The release of some gulag prisoners between March 1953 and May 1956 was followed by the Soviet Amnesty Decree of September 17, 1955. On top of releasing Soviet citizens who were sentenced for collaboration with the Nazis during the war, it also included a provision for the Soviet citizens abroad who had participated in anti-Soviet organizations after the war and were ready to publicly repent this fact (Zalkalns, 2014: 78–80). Soviet-controlled regimes in East-Central Europe replicated Moscow’s operation, intended to lure back émigrés, by issuing amnesty decrees inducing returns (Cenckiewicz, 2008: 37–38; Ruchniewicz, 2000: 275–285; Wierzbiański, 1955).<sup>2</sup>

Thus, in 1953, the issue of defection, escape, and the return gained special momentum in the Cold War psychological confrontation between the United States and USSR. Following Stalin’s death in 1953, the fighting in the Korean War ended in a stalemate. At this point, the POWs’ return once again became a focus of the world’s attention, with twenty-two thousand prisoners held by South Korea choosing to settle in Taiwan rather than returning to North Korea or China. At the same time, a small but exploitable group of twenty-three American soldiers who refused to return home became the spotlight of the Communist propaganda. What was intended as a US-directed spectacle demonstrating the unwillingness to return to the Communist-dominated homelands turned out to be a potential propaganda setback for the West (Carruthers, 2009: 174; Mazurkiewicz, 2021: 212–214).

By the mid-1950s, the situation in Europe was also dynamic. In early 1954, Bohumil Lausman—former Czech socialist minister of industry, émigré politician

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2 Romania: August 1, 1954, and January 25, 1955; Czechoslovakia: May 9, 1955, Hungary: April 3, 1955, and January 22, 1956, Bulgaria: October 27, 1953, and April 7, 1956, Albania: January 5, 1956. In Poland, an early announcement was made on August 17, 1955, by Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz. The amnesty was announced on April 27, 1956.

active in Austria, suddenly appeared in Prague (Friszke, 1999: 233). In September 1955, the prime minister of the Polish government-in-exile (in London), Hugon Hanke, returned to Warsaw. We now know that he had worked for Communist intelligence since 1952 (Cenckiewicz, 2005: 271–273; Tarka, 2001: 19–33). But in 1955, his return marked the peak of the Soviet repatriation campaign and became a potent symbol of its success. Stanisław “Cat” Mackiewicz, also a former prime minister of the government-in-exile (1954–1955), while inspired by the intelligence, was prompted to return in June 1956 being disillusioned in the émigré work, Western policy, loneliness, and the incapability of life in exile (Cenckiewicz, 2005: 268–271, 274; Machcewicz, 1999: 30; Friszke, 1999: 239–240). These were significant blows to the morale and cohesion of the Polish political activities in the West. However, the result of the Soviet repatriation campaign was meager, given the scale of exile. Bolesław Wierzbiański, who prepared ACEN’s policy paper related to the redefection campaign, estimated two million refugees, displaced persons, escapees, and defectors in the West (Wierzbiański, 1955). In the Polish case, about seven thousand people returned from non-Communist countries (Cenckiewicz, 2005: 276–280; Stola, 2010: 83–84, 478). Among them, about one hundred people were Poles who played prominent roles in the country’s political and cultural life in the past. Thus, their names were recognizable by the general public. Some willingly cooperated with Communist propaganda, condemned by their former colleagues in exile upon their return. Others, having returned mostly for personal reasons, eventually assisted in developing domestic opposition (Nowak-Jeziorański, 2005: 182–183).

Based on the evidence from the archives of the Polish state security, one is left with little doubt regarding the real nature of the repatriation campaign. Bringing home anti-Communist activists (politicians, intellectuals, other social leaders) *en masse* was not in the best interest of Warsaw’s regime since it could have fueled the re-emergence of domestic opposition. The campaign’s ultimate aim is best illustrated by the Decree of November 10, 1955. It proposed the use of an agent and operational projects aimed at weakening and paralyzing the “reactionary activities of emigration centers”; deepening the contradictions within the exile milieu, unmasking and discrediting the leaders, and pulling away from the émigré masses from them; supporting activists and groups who wanted to change their attitude toward the homeland and to go back or establish positive cooperation with the country (Decree of November 10, 1955 (Warsaw) cited in Cenckiewicz, 2004: xxxviii–xxxix). In short, the aim of the campaign was simply to destroy political emigration centers, to turn the exiles into economic migrants, connect them to the network of diplomatic missions, and eliminate their potential as a weapon used for psychological and political activities by Western powers (Cenckiewicz, 2005: 252).

## THE ACEN'S RESPONSE

When the ACEN was established, both the US Escapee Program and the Soviet repatriation campaign were in place. However, in 1955, the Communist repatriation campaign became a full-fledged, regionally coordinated project that reached exiles in Western Europe and America. The exiles from nine countries dominated by the Communist regimes gathered in the ACEN were swift in preparing their response to the widespread inductions of émigré returns. The political exiles in the West were not naïve and immediately recognized that the campaign orchestrated across the region had one common political aim: to weaken, divide, and eventually destroy the anti-communist opposition that gained strength in the West. Hence, in their minds, “repatriation” became “redefection” (Memorandum, 1955).

From their perspective, the campaign's focus was much greater than a mere struggle for the refugee's decision to stay abroad or return home. Following the Geneva Conference of July 1955—the first meeting of wartime Allies since the Potsdam Conference—the exiles recognized that Moscow believed the world had entered a long period of peaceful co-existence. According to ACEN, the Soviet goal became securing recognition of the West that the Communist regimes in East-Central Europe were permanent. The ACEN assessed the Soviet intention to convince the West that:

these regimes have undergone serious changes in the post-Stalin era, that the excesses of the first years have been suppressed and that a harmonious “modus vivendi” between the demands of Communism and the human aspiration for freedom, as well as between Soviet Russia's ambition to leadership and the patriotic feelings in the captive peoples, are in the process of being found (ACEN News, 1955a).

As a regional representation in exile, the ACEN's mission was to respond in a regional mode displaying the real origin of the campaign and explaining its larger goals. Since Moscow was using strictly national channels to contact the various émigré milieus (to conceal the Soviet-dictated regional pattern), it became the ACEN's mission to expose and warn against the Communist methods of reaching the exiles. The formerly prominent politicians from East-Central Europe were also trying to explain to their American partners that the Soviet Union was taking advantage of the “Geneva spirit” to get rid of political exile as part of a much larger goal which was to “liquidate the policy of liberation,” to secure their grip on region only to move on with “the overall strategic plan of the Kremlin against the Western democracies” (ACEN News, 1955a).

The synchronized repatriation campaign waged by the puppet governments aims at discouraging the captive nations in their hope for liberation. It tries to make them believe that even the exiles have lost hope and faith, thanks to the so-called “spirit



of Geneva” and that Western Powers have allegedly renounced their policy of liberation ... as for the exiles, they will not be duped by this propaganda and will not give up their struggle. Although their dearest wish is to return to their countries, they will not go back in order to become accomplices of their people’s masters. They will return only when independence has been restored to the captive nations and when the political freedom of their peoples can be insured under conditions permitting free and unfettered elections (ACEN, 1955).

In the resolution adopted by the assembly, the exiles reiterated conditions essential for their return home. They shall go back once all traces of Soviet occupation disappear (armed forces, special services, and all personnel), political police, Communist apparatus be disbanded, political rights and democratic freedoms restored, free and unfettered elections were held (ACEN doc. 57).

There are three key areas in which the ACEN responded to the Communist redefection campaign: offering assistance and preparing information campaign directed to the refugees (Refugee Know Your Rights campaign), calling for increased Western support for the exiles (Marshall Plan for the exiles), and by re-directing the attention of the “free world” to the fate of the East Central Europeans stranded within the Soviet Union (imprisoned, displaced, resettled, etc.). In all of the above, the ACEN was not working in a vacuum. It was coordinating its activities with the Free Europe Committee and diasporic organizations.

## ACEN REACHES OUT TO THE UNITED NATIONS

The exile assembly sought contacts and ways to influence the United Nations (UN) from its inception. *The New York Times* even referred to it as a “Little U. N. O” (Mazurkiewicz, 2018: 227–245). The UN was one of the important forums for Cold War propaganda activities. Within the repatriation/redefection campaign, the focus of the big powers’ attention was the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural Issues) of the Tenth UN General Assembly. Using this forum, the Soviet Union asked for UN support for its plans for the repatriation of refugees. On September 23, 1955, ACEN issued an appeal widely distributed among the non-Communist UN members exposing the real agenda behind the Soviet initiative (Coste, 1955). The assembly also prepared an information package entitled: “Refugee Know Your Rights.” It cited the rights listed in the Geneva convention 1951 relating to the status of the Refugees, coming into force only in 1955 (ACEN News, 1956: 25–26). Two

elements were the focus of this paper: the right of a refugee to claim no expulsion or forced return and no penalty for illegal entry (UNHCR, 1951, 1967).<sup>3</sup>

In the UN forum, the Soviets presented a draft resolution aimed at instructing the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to assist in the early return of refugees to Soviet-dominated countries and prohibiting propaganda hostile to their countries of origin. In October 1955, ACEN unanimously adopted a resolution by which it acclaimed the UN decision (29 against, 14 in favor) to reject the Soviet proposal. Instead, the UN urged “free world’s” protection and material and spiritual well-being of refugees (ACEN doc. 58). In the document, two other items that ACEN demanded draw our attention. One was the emphasis on “giving wider scope to the activities of political exiles from captive European countries and recognizing them as the genuine spokesman of the subjugated nations.” This statement was, of course, a reference to the ACEN’s own goals and aims. The second was the appeal to the non-Communist governments in the UN to induce the USSR and its puppet allies in Central and Eastern Europe to “release from forced labor camps, prisons and other places of confinement the hundreds of thousands of citizens of subjugated countries of Central and Eastern Europe whether in their homeland or deported to Soviet territories” (ACEN doc. 57). Both items require further elaboration.

## ACEN CALLS FOR A NEW MARSHALL PLAN FOR THE ÉMIGRÉS

The first of the areas mentioned above consists of two overlapping themes: the exiles as surrogate opposition from abroad who became the target of Soviet repatriation campaign and the unfortunate fate of displaced persons and Cold War émigrés in need of assistance in the West. The ACEN addressed both. The exiled leaders believed they were effectively influencing public opinion in the West as stern critics of life behind the Iron Curtain (ACEN News, 1955b: 9–11). As they had become the target of the Soviet repatriation/redefection campaign, they requested additional support. Stefan Korboński, leader of the Polish delegation to the ACEN, proposed the New Marshall Plan for the émigrés. He described the Soviet repatriation campaign as having two targets: the captive people behind the Iron Curtain and the people in the “free world.” Korboński wrote that Moscow sought “complete disintegration of the strongest anti-Communist exile center which, with the support of the respective American ethnic groups, serve as a constant reminder of the existence of Soviet occupation in the captive nations.” His plan proposed to counteract the Communist propaganda by giving more attention and recognition to the voices

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3 The ACEN periodical says that twenty-six countries signed it, among them the United States. Yet, we know that while there were representatives of twenty-six countries, two were observers. The United States became a signatory only to the 1967 Protocol. Thus, on July 25, 1951, twenty-four countries voted to adopt it. The United States signed the protocol on November 1, 1968.

of political exiles in the West and by taking concrete measures to alleviate conditions in the camps (immigration legislation, assistance with employment, social security, veteran care, scholarships for the youth, etc.) (Korboński, 1956; Machcewicz, 1999: 130; Nowak-Jeziorański, 2005: 181).

Evidently, FEC was already doing much along the lines Korboński had in mind. Since 1953 the FEC has coordinated a special program called Free Europe Citizens Service. It aimed to provide assistance and maintain morale among the refugees in Europe (Mazurkiewicz, 2016: 464–465). Since these communities were not just subject to inducement to return but also recruitment attempts by the Communist intelligence, the FEC developed another program named: SHORTSTOP. The annual report by the president of FEC indicates that this operation was inaugurated already in February 1955, so before the Communist bloc campaign was publicly announced and took on a forceful character (Mazurkiewicz, 2016: 469–450).

Moreover, upon suggestions coming from the director of the Polish Desk at RFE, Jan Nowak, Radio Free Europe initiated operation “gauntlet” with the intent to protect the émigrés (in particular, the vulnerable intellectuals) from the Communist lure (Machcewicz, 1999: 131–132). Money was one way to support the émigrés by underwriting the operating cost of their political organizations, publications, scientific institutes, libraries, cultural centers, writers’ stipends, etc. The increased appreciation of exiles’ role in countering the Soviet redefection campaign increased support for the exile activities within the FEC budgetary allocations (Mazurkiewicz, 2021: 63–64).

The repatriation/redefection campaign was also of concern to the US government, not just to exiles or state-private organizations like the FEC. Operations Coordinating Board (OCB), an advisory body created by Eisenhower’s administration in place of the Psychological Strategy Board, held lengthy discussions of possible ways to counter the Soviet campaign to eliminate and demoralize political émigrés. On April 13, 1955, the OCB initiated a program that called for increased material assistance to escapees, propaganda counter-offensive, and protection and security of the émigrés (OCB, 1956). By October 1955, the OCB recommended that the US address the UN on behalf of the refugees’ right for protection, including protection from the aggressive inducements to return. The activities on the exiles were in synergy with those of the US psychological warfare planning. Based on NSC 86/1 (US Policy on Soviet and Satellite Defectors), the US government combined a variety of tools at its disposal, notably and upon OCB’s urging, combining the potential of USEP, with Radio Free Europe, ACEN, FECS as well as Voice of America which regularly broadcast dramatic stories of new escapes from the Communist-dominated countries to the West (Mazurkiewicz, 2016: 468–470). The voices of the exiles added legitimacy and credibility to this effort.

## EXILE EFFORT TO COUNTER REDEFECTION: THE POLISH CASE

While it is not possible within the scope of a single article to address the diversity of approaches toward repatriation/redefection campaign across the entire region, a closer look at the Polish case allows presenting the development of the Soviet plan for repatriation. For Poland, the plan was initiated in March 1955 when the Polish delegates of the Committee for Public Security received instructions regarding the new course of policy to be applied toward the Polish diaspora during their visit to Moscow (Cenckiewicz, 2005: 253; Friszke, 1999: 233). On July 26, 1955, a public appeal by prominent Polish intellectuals and cultural leaders was announced by Warsaw openly calling for the return of émigrés whose potential was supposedly needed by their homeland and whose service to the Western countries was called a disservice to Poland (Friszke, 1999: 234). Other tools used for the sake of inducing returns included press and publications distributed to the Polish communities in the West, special radio station “Homeland” [Kraj] broadcasting to the West (established in July 1955), Association for Contacts with Diaspora “Polonia” (established in October 1955)—which sponsored cultural and social activities in the West (Lencznarowicz, 1996: 43–60), appeals citing poor living conditions, meager career opportunities awaiting exiles in the West were contrasted with the possibilities (and status) awaiting those who decided to return (Friszke, 1999: 236; Machcewicz, 1999: 128–129; Nowak-Jeziorański, 2005: 175–180).

There were also more subtle ways directly addressing the nostalgic longing for home, such as trips to Poland or individualized letters from Poland sent to exiles signed by family members, friends, or random people. Wierzbiański amended the list of means of luring the exiles to return by adding to the arsenal: visits by regime agents to the refugee camps in Germany, Austria, and migrant settlements in England and France regime-sponsored newspapers appealing for return exploiting refugee nostalgia and sense of patriotism. Using transnational exile networks, Wierzbiański was able to cite many examples comparing Communist propaganda content from Czechoslovakia, Estonia, and Poland, explaining how journals across the region conveyed a similar message, sometimes even under the same titles; how Communist diplomatic posts in the West were using similar tactics of entertaining exiles, how new social and cultural organizations were sprouting in exile centers like London and Paris, children and youth were encouraged to visit homelands via summer camps, etc. (Wierzbiański, 1955).

Reporting from Vienna, the American press correspondent noted that the “refugee population was bombarded for months with special leaflets and periodicals in Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, and Polish languages, dispatched anonymously through Austrian post offices” (Brook, 1955). He also mentioned diplomats and agents approaching the communities, radio broadcasts (Poland and Hungary), special committees, information bureaus to stimulate returns. Reports on the Hungarian repatriation campaign, consequently called redefection by the exiles, were also

prepared by individual ACEN members. For example, Tibor Eckhardt submitted a report of his visit to Austria (Eckhardt, 1955), followed by a memorandum, which he called “very confidential” based on his conversations with Hungarian refugees (Memorandum, 1955). Wierzbiański indicated the weak points upon which the Communists sought to capitalize. The feelings of frustration resulting from the inability of exiled intellectuals—writers, journalists, artists, professors—to find occupations adequate to their skills, paired with the hopeless position of refugees stuck in DP camps, played the most prominent role (Wierzbiański, 1955). Because of the ACEN’s symbiotic relationship with the FEC, these files were also available to the American psychological warfare planners.

Beyond the efforts of the FEC and the publicity it garnered, there was also a public effort to explain to the American public how the Communists were targeting the anti-Communist exiles and present the outcomes of the repatriation/redefection campaign. The International Rescue Committee established a special Emergency Commission led by General William J. Donovan (former head of the Office of Strategic Services – OSS, the US wartime intelligence agency) to investigate the campaign. It established that, in a little over a year, 1,158 people were repatriated from the United States (not just Poles). Allegedly, in New York alone, agents representing the Communist bloc held about 60 meetings with diaspora (Cenckiewicz, 2005: 278).<sup>4</sup> The findings of the Commission were discussed in the US Senate, and parts of it were published in the Congressional Record (Wiley, 1956). The report contained five recommendations: to arouse the “free world” to the real danger posed by this campaign and the need for counteraction; to stimulate US cooperation with other nations to “equalize the burdens of refugee care”; to shorten refugees and strengthen their morale, as well as extend special care to the old and incapacitated, including admitting some of them to the United States (Memorandum, 1956).

Despite all of these efforts, the fate of the Cold War refugees in Europe lingered on for many years. ACEN report of October 1958 listed the following numbers (citing UNHCR): 178,000 refugees in Europe still in need of resettlement, including still 58,000 in the camps. Since the inauguration of the USEP, 300,000 received assistance, 90,000 resettled (ACEN doc. 58). When the Communist repatriation campaign subsided, some people still needed urgent resettlement assistance. Their fate was secondary to the mighty powers’ global competition. In the context of the repatriation/redefection campaign, the refugees were a contested asset in the propaganda struggle. As such, their fate was subjected to different policy considerations.

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4 It was based on a visit by IRC commission members to France, Austria, Switzerland, and Germany in February and March 1956, including information from Belgium, Sweden, Italy, Greece, Turkey, South America, and the United States.

## EXILE CALL FOR REPATRIATION: THE POLISH CASE CONTINUED

The Polish case is a great example of how cooperation with the political exiles led to turning tables in the story of inducing returns. March 1955 marked the tenth anniversary of the Soviet imprisonment of sixteen leaders of the Polish underground who decided to go to a meeting with the Russians to discuss the post-war government for Poland. The US government welcomed the opportunity presented by the anniversary and supported the Polish exiles' demand to release all Poles remaining in Soviet prisons. While none of the original sixteen leaders was present in the USSR by 1955 (some died in prison, some were returned to Poland only to be imprisoned there, some were released in the 1940s), the information on their fate was not available at the time (Machcewicz, 1999: 136–137). However, the call for allowing the Poles to return home focused on an estimated more than half-million pre-war Polish citizens awaiting repatriation—prisoners, forced laborers, citizens of pre-war Poland who wished to leave the USSR (Nowak-Jeziorański, 2005: 183). Since the end of the post-World War II repatriation (1948), the fate of the remaining people was cloaked with silence in Warsaw. In 1955, the Soviet-controlled regime in Poland was forced to break the silence as the Polish Desk of RFE began broadcasting names, and precise locations of people held prisoners.

The RFE had information about Poles in the USSR gathered from the soldiers serving under General Władysław Anders (Polish Armed Forces in the West formed during the war from Polish citizens in Soviet camps and prisons). New evidence surfaced in the aftermath of Konrad Adenauer's visit to the USSR in September 1955. Based on the bilateral agreement signed after the meeting, the Soviets released some thirty thousand German as well as some Austrian and Italian POWs. These former prisoners served as sources of information collected by the RFE staff about the remaining Poles (and other nationals) still in the Soviet camps (Nowak-Jeziorański, 2005: 188–189). Consequently, the RFE was answering the Communist repatriation campaign with the repeated calls for releasing the Polish citizens from the USSR, supporting their plea with names of the people and their locations across the Soviet Union (Friszke, 1999: 237–238; Nowak-Jeziorański, 2005: 184–189; Ruchniewicz, 2000: 354–370).

The Communist regime in Warsaw also pleaded with Moscow to release Poles remaining in the USSR already in May 1955. Some 6,000 former prisoners and forced laborers returned by the winter of that year. However, the Polish Communists officially admitted that the repatriation from the Soviet Union was indeed underway only in early October 1955. In fact, it was not until Władysław Gomułka was in power that an official agreement was signed with Soviet authorities providing for the repatriation of pre-war Polish citizens from the USSR. Between 1955 and 1959, over a

quarter million Poles returned to Poland from the USSR (Machcewicz, 2007: 115; Stanek, 2009).<sup>5</sup>

In June 1956, the ACEN Political Committee listed soldiers and citizens from Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, POWs from Romania, Hungary, and post-war deportees as people who should be repatriated. The exile assembly, speaking on behalf of the “silenced peoples” of the captive nations, appealed to the UN to put the subject of repatriation of foreign nationals from the USSR on its agenda and to demand immediate repatriation of soldiers, officers, and civilian deportees who still held in the USSR in violation of the provisions of International Law, and contrary to the generally recognized humanitarian principles:

although the authorities in Soviet-subjugated countries are conducting a wide campaign aimed at the return of political émigrés, a stubborn silence prevails on the part of those authorities in regard to the repatriation to their homelands of the masses of soldiers and civilians forcibly deported to the Soviet Union, as it has been reported by numerous witnesses of various nationalities recently released from Soviet prison and concentration camps, retained there under abominable conditions (ACEN doc. 72).

By the end of 1956, 16,000 people “returned” to Poland from the USSR, followed by 94,000 the following year. Quotation marks are necessary as many of the people the Soviets forcibly transferred came from the territories taken over by the USSR. Some people seeking “repatriation” never left their homes but were made Soviet citizens by the changing borders following the wartime agreements at Yalta and Potsdam. While not available to everyone held against their will, some 224,000 citizens of pre-war Poland were released from the USSR (Machcewicz, 2007: 115). In this regard, the repatriation campaign from the East was of truly impressive scale compared to few thousand who returned home from the West—the original target group of the Soviet campaign.

## CONCLUSION

The emergence of a new arena for East-West confrontation placing the refugee (escapee, defector, exile) in the center of attention constitutes an interesting field for further exploration. This text is not intended to ascribe a particularly decisive role of the political exiles united in the ACEN in weakening the Soviet repatriation/ redefection campaign. Rather, it seeks to underscore the exiles’ agency within the

5 The agreement between Poland and USSR was not prolonged and thus RFE continued its campaign for the release of Poles from the USSR in the following decades. RFE audio recordings related to the topic: Wolna Europa o repatriacji Polaków z ZSRR: <https://www.polskieradio.pl/68/2057/Artykul/590843,Wolna-Europa-o-repatriacji-Polakow-z-ZSRR>.

US-coordinated psychological warfare organization. While the migration policies of both Washington and Moscow should be contextualized within the general Cold War discourse, the role and agency of the migrants themselves, and the political exiles, in particular, pose a series of new research questions, some of which were addressed here. The FEC system created in symbiosis with exile political organizations provided the members of ACEN with an opportunity to present their views in a broad international forum. It facilitated their access to international organizations and gave them the means to implement their political programs in cooperation with FECS and RFE. We now know that the exiles correctly grasped the real aims of the repatriation campaign, branding its redefection as evidenced by secret security archival documentation now available to researchers. In cooperation with their American partners, the East-Central European exiles gathered and shared information which proved to be instrumental in flipping the Soviet call for a return to rallying for the release of people from the Soviet Union. As indicated by the ACEN, the real aims of the Soviet re-defection campaign were not achieved. Instead of liquidating political emigration as in the “free world,” the political exiles became stronger. They gathered sympathy for the cause of facilitating assistance to Cold War refugees, secured increased funding, and attracted more attention to their political actions. As a contested asset in the Cold War, they emerged as subjects and not objects of the campaign.

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## POVZETEK

### REPATRIACIJA ALI VRNITEV PREBEŽNIKOV? TEKMOVANJE ZA BEGUNCE HLADNE VOJNE, 1955–1956

Anna MAZURKIEWICZ

Leta 1955 so režimi v vzhodni in srednji Evropi, ki jih je nadzirala Sovjetska zveza, pod vodstvom Moskve začeli s tako imenovano kampanjo repatriacije. Ta je vključevala propagando po radiu in v tisku, spodbude za vračanje, kot so bile amnestije, pa tudi izsiljevanje in prisilo. Glede na to, da bi lahko vrnitev političnih izgnancev potencialno spodbudila ponoven vzpon domače opozicije v državah srednje in vzhodne Evrope (ki je bila v času stalinizma zatrta), je treba poiskati dejanske razloge za motivacijo vzhodnega bloka. Kot so to pravilno ugotavljali izgnanci v 1950. letih in kot to potrjuje tudi komunistična arhivska dokumentacija, ki je na voljo od poznih 1990. let, je bil cilj sovjetske kampanje repatriacije uničiti politična in kulturna središča izgnancev na Zahodu ter oslabiti odločenost Zahoda, da ponovno vzpostavi svobodo in demokracijo v vzhodni in srednji Evropi. Kot taka je kampanja povečala interes za dejavnosti skupnosti izgnancev v »svobodnem svetu«, zaradi česar sta se povečali prepoznavnost in naklonjenost tako pospešitvi procesa ponovne naselitve beguncev kot tudi podpiranju političnih in kulturnih programov na Zahodu.

Na podlagi te kratke analize kampanje repatriacije oz. vrnitve prebežnikov je mogoče jasno argumentirati tezo, da so bile migracijske politike eno od področij hladnovojnega spopada, pri katerem so imeli politični izgnanci ključno vlogo. Moskva je razumela, da so izgnanci sovražniki, in je želela s kampanjo repatriacije ovirati njihove dejavnosti. Washington, ki je za njih konec 1940. let že poskrbel, je ponovno pokazal interes za njihovo potencialno vlogo v psihološki vojni in je okreplil podporo njihovim dejavnostim. Politični izgnanci so dokazali svojo koristno vlogo kot zastopniki protikomunističnih teženj beguncev v mednarodni sferi in kot posredniki za pomoč beguncem v zahodni Evropi. Poleg tega je mogoče iz primera Poljske sklepati, da je bila mobilizacija izgnanstva z namenom onemogočenja sovjetskega načrta repatriacije za izpustitev predvojnih državljanov Poljske iz ZSSR uspešna. To dokazuje, da so imeli z učinkovitim sodelovanjem s svojimi zahodnimi (predvsem FEC) ter z emigrantskimi in etničnimi partnerji v ZDA in zahodni Evropi tudi precejšen vpliv na politike komunističnih režimov. Ta vpliv izgnanstva je postal oprijemljiv, ko so slednji prisilili Varšavo ne samo k priznanju, da potekajo vračanja iz Sovjetske zveze, temveč tudi k pospešitvi teh prizadevanj. Tako je treba kampanjo za repatriacijo oziroma vrnitev prebežnikov preučevati ob upoštevanju protikomunističnih izgnancev kot akterjev v hladnovojnem spopadu za naklonjenost.

R A Z P R A V E I N Č L A N K I

E S S A Y S A N D A R T I C L E S



# THE PERCEPTIONS OF AGING AMONG IRANIAN MIGRANTS: EVIDENCE FROM NEVSEHIR, TURKEY

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## ABSTRACT

### **The Perceptions of Aging among Iranian Migrants: Evidence from Nevsehir, Turkey**

The paper looks at perceptions of aging among elderly Iranian migrants in Nevsehir, Turkey. The author explores how socioeconomic and cultural factors and the transit migrant status of these migrants affect their perceptions of aging. The study used a semi-structured questionnaire to conduct in-depth interviews. It suggests that wage discrimination plays a significant role in determining the respondents' perceptions of aging due to the lack of official work permits for Iranian migrants. It also explores how the transit migrant status of elderly Iranian migrants and the uncertainty of their stay in Turkey restrict their social networks and access to social protection, sharply shaping their perceptions of aging.

**KEYWORDS:** perception, elderly Iranian migrant, transit migration, aging, Turkey

## IZVLEČEK

### **Percepcije staranja med iranskimi migranti: primer turške pokrajine Nevsehir**

Članek obravnava percepcije staranja med starejšimi migranti v pokrajini Nevsehir v Turčiji. Avtor raziskuje, kako družbenoekonomski in kulturni dejavniki ter status tranzitnih migrantov vplivajo na njihovo dožemanje staranja. V študiji je bil za izvedbo poglobljenih intervjujev uporabljen delno strukturiran vprašalnik. Kot kažejo rezultati, je plačna diskriminacija zaradi pomanjkanja uradnih delovnih dovoljenj za iranske migrante pomemben dejavnik vpliva na percepcije anketirancev o staranju. Študija poleg tega proučuje, kako status tranzitnih migrantov in negotovost glede njihovega bivanja v Turčiji omejujeta socialne mreže starejših iranskih migrantov ter njihov dostop do socialne zaščite, kar močno vpliva na njihove percepcije staranja.

**KLJUČNE BESEDE:** percepcije, starejši iranski migranti, tranzitni migranti, Turčija

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## INTRODUCTION

Aging emerged as a significant social issue almost fifty years ago because the global number of people aged sixty and over had multiplied rapidly (UNDESA, 2019: 1–2). Scholars from almost all countries started intensely researching this social issue, reflected in many articles written on aging and its relevant aspects. Because the world population aged sixty and over has doubled since 1980, this population group is expected to reach 22% of the total world population in 2050 (Levy & Macdonald, 2016: 5–6; UNDESA, 2019: 1). Therefore, this population group has varying perceptions of their life during old age. Irrespective of their migrant status, i.e., irregular, transit, etc., all migrants should have full health support such as physical and mental health, preventive, curative, and palliative health services, etc. in their host country (UNHCR, 2015: 14), which might impact their perception toward their life in later years. Thus, migrants have different perceptions and life experiences based on their host countries' services comparable to the residents of the host countries. The varying perceptions of the migrants are available in many studies. One such study shows that Korean migrants in the United States have higher anxiety levels about psychological and physical aging than their American counterparts (Yun & Lachman, 2006: 55).

In contrast, another study delineates that many Iranian migrants in Norway are not distressed by their living conditions because of the welfare policies for refugees in Norway (Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001: 51). Additionally, care services for the elderly in the Turkish welfare regime are provided by mainly three actors, i.e., state, family, and market (Aysan & Aysan, 2016). Since the number of the elderly is increasing in Turkey, i.e., an increase of 20.8% by 2050 (TURKSTAT, 2013), Turkey has developed welfare policies to ensure long-term care services for its elderly citizens to become a welfare state (Aysan & Aysan, 2016: 37). Still, the family plays a significant role in providing care to elderly members in a developing country like Turkey (Duben, 2013: 6; Aysan & Aysan, 2016). These studies reveal that having proper treatments from the receiving countries ensures migrants' better life experience, shaping their perception of their later life when they become aged in those countries.

Although the concept of *the elderly* is used as a homogenizer to express a specific age group, there is diversity within the category between migrants (transit or any other types) and local people. In this regard, we should use an intersectional lens to consider factors such as age, gender, income, and place of residence. Intersectionality is used in inequality research to describe common connections. For example, people with transit migration status lack free movement, legal protection, etc. In the transit country, the situation is worse, particularly for women who face gendered discrimination and abuse (UNHCR, 2015: 4).

Moreover, to understand the period of old age, we must consider all these factors. The aging process is affected by the intersection of all these factors (Arun & Elmas, 2016). Migrants around the world have limited opportunities due to their fragile social status. The elderly, women, and immigrants advancing in age are at a high



risk of inequality. Although elderly Iranians in Turkey are living with transit migrant status, they have not received refugee status. Following the 1951 Refugee Convention, Turkey does not welcome refugees from non-European countries (Düvell, 2012: 421; Wissink et al., 2013: 1089). The elderly and the perceptions of aging among immigrant communities are frequently studied in-depth. However, research on the perceptions of aging among elderly migrants is scarce (Zubair & Norris, 2015: 898). No research exists on older Iranian adults with transit migrant status in Turkey. This research is the first to interview the elderly Iranian transit migrants in Turkey, thus filling this gap and contributing to the literature on this topic.

Although migration means movement from one place to another, transit migration is a blurred and politicized concept. Sometimes, it is equated with illegal migration, sometimes with irregular migration, while other times with regular migration (Castagnone, 2011: 2; Düvell, 2012: 416–417). Furthermore, to arrive at their final destination, some people must intentionally or forcefully come to third countries (Wissink et al., 2013: 1094). These elderly Iranians live in Turkey under the protection of UNHCR for a time until they can receive immigrant permission from the final settlement countries (Kaytaz, 2006). The duration of stay in a transit country may be prolonged due to political causes and policies in the destination countries or the border control policies in the EU (Düvell, 2012: 421–422). Therefore, these Iranian migrants could be termed *de facto* involuntary immigrants or any other immigrant type matched with the type given by Düvell (2012: 423) and Wissink et al. (2013: 1091). Many Iranian migrants have been living in Turkey for more than five years. As a result, some of them have already reached their later years. However, they are deprived of many facilities in Turkey assigned for elderly citizens. As a result, these older people may experience physical, economic, health, and psycho-social problems. This study attempts to discover their later life experiences while living in an uncertain condition with transit migrant status in Turkey. Transit migration is a priority issue for all IOM member countries (IOM, 1994) and all countries with irregular transit migrants and asylum seekers (Bulletin Quotidien Europe, 2006). Thus, due to political unrest in this region and the geographical location of the country (Içduygu, 2000: 358; Wissink et al., 2013: 1088), Turkey has been considered a transit country for migrants and refugees (IOM, 1995: 4; Içduygu, 2005: 1, 4). Strict border controls and restrictions on legal migration since the 1990s have led to the emergence of transit migration. Turkey became a transit country for the neighboring countries and farther countries like Somali, Bangladesh, etc. (Collyer et al., 2012: 407, 409). These migrants and refugees intending to move to EU countries are sometimes labeled as “boat people” by media or transit migrants by academics. Although there is no universally accepted definition of transit migration, people who travel a long distance through several countries intending to reach EU countries or countries in the north are called transit migrants (Düvell, 2012: 415–416; Wissink et al., 2013: 1087–1088). Iranians are one of the transit migrant groups in Turkey who have been studied increasingly in the past (Düvell, 2012: 421). This paper aims to explore how the transit migrant status of

elderly Iranians affects their perceptions of aging and daily life and to explore what types of challenges they face during their later life due to their transit migrant status in Turkey. I will also evaluate the social, cultural, and economic factors and how they shape the perceptions of these people.

## METHODOLOGY

Since qualitative researchers consciously take their own experiences into account in qualitative inquiries (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998: xi; Creswell, 2014: 3), while observing phenomena, qualitative research sheds light on the social world of the participants for a better understanding of their intuitions and meanings (Somekh & Lewin, 2005: 121–123; Neuman, 2011: 421; Creswell, 2014: 185). This study uses qualitative research methodology for several reasons. Firstly, the number of elderly Iranians living in Nevsehir is unknown and may be small.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, many participants would not answer the survey-type questions due to their age and lack of Turkish/English language. Thirdly, the natural setting is a small-scale social setting. Fourthly, the research topic is about the perception of the Iranian transit migrants in Turkey. Thus, the research design is both descriptive and exploratory. Using a semi-structured questionnaire, I interviewed eight elderly Iranians who represent eight different households selected through snowball sampling because the socio-demographic and spatial distribution of Iranian migrants was not established, and reaching the participants proved difficult. Because the participants speak in other languages, I then translated the transcriptions of face-to-face interviews into English. I conducted the field interviews between August 15 and September 15, 2018. In the present research, I tried to observe the participants while conducting face-to-face in-depth interviews. I recorded some interviews with participants' prior permission. After transcription, I coded the information into different themes and sub-themes. The results were prepared through the interpretative method of data analysis because fieldwork approaches demand interpretation to understand social life (Bechhofer & Paterson, 2000: 96–97; Goffman, 2002: 149). I collected an ethics report before starting the field study. In addition, because the participants are Iranians living in the Nevsehir Province of Turkey under the protection of the United Nations, I also received official permission from the Nevsehir Provincial Migration Directorate to conduct the interviews.

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1 According to Nevsehir Provincial Migration Directorate, 1,147 Iranians live in Nevsehir as of April 29, 2020. Of them, 1,106 have International Protection, and 41 have a residence permit from Turkey (received through personal contact with the personnel of the migration directorate). However, the total number of elderly Iranians is not recorded.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The demography of European and Western countries is shaped by aging and immigration flow worldwide (Warnes et al., 2004). The number of migrants aged fifty-five and older throughout Europe is increasing significantly (Ciobanu et al., 2017: 164). According to a UN report, one of the four major trends of the twenty-first century is the increasing number of people aged sixty-five and over in the world. All the countries in the world have an increase in older populations (UNDESA, 2019: 1–3). While the UN defines the elderly as sixty years old or older, the World Health Organization (WHO) defines the elderly as exceeding a certain age in their life cycle. Although there is still debate about the onset age, we generally understand the last period of life as *old age*. Old age is a complex concept that incorporates many inevitable and uncertain social and cultural dimensions. This definition indicates that the perception of old age may differ among cultures and that old age cannot be independent of culture (Turner, 2011: 28). According to this finding, old age is socially constructed, and age-appropriate behaviors and norms are determined accordingly (Macnicol, 2006: 5). As a result, the number of old-age care services has been increasing in many countries. These services accommodate not only local workers but also irregular immigrant workers. A study advised avoiding excessive simplification when analyzing the living conditions of these irregular migrants (Anderson & Ruhs, 2010: 177). Other studies focus on immigrants' poor housing and working conditions, isolation from social life, security concerns, stress, uncertainty, access to health services, and increasing health problems (Willen, 2007). Furthermore, elderly migrants tend to have low socioeconomic status, messy housing, and reduced interaction with their neighborhoods; thus, they experience more physical and mental problems (Bolzman et al., 2004; Ciobanu et al., 2017: 168). Many elderly immigrants are involved in the supply of care services in the countries of the Global North and many European countries such as Germany, Austria, etc. (Ambrosini, 2015: 199).

Transit migration is discussed widely in most European countries and their border countries. According to Frilund (2019: 21), transit migration is a dynamic migration that is only available in this geographical region. Due to its geographical location, Turkey is a migrant-receiving country and a transit country for migrants. So, Turkey plays a vital role in the international arena of migration. Considering its historical context and geographical location, Turkey is an intense transit country in the region. It gives and receives a continuous flow of migration (Goularas & Sunata, 2015: 12). Although Turkey started receiving immigrants between 1923 and 1960, it could not stop receiving almost three million Syrian refugees due to the internal civil war in Syria (Orsellì & Babahanoglu, 2016: 2065–2066).

Few studies have covered Iranian immigrants living in Turkey. However, some indicate that Iranians use Turkey as a transition country to reach the destination countries (Kirişçi, 2007), while some studies are on the religious lives of Iranians (Akcapar, 2010). However, no study focuses on elderly migrants living in Turkey and

their perceptions of old age. Nevertheless, a study on psycho-social and cultural adaptations of elderly Iranian immigrants living in Canada deals with the topic (Moztarzadeh & O'Rourke, 2015). Another study shows that Western powers increasingly began to rely more on Turkey as a moderator country for the Syrian and Iranian immigrants (Mohebi, 2015). This shift may be because of the country's geographical location, which acts as a gateway with entry and exit points for many travelers using Turkey as a transit country or a country of *mobistasis-stasis*<sup>2</sup> (Yıldız & Sert, 2019).

Some studies distinguish the elderly from ethnic minorities by interacting with social policies and their "otherness" (Warnes et al., 2004: 307; Torres, 2006: 1341). Other studies term the elderly as "members of different classes" (Islam, 2014: 229) based on their gender, age, time, and space (Zubair & Victor, 2015: 961). However, Iranian migrants in Turkey are not treated with "ethnic otherness" (Zubair & Norris, 2015: 900) because of their cultural differences, i.e., language, norms, values, etc. Rather, they are treated as transit migrants waiting to depart to another country. Social categorization (Torres, 2006: 1341) makes them disadvantaged, as they do not receive any social care from the government of the transit country. Nevertheless, Ciobanu et al. (2017: 164) see the elderly migrants as social actors able to overcome their social vulnerabilities by mobilizing their resources. Migrants are one of the critical agenda items of developed countries, so host governments take measures to prevent irregular immigrant arrival. Host governments have applied oppressive policies to immigrants from eastern countries since the 1970s, and irregular migration continues from eastern to western countries of the globe. This situation can be explained by the compliance of the target and source countries with their political and economic interests (Bloch & Chimienti, 2011: 1281). Unless the source country can solve the political and economic problems in the countries, this immigrant issue will remain on the agenda of the developed countries for a long time (Andersson, 2016: 1072). On the other hand, some developed/less developed countries have attempted to cooperate with third countries to curve the irregular migration (Andersson, 2016: 1065).

## DATA ANALYSIS

During the interview, the participants first explained why they left their country for the United States or Canada. I have arranged their responses by themes and sub-themes, which are as follows:

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2 *Mobistasis* refers to a break or a halt in a particular country outside of one's country of origin during the journey of the asylum seekers from their home country to the destination place.

## Justification for leaving Iran

When asked about their journey to Turkey, the participants disclosed two main reasons for leaving Iran. One of them is based on politics and security while the other is about improving their life standard. Both the reasons are related to their Baha'i faith, a minority religion. Many Iranians came to Turkey to escape from the Islamic regime after the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran (Içduygu, 2000: 360; Içduygu, 2005: 6; Içduygu & Aksel, 2012: 13). Believers of the Baha'i religion are the most persecuted minority groups in Iran, though they appear significantly in some countries, particularly the United States (The Conversation, 2017). The significant number of Baha'i believers living in the United States might be one of the main reasons it is a top destination for believers of the Baha'i faith.

## Perceptions of aging

The present study shows that the perceptions of aging among the Iranian elderly with transit migrant status are negative because of their personal, physical, economic, and social aspects or resources. The participants live in a country that is not their country of origin, so they may not have access to many services of that country. Because they are in different countries, the elderly transit migrants do not celebrate any social and cultural activities, impacting their perception of aging. A male participant describes the situation in this way: "We do not have any cultural center to meet people from Iran and Turkey and organize cultural programs. So, I always feel detached and lonely. And so, I think that I am aged."

This result supports a previous study that shows that, in addition to the resources and socio-demographic factors considered therein, ethnic background is significant for the perceptions of aging (Cramm & Nieboer, 2017: 5). Cramm and Nieboer also argue that elderly Turkish migrants who have more negative perceptions toward aging than the native elderly Dutch have poorer health and lower income and educational levels than the elderly Dutch. This wretched condition determines their aging perceptions (Cramm & Nieboer, 2017: 5–7).

Moreover, the participants have limited contact with people. They are in an unfamiliar place and bear the emotional burden of old age. Consequently, they experience loneliness. In this situation, the participants are disadvantaged in multiple ways, something that all of the respondents' statements reflect: "We are migrants (transit) here. At the same time, we are elderly. These two factors make us more vulnerable compared to the local elderly in Nevsehir."

This situation connects to the perspective of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989). Intersectionality in my study means that the participants face multiple disadvantaged problems because of their transit migrant and elderly status, i.e., they have fewer familiar people, fewer social connections, and a greater emotional burden of old age, etc. This situation echoes the vulnerability of their social position, which

matches with a previous study that shows how the intersection between aging and migration creates vulnerability (King et al., 2017: 185). Unlike the elderly Turks who receive welfare services from the society because of their strong kinship relationship and extended social networks (Aysan & Aysan, 2016: 35), elderly Iranians are still excluded from any social services in Turkey, i.e., old-age pension scheme, health facilities, etc. due to their transit migrant status. Therefore, the elderly Iranians' combination status of being a transit migrant and elderly supports this intersectionality aspect. Likewise, the participants perceive their later age from different aspects of their life. For some, aging means loneliness, forgetfulness, and physical inability, while for others, aging means having and seeing grandchildren. In addition to these determinants of aging, respondents also mention their social environment, which affects their perception of age. Here are the perceptions of two participants: "When I cannot work, I feel that I am aged. From my heart, I am young, but physically, I am old." For me, aging means being alone mentally." And the other: "I also had forgetfulness one to two years before coming to Turkey. But this forgetfulness severely increased after coming to Turkey. I forget many things nowadays. I find it hard while working outside, and I feel old."

The latter statement is alarming because the participant struggles with memory loss, which is severe due to his immigrant difficulties. This memory loss carries the notion of aging. The participant defines old age based on loneliness and physical characteristics. Additionally, the inability to work physically takes an emotional toll. When employed children move out, sometimes elderly Iranians continue working to manage household finances and are unable to relax in their old age and spend time with their grandchildren. Another participant claims that he feels younger though he is not young anymore.

From the interview and observation, the participants are over fifty-five years old; some want to hide their age through cosmetic care such as dyeing their white hair. They claim to do this because they want to continue working in their current job role. In addition, some want to hide their age to find work in a factory to manage their livelihoods. To illustrate with the perception of a sixty-seven-year-old female participant: "I feel a bit old. I lived in Iran with older adults, but I always live here with younger people, so I feel old." Because of this participant's migrant status, her social environment has changed. The people who migrated from Iran to Turkey are primarily young. Compared to the young people, she is considered elderly. It means that migrant status creates different social structures that sharply shape the aging perception.

The respondents have described aging from different aspects of their life. For some, aging means loneliness and amnesia. For others, aging means physical inability to do any work and lack of family and social relationships. After researching elderly Iranians' perceptions of aging, I wanted to know which factors shape these perceptions. In doing so, I considered factors including but not limited to culture,

daily life activities, and economic conditions and their impact on the perception of aging. I tried to relate these factors to their transit migrant status.

## Culture

In the present study, I aimed to see if there are any cultural differences between Iran and Turkey because changes in culture affect working conditions, language, shopping, social institutions, and above all, the entire life of the people (Turan & Islam, 2021: 81). Almost all the respondents claim that senior citizens are highly respected in both countries. This group of people did not face any difficulties because of being in a different culture. However, the global discourse of culture, ethnicity, etc., can create situations in which cities become contested places for their inhabitants (Biner, 2007: 32). Another significant contested notion of culture could be the inclusion of the *Nevruz* celebration<sup>3</sup> into the mainstream Turkish culture, which has already become a symbol of rituals, public, love, and respect in Turkey (Yanik, 2006). Therefore, people both in Iran and Turkey equally show respect to the elderly. A female participant argues: "If anyone visits any community in Iran, they are properly welcomed irrespective of age and gender. Turks show the highest respect to us and treat us well. When we go to the hospital in Turkey, we get good behavior."

We can state that these two countries have, to some extent, similar cultural attitudes toward the elderly. As a result, cultural factors may not play a significant role in shaping the aging perceptions of elderly Iranians.

## Daily life

The observation of the respondents shows that elderly Iranians lead a very different lifestyle and living standard and cannot adapt quickly to the sociocultural settings of the new country. This result matches with previous research that mentions that the daily life activities of the Iranian elderly are dissimilar to those of young Iranian migrants who can adapt to the situation quickly with fewer risks and costs (Castagnone, 2011: 16). Therefore, their lifestyles and less adaptive capacity impact the elderly perception. These people have minimal daily activities and limited social interaction related to their intention not to stay in Turkey. One respondent stated: "I have been living [here] for the last five years. There is a state of uncertainty which is the main problem for us. During my free days, I come to the park and chat with my Iranian friends." And another: "I just come to the Gulbahce Park, meet my friends (Iranian), have a chat with them, and then return to my home. I do not go to other cities."

The participants' limited daily activities make their lives more challenging, which impacts their perception of aging. This study shows that due to their old age and

3 *Nevruz* or *Newroz* which people celebrate on the first day of the Iranian or Persian new year, marks the start of spring (Yanik, 2006: 286).

lack of body support, the participants neither prefer sports clubs nor exercise equipment at the park for physical activity. However, they accept that they should do some physical exercises to keep themselves healthy. This study's findings match previous research that argues that more comprehensive social processes and ideologies shape elderly persons' perception of their physical activity (Evans & Sleaf, 2012: 519, 524). Although the participants have been living in Turkey for a long time, they have very limited or, in some cases, no contact with the local people. This situation reflects a previous study arguing that transit migrants generally help each other maintain their daily activities (Wissink et al., 2013: 1099). These Iranian transit migrants thus have a limited social environment and activities that negatively impact their perception of aging.

### **Economic conditions**

Regarding their wage and working life, the participants mentioned that working in Turkey is not suitable for them because they do not have legal permission to work. Consequently, they faced a difficult situation upon arrival in Turkey. A participant describes his previous and current economic conditions in the following way: "We had everything in Iran like a car, home, etc. but had to leave everything behind. We have economic problems as sons and daughters cannot work due to lack of work permit." Another participant explains her current economic condition: "Our main problem is we do not have sufficient amount of money to lead a normal life as only my brother works here with a low wage."

This situation negatively affects elderly migrants' perceptions. The participants claim that they received an amount once from the Turkish Government when they initially arrived in Turkey. I asked them how they managed their expenses, one of them replied: "We don't work as we have been paid low wages." Additionally, since they do not have work permits in Turkey, employers always try to maximize their profit by taking advantage of this situation. Although most of the elderly do not have any wage-earning opportunities, few worked in factories where they worked more hours and received meager wages comparable to their local wage earners. I observed social discrimination in the wage-earning sectors. Because these people worked more hours in industries that required physical strength, their bodies reached old age faster. This condition makes them more vulnerable, and they cannot continue their work. In addition to their physical health implications, elderly Iranians do not even get recruited to new jobs because of their health problems. Although some elderly migrants have technical expertise, they do not get the job because of their age alone.

All respondents claim that their main problem in finding a decent, normally paid job is the lack of a work permit due to their transit migrant status in Turkey. These results also echo a past study that claims that there are rare employment opportunities and limited resources in Turkey for the migrants (Wissink et al., 2013: 1099). As



a result, they lack proper nutrition, health services, and social services, i.e., rehabilitation, elderly care, etc., from the government of Turkey (Aysan & Aysan, 2016: 36). So, this study argues that all these factors negatively impact their physical health and may lead to the early aging process of these people. Therefore, they cannot work in industries where physical strength is an essential factor. According to all respondents, economic insolvency is their main problem, leading to other social, psychological, mental, and physical health problems.

### **Challenges and difficulties of the elderly**

The elderly Iranians face various psychological, social, and health challenges due to their transit migrant status. The results of the present study indicate that their most critical challenge is uncertainty about the duration of their stay in Turkey. A participant describes: "Overall, everything is nice in Nevsehir except the economic challenges. We also have a state of distress because we do not know when we will move to the United States from Turkey. This uncertainty creates difficulties among us."

This uncertainty hinders their adaptation to mainstream Turkish society and impacts their physical, mental, social, and economic life, thus shaping their perception of aging. Because they do not have access to government health care services in Turkey, they cannot afford high health expenses. Those physical health problems become more severe and affect their mental and psychological health, which, in turn, affects their perception of aging. This study's findings fit with a previous study that argues that perceptions of aging among the elderly depend not only on their physical health but also on their biological, psychological, and social health (Sadeghmoghadam et al., 2019: 476).

As aforementioned, because these migrants do not have work permits, economic and other socio-psychological problems occur. Alongside these difficulties, they have other issues while living in Turkey. One respondent mentions: "Sometimes, we face different types of problems here. For example, when we go shopping, we pay more as the shopkeepers hike the price of the things for us. Again, when we get on the bus and pay for the bus ticket, the drivers sometimes do not back the change, or sometimes give back less amount of change."

From this statement, I can infer that this situation impedes participants' social network and social participation with the local people. As a result, they feel isolated, which affects their perception. The participants mostly meet with other Iranian people in Nevsehir and communicate with them in their language. Therefore, they do not feel the necessity of learning Turkish and face communication problems in transportation, streets, markets, hospitals, etc. This result directs that people face various types of old age problems due to their migrant status. It matches with a past study arguing that Korean elderly immigrants have limited contacts with non-Koreans in the United States and lack English skills, making it impossible to create social networks to live a healthy life (Yoo & Zippay, 2012: 374–375).

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study shows that Iranian migrants are transit migrants and their situations are different and more complicated than those of other elderly migrants in Nevsehir, i.e., Syrians and Afghans, etc. Two main factors increase their vulnerability—being elderly and having transit migrant status (Ciobanu et al., 2017: 167)—which support the idea of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; King et al., 2017). However, challenging this intersectionality trope used in the nexus between elderly and migrants, King et al. (2017) argue that despite hardships, there are success stories of active aging that show physical, mental, and social wellbeing of wealthy and retirement migrants. Although King et al. (2017: 195) also demanded that host countries develop specific policies to cover elderly migrants, a vital question remains: What will the host countries do with the migrants staying for an uncertain period and reaching old age with transit migrant status? These two factors, i.e., being elderly and having transit migrant status, keep elderly Iranians away from social protection and services in Turkey, i.e., benefits from the state, the market, etc. (Aysan & Aysan, 2016).

As a result, these transit migrants face many difficulties in their old age. Their lack of employment opportunities and communication problems due to the language barrier is more noticeable than any other cultural clashes, i.e., clashes of beliefs, faiths, etc. Those problems affect the elderly more heavily than other age groups of Iranians in Nevsehir. The respondents claim that young Iranians receive formal education and participate in various local social and cultural activities, which help them quickly integrate into mainstream society and become less vulnerable. This result also supports a previous study that shows that because of their lack of income opportunity and communication, elderly Iranian immigrants in Canada are more susceptible compared to their adult counterparts (Jafari et al., 2010: 103–104).

Additionally, elderly Iranians communicate only with other Iranians in Nevsehir. As a result, they try to defend their collective identity and become alienated from Turkey's mainstream society, creating social competition (Islam & Bozdağ, 2021: 162) with the local people. Therefore, old age is difficult for all migrants, especially for transit migrants. Their status of uncertainty makes their elderly life more difficult and limits their social participation in Turkey. This uncertainty creates other economic, social, and health problems, amnesia, etc., affecting the elderly and their perception.

Moreover, elderly Iranians do not have social security in Turkey, which negatively impacts their elderly perception. Elderly Iranians have poor social networks and no health care services because they cannot communicate in the Turkish language. They do not want to learn Turkish as Turkey is not their final destination. This unwillingness to learn the local language is also one of the causes of their adverse conditions (Ciobanu et al., 2017: 167).

Therefore, these transit migrants do not have a known social environment and find themselves disadvantaged. Elderly Iranians face difficulties on two fronts. On the one hand, they do not have access to their country's services because they are

outside their country. On the other hand, they are transit migrants in Turkey, keeping them away from the host community. So, these two types of difficulties shape the perception of elderly Iranians in Turkey. These situations make the living conditions of the Iranian elderly more complex and make them feel older physically, mentally, emotionally, and socially. Their social health determines their elderly perception.

Additionally, because of their uncertain transit migrant status, Iranian elderly transit migrants do not have access to the social services of the state given to local elderly aged sixty-five years and over by the Turkish Government such as monthly pension, universal health care system (Aysan & Aysan, 2016: 37). Nevertheless, these Iranians do not rely on the state and the market in Turkey (Aysan & Aysan, 2016), but they rely only on their families (Duben, 2013; Aysan & Aysan, 2016) and mostly on their spouses (Glauber, 2017) for the care services. My observation supports that they receive care only from their spouses and, in most cases, from their wives because other family members do not live with them due to their transit migrant status. Therefore, the elderly Iranians find the aging process very hard for them only because of their transit migrant status and uncertainty of their stay in this transit country, Turkey. Most of them argue that Turkey is not their destination. Instead, it is a transit country to reach their final destination where they would have equal access to the services for the elderly irrespective of their gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, etc.

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## POVZETEK

### PERCEPCIJE STARANJA MED IRANSKIMI MIGRANTI: PRIMER TURŠKE POKRAJINE NEVSEHIR

Mozharul ISLAM

Raziskava temelji na primarnih virih podatkov, zbranih v turški pokrajini Nevsehir, kjer so za nedoločeno obdobje nastanjeni številni iranski tranzitni migranti, ki čakajo, da se bodo preselili v ciljne države. Posledično so se mnogi med tem negotovim čakanjem že postarali. Zato je ključnega pomena raziskati percepcije iranskih tranzitnih migrantov glede njihove visoke starosti. Prejšnje raziskave so pokazale, da se starejši, ne glede na to, ali gre za migrante ali ne, zaradi svojega nizkega socialno-ekonomskega statusa in manjše interakcije z okolico med prebivanjem v drugi državi soočajo z različnimi in vse večjimi zdravstvenimi težavami. Raziskava proučuje, kako kulturni, ekonomski in družbeni dejavniki, v kombinaciji s statusom tranzitnih migrantov, vplivajo na percepcijo staranja pri starejših Irancih med prebivanjem v tranzitni državi, Turčiji. Kot kažejo rezultati študije, v kateri so bili uporabljeni opazovanje in poglobljeni intervjuji kot tehniki zbiranja podatkov ter polstrukturiran vprašalnik za intervjuvanje sodelujočih, je plačna diskriminacija eden ključnih dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na percepcije sodelujočih glede staranja zaradi odsotnosti uradnih dovoljenj za delo. Študija kaže, da imajo starejši iranski migranti zaradi svojega statusa tranzitnih migrantov ter zaradi negotovosti glede dolžine njihovega bivanja v Turčiji omejene socialne mreže ter dostop do socialne zaščite in zdravstvenih storitev in da le v omejenem obsegu sodelujejo z lokalnim prebivalstvom. Vsi navedeni dejavniki močno vplivajo na percepcijo staranja. Zato jim njihov status tranzitnih migrantov preprečuje dostop do številnih socialnih, ekonomskih in zdravstvenih storitev, ki jih je deležna domača skupnost. Tako je življenje starejših Irancev zapleteno predvsem zaradi njihovega statusa tranzitnih beguncev in negotovosti njihovega bivanja v Turčiji.



# SLOVENSKE PRISELJENKE V TRSTU: VPRAŠANJE IDENTITETE OB LJUDSKEM ŠTETJU 1910

Ana CERGOL PARADIŽ<sup>i</sup>, Petra TESTEN KOREN<sup>ii</sup>

COBISS: 1.01

## IZVLEČEK

### Slovenske priseljenke v Trstu: vprašanje identitete ob ljudskem štetju 1910

Članek analizira vlogo slovenskih služkinj, večinoma priseljenk iz slovenskega okoliškega bazena in bližnjih avstrijskih dežel, ob popisu prebivalstva leta 1910 v Trstu. Osredotoča se na njihovo avtonomno ravnanje glede na odvisni položaj znotraj gospodinjestev ter pritiske javnosti oz. slovenskih in italijanskih nacionalnih elit v mestu. Raziskava ob pomoči javnega diskurza, arhivskega gradiva in kvantitativne analize vzorca popisnih pol cenzusa sintetizira zlasti pomen podatkov, kot sta občevalni jezik in kraj izvora služkinj, in jih interpretativno umešča v kontekst (nacionalne) identitete.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: slovenske služkinje, priseljenke, (nacionalna) identiteta, nacionalne elite, census 1910, Trst/Trieste

## ABSTRACT

### Slovene Women Immigrants in Trst (Trieste): The Issue of Identity at the 1910 Census

The article analyzes the role of Slovene servants—mostly immigrants from the surrounding Slovenian basin and nearby Austrian lands—during the 1910 census in Trieste. The focus is on their autonomous behavior regarding the dependent position within households and the public pressure of (Slovene and Italian) national elites in the city. With the public discourse, archival material, and quantitative analysis of a sample of census polls, the research synthesizes the importance of data such as the language of communication and the servants' places of origin. It then interpretively places them in the context of (national) identity.

KEYWORDS: Slovene servants, immigrants, (national) identity, national elites, 1910 census, Trst/Trieste

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## IZHODIŠČA

V Trstu, multikulturnem in hitro razvijajočem se pristaniškem mestu habsburške monarhije, so se na prehodu iz 19. v 20. stoletje močno zaostрила razmerja med italijansko in slovensko nacionalno elito, ki sta predstavljali interese prve in druge največje skupnosti v mestu, medtem ko je imela italijanska elita v rokah tudi občinsko oblast. Eno izmed nevrvalgičnih točk zaostrovanj med njima je predstavljalo vprašanje občevalnega jezika pri avstrijskih popisih prebivalstva, zlasti tistem iz leta 1910 (Cattaruzza, 1995; Čermelj, 1958; Verginella, 2003, 2019; Millo, 1989). Tako italijanska kot slovenska nacionalna elita sta s pomočjo narodnih organizacij v mestu skušali pokazati, da gre pri kategoriji občevalnega jezika za občutljivo vprašanje, ki ga v praksi nasprotna stran izkorišča za sporno dokazovanje številčne moči svoje skupnosti v etnično mešanem mestu (Šterbenc Svetina et al., 2012). V tem smislu sta organizirali vedno bolj intenzivne (propagandne) kampanje.

Slovenska nacionalna elita se je pri agitaciji glede kategorije občevalnega jezika pogosto osredotočala na številne (slovenske) služkinje v mestu, ki so bile večinoma priseljenke iz slovenskega okoliškega bazena, pa tudi bližnjih avstrijskih dežel. Kako je pri tem postopala, glede na to, da se je njihovo število zaradi rednega priseljevanja iz leta v leto večalo? Kako so služkinje ob popisih ravnale? So se sploh odločale avtonomno z ozirom na odvisni položaj znotraj gospodinjstev in pritiske javnosti oz. (lastnih) nacionalnih elit? Ali so služkinjam popisovalci dejansko avtomatično pripisovali enak občevalni jezik kot njihovim hišnim gospodarjem oziroma gospodaricam? V pričujočem članku bova poskušali predstaviti odgovore, ki posegajo v zapleteno pomensko mrežo, stkano na podlagi različnih diskurzivnih razmerij med »spolom in nacijo« na etnično mešanem območju, kjer se stekajo in spajajo različni migracijski tokovi. Pri tem se bova oprli na javni diskurz, arhivsko gradivo in na poskus kvantitativne analize vzorca popisnih pol cenzusa za leto 1910 v Trstu, pri čemer bova posebej vzeli v pretres podatke o občevalnem jeziku in krajih izvora služkinj.

## VZOREC

Ali je izbrani vzorec reprezentativen, ali torej odraža splošne značilnosti segmenta prebivalstva, ki se je tedaj ukvarjal s hišnim delom v Trstu (oz. v Evropi nasploh)? Raziskavo sva opravili na 304 anagrafskih številkah iz tržaške Terezijanske četrti (ital. Borgo Teresiano), na podlagi katerih sva našli 2.590 pripadajočih gospodinjstev s skupaj 9.369 prebivalci (primarni vzorec), kar predstavlja 39,3 % prebivalcev celotne četrti<sup>1</sup> in 4 % prebivalcev tržaške občine.<sup>2</sup> Kar 916 gospodinjstev (35,3 % od pregledanih) je zaposlovalo hišne posle. Pri nadaljnji obravnavi sva upoštevali samo teh

1 Terezijanska četrt: 23.798 prebivalcev (Spezialortsrepertorium, 1918).

2 Trst: 229.510 ljudi (Spezialortsrepertorium, 1918).

916 gospodinjestev (sekundarni vzorec). Visok delež hišnega osebja v primarnem vzorcu sicer zvesto odraža značaj izbrane Terezijanske četrti, v kateri so prebivali premožnejši meščani, in nesporno dokazuje številčnost tega delovnega segmenta v mestu nasploh (Kalc, 2014: 17; Cattaruzza, 1979). Hkrati pa že deloma pojasnjuje, zakaj so bile v nacionalnih bojih glede občevalnega jezika tako pomembno zastopane prav služkinje.

Trst glede številčnosti služinčadi pravzaprav ni izstopal v primerjavi z ostalimi evropskimi mesti. Kakor kažejo številne študije, je služinčad v Evropi tekom stoletij konstituirala najpomembnejši del delovno aktivne populacije (Fauve-Chamoux, Fialova, 1997: 1, 2). Število služinčadi se je v večini zahodnoevropskih držav najbolj povečalo v osemdesetih letih 19. stoletja, čemur je sledil počasen upad. Kljub t. i. krizi služinčadi (angl. *servant problem*) na prelomu stoletja, ki je poleg pretečega številčnega vpada po eni strani vključevala nostalgični razmislek o idealu zveste in ubogljive služkinje, po drugi pa sprožala prve resnejše razmisleke o dejanskem položaju služkinj in njihovih pravicah, pa je trg dela vseskozi narekoval potrebo po tem poklicnem segmentu in ustvarjal povpraševanje zlasti med migrantkami iz okoliškega priselitvenega bazena (Sarti, 2015: 28–31).

Kakor na podlagi popisa prebivalstva ugotavlja tudi Aleksej Kalc, so med delovno aktivnimi ženskami v Trstu leta 1900 večino predstavljali hišni posli (in najemni delavci) (38,5 %), med hišnimi posli (in najemnimi delavci) pa so večino predstavljale ženske (94 %) (Kalc, 2014: 17). Tudi v najinem vzorcu iz leta 1910, ki šteje 1.211 hišnih poslov (tj. sekundarni vzorec z 916 gospodinjestvi s posli), je bilo le 14 moških (1,2 %). Dalje beležimo 55,4 % gospodinjestev s samo enim hišnim poslom, 36,7 % gospodinjestev z dvema in 7,9 % gospodinjestev s tremi ali več posli. Podatek, da v večini primerov beležimo gospodinjestva s samo eno ali dvema služkinjama ženskega spola, ki so samske (94,3 %)<sup>3</sup> in najpogosteje v starostni skupini 15–30 let (69,9 %), medtem ko delež do 35 let seže že kar krepko čez tri četrtine vzorca (78,2 %), se ujema z ugotovitvami o preobrazbah hišnega dela v zahodnoevropskih mestih v 19. stoletju (Sarti, 2005). Buržoazni model hišnega dela ni tako kot pri aristokraciji predvideval večjega števila delovno ozko specializirane in razslojene služinčadi, pač pa eno služkinjo, »deklico za vse«, ki je poklic hišnega dela opravljala začasno.

Na prelomu med 19. in 20. stoletjem je v Trst odhajalo veliko število mladih deklet, običajno z namenom, da so zaslužila za balo, tj. skupek predmetov, ki jih je potem ženska prenesla v lastno družinsko gospodinjestvo, veliko pa jih je s svojim zaslužkom pomagalo izvorni družini. Služenje je bilo združeno z bivanjem v delodajalčevem gospodinjestvu. Za ta način zaposlovanja, ki pri ženskah zajema delovno aktivna leta pred poroko in osnovanjem družine, se je v angleščini uveljavilo poimenovanje »*life-cycle servanthood*« (Hajnal, 1982; Laslett, 1983).

3 V vzorcu 1.211 hišnih poslov je bilo 1.153 samskih (1.142 žensk in 11 moških), 25 poročenih (24 žensk in 1 moški), 32 ovdovelih (30 žensk in 2 moška) in ena ločenka.

V velikih evropskih mestih so kot hišni posli v znatnem številu služile predvsem migrantke iz primarnega priselitvenega bazena, medtem ko so bile v manjšem številu prisotne tiste iz bolj oddaljenih krajev (Lundh, 1999; Lee, 2005; Kalc, 2014; idr.), ki so običajno zasedale višje položaje v služabniški hierarhiji (Hahn, 2001). Vse to potrjuje tudi najin vzorec. Med 1.211 prešteti hišnimi posli se jih je 66 (5,4 %) rodilo v tržaški občini, 354 (29,2 %) v Goriški in Gradiški, 242 (20 %) na Kranjskem, 98 (8 %) v Istri, 168 (13,9 %) v Italiji (večinoma v Furlaniji), 100 (8,3 %) na Koroškem, 86 (7,1 %) pa na Štajerskem, kar skupno nanese 91,9 % vseh služkinj. Preostanek jih je prihajal iz drugih bolj oddaljenih krajev. Služkinje iz Nemčije, Anglije itd. so običajno opravljale delo, ki je bilo bolj cenjeno; delale so kot guvernante, vzgojiteljice, dozilje in voditeljice gospodinjstva.

Navedeni podatki kažejo, da je izbrani vzorec reprezentativen, čeprav gre hkrati opozoriti na metodološke pomanjkljivosti izbranega vira. Težko je namreč s pomočjo popisnih pol zanesljivo razbirati osebne izbire »navadnih« ljudi, posebno pri izpolnjevanju rubrike »občevalni jezik«.

## OBČEVALNI JEZIK IN NACIONALISTIČNI DISKURZ

Rubrika »občevalni oz. pogovorni jezik« v izhodišču ni opredeljevala narodne oz. etnične pripadnosti, pač pa je zgolj določala jezik, ki ga je posameznik uporabljal v vsakdanji komunikaciji (Žitko, 2012). Toda sčasoma je začela posredno prispevati k zamišljanju nacionalnih identifikacij, saj je posameznike silila v točno določeno izbiro. Navedbe več ali uradno nepriznanih občevalnih jezikov cenzus ni predvideval, kar se je izkazalo za neugodno predvsem na narodnostno mešanih območjih in v krajih s številnim priseljenim prebivalstvom, kjer so posamezniki v vsakdanji rabi dejansko uporabljali več jezikov in so številni tudi izhajali iz etnično mešanih družin.

Pripadniki nacionalnih elit so si občevalni jezik vse bolj razlagali kot neposredni odraz narodne pripadnosti (Stergar in Scheer, 2018; Verginella, 2019). Toda tovrstne enoznačne interpretacije so problematične tudi zato, ker zanemarijo pritiske pri vsakokratnem določanju občevalnega jezika. Predvidevati je mogoče, da so ženam, mladoletnim otrokom in nenazadnje prav služinčadi avtomatično pripisali občevalni jezik »družinskega poglavarja«, čeprav bi se navedeni morda opredelili drugače (Cergol Paradiž in Selišnik, 2018). Neupoštevanje volje služkinj v zvezi z občevalnim jezikom je odražalo posebnosti njihovega poklica, ki je bil v primerjavi z ostalimi tako v simbolnem kot pravnem smislu veliko bolj odvisne narave. Pravna določila na prelomu stoletja so služkinje obravnavala kot delojemalke, a hkrati kot odvisne članice družin, v katerih so služile.<sup>4</sup> To je delodajalcem oz. delodajalkam omogočalo, da so nad njimi izvajali poseben nadzor in vplivali na opredelitev njihove celotne

4 Popisna statistika v avstrijskih deželah je delila prebivalstvo na produktivno in vzdrževano. Zaradi specifičnega statusa služkinj, ki so obravnavane kot odvisne članice družin, so te štete med vzdrževano prebivalstvo. Glej: Žnidaršič, 2000; Studen, 1995; idr.

osebnosti (Nederveen Meerkerk et al., 2015: 6). Problema vmesnega, polodvisnega položaja služkinj so se zavedali tudi avtorji v slovenskem časopisju, ki so posebej opozarjali na za to pomembne zakonske določbe:

Po § 23 zakona o ljudskem štetju oče rodbine sme izpolniti svobodno samo za svojo rodbino, za služkinje in hlapce pa mora izpolniti naznanilnice po napovedbi istih. Ta zakonska določba je zelo važna za slovenske posle, ki službujejo pri tujem gospodarju. Služkinje ali hlapci niso člani rodbine svojega gospodarja, ampak samostojne osebe, »posamezniki«. K rodbini spadajo samo oni, ki so z gospodarjem v rodu. (Slovenske služkinje, oziroma slovenski posli. Pozor!, 1910: 2)

Poleg nakazanih neenakih razmerij moči znotraj gospodinjstva so šibko točko pri zagotavljanju objektivnosti cenusa zagotovo predstavljale tudi (pogosto izrazito nacionalizirane) lokalne oblasti (in njeni popisovalci), ki so v skladu s cilji lastne nacionalne skupine na različne načine pritiskale na respondente (Kladiwa, 2016; Cergol Paradiž in Selišnik, 2018). V Trstu je mestna oblast promovirala italijanski občevalni jezik, zaradi česar je slovenski nacionalni tabor leta 1910 vložil pritožbo, in septembra 1911 je bila posledično izvedena državna revizija štetja prebivalstva glede na občevalni jezik.<sup>5</sup> Rezultati so se po tem ukrepu spremenili. Delež oseb s slovenskim občevalnim jezikom se je iz okvirno 16 % povečal na 25 %. Kakor pojasnjuje Ivica Pletikosić, je bila »državna revizija popisa velika politična zmaga tržaških Slovencev, saj je število uporabnikov slovenskega jezika uradno zvišala za skoraj 20.000 oseb (Pletikosić, 2006: 480).«

K tej zmagi je nedvomno prispevalo prav slovensko časopisje, ki je promoviralo vpis slovenskega občevalnega jezika. Propagandna agitacija se je pri tem pogosto usmerjala na slovenske služkinje, predvsem zato, ker naj bi tedaj v Trstu med vsemi številčno izstopal delež tistih iz slovenskih krajev. Kakor denimo ugotavlja Aleksej Kalc, sicer pri popisu prebivalstva za leto 1900, so presežek žensk med priseljenci v Trstu vzdrževali t. i. notranji tokovi (za razliko od priseljencev iz tujine, med katerimi so z okrog 55 % prevladovali moški), med katerimi je bilo daleč največ hišnih pomočnic, ki so prihajale večinoma iz notranjega zaledja, iz GoriškoGradiške, Kranjske in Istre (do 63 % priseljenk) (Kalc, 2014: 14, 15) in pretežno iz slovenskih krajev (o tem več v nadaljevanju).

Toda vznemirjenje okoli ravnanja slovenskih služkinj pri popisovanju uporabnega jezika bi se morda hitreje poleglo, če ga ne bi netili tudi strahovi v narodnem imaginariju, povezani s simbolnim pomenom služkinj kot žensk. Nacionalizmi so namreč v 19. stoletju proizvedli težnjo po čistem in častnem nacionalnem telesu brez kontaminacije s tujo krvjo in kulturo. Tradicionalna govornica je služkinje postavljala na pomembno mesto v tovrstnih nacionalnih predstavah, ker jim je kot ženskam, (potencialnim) materam, nalagala skrb za reprodukcijo, vzgojo prihodnjih rodov

5 Revizija štetja prebivalstva je bila izvedena tudi v Gorici.

in s tem odgovornost za čistost krvi (Banti, 2005; Mlekuž, 2016; Verginella, 2006; Yuval-Davis, 2009). Toda hkrati so prav služkinje, ki so odhajale v mesto, s svojim nenadzorovanim vstopanjem v zasebne prostore tujih družin, kjer so oz. bi zlahka podlegle asimilaciji, ogrožale to isto »narodno čistost« (strah pred prevzemanjem italijanske kulture in spolnim zapeljevanjem nacionalnega nasprotnika) (Verginella, 2006). Njihovo morebitno zoperstavljanje asimilacijskim pritiskom je zato veljajo za posebej častno, prevedeno je bilo v jezik herojskega kljubovanja v imenu bodočnosti naroda, njihova zvestoba narodu (slovenskemu jeziku) je bila simbolno enačena z zvestobo lastni družini:

Čast slovenskim dekletom! Mnoga naša slovenska dekleta, ki so prisiljena si služiti v Trstu svoj kruh, bijejo te dni naravnost herojiško borbo za svojo narodnost. [...] Dokler so naša dekleta tako odločna, zavedna in značajna, se našemu narodu pač ni treba bati, da bi propadel. Prepričani smo, da, kakor hočejo ta dekleta sedaj ostati zvesta svojemu narodu, bodo pozneje zveste svojim možem in skrbne matere svojim otrokom. (Komičen prizor vsled nezaupnosti ljudstva do magistratnih organov, 1911: 2)

Problematika občevalnega jezika kot potrditve pripadnosti nacionalni skupnosti, v katero so slovenske elite vpletle služkinje, je imela posledice tudi v javnem diskurzu italijanske skupnosti. Italijansko časopisje je Slovence žaljivo obrekovalo, da kot »vzgojitelji hidrofobnih služkinj« (Del censimento, 1911: 2) s pomočjo žensk v mestu izvajajo svojo nacionalistično agendo: »'Slovani za svojo politiko izrabljajo služkinje [...] in razumemo, da so ideali visoki!!'« (Parole chiare per gli sloveni. Una spiritosa lettera, 1911: 3) Poleg zasmehovalnega tona je zaznati namige o manjvrednosti iz slovenskega okolja izhajajočega kmečkega prebivalstva, obenem pa – pri obeh vpletenih straneh – serijo opozoril, navodil in »dejanskih primerov«, kako je potrebno »prav« postopati pri izpolnjevanju popisnih pol.

## TRI RAZLIČICE »LJUDSKEGA ŠTETJA«

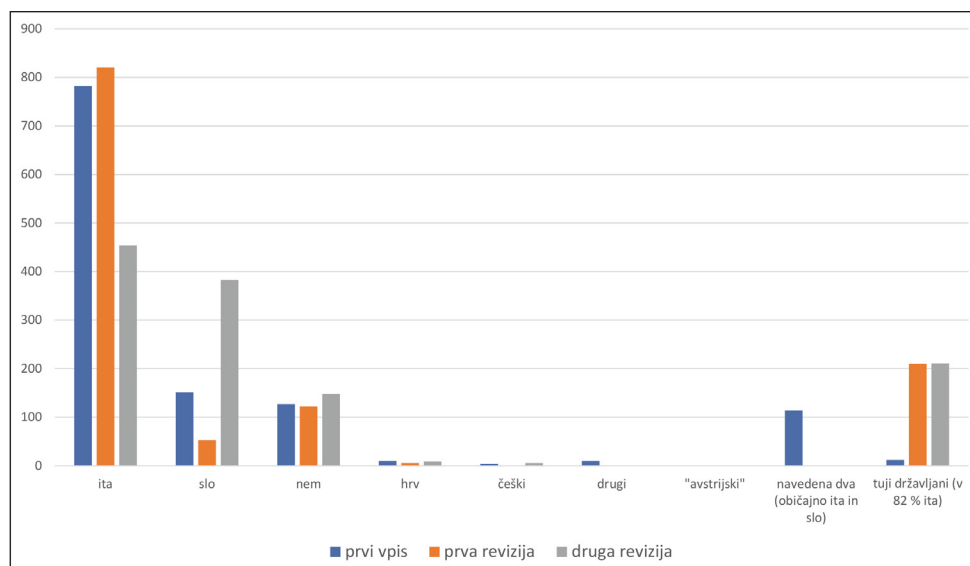
Pregledovanje popisnih pol pokaže, da v Trstu v letih 1910 in 1911 nimamo opraviti samo z eno verzijo ljudskega štetja, pač pa z vsaj tremi zelo različnimi. Konec leta 1910 je tržaško prebivalstvo prvič izpolnjevalo popisne pole. Razdeljene popisnice so praviloma izpolnjevali »družinski glavarji« (Ljudsko štetje, 1910: 1). Popisne pole so bile oddane na anagrafski urad. Štetje naj bi se zaključilo 8. januarja 1911, vendar je bil kasneje rok zaradi nepravilnosti pri vpisovanju občevalnega jezika podaljšan do 15. januarja 1911. 17. januarja 1911 je sledila prva revizija, ki so jo opravili magistratni organi in je potekala več mesecev. Kakor ugotavlja Ivica Pletikosić, so »revizorji smeli dopolnjevati pomanjkljive naznanilnice, popravljati zgrešene vpise in preverjati pravilnost vnesenih podatkov (Pletikosić, 2006: 279)«, pri tem pa je prihajalo

do samovoljnih zamenjav občevalnega jezika. Če verjamemo slovenski *Edinosti*, so magistratni uradniki posebej hoteli popravljati rubriko na škodo slovenščine in v korist italijanščine. Po uradnih ugotovitvah serije nepravilnosti pri vpisovanju omenjene rubrike in po pritožbi slovenske strani je država jeseni odredila novo, t. i. drugo, uradno državno revizijo. Tokrat je italijansko časopisje tožilo, da slovenski uradniki potvarjajo popisne pole.

Kako so se spremembe skozi revizije odražale pri občevalnem jeziku služkinj? Na vprašanje odgovarjava s primerjavo zapisov ob domnevem prvem vpisu in po obeh revizijah (grafično jih je mogoče ločiti glede na pisavo in barvo pisala; prva revizija je navadno v modri, prekrivni barvi, drugo spremlja uradni žig), kajti kljub pomisleku, da na čisto vsaki popisni poli vsakokratnih vpisov ni mogoče natančno razbrati, predvidevava, da morebitne napake v interpretaciji pri posameznih primerih ne vplivajo občutno na groba razmerja in pravilnost splošnih zaključkov pri tako obsežnem vzorcu.

Ob prvem izpolnjevanju popisnih pol izstopa razdrobljenost in neenotnost zapisov v rubriki občevalni jezik, ki sva jih zaradi lažjega grafičnega prikaza zato nekoliko poenotili (Graf 1). Tako sva ponekod zabeležen zapis »slovanski« poenotili z zapisom slovenski jezik, »italijanski-lat(d)inski«, »furlanski« z italijanskim in »boemski« s češkim. Ostale zapise sva pustili v prvotni obliki. Posledično sva dobili naslednje rezultate: pri kar 782 služkinjah je bil zapisan italijanski občevalni jezik, pri 151 slovenski in pri 127 nemški. Zanimivo je, da sta bila pri 114 od skupno 1.211 služkinj

Graf 1: Število služkinj glede na vpisan občevalni jezik ob prvem vpisu ter ob prvi in drugi reviziji.



\* Legenda: ita – italijanski; slo – slovenski; nem – nemški; hrv – hrvaški; d – drugi (Cislajtanija); td – tuji državljani

zabeležena kar dva občevalna jezika, od tega v 60 primerih kombinacija italijanskega in slovenskega jezika, v 26 primerih kombinacija nemškega in italijanskega jezika ter v 18 primerih kombinacija slovenskega in nemškega jezika. Pravila cenusa niso dopuščala vpisov dveh ali več občevalnih jezikov, zato so revizorji že pri prvi reviziji enega izmed dveh prečrtali. V večini primerov so prečrtali slovenski jezik, pustili in nato v končni statistiki tudi upoštevali pa so italijanskega.

Pri prvi reviziji so tako razvidna naslednja razmerja: 820 je zapisov za italijanski občevalni jezik, 122 za nemškega in le 53 vpisov za slovenski občevalni jezik. Beležimo tudi bistveno večje število tistih služkinj, ki kot tuje državljanke niso imele vpisanega občevalnega jezika. Številni popisovalci so ob prvem vpisu namreč zamenjali pravilo, da se za tuje državljanke ne vpisuje občevalnega jezika, in so za večino služkinj iz Italije vpisovali italijanski občevalni jezik. *Edinost* je zato opozarjala: »Pozivamo vlado, da pri reviziji skrbi, da ne bodo regnikoli<sup>6</sup> pomnoževali italijanstva oz. pomanjševali Slovenstva Trsta« (Ljudsko štetje. Za revizijo ljudskega štetja, 1911: 2). Slovensko stran je še posebej skrbelo, da magistratni revizorji namerno potvarjajo celo pristojnosti, kar bi posledično omogočalo pravico do vpisa občevalnega jezika (Možnost eventualnih falzificiranj na debelo, 1911: 3). Ob prvi reviziji je bila omenjena neskladnost vpisovanja občevalnega jezika pri tujcih torej odpravljena, in sicer na škodo italijanskega občevalnega jezika.

Ob drugi, državni reviziji se število vpisov italijanskega jezika nato z 820 še zmanjša na 454, število vpisov slovenskega jezika pa se poveča s 53 na 383. Pri vpisih drugih občevalnih jezikov in številu zabeleženih tujih državljanek pa ni večjih razlik v primerjavi s prvo revizijo.

Opisano občutno spreminjanje razmerij od prvega vpisa pa do zadnje revizije kaže, da je bilo pri beleženju občevalnega jezika služkinj mogoče z lahkoto manipulirati. Medtem ko se je delež služkinj povečal skoraj osemkrat (s 4 % na 31 %), se denimo odstotek vseh prebivalcev, ki so v Trstu navedli slovenski občevalni jezik, ni niti podvojil. To dejstvo dodatno pojasni, zakaj so ravno služkinjam (skupaj z ostalim odvisnim prebivalstvom, kot so bili npr. podnajemniki) italijanski in slovenski mediji ob popisih posvečali tolikšno pozornost. Računajoč na izjemen učinek sta tako slovenska kot italijanska stran po mestu lepili plakate ter prirejali shode in predavanja, namenjene posebno ženskam in med njimi zlasti služkinjam (Javni shod slovenskega ženstva, 1911: 2).

Tako je nenehno medijsko izpostavljanje slovenskih služkinj vsaj na deklarativni ravni in za krajše obdobje odpiralo širša in družbeno bolj relevantna vprašanja, kot je bilo samo ravnanje v času cenusa. Posamezni prispevki so opisovali klavrske življenjske in delovne razmere služkinj ter opozarjali na njihov socialno in pravno negotov položaj. Promovirali so delovanje Zavoda Sv. Nikolaja, ustanove, ki je že vrsto let v Trstu skrbela za socialno ogrožene služkinje, toda hkrati opozarjali, da njegovo

6 Regnicoli so bili italijanski državljanji, tujci brez pristojnosti v Trstu, in so v rubriko občevalnega jezika morali zapisati »tujci«.



hvalevredno delovanje ne zadošča. Služkinjam bi bila potrebna še pravna zaščita v obliki nekakšnih obrtnih sodišč in ženska strokovna organizacija, sindikat (Zavod sv. Nikolaja v Trstu, 1911: 3).

Poleg Zavoda Sv. Nikolaja, ki je skrbel prav posebej za služkinje, je zanje nudila organizacijsko mrežo tudi Narodna delavska organizacija (N.D.O.):

N. D. O. vam nudi vse: posreduje za službe, s predavanji, vam daje na razpolago bogato knjižnico, prireja izlete in kmalu otvori tudi plesno šolo. Škoda je, da se neštevilno naših deklet zgublja in pokvarja po nedostojnih plesih, kar pogostokrat povzroča škandalozne in žalostne posledice. (Slovenskim služkinjam v Trstu!, 1911: 2)

Italijansko časopisje je seveda takoj podvomilo v dostojnost tovrstnih zabav v Narodnem domu pod okriljem N.D.O. in pisalo, da gre zgolj za pokvarjeno zvijačo, s katero Slovenci kupujejo glasove naivnih služkinj v cenzusnem boju:

Torej bodo ob popisu izjavile, da običajno govorijo slovenski jezik, saj ob nedeljah popoldne v Narodnem domu ne govorijo drugega jezika, ker upoštevajo tam izobešeni znak, ki prepoveduje uporabo neslovenskega jezika v prostorih slovanske hiše. [...] Časopis tega ne navaja, a bo najverjetneje skupina vojakov vedno pripravljena služkinjam nuditi svoje usluge. (Il fiore del campo, 1911: 2)

Italijanska nacionalna propaganda je namigovala na spolni razvrat (Domače vesti, 1911: 2), kar ponovno pokaže, kako tesno je nacionalni diskurz v primeru služkinj zadeval (spolno) (ne)čistost in (ne)častnost (Verginella, 2006).

Nasploh so italijanske oblasti dobro organizirani Slovenci nekoliko presenetili, o čemer pričajo številni pozivi po odločnejši protiakciji, spremljanju slovenskih agitatorjev, nadzorovanju slovenskih služkinj in nenazadnje zaščiti »svojih«, torej italijanskih služkinj (I nostril interessi e quelli dello stato. Il censimento = Di un'elezione, 1910: 1–2; Per il censimento, 1910: 2; Del censimento, 1911: 2 itd.). Italijanski nacionalisti so poskušali organizirati celo gibanje za bojkot slovenskih služkinj v mestu (Un comizio di donne slovene, 1911: 2). *Edinost* denimo poroča, da so »italijanski mazzinijanci« ustanovili v mestu tudi gospodinjsko šolo za italijanske služkinje (Slovenskim služkinjam!, 1911: 2) ter spodbujali priseljevanje služkinj iz Kraljevine Italije. A glede na razpoložljive vire ostaja vtis, da vendarle ne organizacijsko ne po učinkih niso bili tako uspešni kot slovenski someščani.

## OBČEVALNI JEZIK V ODNOSU DO KRAJA ROJSTVA

Kako velik je bil po vseh teh naporih tako italijanske kot zlasti slovenske strani delež tistih služkinj, ki so imele kljub rojstvu v slovensko govorečih krajih še po drugi reviziji vpisan italijanski občevalni jezik? Odgovor nam morda ponudi primerjava

občevalnega jezika služkinj z občevalnim jezikom, ki je absolutno prevladoval (pri več kot 90 % prebivalstva) v njihovem rojstnem kraju.<sup>7</sup> Kraje, v katerih nobeden od občevalnih jezikov ni presegal 90 %, sva označili kot »jezikovno mešanec«. Rezultati primerjave (Preglednica 1) kažejo, da se je večina služkinj (580) rodila v »slovenskih« krajih. Dobra polovica (55 %) teh služkinj je ob (drugi) reviziji popisa navedla slovenski občevalni jezik, veliko pa jih je še vedno navajalo italijanski jezik (38 %), nekatere izmed njih pa tudi nemški, hrvaški ali češki jezik.<sup>8</sup>

občevalni jezik / rojstni kraj	ita	slo	nem	sr-hrv	češki	td	SKUPNO
slo	219	321	34	3	1	2	580
ita	48	1				2	51
nem	13	2	46			1	62
hrv (Cislajtanija)	9	4		3			16
češki	1		1		4		6
td (Italija)	12	1				156	169
td (Nemčija)						2	2
td drugo	1	1	2			38	42
»jezikovno mešani«	138	49	58	3	1	9	258
<b>SKUPNO</b>	<b>441</b>	<b>379</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>210</b>	<b>1.186</b>

Preglednica 1: Razmerja med občevalnim jezikom služkinj in prevladujočim občevalnim jezikom v njihovem rojstnem kraju.

Kako si lahko razlagamo to nehomogeno razporeditev, ki je kljub propagandi slovenske strani v nekaterih primerih še ob drugi reviziji bolje služila t. i. italijanskim nacionalističnim ciljem?

Za slovensko *Edinost* je bil odgovor na to vprašanje razmeroma jasen – služkinje naj bi k napačnemu vpisu silili delodajalci.

## PRITISK DELODAJALCEV?

Tako italijansko kot slovensko časopisje je v obdobju popisovanja prebivalstva pozornost posvečalo tudi delodajalkam oz. delodajalcem hišnih poslov. Italijansko časopisje je na primer dajalo izrecna navodila italijanskim gospodarjem, da morajo

7 Za predlogo sva uporabili rezultate popisov (za občevalni jezik) za leto 1900 oziroma 1910 (Spezialortsrepertorium, 1918 itd.).

8 Pri drugih služkinjah je skladnost večja, denimo kar 94 % služkinj iz »italijanskih« krajev je ob popisu navajalo italijanski občevalni jezik, 74 % služkinj iz »nemških« krajev pa nemškega.

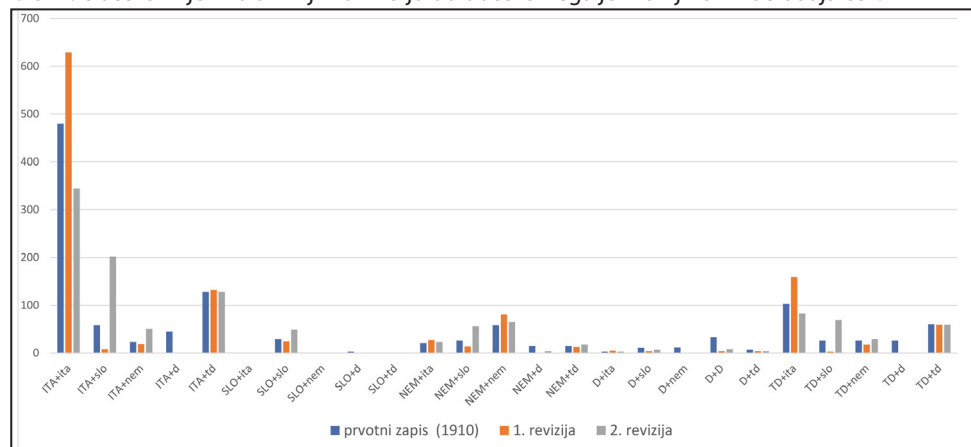
slovenskim služkinjam vpisovati italijanski občevalni jezik, ker se ne glede na nacionalnost tako sporazumevajo v gospodinjstvu (La lingua d'uso, 1911: 2). Slovensko časopisje je potem opisovalo primere zavednih služkinj, ki so prihajale »v naše urade pritoževati se, da so jih upisali gospodarji za Italijanke«, »mnog(e) [...] so moral(e) zapustiti službo« (Zgledi narodne zavednosti, 1911: 2) ali celo navajale hujše pritiske (Barbarizem, 1911: 1; Italijansko nasilje radi ljudskega štetja, 1911: 2; Samovoljnosti gospodarjev stanovanj, 1911: 1).

Leta 1911 se je časopisje še posebno razpisalo o aferi italijanskega zdravnika Veroneseja. Ko je služkinja od njega zahtevala, da jo vpiše za Slovenko, naj bi ji Veronese odpovedal službo in ji celo hotel vreči čašo v glavo. Omenjeni gospodar je potem v italijanskemu časopisu *L'Indipendente* hitel pojasnjevati, da se je pri čaši vendarle zadržal, ker se je zavedal, da bi se znesel nad nedolžno osebo. Služkinja, ta »uboga neumnica (idiota)«, je namreč samo ponavljala besede pravih krivcev nastale situacije – slovenskih nacionalistov (Parole chiare per gli sloveni. Una spiritosa lettera, 1911: 2–3). Slovenska nacionalna elita je afero izkoristila za promocijo nacionalne agende v zvezi s cenzusom na državni ravni. Veronese se tako pojavi v znani interpelaciji, ki jo poslanec dr. Rybář naslovi na ministra za notranje zadeve, kar v končnem spobudi drugo, državno revizijo ljudskega štetja v Trstu (Rybář, 1911).

Toda ali gre brez kančka dvoma verjeti časopisju, da so k tendenčnemu vpisovanju občevalnega jezika služkinj prvenstveno prispevali prav pritiski delodajalcev? Na to morda lažje odgovorimo, če občevalni jezik služkinj analiziramo v razmerju do občevalnega jezika njihovih delodajalcev. Rezultati, ki jih ob tem dobimo ob vseh treh različicah vpisov, prikazuje Graf 2.

Ob vseh treh različicah vpisa zasledimo daleč največ kombinacij, ko tako delodajalec kot služkinja navajata italijanski jezik, čeprav je ob drugi reviziji tovrstnih

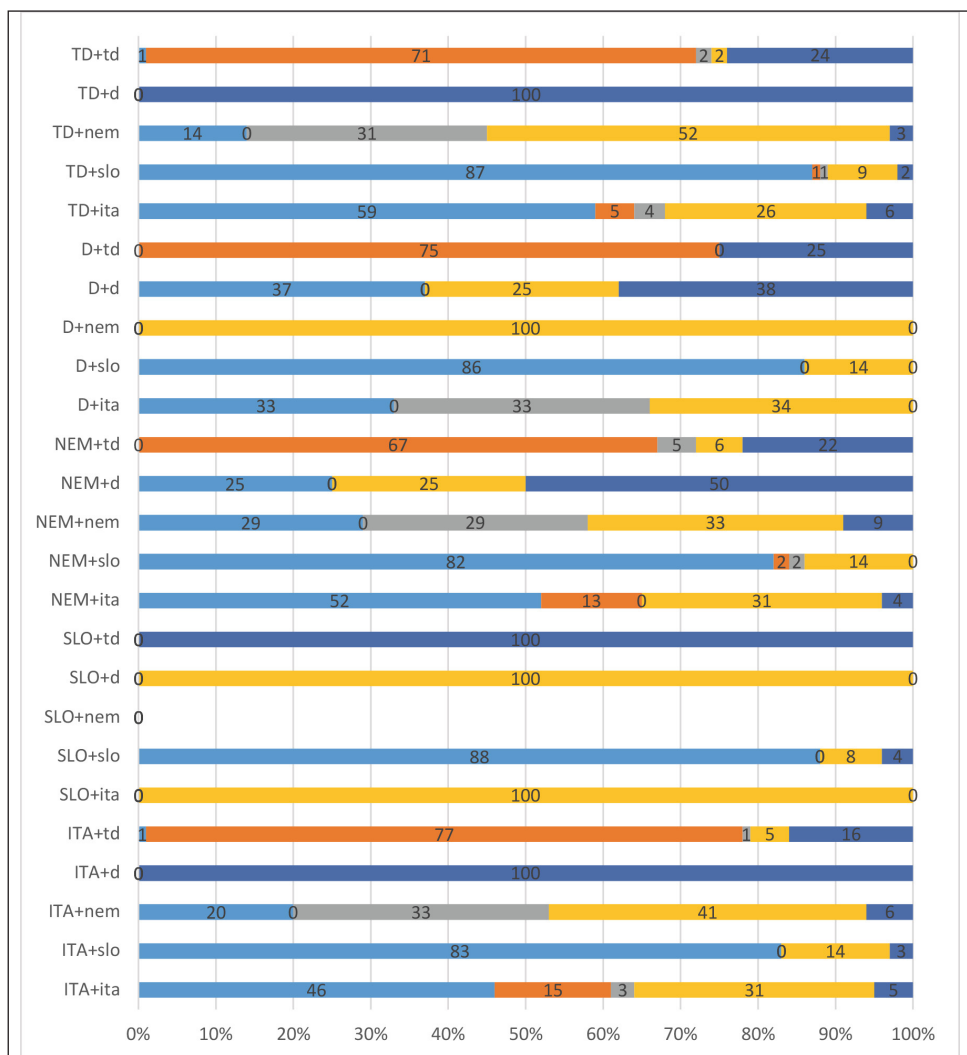
Graf 2: Občevalni jezik služkinj v razmerju do občevalnega jezika njihovih delodajalcev.



\* Legenda: Z velikimi črkami so zapisani občevalni jeziki delodajalcev, z malimi črkami občevalni jeziki njihovih služkinj. Prim. SLO/slo.

kombinacij manj, zato pa se znatno poveča število kombinacij, ko delodajalec navaja italijanščino in služkinja slovenščino. Dokaj številne so tudi kombinacije, ko imajo gospodarji tuje državljanstvo (praviloma gre za regnicole), pri služkinjah pa je naveden italijanski jezik. Gospodarji s slovenskim jezikom nastopajo ob vseh treh različicah vpisa skoraj izključno v kombinaciji s služkinjami s slovenskim jezikom. Gospodarji z nemškim jezikom pa se pojavljajo spet največkrat s služkinjami z nemškim jezikom. Navedeno kaže, da se je občevalni jezik delodajalcev pogosto ujema z jezikom njihovih služkinj. Morda so nekateri delodajalci služkinje izbirali po narodnostnem/jezikovnem ključu ali pa so jim brez njihove vednosti oz. privoljenja

Graf 3: Razmerja med kombinacijo občevalnega jezika služkinj in gospodarjev v odnosu do prevladujočega občevalnega jezika v rojstnem kraju služkinj (v odstotkih).



samodejno vpisali svoj občevalni jezik.<sup>9</sup> Tretja možnost je, da so se služkinje same avtonomno odločale za občevalni jezik gospodinjstva, v katerem so delale.

Z namenom detekcije, kaj od zgornjega je najbolj verjetno, velja kombinacije občevalnega jezika služkinj in njihovih gospodarjev analizirati še v odnosu do kraja rojstva služkinj (Graf 3; upoštevani so samo podatki po drugi reviziji in najbolj pogoste kombinacije med občevalnim jezikom delodajalcev in služkinj).

Služkinje, ki so enako kot njihovi delodajalci navajale italijanski jezik, so se najpogosteje rodile v »slovenskih« krajih (46 %), po pričakovanjih pa sta številni v tej kombinaciji tudi skupini služkinj iz »italijanskih« krajev (15 %) in krajev z jezikovno mešanim prebivalstvom (31 %). Služkinje iz »slovenskih« krajev so številne tudi v drugih skupinah, kar ni presenetljivo glede na njihov visok delež v celotnem vzorcu. Izstopa dejstvo, da imajo te služkinje pogosto naveden italijanski jezik tudi pri delodajalcih, ki so navedli katerega izmed drugih občevalnih jezikov, denimo nemščino (52 %); dejansko je pri slednjih njihov delež celo višji kot pri skupini, v kateri nastopa kombinacija gospodarjev in služkinj z italijanskim občevalnim jezikom! Pri teh, torej »nemško govorečih« delodajalcih, bi zaradi kraja izvora težko pričakovali italijanske nacionalistične tendence.

Med najbolj »homogenimi« so kombinacije, v katerih so služkinje kot občevalni jezik navedle slovenščino. Precejšnja večina (vselej več kot 80 %) se jih je namreč tudi rodila v »slovenskih« krajih. Najbrž so vsaj nekateri slovenski delodajalci tendenčno izbirali slovenske služkinje. V teh kombinacijah imamo sicer tudi primere posameznic, ki so za svoj občevalni jezik navedle slovenščino, rodile pa so se v »hrvaških«, narodnostno mešanih ali celo »italijanskih« krajih. Tudi pri teh ni preveč smiselno predvidevati, da je šlo za pritisk delodajalcev, saj se obenem pojavljajo v kombinaciji z delodajalci z italijanskim občevalnim jezikom.

## **BOLJ NATANČNO O PRISELJENKAH IZ PREPRIČLJIVO SLOVENSKO GOVOREČIH KRAJEV**

V nadaljevanju bodo v ospredju analize služkinje, rojene v »slovenskih« krajih, saj so bile najbolj številčne (580) in tudi medijsko najbolj izpostavljene. Razdeljene so v štiri skupine, in sicer na služkinje, ki navajajo:

1. italijanski občevalni jezik; zaposlene pri delodajalcih z italijanskim občevalnim jezikom ali pri italijanskih državljanih (regnicoli) (186), povp. starost 29,7 let, doba službovanja 9,7 let;
2. slovenski občevalni jezik; zaposlene pri delodajalcih z italijanskim občevalnim jezikom ali pri italijanskih državljanih (189), povp. starost 26,9 let, doba službovanja 8,2 leti;

<sup>9</sup> Narodnostni oz. jezikovni ključ je še posebno viden v oglasih po časopisih, kjer je specifično navedena želja po slovensko govoreči služkinji.

3. italijanski občevalni jezik; zaposlene pri delodajalcih, ki niso navajali italijanskega občevalnega jezika ali niso bili italijanski državljani (33), povp. starost 31,9 let, doba službovanja 11,1 let;
4. slovenski občevalni jezik; zaposlene pri delodajalcih, ki niso navajali italijanskega občevalnega jezika ali niso bili italijanski državljani (132), povp. starost 28 let, doba bivanja v Trstu 6,9 let.

Pod drobnogled sva vzeli starost teh služkinj in dobo njihovega bivanja oz. službovanja v Trstu, saj naj bi sodeč po zapisih v takratnem časopisju te spremenjivke vplivale na »izbiro« občevalnega jezika. V vseh navedenih primerih se je izkazalo, da so bile služkinje, ki so kot občevalni jezik navajale slovenščino, mlajše od služkinj, ki so navajale italijanščino, obenem pa so v Trstu prebivale manj časa. Ti podatki nasprotujejo tezi, da je večina služkinj iz »slovenskih« krajev italijanščino izbrala zaradi neposrednega, nacionalistično pogojenega pritiska s strani svojih delodajalcev. Tovrsten pritisk bi bil namreč bolj verjeten v primeru mlajših služkinj. Za starejše služkinje pa je po drugi strani mogoče predvidevati, da so – četudi rojene v »slovenskih« krajih – italijanski jezik izbrale prostovoljno, ker so sčasoma svojo identiteto prilagodile okolju in jeziku, v katerem so se vsakodnevno sporazumevale. Navedena razlaga je v precejšnjem nasprotju z zapisi v slovenskem tisku, ki so se osredotočali na številne zlorabe zlasti mlajših služkinj s strani delodajalcev (Slovenskim služkinjam!, 1911: 2). To pa seveda ne pomeni, da teh ni bilo.

Služkinje iz »slovenskih« krajev je smiselno na koncu razčleniti še glede na njihovo deželo (predel dežele) rojstva. Časopisje je namreč po svoje ugibalo o narodni zavednosti služkinj iz posameznih (delov) dežel. Tako je *Edinost* (Rybář, 1911) ob neki priložnosti posebej hvalila dekleta iz Posočja (del Goriške). A pričakovanje, da se slovenski občevalni jezik zaradi tradicionalne naveze dežele Kranjske na slovenstvo pogosteje vpisuje pri Kranjcih kot pri dekletih iz drugih (delov) dežel, ni bilo potrjeno z analiziranimi podatki (Preglednica 2).

vpisan občevalni jezik / slovenski kraji	ita	slo	nem	d	skupaj
Goriška	43	<b>56</b>	0,7	0,3	100
Istra	64	<b>36</b>	0	0	100
Koroška	13	<b>27</b>	0	0	100
Kranjska	34	<b>60</b>	2	2	100
Štajerska	20,5	<b>45,5</b>	2	2	100
Tržaško podeželje	30	<b>70</b>	0	0	100

Preglednica 2: Deleži služkinj iz »slovenskih« krajev glede na deželo rojstva in vpisan občevalni jezik (v odstotkih).

Ko sva 580 služkinj iz »slovenskih« krajev razčlenili glede na deželo rojstva in vpis občevalnega jezika ob drugi reviziji, sva dobili naslednje rezultate: slovenski jezik so – morda presenetljivo – najbolj pogosto vpisovali pri dekletih iz tržaškega podeželja (70 %), za njimi pri Kranjicah (60 %) in šele nato pri Goričankah (56 %), še manj pogosto pri Štajerkah (45,5 %). Še najmanj pogosto so slovenski jezik vpisovali pri Istrankah (36 %) in Korošicah (27 %). Koliko je k tovrstnim rezultatom prispevalo ozaveščanje in delovanje raznih organizacij in agitacija v javnem tisku v Trstu in okolici? Lahko iz tega sklepamo, da je slovenskoitalijanska konfrontacija še najbolj nagovorila tiste, ki so bile »domačinke«? So bolj živo razumele pomen kampanje za slovenski jezik in pozneje revizijo vpisa, ker so bile (tudi po končanem službovanju v mestu) del tega prostora?

## ZAKLJUČEK

V času zbiranja cenzenskih podatkov v Trstu se delovni segment slovenskih služkinj, izrazito zaznamovan s migracijsko komponento, saj gre večinoma za priseljenke, premakne v samo središče nacional(istič)ne pozornosti, kar proizvede nekatere tudi povsem konkretne učinke. Njihov povečan politični pomen spodbudi (vsaj na deklarativni ravni) naložbe v socialno zaščito. Neutrudni časopisni apeli pripomorejo, da pri številnih služkinjah popisovalci naknadno vpišejo slovenski občevalni jezik. Morda ne pretiravava, če zapiševa, da proporcionalno gledano k ugodnim izidom državne revizije cenusa iz leta 1910 verjetno najbolj pripomorejo prav priseljene služkinje. Kljub temu ostaja tudi po zadnji reviziji še vedno veliko število posameznic, ki kot občevalni jezik zapišejo italijanščino, čeprav same večinoma izhajajo iz slovensko govorečih krajev. Toda takšne rezultate bi težko pripisali (samo) pritiskom italijansko usmerjenih delodajalcev, mestnih oblastnikov ali nacionalistov, saj so zagotovo tudi odraz fluidnosti narodne ali vsaj jezikovne identitete. Navajanje italijanskega občevalnega jezika namreč pogosteje zasledimo pri starejših služkinjah, sicer priseljenkah, ki že dlje časa prebivajo v mestu. Gre torej za proizvod asimilacije, in ne zgolj za zavajanje mladih, naivnih, nedavno priseljenih slovenskih služkinj, kakor je denimo rado tedaj pisalo slovensko časopisje, čeprav so dejansko izpričani tudi tovrstni primeri. Slika, ki jo izriše natančna proučitev cenzenskih pol, je zagotovo veliko bolj kompleksna. Seveda pa tudi to, kar sva sami ponudili v besedilu, niso jasni, nedvoumni odgovori na zastavljena vprašanja, pač pa nabor mogočih interpretacij, ki se odpirajo ob kvantitativni obdelavi tega – kakor sami verjameva – informativno in vsebinsko bogatega vira. Meniva, da prava vprašanja vedno izzovejo pomembne razmisleke, ki konkretno, na obravnavanem območju osvetljujejo izjemno občutljivo mesto v (slovenskem) nacionalnem imaginariju, ki ga kot priseljenke v multikulturnem mestu zasedajo prav (slovenske) služkinje. In kljub mestoma navidezno zgrešenim potezom tedanje agitacije v zvezi s služkinjami ostaja dejstvo, da so splošni učinki jasni. Ugotovitev slovenske strani, da so pomembne zaradi svoje

številčnosti in slovenskega izvora, ostaja resnična. Prav tako pomembne so številke, ki so bile uporabljane za dokazovanje prisotnosti Slovencev v mestu v kasnejših obdobjih, ob prelomnih dogodkih za obe naciji – slovensko in italijansko.

## **ZAHVALE IN DRUGI PODATKI**

Članek je nastal v okviru projekta Multikulturalna prijateljstva in narodne vezi na presečiščih slovenskega, italijanskega in nemškega sveta (1848–1941) (NG-0018), ki ga je financiral ARRS, in projekta EIRENE, ki ga financira Evropski raziskovalni svet v okviru programa Horizon 2020 in v finančni shemi ERC Advanced Grant (ERC Grant Agreement n. 742683).



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## SUMMARY

### SLOVENE WOMEN IMMIGRANTS IN TRST (TRIESTE): THE ISSUE OF IDENTITY AT THE 1910 CENSUS

Ana CERGOL PARADIŽ, Petra TESTEN KOREN

In the multicultural Trieste, relations between the Slovene and Italian national elites became strained at the turn of the twentieth century. One of the neuralgic points was the question of the language of communication in the Austrian censuses, especially that of 1910, which thus underwent a revision. The agitation regarding the language of communication was largely focused on many (Slovene) servants, mostly immigrants from the surrounding Slovenian basin and nearby Austrian lands.

In this paper, the authors analyzed which language of communication the servants entered at the 1910 census and whether their behavior was autonomous regarding their dependent position within households and the pressure of the public or the national elites. In doing so, the authors relied on public discourse, archival material, and quantitative analysis of a sample of the census poles of the 1910 census in Trieste. They examined the initial entry in the census fields when counting the population and the first (municipal authorities and enumerators) and second official state audit. The authors found that the original entries of the servants' language of communication were extremely heterogeneous, with the Italian language of communication predominating. At the first revision, the number of entries of the Italian language of communication increased even more. However, the second revision markedly increased the number of Slovene language entries compared to the increase in the Slovene language of communication entries in general.

Nevertheless, even after the last revision, many servants still chose Italian, even though they came from a Slovene-speaking environment. Such results would be difficult to attribute (only) to the pressures of Italian-oriented employers (or enumerators) and certainly reflect the fluidity of national or at least linguistic identity in a multicultural town. Italian is more often chosen as the language of communication by older servants who have been living in the town for a long time. At least to a certain extent, it is possible to talk about assimilation and not just about misleading young, naive Slovene servants, as, for example, the Slovenian newspapers used to write, although such cases are also attested. A careful study of the census poles draws a more complex picture of servants' constructed (national) identity than the one portrayed by the nationalists of the time, as the article also suggests.



# VSAKDANJI NACIONALIZEM IN KRANJSKA KLOBASA MED SLOVENSKIMI IZSELJENCI V ZDA

Jernej MLEKUŽ<sup>1</sup>

COBISS 1.01

## IZVLEČEK

### Vsakdanji nacionalizem in kranjska klobasa med slovenskimi izseljenci v ZDA

Članek analizira vlogo kranjske klobase v vsakdanjem nacionalizmu med slovenskimi izseljenci v ZDA v obdobju 1919–1945. Članek raziskuje, kako se narod reproducira z vsakdanjimi praksami, navadami in načini bivanja, ter se pri tem opira predvsem na koncept vsakdanjega nacionalizma (angl. everyday nationalism). Teza besedila je, da nacionalizem ni le produkt institucionalnega delovanja, temveč se reproducira tudi izven uradnih, formalnih, institucionalnih in instrumentalnih okvirjev, na ravni večinoma nereflektiranih vsakodnevnih praks. Članek temelji na analizi besedil, v katerih se pojavi besedna zveza »kranjska klobasa«, v osrednjih slovenskih izseljenskih časopisih v ZDA v obdobju 1919–1945.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: vsakdanji nacionalizem, banalni nacionalizem, materialna kultura, časopisje, kranjska klobasa

## ABSTRACT

### Everyday Nationalism and Kranjska Sausage among Slovenian Immigrants in the United States

The article analyzes the role of Kranjska sausage (Slv. *kranjska klobasa*) in everyday nationalism among Slovenian immigrants in the United States from 1919 to 1945. It explores how a nation reproduces itself through everyday practices, habits, and ways of being, particularly related to everyday nationalism. The thesis is that nationalism is not only a product of institutional actions but is also reproduced outside official, formal, and instrumental frameworks at the level of largely unreflected everyday practices. The article is based on an analysis of texts containing the phrase “kranjska klobasa” that appeared in Slovenian migrant newspapers of record in the United States in the period 1919–1945.

KEYWORDS: everyday nationalism, banal nationalism, material culture, newspapers, kranjska sausage

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## UVODNI PRIGRIZEK

S katero jedjo so se mastili na »valentinovem plesu« društva Sv. Frančiška iz New Yorka 13. februarja 1938? Kaj je moral znati izdelovati poslovni partner, ki ga je iskal Joseph Krallinger za svoj »pork-store«? In s katero mesnino je lovil Jacob Šega iz Jolietta na svoj mesarski trnek slovenske gospodinje? Kaj povezuje zgornja vprašanja? Gre za vprašanja z enakim odgovorom (za odgovor glej slike v nadaljevanju), pa najbrž tudi za vprašanja z enako usodo. Ta vprašanja namreč nikoli ne bodo dobila mesta v zgodovinskih učbenikih, saj se zdijo razlagalcem zgodovine, družbe, kulture in drugih velepomembnosti nepomembna – zgodovinske trivialnosti, ki niso imele vpliva na nič pomembnega, kar je sledilo, in brez katerih se je zgodovina neodvisno zapletala in razpletala. V članku ne delim takšnega mnenja – hrana in druge nepregledne množice vsemogočih vsakdanjih stvari so pomembno sodelovale pri nastajanju in obstajanju narodov ter, v kar bomo ugriznili na tem mestu, migrantskih skupnosti.

O »ohranjanju narodne identitete« med slovenskimi izseljenci (tako v ZDA kot tudi drugje) je bilo prelitega že veliko črnila. Avtorji in avtorice so pisali predvsem o izseljenskih organizacijah in društvenem življenju, izobraževanju, literarnem in drugem umetniškem ustvarjanju – torej predvsem o vidnih, izstopajočih, institucionalnih dejavnostih in dosežkih.<sup>1</sup> Veliko manj pa je znanega o tem, kako se je občutek pripadnosti (slovenskemu) narodu oblikoval in reproduciral v praksi, kako se je materializiral v vsakodnevem življenju.<sup>2</sup> Eric Hobsbawm (2007: 18) pravi, da narod nastaja (predvsem) »od zgoraj« – politično, upravno, prek medijev in agitatorjev – razumemo pa ga le, če ga analiziramo tudi »od spodaj« – »se pravi v okviru domnev, upov, potreb, želja in interesov navadnih ljudi, ki niso nujno nacionalni, še manj pa nacionalistični«. In prav temu »nacionalizmu od spodaj« oziroma »z maščobo kranjske klobase popackanem nacionalizmu«, ki mu bomo z razliko od Hobsbawma pripisali ne le spoznavno, temveč tudi konstitutivno vlogo, in ki je fokusiran na »domneve, upe, potrebe, želje in interese navadnih ljudi«, se bomo posvetili v tem besedilu.

Članek zastavlja vprašanje pomena vsakdanjosti pri reprodukciji nacionalizmov<sup>3</sup> in narodnih identitet oziroma raziskuje, kako se narod reproducira z vsakdanjimi praksami, navadami in načini bivanja, pri čemer bo v središču analize kranjska klobasa. Pri tem problematizira in se opira na koncept vsakdanjega nacionalizma (angl. everyday nationalism) – termina z različnimi konceptualnimi in kontekstualnimi poudarki (Knott, 2015), ki pa nam bo v prvi vrsti pomenil zanimanje za vsakdan

1 Za najaktualnejši pregled v ZDA in drugje glej Žitnik Serafin (2020).

2 Dve študiji, ki zapolnjujeta ta manko in govorita o vlogi hrane pri reprodukciji narodnih identitet med slovenskimi izseljenci: Milharčič Hladnik (2010) in Godina Golija (2014).

3 Nacionalizem v članku razumem v (naj)širšem pomenu, kot proces formiranja in reprodukcije narodov, občutek ali zavest o pripadnosti narodu, nacionalni jezik in simboliko ter še kaj (Smith, 2005: 15).



kot mesto reprodukcije nacionalizma.<sup>4</sup> Teza besedila je, da nacionalizem in z njim narodna identiteta nista le produkta institucionalnega delovanja, temveč se reproducirata tudi izven uradnih, formalnih, institucionalnih in instrumentalnih okvirjev, na ravni večinoma nereflektiranih vsakodnevnih praks, odločitev, reprezentacij.

Vendarle pa članek ne prinaša le še ene kritike »velikih« teorij nacij in nacionalizma, z malo ali zelo selektivnim posluhom za vprašanje vsakdanjega življenja in vsakdanje kulture. V razpravo o nacionalizmu in vsakdanjem nacionalizmu vnaša razpravo o materialni kulturi, o pomenu stvari pri oblikovanju in reprodukciji nacionalizmov, ki vsaj med raziskovalci nacij in nacionalizmov večinoma ostaja skoraj povsem prezrta. Postaviti predmet, objekt, stvar v fokus analize pomeni tudi razumeti posebno mesto in vlogo, ki jo imajo stvari oziroma materialna kultura pri oblikovanju in reprodukciji narodnih identitet. Seveda gre za zelo kompleksno in široko vprašanje, ki se mu bomo na tem mestu posvetili le skozi optiko vsakdanjega nacionalizma oziroma vsakdanjih stvari. Prav tako pa članek v raziskovanje vsakdanjega nacionalizma – ki so mu očitali ahistoričen pristop, fokusiran na sodobne aspekte nacionalizma in izključujoč »kavzalno-historično metodologijo« predhodnega raziskovanja nacionalizmov (Smith, 2008: 567) – prinaša tudi metodološki preizkus. Ali se raziskovanja vsakdanjega nacionalizma v preteklosti, ki je pogojeno s selektivnimi in specifičnimi zgodovinskimi viri (Van Ginderachter & Beyen, 2012; Van Ginderachter 2018), lahko lotimo tudi z analiziranjem časopisja?

## METODOLOŠKE DROBTINICE

Članek temelji na analizi besedil, v katerih se pojavi kranjska klobasa, v slovenskem periodičnem tisku v ZDA, ki je bil leta 2013 dostopen v Digitalni knjižnici Slovenije (DLIB). Iskanje z geslom »kranjska klobasa« na DLIB je v *Amerikanskem Slovcu* prikazalo 511 enot (1919–45), v *Ameriški domovini* 460 enot (1919–45; določeni letniki niso bili na voljo), v *Edinosti* 279 enot (1919–25), v *Glasu naroda* 708 enot (1919–45), v *Glasilu K.S.K. jednote* 335 enot (1919–45), v *Prosveti* 672 enot (1919–45),

4 Problemi in vprašanja, ki jih zastavlja koncept vsakdanjega nacionalizma, bodo delno zastavljeni v nadaljevanju. Na tem mestu le nekaj poudarkov. Preučevalci vsakdanjega nacionalizma imajo različen in nemalokrat dvoumen odnos do zelo vplivnega Billigovega koncepta banalnega nacionalizma. Banalni nacionalizem, ki problematizira, kako nacionalizem iz strukturnih ravni kaplja med t. i. »vsakdanje ljudi« in je nedvomno zelo pomemben za koncept vsakdanjega nacionalizma, nekateri ne postavljajo pod streho vsakdanjega nacionalizma. Banalni nacionalizem namreč sloni na predpostavki, da so množični mediji ogledalo stališč običajnih ljudi, in tako zanemarja oziroma ignorira delovanje ljudi, kar pa je vsaj za nekatere osrednji fokus vsakdanjega nacionalizma. Nekateri raziskovalci vsakdanjega nacionalizma kritizirajo tudi preveč deduktivno agendo banalnega nacionalizma, ki je pripeljala do predpostavke, da se nacionalnost vedno reproducira kot nekakšna »vseprisotno relevantna družbena kategorija« (npr. Brubaker et al., 2006: 363; Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008). Vsakdanji nacionalizem pa se pogosto sprašuje, v kolikšni meri sta narod in nacionalnost prisotna v vsakdanjem življenju in soodvisna od nacionalizma. Raziskovanje vsakdanjega nacionalizma je bilo tako nemalokrat povezano ali osredotočeno na raziskovanje nacionalne identitete.

v *Enakopravnosti* 132 enot (1920–45; številni letniki niso bili na voljo), v *Proletarcu* 100 enot (1919–45) ter v *Ave Mariji* 35 enot (1919–45). Torej skupno okoli 3.232 enot, od tega je bržkone okoli polovica oglasov in tudi kar nekaj »praznih« enot, ko iskanje v dokumentih v obliki PDF ni našlo nobene omembe kranjske klobase.<sup>5</sup>

Opraviti imamo z različnimi tiski, tako po ideološki pripadnosti kot po obsegu, nakladi, pogostosti izdajanja ipd., ki so bili tudi znotraj obravnavanega obdobja deležni manjših in večjih sprememb.<sup>6</sup> Z izjemo katoliškega mesečnika *Ave Marija* izbrani listi spadajo med »velike« slovenske časopise v ZDA (izhajali so od enkrat tedensko do vsakodneвно) ali tudi »časopise širokega spektra« z obravnavo različnih vsebin in področij (politika, gospodarstvo, kultura, vsakdanje življenje, šport idr.) tako znotraj izseljenskih skupnosti v ZDA kot tudi v »starem kraju« in drugje po svetu.

Zakaj ravno obdobje 1919–1945? Kot je mojstrsko pokazal Massimo Montanari (1998), so politična, časovna razmejevanja z vidika kulturne zgodovine hrane in prehranjevanja pogosto arbitrarna. Z drugimi besedami, kulturna zgodovina kranjske klobase ni dekla politične zgodovine (Mlekuž, 2017, 2018, 2020). A vendarle, obdobje med svetovnim vojnama je z vidika (slovenskih) izseljenskih skupnosti drugačno od predhodnega – ZDA so takrat v veliki meri zaprla vrata za priseljevanje, kar pomeni, da so se izseljenske skupnosti relativno »ustalile«. Novo obdobje pomeni tudi nov »kontekst«: izvorna domovina oziroma »stari kraj« ni več Avstro-Ogrska, temveč Država Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov (do 1. decembra 1918), nato Kraljevina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev in od 3. oktobra 1929 Kraljevina Jugoslavija, za nemajhen del slovenskih izseljencev in njihovih potomcev pa tudi Kraljevina Italija. Kot bomo videli, je vse to (in še marsikaj drugega) prisotno tudi v pisanju o kranjski klobasi.

Razkrivanje zgodovine izključno s časopisnimi viri je seveda pomanjkljiva zgodovina. Časopisje je pisalo zgolj o nekaterih pojavih in dogodkih, o drugih pa je molčalo. In tudi ko je pisalo o izbranih pojavih in dogodkih, je pisalo tako, in ne drugače. Kot so pokazali nekateri preučevalci nacionalizmov v Avstro-Ogrski, je podoba nacionalizma, ki jo dobimo skozi listanje časopisov, običajno napihnjena in popačena (Judson, 2006, 2016; Zahra, 2010). Časopis je torej potrebno razumeti tudi ali predvsem kot specifičen medij in kot specifično reprezentacijo stvarnosti, z bolj in manj odkrito ambicijo po oblikovanju stvarnosti. Časopisje je tako nedvomno tudi oblikovalo in reproduciralo nacionalizme in narode. Ne pozabimo, da je bil časopis v obravnavanem obdobju (vse do druge svetovne vojne, pa tudi kasneje) najvplivnejši informacijski in ideološki aparat, ki je dnevno zasipal beroče občinstvo z informacijskim in ideološkim blagom ter tako vsakodneвно reproduciral obstoj naroda oziroma njegovo zamišljanje (Briggs & Burke, 2005; Anderson, 1998).<sup>7</sup> Kot pravi Eric

5 V nadaljevanju predstavljeni časopisni drobci so izbrani po mojem (subjektivnem) kriteriju, z namenom čim boljše ponazoritve konceptov in idej, predstavljenih v besedilu.

6 Za več o slovenskem izseljenskem tisku v ZDA gl. Bajec (1980) in Žitnik Serafin (2020: 312–319); o izseljenskem tisku v ZDA na splošno pa Park, 1922.

7 O odmevnosti Billigovega dela gl. Skey & Antonsich (2017); Duchesne (2018).

Hobsbawm (2007: 169): »Premišljena propaganda pa je bila skoraj zagotovo manj pomembna kakor zmožnost množičnih medijev, da so nacionalne simbole spreminili v del življenja slehernega posameznika in tako odpravili delitev na zasebno in lokalno sfero, v kateri je večina državljanov živela, ter javno in nacionalno sfero.«

## GLAVNA JED

### Banalna klobasa

Kot poudarja Tim Edensor (2002), eden od začetnikov problematiziranja vloge vsakdanjega življenja in vsakdanje kulture pri reprodukciji nacij in nacionalizmov, je težava pri preučevanju vsakdanjosti dejstvo, da je ta preveč očitna, samoumevna. Zato so se raziskovalci in pisci o nacijah in nacionalizmih posevečali predvsem izstopajočim, vidnim, spektakularnim, uradnim, institucionalnim in instrumentalnim aspektom nacionalizma. Prvo poglobljeno kritiko razumevanja in preučevanja nacionalizma kot pojava, ki se kaže le v obliki spektakularnih dogodkov in manifestacij ter v času posebnih dogodkov (praznovanj, vojn idr.), je v odmevnem delu *Banal nationalism* podal Michael Billig (1995),<sup>8</sup> v katerem je izpostavil banalni del vsakdana kot osrednji pogoj nacionalizma. Kot pravi Billig, v življenju naroda na dolgi rok ne štejejo toliko zastave, s katerimi priložnostno mahajo rodoljubi, temveč tiste zastave, ki ohlapno, toda neprestano visijo ob vsakodnevnih poteh in ljudi s tem bržkone predvsem »nezavedno« opominjajo, da so pripadniki določenega naroda.

Kot nam pričajo številna in zelo raznolika časopisna besedila, je (bila) ena od takšnih zastav slovenskega naroda in s tem tudi slovenskih izseljencev nedvomno tudi kranjska klobasa. Pod naslovom »Kranjske klobase« v rubriki »Za naše gospodinje« se suhoparna navodila za pripravo kranjskih klobas začnejo z naslednjim stavkom: »Slovcu povejte o kranjskih klobasah, pa ga boste videli na mah, kako se bo lepo na tihoma oblizaval. In zakaj bi se tudi ne, saj kranjskih klobas nobene klobase na svetu ne ,bitajo,' bodisi po kvaliteti, okusu ali kakoržekoli. / Kranjske klobase se delajo tako-le: Sesekej ali [...]« (Za naše gospodinje, 1924: 2). Peter Zgaga z istoimensko rubriko v *Glasi naroda* zelo pogosto omenja kranjske klobase, nimalokrat z veliko mero ponosa in zanosa: »Ni je reči nad kranjsko klobaso. / Pa ne samo jaz, tudi ženske, bodisi Kranjice ali Amerikanke, stare ali mlade so tega mnenja« (Zgaga, 1922: 2). Tudi v članku, ki svari pred »novimi krivimi preroki« (z naslovom »Pozor pred novimi krivimi preroki«) v verskem listu *Ave Marije* se brez težav znajdejo: »Rojaki! Bodimo Bogu hvaležni za dar prave vere in ne bodimo ameriški Indijanci, ki so za barvane črepinje nekdaj dajali zlato in slonovino, da poleg kranjskih klobas ne

8 Odločitev za analizo zgolj časopisnih virov (in ne tudi drugih – npr. ustnih, gmotnih, arhivskih idr.) je, kot je bilo navedeno v uvodnem poglavju, povezana z metodološki preizkusom: ali se raziskovanje vsakdanjega nacionalizma v preteklosti lotimo tudi z analiziranjem časopisja oziroma do kakšne mere nam je vsakdanji nacionalizem iz časopisnih virov dostopen.

bomo zasloveli po svetu še po svoji naivnosti« (Hugo, 1934: 21). »Glasovi iz naselbin«, rubrika *Prosvete*, ki prinaša novice iz slovenskih naselbin po vseh ZDA, zelo pogosto servira junakinje tega besedila. V vabilu na »Prešernovo 30-letnico« (društvo iz Pittsburgha) takole zadišijo: »Ne smem pozabiti povedati, da bomo imeli dobro okusno hrano in dobre ‚kranjske klobase‘. Slovenci ne morejo biti brez – kranjskih klobas« (Hrvatina, 1941: 2).

In še bi lahko brez težav nadaljevali, kolikor nam omogoča maksimalna dolžina članka (in še dlje). A bržkone je dovolj, da zapišemo, da je imela pripadnost kranjske klobase slovenskemu narodu, kot bi rekel Benedict Anderson (1998: 162), »avro usodne določenosti«. In če zabelimo še z besedami Erica Hobsbawma (Hobsbawm, 1983: 282), kranjska klobasa je rada sodelovala pri »simbolni predstavitvi narodove veličine in sijaja«. To pa tudi pomeni, da so kranjske klobase nemalokrat zahtevale nego in skrb. V hudomušnem »Protestu iz Rock Springsa« so bile, kot nemalokrat tudi v drugih člankih, v središču te skrbi:

Protestiram, ker nam hočejo vzeti »kranjsko« ime pri jedoti. In če bi pri tem ostalo, bi še nekako potrpeči, pa se bojim, da ne bo, ker ti »naprednjaki« pojdejo dalje in nas oropajo za sledeča lepa imena:

Kranjski salun.

Kranjska muzka.

Kranjska cerkev.

Kranjski gaspud.

Kranjski štor.

Najbolj se pa še bojim za – Kranjske klobase.

Ako nam le te vzamejo, potem se zmufa.

(Krajnar, 1926: 2).

Skrb, ki jo je deležna kranjska klobasa, pa je bržkone povezana še z eno njeno lastnostjo – (po)gosto prisotnostjo ali, če nekoliko napihnemo, onipotentnostjo. V novicah o društvenem življenju, v vsemogočih dopisih, poročilih, napovednikih slovenskih naselbin in društev, pa tudi v oglasih mesnic in trgovin je pogosto prisotna in pogosto najbolj ali celo edina izpostavljena reč (Slika 1, Slika 2 in Slika 3):

Z že omenjenim psevdonimom »Peter Zgaga« se je podpisoval Janez Trček (1891–1942), glavni urednik *Glasa Naroda* v obdobju 1916–1942, ki je pisal stalno zabavno kolono, v kateri je kramljal (klobasal) o vsemogočih rečeh, povezanih (pa tudi ne ravno povezanih) s slovenskimi izseljenci v ZDA. Bil je bržkone najbolj kranjski klobasi zvesti pisec v slovenskem časopisju v ZDA. Tudi ko piše o stvareh, ki na videz nimajo nobene neposredne zveze s kranjsko klobaso, se ta pogosto prikrade v njegovo pisanje:

**? Ali ?**  
bi radi 5 funtov teško

**kranjsko klobaso?**  
dobite jo lahko, če pridete na

**VALENTINOV PLES**

---

katerega priredi

društvo sv. Frančiška št. 46 KSKJ, New York

**V NEDELJO 13. FEBRUARJA**

**V SLOVENSKI CERKVENI DVORANI**  
62 St. Marks Place (8th St.)

Godbo bo imel v oskrbi Jerry Koprivšek Jr. s svojim  
**"STARLIGHT" ORKESTROM**

Nedelja je dan počitka, torej ne kuhajte večerje doma dne 13. februarja, ampak pridite na *kranjske klobase* na Osmo; servirane bodo od šestih naprej.

*Vstopnina 35 centov*

Slika 1: S katero jedjo so se mastili na »valentinovem plesu« društva Sv. Frančiška iz New Yorka 13. februarja 1938? (vir: *Glasilo K.S.K. jednote*, 9. 2. 1938, 7)

**ISČE SE PARTNER**

za **PORK-STORE**, sposoben izdelovanja kranjskih klobas in ki govori nemški in angleški jezik; nekaj kapitala potrebno. Poizve naj zvečer pri: — **Joseph Krallinger, 332 E. 79th St., New York, N. Y.**

(2x 1&4)

Slika 2: Kaj je moral znati izdelovati poslovni partner, ki ga je iskal Joseph Krallinger za svoj »pork-store«? (vir: *Glas naroda*, 1. 9. 1928, 2)

Kaj je vitamin – me vprašuješ, dragi čitatelj. – Po pravici priznam, da še sam natančno ne vem. Pa že mora biti kranjski klobasi podoben. Kajti brez kranjske klobase je tudi kisló zelje od muh (Zgaga, 1933: 2).

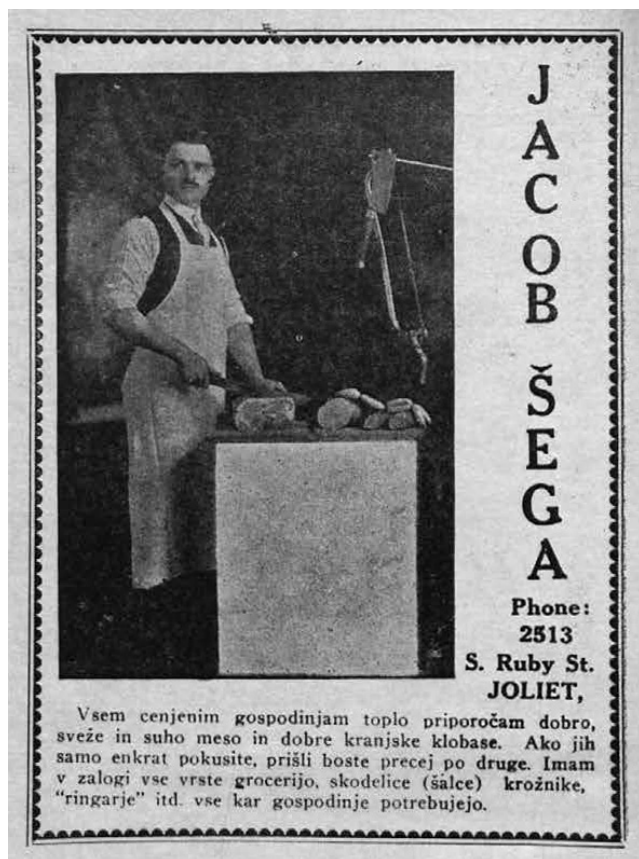
Nazadnje moram pa izpregovoriti še resno besedo o »živih« vdoval, katerih po Downtownu in Brooklynu kar mrgoli.

Od dne do dne jih je več in kot jih zunanost razodeva, se jim prav dobro godi. Vse brez izjeme dobro rejene ter v splošnem precej namazane in debele za ušesi.

Naše šege in navade opuščajo. Slovenska govornica jim več ne prija. Slovenska pesem jih ne gane. V slovenski družbi se ne počutijo dobro.

Na kratko rečeno: – Laški ali napol laški makaron jim je več nego pristna kranjska klobasa.

Zatorej na delo slovenski fantje, pečlarji in vdovci, da ostane to dozorelo sadje pri nas in v naši sredi (Zgaga, 1934: 2).



Slika 3: In s katero mesnino je lovil Jacob Šega iz Jolieta na svoj mesarski trnek slovenske gospodinje? (vir: *Ave Maria*, 29. 12. 1927, 34)

A vrnimo se k Billigu. Na odgovor, zakaj ne pozabimo naše nacionalne identitete, odgovarja, da smo konstantno opominjani, da živimo v svetu narodov in nacij (Billig, 1995: 93). To vsakodnevno in v veliki meri nezavedno opominjanje na narod oziroma nacijo je namreč po Billigu ključno za obstoj in reprodukcijo nacionalizma. Brez tega vsakodnevnega pogrevanja bi bil nacionalizem ob svečanih, prazničnih dneh najbrž preveč postan in hladen za uživanje. V tem opominjanju slovenskih izseljencev in njihovih potomcev na narodno pripadnost je torej imela posebno mesto tudi kranjska klobasa. Stalno ohranjanje medsebojne prepoznave s pomočjo kranjske klobase je zagotavljalo sprotno in neprestano rekonstruiranje naroda in pripadnosti le temu.

Toda kaj nam banalni nacionalizem sploh govori o vsakdanu in njegovi vlogi pri reprodukciji narodov in nacionalizmov? Banalni nacionalizem opisuje, kako nacionalizem iz strukturnih ravni kaplja med vsakdanje ljudi, kako nacionalizem od zgoraj navzdol deluje tiho, »prej nezavedno, kot pa zavestno« (Billig, 1995: 38), ne da bi se pri tem posluževal metod prisile ali celo nasilja (Skey & Antonsich, 2017; Duchesne, 2018). Nič pa nam pravzaprav ne pove, kako te kaplje vplivajo na (raz)rast nacionalizma na umazanih tleh vsakdana, kako vznikajo v občutkih, mišljenju, delovanju običajnih ljudi. S tem pa se razpira tudi inherentna težava koncepta banalnega nacionalizma, na katero je opozoril Jon E. Fox (2017, 2018): kako lahko pokažemo, da to banalno, v veliki meri neopazno opominjanje sploh deluje, če je njegova osnovna značilnost, da deluje brez našega zavedanja?<sup>9</sup>

## Vsakdanja klobasa

Razpravo bomo nadaljevali s podobnim vprašanjem, ki ga lahko zastavimo tudi glede nacionalizma v vsakdanjem življenju oziroma pomena vsakdana za reprodukcijo nacionalizma. Vsakdanjost opredeljuje »naš način življenja« – to, kar bi lahko imenovali »struktura občutenja« (Williams, 2005), specifično izkustvo življenja v določenem času in prostoru, ki ga deli neka generacija, subkultura, narod ipd. in je najbolj jasno artikulirano v kulturnih oblikah in konvencijah ter je na meji semantične dostopnosti.<sup>10</sup> Struktura občutenja opredeljuje skupno videnje sveta, izmenjavo referenčnih točk, ki omogočajo osnovo za vsakodnevna dejanja in razumevanja. Te skupne, podobne, povečini nereflektirane navade, predpostavke in rutine strukturirajo in normalizirajo vsakdan ter podpirajo razumevanja, »kakšne so stvari«, »kako počnemo določene stvari« in nenazadnje tudi, »kako govorimo o določenih stvareh«.

Daniel Miller, ki vztraja, da stvari delajo ljudi prav tako kot ljudje delajo stvari, najde moč stvari v njihovi ponižnosti, nezaznavnosti, neopaznosti. Stvari najbolj delujejo, ko so nevidne, ko jih ne komentiramo, ko se nam zdijo znane in samoumevne.

9 Več avtorjev je opozorilo na Billigovo predpostavko, da so množični mediji ogledalo stališč običajnih ljudi, kot enega glavnih problemov njegove analize (Wertsch, 1997: 469; Van Ginderachter, 2018: 3).

10 Za Williamsa je »struktura občutenja« družbena izkušnja v razvoju, še ne dojeta in prepoznana kot družbena, razumljena kot zasebna (Williams, 2005).

Manj kot se stvari zavedamo, »močnejše zaznamujejo naša pričakovanja, ko ustvarjajo prizorišča in zagotavljajo ustrezno vedenje, ne da bi jih bilo mogoče izpodbijati« (Miller, 2016: 80). Gre za sposobnost stvari, da izginejo iz našega vidnega polja, hkrati pa ostanejo odločilne za našo identiteto in vedenje. Takšna ideja izhaja iz razumevanja, »da velikega dela tistega, zaradi česar smo, kar smo, ne dojemamo zavestno ali s telesom, temveč kot zunanje okolje, ki nas navaja nase in sproža naše delovanje« (Miller, 2016: 80). Sklep je torej, da so stvari pomembne, a ne zato ker nekaj omogočajo ali omejujejo, temveč ravno nasprotno – pomembne so zato, ker na videz nič ne počnejo. Stvari se tako izkažejo za ključne, konstitutivne v oblikovanju posameznikov in skupin. Stvari ne le odslikavajo obstoječe ideje, vrednote, socialna razlikovanja idr., temveč jih soustvarjajo. Z uporabo, proizvodnjo, potrošnjo, izmenjavo, življenjem in interakcijo s stvarmi se ljudje oblikujejo v neprestanem procesu bivanja in nastajanja. Ljudje in stvari so povezani dialektično. Fenomenološko rečeno: dotikamo se stvari in stvari se simultano dotikajo nas. Proces je recipročen (Tilley, 2006: 60–61; Miller, 1987). Ponižne stvari, imanentno vtikane v vsakdanje življenje, nasičene z občutki določenega časa in prostora, so torej pomembne za reprodukcijo narodov in narodnih identitet.

Orvar Löfgren (1996: 34) je za ta izmuzljiv proces skoval izraz »mikrofizika učenja in pripadanja« – kako trivialnosti in vsakdanje rutine oblikujejo občutek pripadnosti narodu. V primerjavi z banalnim nacionalizmom, ki pronica navzdol iz »strukturnega nacionalizma«, ta vsakdanji nacionalizem deluje kot samostojna domena, ki jo urejajo vsakdanji ritmi in nepredvidene okoliščine vsakdanjega življenja (Fox & Van Ginderachter, 2018: 547). Nacionalna identiteta se torej poleg zavestnih manifestacij kaže in reproducira tudi v vsakdanjih, banalnih socialnih interakcijah, navadah, praksah in vedenjih.

Hrana je skozi ponavljajoča se in vsakdanja dejanja, kot sta priprava in uživanje, pomemben element te vsakodnevne, povečini neopazne reprodukcije narodov in nacionalizmov. Te strukture ali vzorci normalizacije nam sporočajo, kaj, kako, kdaj in kje jemo in pijemo. S tem pa ti banalni, vsakdanji, povečini nezavedni vzorci tudi definirajo in opredeljujejo narod skozi specifično kulturo hrane in pijače (Edensor, 2002; Ichijo & Ranta, 2016). Če debato začnimo še s Pierrom Bourdieu (2002), hrana pomembno služi utrjevanju narodnega habitusa – skupka dispozicij, ki strukturira in nezavedno umešča vloge, kategorije, percepcije, identitete in razlikovanja, povezana s narodnostjo.

A težava preučevanja vsakdana in njegove vloge pri reprodukciji nacionalne identitete je, da je preveč očiten, zato njegovo razumevanje največkrat ostaja na ravni teorije in ne sloni na analizi dejanskih praks ali procesov. Vprašanje, ki ga je Jon E. Fox (2017, 2018) zastavil banalnemu nacionalizmu, lahko vsaj do neke mere zastavimo tudi vsakdanjemu nacionalizmu: Kako sploh vemo, da je ta vsakdanjost (kranjske klobase) pomembna za reprodukcijo nacionalizma in nacionalnih identitet, če deluje (v veliki meri) brez našega zavedanja (Hearn & Antonsisch, 2018)?



Toda ta nerefektiran vsakdan je lahko tudi izzvan, zboden, zamajan, postavljen v situacije, ki pretrsejo vsakodnevno rutino in razburkajo tok vsakodnevnega življenja. Ti povečini nezaznavni občutki pripadanja postanejo del refleksije, ko se spremenijo običajne rutine in prakse, ko se narodni red stvari zamaje, ko se ljudje znajdejo v novem »narodnem okolju« (Foster, 1999: 271; Edensor, 2002; Skey, 2011, 2018; Fox, 2017; Fox & Van Ginderachter 2018). Marcel Mauss (1996) je v razpravi o telesnih tehnikah ponudil »klasičen« primer takšnih zamajanih utelešenih nacionalnih razlik, v kateri opisuje, kako so med prvo svetovno vojno francoski vojaki trpeli pri kopanju jarkov z angleškimi lopatami (in vice versa). Če dosedanjo razpravo zbudemo še z interpelacijo Louisa Althusser (2000): ker in ko se navadimo na ohlapne zastave kot sestavni, nepogrešljiv del »našega okolja«, se zlahka prepoznamo med plapolajočimi zastavami, ko nas nacionalizem pocuka za srjaco. Plapolajoča zastava prav zaradi ohlapne zastave nikoli ne ostane brez pogleda.

Med migranti je bržkone ta nerefektirana narodna identiteta, sloneča na vsakdanu, veliko pogostejše predmet refleksije kot med ljudmi, ki živijo v »enonrodnih okoljih«. Stvari, dogodki, situacije, ki zmotijo vsakdan in izzovejo vsaj delno zavedanje, da so nekatere stvari (v našem primeru kranjska klobasa) pomemben, vseprisoten del našega vsakdana in s tem posledično tudi nacionalne identitete, so med migranti veliko pogostejše. Lahko bi rekli, da so ti »vsakdanji«. V vsakodnevnih stikih oziroma življenju z »večinsko kulturo« so narodne primerjave del vsakodnevnih življenjskih seznamov, kot lahko beremo v hudomušnem dopisu »Iz slovenskih naselbin«, tokrat iz Steeltona v Pensilvaniji:<sup>11</sup>

Našim slovenskim fantom pa to na srce polagam, da naj si izbirajo naša slovenska ali hrvatska dekleta, ne pa keksarice. Ste videli, kako so fejš naša dekleta, ki so bile na zabavi? Ako keksarico poročiš, moraš, ko greš zjutraj na delo, iti k njej, ko je še v postelji in ji povedati »All right, honey«, zajutrek je že skuhan in kava je pripravljena, čaka na ognjišču. – Ako pa vzameš našo rojakinjo, te pride zjutraj poklicati rekoč: »John, zdaj pa le vstani, zajutrek je že pripravljen.« Pa ni pripravljen kakšen ameriški pie ali pa »canned beans« in druga taka ropotija, ki se kupuje zaprto v škatljah, temveč kislo zelje pa kranjska klobasa noter, za priboljšek pa fajn zabelene žgance (Benkovic ml., 1926: 2).

Narodna identiteta je vedno definirana z razločevanjem od drugih narodov; kot poudarja Orvar Löfgren (1989: 11), je vedno »razločevalni projekt«. Ali kot pravi Michael Billig (1995: 78), »nas« ni brez »njih«. Nacionalizem torej ni le ideologija prve osebe množine, ki govori, kdo smo mi, je tudi ideologija tretje osebe, ki govori o drugih. Nacionalizem tako neizogibno vključuje mešanico partikularnega in univerzalnega: če je »naš« narod zamišljen v svojih posebnostih, mora biti zamišljen tudi kot narod med drugimi narodi. Zavest o narodni in nacionalni identiteti predpostavlja

11 Več o migrantskih skupnostih v Steeltonu glej Bodnar, 1997.

mednarodni kontekst, ki mora biti vedno znova zamišljen, prav tako kot narodne in nacionalne skupnosti (Billig, 1995: 83). Narod je vedno narod v svetu narodov. In nacionalizem je veliko več kot le občutek identitete, je več kot le interpretacija ali teorija – je tudi način bivanja znotraj sveta narodov in nacij (Billig, 1995: 62, 65). Kranjska klobasa je nedvomno pomagala utrjevati ta poseben način bivanja znotraj sveta narodov in nacij, kot nam govori še en dopis o slovenskih dekletih (in »keksaricah«), tokrat iz West Worchesterja v državi New York: »Pred kratkim je pisal [Peter Zgaga], da ni v Ameriki okroglih in rdečeličnih deklet. Sem naj pride, pa bo videl, kakšne so. Tukajšnja dekleta se najejo žgancev, kislega zelja in kranjskih klobas ter ne živijo samo od kendyja kot ponekod po Ameriki« (Naročnik, 1926).

Diskurzi o hrani so pomemben del banalnega nacionalizma – »diskurzivno konstruirajo« in reproducirajo narode in nacije, poudarjajo narodne in nacionalne razlike in pomene (Ichijo & Ranta, 2016). Toda »narod ni nekaj, o čemer vsakdanji ljudje govorijo; temveč je predvsem nekaj, kar se pojavlja obstransko v njihovih pogovorih« (Fox & Miller-Idriss 2008: 540). Narod ali nacija največkrat ni predmet pogovora ali v našem primeru časopisnega pisanja, temveč je nekakšna nezavedna dispozicija, ki sooblikuje pogovor. To govorjenje o narodu (angl. talking the nation) je del »vsakdanje narodnosti« (angl. everyday nationhood) – ideje, da ljudje niso le pasivni potrošniki narodnih pomenov, temveč so tudi njihovi hkratni in neprestani proizvajalci (Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008; Skey, 2011), in ki za razliko od Billigovega banalnega nacionalizma, ki pronica med »navadne ljudi« iz institucionalnih in elitnih sfer, pomeni povsem drugačno oziroma nasprotno perspektivo (Knott, 2015).

Jon E. Fox in Cynthia Miller-Idriss sta definirala štiri polja reprodukcije narodnosti v vsakdanjem življenju s strani navadnih ljudi oziroma »vsakdanje narodnosti«: govorjenje, izbiranje, predstavljanje in uživanje (Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008).<sup>12</sup> Če smo se v do sedaj predstavljenih besedilih večinoma ukvarjali z diskurzivnimi praksami in reprezentacijami (večinoma anonimnih) piscev časopisnih besedil, se bomo v nadaljevanju dotaknili tudi besedil, ki govorijo o tem, kako »navadni ljudje«<sup>13</sup> (če uporabimo to problematično kategorijo) reproducirajo narodnost v vsakdanjem življenju. Pri tem razmišljanju in prikazovanju vsakdanje reprodukcije narodnosti s strani »navadnih ljudi« nam bodo v pomoč predvsem vsemogoči dopisi iz vsemogočih naselbin, v rubrikah z naslovi »Iz slovenskih naselbin«, »Dopisi«, »Društvena oznanila« idr.

12 Pretirano shematičen pristop Jona E. Fox in Cynthia Miller-Idriss (ljudje ne le govorijo, konzumirajo, izbirajo in predstavljajo narod, ampak tudi razmišljajo, ignorirajo, zavračajo, manipulirajo idr. narod) lahko zamegli enega najpomembnejših prispevkov koncepta vsakdanjega nacionalizma – poudarjanje »neurejenosti« in kontradiktornosti nacionalizma v vsakdanjem življenju (Skey, 2011; Knott, 2015: 8).

13 Smith v kritiki vsakdanjega nacionalizma tudi izpostavi kategorijo »navadnih ljudi« kot preveč homogeno kategorijo, neobčutljivo za statusne, razredne in druge razlike (Smith, 2008: 84).

Kranjska klobasa torej ni le pomagala »govoriti o narodu«, ni bila le vključena v oblikovanje naroda s pomočjo govornih dejanj, ampak je, kot lahko beremo v številnih in raznolikih dopisih, pomagala tudi »uživati narod«:

Servirale so pristne kranjske klobase z dobro prikuho. Da so kranjske klobase jako priljubljena jed tudi pri drugih narodnostih, se je videlo na naši trgatvi, ker jedilna soba je bila polna tujcev. Slišali so se vedno vzkliki: Klobasa is good (Dopisi, 1926: 2).

Lepo poje črni kos. Še lepše poje naš zbor. Ako ljubiš lepo slovensko pesem, ne moreš in ne smeš ostati doma. Mladim parom bode ščegetala podplate dobra godba Harvey Koehler Orchestra, starejše pa bo tolažil naš dobri prijatelj rdeči Michigane in njegova spremljevalka kranjska klobasa (Dopisi, 1924: 5).

Številni avtorji so poudarili, da navadni ljudje niso le pasivni potrošniki – »uživalci« naroda, temveč so skozi različne potrošne prakse tudi njegovi ustvarjalci (Miller, 1987; Edensor, 2002; Foster, 1999, 2002; Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008). To »konstitutivno« uživanje naroda pa ne vključuje le simbolno nabitih in/ali vitalnih narodnih jedi in stvari ter njihove (upo)rabe v afirmativnih, eksplicitnih narodnih dejanjih. Uživanje vsaj nekaterih z narodom popackanih stvari omogoča »vsakdanjo izkušnjo enakosti« (Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008: 550) ali, kot bi rekel Benedict Anderson (1998), »izkušnjo simultanosti« – ohlapno zavedanje skupnih dispozicij, ki se kažejo in oblikujejo skozi raznolike prakse potrošnje:

Glede postrežbe naj bo omenjeno, da bo za gladne na razpolago sloveča slovenska orehova potica, domače kranjske klobase in druge dobrote, ki jih znajo pripraviti samo naše slovenske žene (Publikacijski odbor, 1942: 2).

Pred nedavnim sem čital v tem listu dopis clevelandskega poročevalca, ki na vso moč hvali tamošnje ženske in mamce, kot najboljše kuharice sveta, in da menda pod celim solncem boljnih ni. Kaj neki bodo porekle naše farmarice, ko bodo to čitale. [...] Seveda pri odločevanju, če bi bila sama s clevelandskim poročevalcem, ne bi nikdar prišla odločitev, kajti hvalila bi vsak svojo stran. Zato bi pa sklicala vse strokovnjake vseh slov. nasebin. ki so zmožni razsojevati in podati v takih slučajih natančne podatke o kakovosti kranjskih klobas, orehovitih potic, maslenih krofov in drugih takih zapeljivih rečeh, ki se rade pod zobom drobe (Farmar, 1923: 2).

Odločitve, kot na primer kaj jesti, kuhati, piti, ponuditi, postaviti na mizo (tako sonarodnjakom, bržkone pa še izraziteje tujcem), nemalokrat zahtevajo tudi bolj ali manj zavestno ukvarjanje z narodno identiteto oziroma z vprašanjem, kdo smo in kako naj pokažemo, to kar smo (Ichijo & Ranta, 2016). Kot sta poudarila Fox in Miller-Idriss (2008: 546), se s kolektivnimi dejanji uprizarjanja, igranja, nastopanja narodnost ne le razkazuje, temveč tudi oblikuje. In narodnost se ne reproducira le s simbolično

nabitimi, afirmativnimi dogodki (državni prazniki, komemoracije itd.), temveč tudi z dogodki, kjer naroda vsaj na prvi pogled ni mogoče opaziti (zasebna, družinska praznovanja itd.) ali ta ni v prvem planu.

Naše društvo priredi na Martinovo soboto, 11. novembra zvečer družabno zabavo z večerjo v dvorani društva sv. Jeronima. Pripravile bomo prave kranjske klobase in kar je zraven treba. Vemo, da klobase naši rojaki zelo ljubijo, tako tudi drugi narodi. Zato-rej le pridite jih pokusit, tudi vi, iz bolj oddaljenih naselbin, da vidite, kako znamo me Strabančanke pripraviti pristno starokranjsko večerjo (Koklič, 1939: 2).

Navedeni primeri govorijo o tem, kako »navadni« (in bržkone tudi ne tako »navadni«) ljudje aktivno sodelujejo pri reprodukciji narodnih načinov bivanja in delovanja (Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008; Thompson, 2001). Vendar pa je ta »vsakdanji nacionalizem kranjske klobase« bolj kot zavestno aktiviran in prisoten v zavestnih nacionalnih dejanjih deloval kot nekakšno neopaženo »narodno ozadje« v vsakdanjem življenju. Kot bi rekel Marx (1961: 86): »Tega ne vedo, toda to delajo.«

Navedeni primeri tudi rušijo pogosto monolitno podobo naroda, slepega za raznolikost. Narod je, kot nam sugerirajo navedeni primeri, produkt izredno večglasnega in dinamičnega procesa, pogosto sestavljenega tudi iz povsem nasprotujočih si glasov. In če ne poslušamo te polifonije, lahko narod hitro obravnavamo kot nekaj abstraktnega, nekaj, kar je neodvisno od delovanja ljudi, ali celo nekaj, kar je onkraj zgodovine (Hearn & Antonsisch, 2018: 601).

## ZAPIK

Kranjska klobasa med slovenskimi izseljenci v ZDA ni imela le vloge označevalca oziroma simbola slovenskega naroda in drugih s slovenstvom povezanih reči, ni zgolj sodelovala pri »simbolni predstavitvi narodove veličine in sijaja«. Bila je tudi del »strukture narodnega občutenja« – specifičnega izkustva življenja v določenem času in prostoru, skupnega neki skupnosti. Te skupne, podobne, povečini nereflektirane navade, prakse in predpostavke, katerih del je bila kranjska klobasa, so strukturirale in normalizirale vsakdan, podpirale so razumevanja, »kakšne so stvari«, »kako počnemo določene stvari«, »kako govorimo o določenih stvareh« idr. Kranjska klobasa, pogosto vključena v ponavljajoče se in vsakdanje navade, prakse in predpostavke, je bila tako pomembna sestavina te vsakodneвне, povečini neopazne reprodukcije naroda. Te strukture ali vzorci normalizacije so slovenskim izseljencem v ZDA sporočale, kaj, kako, kdaj in kje jemo. S tem pa so ti banalni, vsakdanji, povečini nezavedni vzorci tudi definirali in opredeljevali slovenske izseljence skozi specifično kulturo hrane in prehranjevanja. Nacionalna zavest se torej poleg zavestnih manifestacij reproducira tudi z vsakdanjimi, banalnimi, povečini nereflektiranimi interakcijami, navadami, praksami in vedenji.

Če zapišemo še v jeziku stvari: Poleg kognitivnega odnosa do stvari obstaja tudi nerefektiran, utelešen odnos do stvari. Poleg stvari, ki imajo močne simbolne konotacije in pomene za narodne in nacionalne skupnosti, obstajajo tudi vsakodnevne, neopazne, tihe stvari, ki so pomembne za reprodukcijo nacij in nacionalizmov. Stvari delujejo tudi takrat, ko so nevidne, dojete kot samoumevne. Načini, na katere so določene stvari rabljene, uporabljene, narejene, posedovane, deljene, udomačene, kako se o njih govori, razmišlja, kako so dojemane, predstavljane itd., lahko postanejo pomembni pri reprodukciji »narodnega občutenja« ali celo distinktivni elementi in označevalci narodnih identitet. Kranjska klobasa, ki je puščala neizbrisljive pake v vsakdanjem življenju, napolnjena z občutki določenega časa in prostora, je krepčala to »strukturo narodnega občutenja« ter tako pomagala pokonci držati narodno identiteto slovenskih izseljencev v ZDA in njihovih potomcev.

Ta vsakdanji nacionalizem oziroma vsakdanja reprodukcija nacij in nacionalizmov pa ni le rezultat diskurzivnih praks, ampak vsakodnevne potrošnje in z njo povezanih navad, izbir, ritualnih in drugih praks. Ko so izseljenci uživali kranjsko klobaso, se o njej (in z njo) pogovarjali, hecali, pisali, razmišljali in počeli z njo vsemo-goče stvari, niso bili samo pasivni potrošniki z narodnostjo povezanih pomenov, temveč so bili hkrati tudi njihovi proizvajalci, aktivno vključeni v reprodukcijo z narodnostjo popackanih načinov bivanja in delovanja. Toda ta »vsakdanji nacionalizem kranjske klobase« je bil bržkone bolj kot zavestno aktiviran ali uporabljen v večini primerov prikrit, igral je vlogo nekakšnega neopaženega »narodnega ozadja« v vsakdanjem življenju.

Nacionalizem ni le produkt državnih institucij in politik, temveč se odraža in oblikuje tudi izven afirmativnih in vidnih institucionalnih ter formalnih okvirjev, na ravni vsakodnevnih praks, odločitev, reprezentacij. Nacionalizem je na številne, kompleksne načine ugnezden in reproduciran v vseмогоčih vsakodnevnostih. In del te nacionalizirane vsakodnevnosti med slovenskimi izseljenci in njihovimi potomci v ZDA je bila tudi kranjska klobasa.

## ZAHVALE IN DRUGI PODATKI

Članek je rezultat projekta »Made in YU: Kako so neljudje gor spravili Jugoslavijo« (N5-0134) in programa »Narodna in kulturna identiteta slovenskega izseljenstva v kontekstu raziskovanja migracij« (P5-0070).

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## SUMMARY

### EVERYDAY NATIONALISM AND KRANJSKA SAUSAGE AMONG SLOVENIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Jernej MLEKUŽ

The article analyzes the role of Kranjska sausage (Slv. *kranjska klobasa*) in everyday nationalism among Slovenian immigrants in the United States from 1919 to 1945. It raises the question of the everyday in the reproduction of nationalisms and national identities or rather explores how the nation reproduces itself through everyday practices, habits, and ways of being. In doing so, it problematizes the concept of everyday nationalism. The article's thesis is that nationalism, and with it, national identity, are not only products of institutional action but are also reproduced outside official, formal, institutional, and instrumental frameworks at the level of largely unreflected everyday practices, decisions, representations.

The article provides more than just another critique of the "grand" theories of nations and nationalism with little regard for the question of everyday life and everyday culture. It brings into the discussion of everyday nationalism, and nationalism in general, a discussion of material culture, of the importance of things in the formation and reproduction of nationalisms, which, at least among scholars of nations and nationalism, has largely remained almost completely ignored. The article also brings a methodological challenge to the study of everyday nationalism, which has been accused of an ahistorical approach focused on contemporary aspects of nationalism. The article is based on an analysis of texts containing the phrase "kranjska klobasa" that appeared in Slovenian migrant newspapers of record in the United States in the period 1919–1945. The papers analyzed include *Amerikanski Slovenec*, *Ameriška domovina*, *Edinost*, *Glas naroda*, *Glasiilo K.S.K. jednote*, *Prosveta*, *Enakopravnost*, *Proletarec* and *Ave Marija*.

# PRVA GENERACIJA RUSKE EMIGRACIJE NA SLOVENSKEM: PREDSTAVNIKI RUSKE INTELIGENCE

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## IZVLEČEK

### Prva generacija ruske emigracije na Slovenskem: predstavniki ruske inteligence

Članek obravnava intelektualno elito ruskih priseljencev v Slovenijo med obema svetovnjima vojnama, ki je predstavljala prvo generacijo ruske emigracije. Ob orisu širšega zgodovinskopolitičnega ozadja v tedanji Sloveniji in Jugoslaviji prispevek prikaže usode in delovanje nekaterih vidnih predstavnikov, ki so med drugim tudi vplivali na takratno slovensko kulturno dogajanje. Izpostavljeni so J. V. Spektorski, A. Bubnov in A. V. Isačenko, ki so s svojo akademsko dejavnostjo v mnogočem obogatili in razširili slovensko kulturno zavest. V razpravi so njihova dela podrobneje predstavljena.

**KLJUČNE BESEDE:** ruska emigracija v Sloveniji, inteligenca, ruska matica, ruska kultura, univerza v Ljubljani

## ABSTRACT

### First-Generation Russian Emigrants to Slovenia: Representatives of the Russian Intelligentsia

The article deals with the intellectually elite first generation of Russian emigrants to Slovenia between the two world wars. Along with an outline of the broader historical and political background in then Slovenia and Yugoslavia, the article presents the destinies and activities of some prominent representatives who, among other things, also influenced the Slovenian cultural events at the time. It highlights E. V. Spektorski, A. Bubnov, and A. V. Issatchenko, who greatly enriched and expanded Slovenian cultural consciousness through their academic activity. This investigation also presents their works in more detail.

**KEYWORDS:** first-generation Russian immigrants, Russian intelligentsia, University of Ljubljana, "Russian Matica", Russian culture, Slovenia

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## UVOD

### Prvi ruski emigranti – inteligenti

Za predhodnika prve generacije ruskih emigrantov, ki je bil obenem viden predstavnik tedanje ruske inteligence, bi lahko imeli Petra Bergardoviča Strujeva, ki se je od poznih 90. let 19. stoletja nahajal v različnih mestih Zahodne Evrope (od nemških mest in Londona do Švice). Čeprav bi lahko pred njim imenovali že nekatere druge ruske intelektualce, ki so odločilno izoblikovali svoj svetovni nazor v interakciji z lastno izkušnjo bivanja v tujini, kot so bili pesnik F. I. Tjutčev, pisatelj A. P. Čehov in A. I. Hercen, je Struve s svojimi radikalnimi političnimi pogledi svojo emigracijo neposredno povezoval tudi z liberalističnim gibanjem. V bistvu pa se zdi, da se je dokončno tudi bolje identificiral zunaj Rusije z odločitvijo ustanovitve emigrantskega časnika »Osvobojenje«, ki naj ne bi bil le v celoti namenjen propagandi ideje konstitucionalne oblasti v Rusiji, ki ga je v resnici zgolj financirala (Pipes, 1980: 311, 318), ampak naj bi tudi predstavljal »osvobodilno gibanje«, ki ga je sam Struve vodil od leta 1899 (Pipes, 1980: 317). Leta 1901 oz. 1902 (med Švico in Stuttgartom, ob stikih s finsko opozicijo in judovsko skupnostjo je Struve torej začel izdajati neodvisen kritičen list, ki bi ga lahko opisali kot »narodni forum mnenj« (odprt tako za delavce kot za revolucionarno inteligenco) in ki je vključeval avtorje, kot sta bila M. Gorki in A. P. Čehov (Pipes, 1980: 318, 315). Takšna usmeritev ruske inteligence je tako ustrezala sodobni ruski opredelitvi inteligence, ki naj bi bila »nujni sestavni del vsake intelektualne plasti, obenem pa mora dopuščati svobodno etično samoopredelitev svojih članov« (Sokolov, 2005: 66–67).

Kmalu po koncu prve svetovne vojne se je izkazalo, da je prostor Jugoslavije morda najbolj primeren za tiste ruske emigrante, ki so imeli izrazito intelektualno perspektivo, to pomeni, da je njihova dejavnost izpolnjevala svoj namen in tudi našla odziv v ustreznih ruskih prejemnikih, obenem pa je pričala o določeni literarni plodnosti in širini. Profesorja Vasilija V. Zenkovskega v emigracijo niso prisilila le čustva pravoslavne bližine, ampak morda tudi posebna indiferentnost do političnih interesov (ob naraščanju problematične situacije med rusofobstvom in ukrajinskim separatizmom), ki se je izkristalizirala po revoluciji leta 1917 v Rusiji in padcu oblasti Pavla Skoropadskega. Leta 1919 se je ustalil v Jugoslaviji. Med profesuro na Beograjski univerzi (1920–1923) je ob predavanjih filozofije izoblikoval temeljne postavke svojih historiozofskih pogledov, zlasti med predavanji, ki jih je imel za rusko-srbske študente na temo »Kritika evropske kulture pri ruskih mislecih« in ki so bila objavljena leta 1922 v Zagrebu pod naslovom »Ruski misleci in Evropa« (Zenkovski, 1999a: 8).

Z Zenkovskim se je tedaj deloma ujema eden najpomembnejših ruskih filozofov prve polovice 20. stoletja, Nikolaj Berdjajev, s katerim sta si delila temeljno misel o kritiki evropske filozofije in tematizacijo krize evropske kulture. Po mnenju Zenkovskega naj bi bila Evropa sposobna zaceliti svojo brezpočelnost (»Vsaka kultura je religiozna.« – Zenkovski, 1997: 327) zgolj z upoštevanjem ruskih osnov kulturnosti.

Berdjajev pa je trdil nekoliko drugače, in sicer, da razdrobljenost Poljske in Srbije kliče k obravnavi slovanske ideje, katere duhovna osnova bi morala biti dovolj široka, da bi vsebovala več religioznih tipov (s preseganjem ruskega religioznega nacionalizma) (Berdjajev, 2005: 202). Izpostavil je, da se je znotraj slovanstva zgodil trk Zahoda in Vzhoda: če se je slovanski Zahod čutil bolj civiliziranega in nosilca enotne evropske kulture, je slovanski Vzhod naproti Zahodu ponudil povsem svoj duhovni tip kulture in življenja (Berdjajev, 2005: 228). Jima ne bi zoperstavilo Omenjena trenja so poseben razvoj in ostrino doživela v Jugoslaviji ter na takratnem ozemlju današnje Slovenije, kjer so prav ruski inteligenti našli svojo »drugo domovino«. V pričujočem besedilu želiva opozoriti na usode treh dejavnih predstavnikov ruske inteligence, ki na Slovenskem niso zgolj razvili svojih zaradi emigracije zaustavljenih intelektualnih sposobnosti, ampak so tudi zaznamovali kulturno in akademsko sfero na naših tleh.

## **RUSKA EMIGRACIJA V SLOVENIJI (ZGODOVINSKO-POLITIČNE RAZMERE)**

V času obstoja avstro-ogrske monarhije je slovenski prostor, ki so ga odločnejši modernizacijski procesi – zlasti industrializacija – zajeli razmeroma pozno, množično emigracijo poznal večinoma kot enosmeren proces: iz njega so se ljudje izseljevali. V zadnjih desetletjih 19. stoletja, ko je emigracija pobrala več kot polovico naravnega prirasta (Gestrin in Melik, 1966: 243), jih je največ odšlo v Združene države Amerike, mnogi delavci so se podali v Vestfalijo in severno Loreno, ki sta bili del Nemškega cesarstva (delavci, obrtniki), manjše skupine pa so se bodisi začasno bodisi za stalno preselile na Hrvaško, v Rusijo (več srednješolskih profesorjev) in v Egipt (dojilje s Primorske). Le v Primorju in v krajih ob železnicah so se ljudje tedaj – pa tudi že prej – soočali tudi s priseljenci. Tako je v Gorici leta 1836 umrl Karel X., ki je skupaj s svojimi bližnjimi ter ministrom dvora pokopan v frančiškanskem samostanu v Kostanjevici – kot edini francoski monarh, ki ne počiva v svoji domovini. Na Slovenskem je bilo ob začetku prve svetovne vojne večje število beguncev, ki so se na jug avstro-ogrske monarhije umaknili pred vojaškimi operacijami v Galiciji. Ko se je leta 1915 fronta pomaknila proti vzhodu, so se začeli vračati na svoje domove. Podobno je bilo v zadnjih mesecih prve svetovne vojne s slovenskimi begunci, ki so bili preseljeni v notranjost zaradi bojišča z Italijo ob reki Soči.

Prihod emigrantov iz Rusije po prvi svetovni vojni je bil potemtakem za slovenski prostor kar precejšnja novost. Če so begunci iz nekdanjega carstva, ki jih je Kraljevina SHS sprejela v znatnem številu, sprva računali, da se bodo prej ali slej vrnili v domovino, so pozneje ugotovili, da bodo morali v krajih, kamor so se preselili, ostati. Jugoslovanska država je Ruse, ki niso mogli živeti pod boljševiško oblastjo, sprejela z odprtimi rokami. Zlasti v Srbiji je bilo čutiti veliko hvaležnost do državljanov nekdanjega carstva zaradi podpore Nikolaja II. in njegove vlade uradnemu Beogradu v

dramatičnih poletnih dneh 1914, ko se je Avstro-Ogrska odločila uporabiti sarajevski atentat kot izgovor za začetek vojnega pohoda proti jugovzhodu.

Toda tudi v Sloveniji je bilo zaznati podobna čustva. Tako je nekdanji ljubljanski župan Ivan Hribar ob svojem prvem sestanku z Nikolo P. Pašičem na ladji, ki je vrsto pomembnih graditeljev Jugoslavije jeseni 1918 peljala na Krf – od koder so se potem odpravili v Beograd – posebej poudaril, da je treba Rusiji izkazati hvaležnost za njeno ravnanje v zadnjih dneh miru leta 1914 in potem v vojni. Menil je, da bi Nemčija in Avstro-Ogrska dosegli cilje svoje ekspanzionistične politike, če se jima ne bi zoperstavilo carstvo Romanovih. Slovenski politik je svojemu srbskemu kolegu dejal, »naj naša država pred vsem svetom pokaže svojo etiško vrednost na ta način, da se Rusiji tudi v njenem bednem stanju izkaže hvaležno s tem, da skrbi za njene begunce, te najbednejše od bednih« (Hribar, 1984: 333). Hribar, ki se je kot vnet zagovornik harmoničnega sodelovanja med slovanskimi narodi in državami pred prvo svetovno vojno sestal z vrsto pomembnih politikov v Sankt Peterburgu – sprejel ga je celo zunanji minister Sergej Dmitrijevič Sazonov – je bil tedaj prepričan, da je Leninov režim le začasen. Pašiču je dejal, da je Rusija zaradi njega sicer ohromljena, ni pa mrtva. Menil je celo, da bi bilo treba v jugoslovanske šole uvesti obvezen pouk ruščine, s čimer bi onemogočili nemški duhovni vpliv na prebivalce nove države (Hribar, 1984: 332). Pozneje, na predvečer druge svetovne vojne, je Hribar, ki se je tedaj že bližal devetdesetemu letu svojega življenja, v Sovjetski zvezi uzrl celo naravno naslednico Rusije: kljub odklonilnemu stališču do komunistične oblasti je bil prvi podpisnik vloge za dovolitev ustanovitve društva, ki bi gojilo stike z velesilo na vzhodu. Toda oblastem jugoslovanske kraljevine, ki so šele leta 1940 priznale vlado v Moskvi, se je to zdelo preveč in niso izdale dovoljenja za takšno organizacijo – pa čeprav je bil prvopodpisnik vloge eden največjih slovenskih in jugoslovanskih patriotov (Vidmar, 1985: 535, 536).

Za solidarnost z ruskimi begunci so se v Sloveniji po prvi svetovni vojni najbolj zavzemali liberalci, saj so v carstvu Romanovih videli nekakšnega botra kraljevine Karađorđevićev. Prav tako so cenili, da tudi republika, ki jo je leta 1917 razglasil Aleksander Fjodorovič Kerenski, ni sklenila separatnega miru z Nemčijo in Avstro-Ogrsko. Prvi zunanji minister začasne vlade Pavel Nikolajevič Miljukov je po propadu ruske monarhije govoril o potrebi ustanovitve Jugoslavije, ki naj bo čvrst branik pred aspiracijami uradnega Berlina v jugovzhodni Evropi (Vošnjak, 1928: 173, 174). Med politiki velikih sil se dotlej še nihče ni tako odločno izrekel za oblikovanje nove države na robovih Srednje Evrope in Balkana. Hribar je o tem zapisal:

Ker se Nemcem ni posrečilo vreči Slovanstvo v odprtem boju ob tla, zasnovali so peklenski načrt, da to dosežejo s pomočjo nenacionalnih ruskih revolucionarjev. Srca so se nam trgala, ko smo videli, kakšnim nepopisnim mukam so bili vsled te perfidnosti Viljemove politike [tj. politike nemškega cesarja Viljema II.] izpostavljeni najboljši sinovi ruskega naroda. Pa vendar so ravno ti dogodki bili potrebni, da je prišlo poveličanje Slovanstva, in – da je prišlo naše odrešenje. Da ni bilo ruske

revolucije, bila bi namreč carska vlada leta 1917. po vsej verjetnosti sklenila mir. [Zedinjenje Jugoslavije in neodvisnost Češkoslovaške sta postala mogoča] le z rusko revolucijo. In v tem se je perfidna Viljemova politika vrezala. (Hribar, 1984: 327, 328)

Mnogi slovenski liberalci sicer niso bili tako radikalno rusofilski, toda vseeno so razmišljali v podobni smeri. Od tod je razumljivo njihovo razumevanje za emigrante iz carstva Romanovih in republike Aleksandra F. Kerenskega – ob hkratnem nerazpoloženju do boljševikov. Toda tudi nekateri liberalci so menili, da je Jugoslavija tistim ruskim emigrantom, ki jim je pustila uniformo in jih do leta 1922 angažirala v obmejni straži, dopustila preveč. Nekatere enote vojske Petra Nikolajeviča Wrangla so dejansko ostale pod nekakšnim avtonomnim poveljstvom častnikov, ki so jih vodili v državljanskem spopadu; njihovi pripadniki so celo smeli obdržati lastne uniforme. Vojaki in oficirji bele armade so bili po letu 1924, če so služili v vnovič vzpostavljeni obmejni straži, povsem integrirani v jugoslovanske strukture. Morali so se naučiti srbskega jezika in ga potem tudi vsakodnevno uporabljati (Perovšek, 2015: 9–18).

Katoličani, ki so bili vodilna politična sila v Sloveniji, so bili do ruskih – po veroizpovedi seveda pravoslavnih – beguncev bolj zadržani, čeprav ni mogoče reči, da bi jim bili vseprek nenaklonjeni. Med emigranti in prevladujočo politično grupacijo v Sloveniji sta bila dva mostova: na eni strani izpolnjevanje krščanskih načel in na drugi strani tudi odločno nasprotovanje komunizmu. Bojeviti ateizem boljševikov je med vsemi kristjani vzbujal odpor. V nasprotovanju komunistični protiverski politiki so ljudje različnih konfesij lahko našli skupen jezik. Ob tem pa je treba poudariti, da slovenskim katoličanom pravoslavni svet ni bil povsem tuj: že lavantinski škof Anton Martin Slomšek je leta 1851 ustanovil molilno zvezo za edinost med kristjani. Pozneje je Franc Grivec postal velik poznavalec vzhodnega krščanstva, ki so mu sledili tudi mnogi drugi. Grivec je bil eden najpomembnejših teologov, ki se je živo zanimal za pravoslavje, zlasti za rusko duhovno misel (Zajc, 2014: 195–219). O slednjem pričča njegova teološka dejavnost, pa tudi njegova korespondenca, ki do danes ostaja v rokopisu (Rokopisna zapuščina Franca Grivca, b. l.). Njegova znanstvena dejavnost na področju staroslovanske pismenosti je prinesla rezultate, ki so v cirilo-metodijskih študijah v mnogočem še danes veljavni, edinstveni in zato veljavno verodostojni (veljavni in upoštevani) v slavističnih raziskavah. Na družbenem področju pa so se njegova prizadevanja, ki niso bila povezana le z ekumenskimi težnjami, udejanjila v organizaciji Velehradskih (Velehrad) kongresov, ki si jih je pravzaprav sam zamislil. Že leta 1907 je imel na prvem velehradskem kongresu govor, v katerem je drzno izpostavil dobrodošlo idejo o zbližanju Rusije s katoliškim Zahodom (Grivec, 1908: 45–55; Zajc, 2018: 902–903).

Skrb za ruske emigrante in zanimanje za pravoslavje sta bila prisotna, seveda pa drži tudi, da so si katoličani na Slovenskem predstavljali cerkveno zedinjenje v znamenju načel rimskega papeštva. To je moralo vzbujati nezaupanje pri Rusih, ki so na katoličane večinoma gledali skozi očala, kakršna so sicer nosili njim

najbolj naklonjeni liberalci. Zato tudi ni čudno, da je leta 1925 obisk ljubljanskega knezoškofa Antona Bonaventure Jegliča pri beguncih iz nekdanjega carstva – neka teri od njih so še vedno živeli v improviziranih razmerah – sprožil malo časnikarsko vojno. Liberalci so poudarjali, da se za Ruse iskreno zanimajo samo oni, katoličani pa jih opazijo samo pred volitvami – zaradi želja po morebitnih dodatnih glasovih (Zadnikar, 2014: 41–43). Naprednjaki so v vsakem primeru skušali obdržati monopol na prijateljstvo z ruskimi emigranti. Zato so srdito reagirali na vsako zanimanje katoličanov za njihovo usodo.

Največji nasprotniki ruskih beguncev so bili skrajni levičarji. V Tretjo internacinalo vključeni komunisti, ki so po onemogočenju javne propagandne dejavnosti (1920) ter odvzemu poslanskih mandatov njihovim predstavnikom in po prepovedi njihovega organiziranja (1921) delovali v ilegali, so v prišlekih s področja propadlega carstva Romanovih videli zgolj okorele zagovornike »starega reda«. Zato so jim nasprotovali. Nikakor niso hoteli razumeti, da je ruska emigracija precej heterogena. Poleg monarhistov so se v Kraljevino SHS zatekli tudi pripadniki inteligence, ki je bila do carskega režima kritična, ter tudi ljudje, katerih kariere so doživele višek v času začasne vlade leta 1917.

## ALEKSANDER BUBNOV

Kontraadmiral Aleksander Dmitrijevič Bubnov (1883–1963),<sup>1</sup> ugleden ruski vojak, ki je sčasoma našel drugi dom v Sloveniji, je do svojega čina prišel v času vzpona Aleksandra Fjodoroviča Kerenskega. V zadnjih dneh pred oktobrskim prevratom 1917 je celo postal prvi človek pomorskega direktorata v štabu vrhovnega poveljnika oboroženih sil republike (Smele, 2015: 231). To pomeni, da je užival popolno zaupanje republikancev, ki so vodili rusko državo tik pred Leninovim prevzemom oblasti. Čeprav je v svojih spominih pozneje pisal priznavalno o generalu Lavru Georgijeviču Kornilovu, ga poleti 1917 očitno ni podpiral. Kljub službovanju v carskem vrhovnem poveljstvu med prvo svetovno vojno in poznejši profesorski karieri na pomorski vojaški akademiji Kraljevine SHS oziroma Jugoslavije nikakor ni mogel biti zagrizen monarhist. Politično je očitno stal levo od svojega osebnega prijatelja, admirala Aleksandra Vasiljeviča Kolčaka, ki se je razšel s Kerenskim, hkrati pa je bil desno od generala Antona Ivanoviča Denikina, s katerim ni mogel najti soglasja v okviru belega gibanja. Skrajni levičarji so bili razburjeni, ker je Peter Bergardovič Struve, eden od intelektualnih voditeljev ruske emigracije, tudi ljubljanske časnikarje opozarjal na to, da je na evropskem vzhodu za velik del emancipacijskih premikov, ki jih je Zahodu uveljavila francoska revolucija, poskrbel že stari režim v času Aleksandra II. To je zlasti veljalo za odpravo tlačanstva. Komuniste je seveda zelo peklo, da je

1 V članku ne navajava dodatnih biografskih podatkov, saj sta bili o A. D. Bubnovu izdani obsežna monografija (Grdina, 2017) in biografska razprava (Zajc, 2010).



imel Struve revolucionarno Rusijo za »pijanega Helota«, Evropo pa je posvaril pred kakršnim koli popuščanjem komunizmu (Jenštrle, 1976: 102, 103). Najradikalnejši marksisti so se velikemu mislecu maščevali tako, da so preprečili njegova predavanja na univerzi v Beogradu, vendar s tem niso mogli izničiti tehtnosti njegovih misli (Pipes, 1980: 420–422). Lahko so jih samo začasno preglasili.

V Sloveniji so se najhitreje ustalili tisti Rusi, ki so se v domovini uveljavili v poklicih, po kakršnih dotlej na sončni strani Alp ni bilo povpraševanja. Poleg položajev, ki jih je bilo treba zapolniti zaradi pospešenih modernizacijskih procesov – industrija je zaradi gospodarske zaostalosti južnoslovenskega prostora po letu 1920 doživela skokovit razmah – je ustanovitev narodne države Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov odprla mnogo službenih mest, ki prej sploh niso bila potrebna. Če so bili vojaki izpostavljeni političnim, graditelji železnic pa ekonomskim konjunkturnim nihanjem, so lahko nekateri Rusi računali na solidno eksistenco v novi domovini. Ustanovitev univerze v Ljubljani leta 1919 je odprla vrata zaposlitvi vrste univerzitetnih profesorjev. Med njimi so bili tudi zadnji rektor univerze svetega Vladimirja v Kijevu, Jevgenij Vasiljevič Spektorski (1875–1951), profesor zgodovine in medievalist Nikolaj Mihajlovič Bubnov (1858–1943), ekonomist Aleksander Dmitrijevič Bilimovič (1876–1963), ki je imel dovolj vidno vlogo v belem gibanju v času sprva uspešne kampanje generala Denikina, ter vrsta drugih strokovnjakov. Za slovenski prostor so bili ti znanstveniki dobrodošli v dvojnem pogledu: bili so že uveljavljeni strokovnjaki, prav tako pa ni bilo nepomembno, da so prinesli s seboj izkušnjo drugačne tradicije od tiste, ki se je razvijala v Srednji Evropi. Ljubljanska univerza, ki je bila vsaj v nekaterih disciplinah glavna dedinja starejše ruske vrstnice v Kijevu, je tako dobila akademsko širino in široko razpredene stike z znanstveno srenjo.

## EVGENIJ SPEKTORSKI

Zagotovo so bila leta v Sloveniji vsaj za Spektorskega in Bilimoviča vrhunec njune dejavnosti. Prvi je v Ljubljani izdal svojo enciklopedično *Zgodovino socialne filozofije* ter se posvetil študiju pomembnega političnega misleca z začetka 18. stoletja, Franca Alberta Pelzho(f)ferja (1643/1645–1710) z gradu Kamen pri Novem mestu, ki je s svojimi strogimi pravosodnimi nazori sooblikoval slovensko univerzitetno pravo (menil je, da je spreminjanje zakonov sicer zlo, vendar je včasih neizogibno), drugi pa je za seboj zapustil tradicijo široke ekonomske misli.

Poleg tega je Spektorski od leta 1930 vodil Rusko matico, ki je predstavljala eno najpomembnejših kulturno-izobraževalnih organizacij ruskih emigrantov v Jugoslaviji. Ruska matica je bila osnovana v Ljubljani, pri čemer se je zgledovala po Maticah v drugih slovanskih deželah, ljubljanski pa so sledile njene »sestre« drugod po Sloveniji in Jugoslaviji (v Mariboru, Zagrebu, Novem sadu, Užicu, Somborju itd.). Ustanovitelj Ruske matice Bilimovič jo je slikovito poimenoval »dete slovenske revščine« (Mihalčenko in Tkačenko, 2009: 19). Ruska matica je bila izrazito

nacionalno usmerjena, tako po svoji dejavnosti kot tudi po svoji sestavi. Njeni člani so bili najvišji predstavniki različnih društev in skupin »beguncev« iz Rusije (Zadnikar, 2015: 111–113). Najbolj dejavna je bila ljubljanska sekcija, *Društvo ruskih akademikov v Kraljevini SHS*. Najpomembneje pa se zdi, da je Ruska matica s svojim kulturnim udejstvovanjem in organiziranjem dogodkov pritegnila tudi mnoge slovenske in jugoslovanske intelektualce.

Spektorski, po izobrazbi pravnik (Zenkovski, 1999b: 527) in strokovnjak za državno pravo, je v Ljubljani vodil slovensko Društvo za filozofije prava in sociologije. Bil je profesor na Univerzi v Beogradu in v obdobju 1931–1945 profesor pravosodja, ki je predaval javno pravo in pravno filozofijo na Pravni fakulteti tedaj mlade ljubljanske univerze (vse do konca svojega bivanja v Sloveniji, ko jo je zapustil in odšel – dobesedno peš – v Italijo). Spektorski je enaindvajset let živel v emigraciji. V času, ki ga je preživel v Sloveniji, je postal eden izmed vodilnih predstavnikov ruske inteligence pri nas. Zanimal se ni samo za pravo in filozofijo, ampak je nadvse cenil tudi književnost, preučeval pa je tudi zgodovino krščanske duhovne misli. Svoje izsledke je strnil v besedilo o zgodovini filozofije 17. stoletja z naslovom »O socialni fiziki«. Zaradi razprave »Krščanstvo in Evropa« bi ga lahko imeli ne samo za ruskega začetnika raziskav o antropologiji, ampak tudi za »filozofa kulture« (Bicilli, 1996: 224), saj je v njej razvijal misel o tem, da je sama ideja kulture organsko povezana s krščanstvom, ki naj bi oznanjalo zmago Sina Božjega nad naravo, krščanska umetnost pa naj bi bila nadnaravna (Spektorski, 2013: 56–58, 169). Razprava je bila prvič izdana v obliki knjige v Pragi leta 1925. Njegova dela so se odlikovala s tenkočutno pozornostjo, s katero je obravnaval človeška prizadevanja za vzpostavljanje reda (postavljanje pravil, zakonodaje, normativov) na eni strani, ter z zavzetim socialnim čutom na drugi strani. Zanimali pa so ga tudi robovi človeškega mišljenja in zavedanja, kar ga je kot avtorja v mnogem približevalo teološkim in humanističnim študijam. V svoja predavanja na Ljubljanski univerzi je namreč vključeval tudi osnove cerkvenega prava, sociologije in ekonomije, pa tudi antropološko-humanistična opazanja, s katerimi je spodbujal študente k zahtevnim diskusijam.

Spektorski je v Ljubljani uspel izdati zanj zelo pomembno delo *Zgodovina socialne filozofije*. V rokopisu, ki se nahaja v Inštitutu za raziskave Vzhodne Evrope na Univerzi v Bremnu, je ostal prvoten naslov »Uvod v zgodovino sociologije«, vključeval pa je poglavja »Predgovor«, »Viri in usoda sociologije«, »Naloge sociologije«, »Metodologija sociologije«, »Splošna sociologija« in »Specialna sociologija« (Mihalčenko, 2014: 177–193, 180–181). Njegova knjiga *Zgodovina socialne filozofije* (1932/1933) je bila zaradi avtorjeve erudicije enciklopedično dosledna, podatkovno bogata in kulturološko široka. V Ljubljani pa je napisal tudi svoje memoarno delo, spomine na »ljubljanska leta«, ki so ostali v rokopisu (Spektorski, 2018, 2019).

Zahvaljujoč osnovam ekonomije, ki so bile podane v njegovih predavanjih, sta se z vedo o gospodarjenju seznanila dva pozneje zelo uveljavljena strokovnjaka, profesor georgetownske univerze Ciril Žebot (1914–1989) in nikoli utišani kritik komunističnih gospodarskih eksperimentov Ljubo Sirc (1920–2016). Kolikor ju je

mogoče šteti za učenca Spektorskega, je povsem nazorno, da je njegova filozofsko-družbena misel predstavljala posebno smer primerjalne filozofije in jo je mogoče celo razumeti kot prvo »šolo ruske socialne misli«.

A glede na to, da sta bila Spektorski in Bilimovič zelo različno usmerjena, je mogoče reči, da Bilimovič sicer ni osnoval lastne šole, zato pa je svojim učencem dal sijajne osnove za nadaljnje raziskovalno in pedagoško delo.

Spektorskega pa se je močno dotikalo tudi literarno dogajanje, in veliko sil je vložil v to, da bi se Slovenci začeli navduševati nad ruskimi literarnimi umetninami in obratno, da bi se Rusi začeli zanimati za slovensko kulturno vrenje. Zdi se, da si je želel zblížati rusko in slovensko kulturno zavest. Spektorski je bil tisti, ki je povabil Ivana Aleksejeviča Bunina (1870–1953) v Ljubljano, čeprav jo je ta na koncu obiskal zaradi posredovanja A. V. Maklecova, tajnika Ruske matice v Ljubljani (Bakunecv in Morozov, 2018: 312). Teklo je leto 1933, ko je postalo znano, da bo Bunin nagrajenec Nobelove akademije za književnost. Zato je bilo razumljivo, da bi bil njegov obisk Ljubljane tudi za Slovence pomemben kulturni dogodek. Žal pa Bunin ni prišel, a vseeno se je 23. februarja v Inštitutu francoske kulture v Ljubljani odvil literarni večer, ki je bil posvečen Ivanu Buninu. Večer sta s slavnostnim nagovorom otvorila profesor Bubnov in profesor Maklecov. Spektorskega sicer ni bilo, prisoten pa je bil češki veleposlanik. Podrobnejše predavanje o Buninu je imel prof. Nikolaj Preobraženski, ki je pisatelja opisal kot »pesnika stare nacionalne Rusije in nadaljevalca v ruski literaturi svetle tradicije A. S. Puškina«. Tisti večer so brali odlomke iz Buninovih del, in vsi poslušalci so bili ganjeni od očarljive melodičnosti ruskega jezika (Buninov večer v Ruski Matici, 1934: 3).

Univerza v Ljubljani je tudi pozneje privlačila emigrante iz nekdanjega Ruskega imperija. Tako je na njej doktoriral Anatolij Ignatjevič von Špakovski (1895–1988), ki je bil kot študent filozofa Franceta Vebra (1890–1975) vrstnik pisatelja Vladimirja Bartola (1903–1967). Leta 1963 je izdal knjigo *Freedom. Determinism. Indeterminism*, ki se ponatiskuje vse do danes.

## ALEKSANDER ISAČENKO

Pred drugo svetovno vojno je v Ljubljano prišel jezikoslovec in slavist Aleksander Vasiljevič Isačenko (1910–1978), ki je pozneje postal eden izmed najpomembnejših slavistov v Avstriji. Isačenko je s svojimi starši emigriral iz Rusije leta 1917. Podiplomski študij je nadaljeval v Parizu pod mentorstvom profesorjev Antoina Meilleta in Andrea Vaillanta (Brglez in Seljak, 2007: 82). Odtlej je bil tudi član lingvističnega društva v Parizu (fran. *Société linguistique de Paris*). Na Dunaju je leta 1933 uspešno zagovarjal doktorsko disertacijo z naslovom »Slovenska narečja Podjune na Koroškem« pod mentorskim vodstvom eminentnega slavista grofa Nikolaja Sergejeviča Trubeckoja (1890–1938). Slednji je Isačenko svetoval, naj s svojimi raziskavami slovenskih dialektov nadaljuje podrobneje tudi v prihodnosti. Isačenko

pa je ravno tedaj zavrnil, da bi predaval nemškimi oficirjem, zaradi česar je izgubil službo lektorja na dunajski univerzi, ki jo je opravljal od leta 1935. Tako se je res odločil, da preživi nekaj mesecev v Ljubljani, saj je že stekla dejavna korespondenca med njim in Franom Ramovšem. V Ljubljani je napisal okoli deset jezikoslovnih razprav, med katerimi so bile najboljše tri tudi objavljene. Raziskovalno delo ga je celo tako močno pritegnilo, da je na mladi ljubljanski univerzi oddal prošnjo za profesuro in slednjo tudi dobil (Derganc, 2011: 14), in sicer na osnovi zagovora dela z naslovom »Narečje vasi Sele na Rožu« (25. maja 1939). V tej pretežno fonološki raziskavi je raziskovalec sledil metodologiji ruskega strokovnjaka za letopise in starorusko literaturo in jezik, A. Šahmatova (Isačenko, 1939a: 87). Isačenko je v predgovoru, napisanem julija leta 1938 v Ljubljani, zapisal, da njegova raziskava temelji na govoru skupnosti komaj kakih tisoč duš (Isačenko, 1939a: 3) vasi Sele, ki leži v gorski kotlini, dva kilometra oddaljeni od državne meje, pod stenami Košute, 950 metrov nad morsko gladino (prim. Kotnik, 1939: 135), predgorje Karavank jo loči od Borovelj in od Drave, stik s Podjuno je zamejen z Obirjem (Bezljaj, 1939: 188). Že raziskovalčeva izbira tega osamelega okraja ga je vodila do opredelitve koroških narečnih lastnosti po kriteriju akustičnega vtisa (prim. Jesenovec, 1939: 238), kot je to utemeljil Fran Ramovš. Isačenko je narečje vasi Sele na Rožu utemeljil kot signifikanten primer odraza globalnih norm in tendenc (po terminologiji F. Ramovša) starejšega dialektološko-fonološkega ustroja slovenskega jezika (v bistvu jezika *Brižinskih spomenikov*), saj »ne smemo pozabiti, da v teh goratih krajih ne posnema sin očetovega govora, marveč vnuk posluša svoje stare starše« (Isačenko, 1939a: 46). Obenem pa se je dotaknil tudi širših kulturoloških tem, s katerimi se je srečal na terenu in ki so vključevale predvsem vpogled v funkcioniranje narečnega jezika v vsakodnevem življenju, kar je Isačenko preučeval v diahroni perspektivi. Na ta način je postal eden izmed začetnikov sociolingvističnega raziskovanja v slavistiki. Čeprav je bil Ivan Grafenauer do raziskave tudi kritičen, jo je označil kot »dragocen donesek k poznavanju slovenskih narečij na Koroškem« (Grafenauer, 1938/39: 280). Zlasti se zdi pomembno, da je Isačenko pri upoštevanju dognanj slovenskih slavistov (A. Breznika, S. Škrabca, A. Bezlaja, F. Ramovša, F. Kidriča, R. Nahtigala) pri obravnavi tega koroškega narečja izhajal iz prepričanja o evropski osnovi slovenskega jezika. Z razumevanjem vključenosti slovenščine v srednjeevropski kulturni prostor, ki jo je utemeljeval historično, je Isačenko v razvoju slovenskega glasoslovja opredelil tisto mejo kot »podlago in izhodišče« (Isačenko, 1939a: 51), ki je ležala že v jeziku *Brižinskih spomenikov*. Tovrstno razvejano raziskovanje je Isačenko vodilo do preučevanja *Brižinskih spomenikov*. To je nadaljeval v poglobljeni raziskavi, objavljeni leta 1943, s katero je razdelil slavistično strokovno bralstvo na različna gledišča opazovanja jezika *Brižinskih spomenikov*, predvsem pa je bil deležen ostrega neodobranja in kritik s strani slovenskih slavistov (Grdina, 2004: 155).

Izjemno zanimiva študija, ki jo je Isačenko napisal v Ljubljani, je bila tudi »Staroruske etude«, ki jo je raziskovalec posvetil preučevanju najstarejšemu medsebojnemu vplivanju staroruskega in staroslovanskega jezika (cerkvenoslovanskega).

Na osnovi analize znamenitega staroruskega epa »Pesnitev o pohodu Igorjevem« je problematiziral realno stanje recepcije in razumevanja omenjenih dveh jezikov (preučevanje rabe glagolskega vida imperfekta nekoč ga je vodilo do nekaterih odklonov v sodobni ruščini, kot sta dopuščeni elipsi v polni glagolski strukturi »biti« in »imeti« v sedanjiku). Na ta način je Isačenko metodološko preizkusil načelo »sinhrono v diahronem« in obratno, kar je pogosto vključeval tudi v svoje poznejše raziskave.

Tretja raziskava, ki jo je Isačenko napisal v Ljubljani, pa je še najbolj zadevala slovensko bralstvo. Razprava »Slovenski verz« je analizirala verzno vzpostavitev v slovenščini, s čimer je bila ena prvih raziskav z uporabo strukturalističnih postopkov preučevanja slovenske poezije. Njegova metoda je temeljila zlasti na prečitvi izvorov verzne grajenja na Slovenskem. Isačenko je tako odprl vprašanje o slovenski poetiki, začel pa je tudi z diskusijo, ki je v lingvistiki še dolgo zatem aktualna (prim. Abraham, 1976: 11–73). Potrebno je izpostaviti, da je svojo obravnavo razširil tudi na sodobne pesniške dosežke (S. Jenko, O. Župančič, M. Klopčič, A. Gradnik), čeprav je glavino opazovanja posvetil geniju Franceta Prešerna (Zajc, 2015: 54, 55, 61–63). To je bila prva znanstvena razprava (prim. Novak, 2005: 24), v celoti namenjena zgolj slovenskemu verzu (Isačenko, 1939a), ki je izpostavila posebne značilnosti, svojstvenosti in učinkovanja slovenske poezije ter zastavljala tudi intrigantna vprašanja glede skritih potencialov bili umetniški impulzi (Zajc, 2015: 70–76). Izsledki Isačenka glede metrike, melodike in ritma (sintaktične preobrazbe verza in evfonične lastnosti, ki ustvarjajo vtis lirike) so kazali raziskovalčevo nadarjenost za metode strukturalistične lingvistike, saj se zdi, kot da bi ta sintetiziral metode ruske formalne šole in »progressivne inovacije« Praškega lingvističnega krožka, katerega aktivni član je bil od leta 1934. Njegova opažanja so spodbujala plodno refleksijo o slovenskem razumevanju poetičnosti. Nedvomno je Isačenka mogoče šteti za pionirja ruske lingvistične misli, ki jo je skupaj z R. O. Jakobsonom, J. M. Lotmanom in V. N. Toporovim usmerjal na kompleksno področje kulturno-semiotskih strukturalističnih raziskav. Zadnja leta svojega življenja se je namenil ponovno predavati na ljubljanski univerzi kot gostujoči predavatelj, vendar je to preprečila njegova smrt na Dunaju leta 1978.

## ZAKLJUČEK

Znanstveniki med ruskimi emigranti so imeli v Ljubljani ne glede na vse težave več možnosti za razvoj svojih iniciativ kot kje drugje. Majhno mesto – slovenska metropola je šele sredi 20. stoletja narasla na več kot 100.000 prebivalcev – ki je bilo razmeroma blizu državnih meja z Avstrijo in Italijo, je postalo pomembno intelektualno središče emigrantov. Slovensko narodno središče, ki je bilo do leta 1929 sedež velikega župana, pozneje pa vse do okupacije aprila 1941 upravni center Dravske banovine, se po pomenu sicer ni moglo meriti z osrednjimi žarišči delovanja porevolucijskih emigrantov (Pariz, Berlin, Praga, Beograd, Sofija), vendar po drugi strani na

njihovem zemljevidu tudi ni bilo spregledljivo. Za vrsto Rusov je Ljubljana pomenila začasno življenjsko postajo na poteh proti zahodu, za nekatere pa tudi novi dom. Zato ni presenetljivo, da so izpričani stiki emigrantov v Sloveniji s Strujejem in nobelovcem Ivanom Buninom. Vsekakor je to za slovenski prostor pomenilo veliko: ruski emigranti so mu na stežaj odprli novo okno v svet. Prav tako so vsaj nekateri prišleki tod pognali korenine: zaposleni so bili s problemi svojega novega bivanjskega okolja ter so znatno prispevali k njegovi modernizaciji.

Nič manj pomembni niso bili umetniški impulzi. Še posebej pomembno je bilo delo ruskih emigrantov v slovenskem gledališču – tako na opernem in baletnem kot tudi na dramskem odru. Po prvi svetovni vojni je bil osrednji slovenski hram boginje Talije v Ljubljani pod močnim vplivom ustvarjalcev, ki so se uveljavili že v carstvu Romanovih. Boris Vladimirovič Putjata (1871–1925) ter Marija Nikolajevna Borislavska (1890–1969), ki je v Sloveniji nastopala pod psevdonimom Nablocka, sta močno zaznamovala njegovo zgodovino. Močan vpliv ruske gledališke tradicije, ki se je v pristopu k igralski umetnosti (patos, grotesknost) in režiserski veščini močno razlikovala od srednjeevropske, je čez čas celo vzbudil nezadovoljstvo pri delu kritike. Še posebej glasno je nabrusil pero poznejši predsednik Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti Josip Vidmar (1895–1992) (Vidmar, 1985: 225–226). Toda zaradi Rusom naklonjenega pesnika Pavla Golie (1887–1959), ki je vodil dramsko gledališče, izgon umetniških emigrantov z osrednjega slovenskega odra ni uspel. Na kaj podobnega v operi in baletu ni bilo mogoče niti pomisliti: brez emigrantov glasbeni teater v Ljubljani verjetno sploh ne bi mogel delovati. Čehi in Rusi, pa tudi nekateri Hrvatje so bili zanj nenadomestljivi. Prav gotovo je bila najopaznejša vloga plesalca in koreografa Petra Sergejeviča Gresserova (1894–1981), ki je na ljubljanski univerzi diplomiral iz elektrotehnike, na odru pa se je pojavljal pod umetniškim imenom Golovin. V veliki meri je bil oče slovenskega baleta. Po drugi svetovni vojni je nekaj let deloval tudi v Mariboru, kjer je v gledališču prav tako nastopalo nekaj ruskih pevcev. V Ljubljani je po letu 1945 dovolj pogosto gostoval tudi scenograf in kostumograf Vladimir Ivanovič Žedrinski (1899–1974), ki se je že prej proslavil v Beogradu in Zagrebu, kasneje pa tudi v Maroku in Franciji.

Druga svetovna vojna je bila velika preizkušnja za rusko emigracijo. V Sloveniji je večinoma ostala zvesta tako stari kot novi domovini. V Sovjetski zvezi so mnogi ruski emigranti kljub protikomunizmu uzrli naslednico svoje domovine. Četudi so s predavanji tu in tam nekateri še nastopali proti boljševiški politiki, niso bili pripravljeni podpreti večini slovanskih narodov sovražne politike Tretjega rajha. Edino vidnejšo izjemo predstavlja mariborska knjižničarka Elizabeta Obolenska (1883–1966), ki je leta 1941 posvojila smernice hitlerjanske politike in pomagala uničevati slovenske kulturne dobrine. A njen dekliški priimek Salemman nakazuje, da ni bila ruskega rodu. Prav tako se ne zdi nepomembno, da je leta 1930 – že po smrti svojega moža, kneza Borisa Aleksandroviča Obolenskega (1870–1927) – postala tašča v Gradcu rojenemu Leopoldu Josefu Küniglu (1901–1962), ki je izviral iz češke veje stare tirolske plemiške rodbine (prim. Theroff, 2019). Med pripadniki armade generala Andreja

Andrejeviča Vlasova vidnejših predstavnikov ruske emigracije v Sloveniji ni bilo. Zato pa je bil njen dovolj viden pripadnik Aleksander/Rudolf Jožef Trušnovič (1893–1954), ki je bil rojen v Postojni, vendar pa je med prvo svetovno vojno prešel na rusko stran ter se je v času državljanske vojne med boljševiki in belim gibanjem povsem solidariziral z najbolj brezkompromisnim krilom slednjega ter tudi delil njegovo usodo (za več gl. Zajc, 2011: 263–279).

Po letu 1945 se je ruska emigracija v Sloveniji zaradi svojega protikomunističnega izvora znašla v težkem položaju. Nekateri njeni pripadniki – npr. Aleksander Dmitrijevič Bilimovič – so se že pred koncem druge svetovne vojne odpravili proti zahodu, drugi pa so poskušali zaživeti pod režimom maršala Tita. Slednji je v mnogih primerih izvedel nasilno repatriacijo Rusov v Sovjetsko zvezo – ne glede na državljansko pripadnost – ki so se ji mnogi poskušali izogniti. Jevgeniju Vasiljeviču Spektorskemu in njegovi ženi so slovenski prijatelji pomagali ilegalno prečkati demarkacijsko črto med conama A in B Julijske krajine in mu tako omogočili umik v Združene države Amerike, kontraadmirala Bubnova, ki je bil do leta 1941 najuglednejši teoretik pomorskega bojevanja v Jugoslaviji, pa so zaščitili njegovi učenci. Tako je lahko zadnje obdobje svojega življenja preživel v Kranju, kjer je – kot vsestransko izobraženi in razgledani častnik iz dobe *belle époque* – na gimnaziji poučeval ruski jezik. Po sporu med titoisti in Kominformom je lahko celo navezal stike z emigrantskimi založniškimi hišami v Združenih državah Amerike ter objavil svoje spomine na službovanje v vrhovnem poveljstvu oboroženih sil imperatorja Nikolaja II. (Bubnov, 1955). Leta 1961 je napisal še uvod v slovenski prevod knjige Franka Thiessa o epskem popotovanju Drugega in Tretjega tihomorskega ladjevja na Daljni vzhod terkušimski bitki maja 1905, ki se je je na oklepnicu »Orel« neposredno udeležil. Ob tej priložnosti je opozoril na izjemen podvig smrti zapisane flote, ki se je bojevala brez najmanjšega upa zmage (Grdina, 2017: 89, 173–185).

Leto 1948 je prineslo za rusko emigracijo v Sloveniji nove preizkušnje. Spor med moskovskim in beograjskim politbirojem je precej spremenil njen položaj. Maršal Tito, ki po prepričanju velikega britanskega zgodovinarja A. J. P. Taylorja ni postal komunistični Luther (Wrigley, 2006: 229), temveč Henrik VIII. – hotel je biti svoj lastni papež – je sedaj začel poudarjati jugoslovansko neodvisnost. Vse rusko je postalo sumljivo. Tako je bil tudi na docela kulturno delovanje emigrantov vtisnjen pečat nezaželenosti. Puškinov jezik, katerega pouk je bil poprej brez dovolj usposobljenih učnih moči na široko vpeljevan v šole, je bil potem nadomeščan z angleščino in nemščino. Predvsem pa je vse rusko hitro postalo sumljivo. V takšnih razmerah je emigracija povsem izgubila tla pod nogami: obstajala je le še v obliki zasebnih povezav.

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## SUMMARY

### FIRST-GENERATION RUSSIAN EMIGRANTS TO SLOVENIA: REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RUSSIAN INTELLIGENTSIA

Igor GRDINA, Neža ZAJC

The article provides the research on the lives of the first generation of Russian emigrants to Slovenia, which also represent the first contacts that Slovenian people had with immigrants in general. Based on published and manuscript materials, which enable an analysis of the period between the two world wars, the authors show the progress of the Russian intelligentsia who—as professors at the “young” University of Ljubljana—had gained the pick of their scientific and creative potentials. The life destinies of the counter-admiral A. D. Bubnov, the social philosopher and law expert E. V. Spektorski, and the philologist (a prominent linguist and a specialist in Slavic studies) A. V. Issatschenko are shown in more detail. The article also partially illuminates the lives of other Russian immigrants, focusing especially on the cultural contacts between Slovenians and Russians. The insightful survey demonstrates that, in fact, the Russian professors significantly built the future of Slovenian science. At the same time, it is evident that in Slovenia, they achieved possibilities for developing their spiritual and intellectual sources in a way that was, probably, practically impossible in other European countries in the complex and difficult interwar period in the first half of the twentieth century.



K N J I Ž N E O C E N Ě

B O O K R E V I E W S



**Matjaž Klemenčič, Milan Mrdenovič, Tadej Šeruga, *Politična participacija slovenskih etničnih skupnosti v ZDA – študija primerov Clevelanda, Ohio, in Elyja, Minnesota***

Maribor: Univerza v Mariboru, 2020, 486 str.

V zadnjih letih smo dobili kar nekaj novih monografij o zgodovini slovenskih izseljenskih skupnosti v ZDA izpod peresa Matjaža Klemenčiča in njegovih doktorskih študentov na Univerzi v Mariboru ter na programu Ameriške študije na Filozofski fakulteti ljubljanske univerze. Delu Maruše Verbič Koprivšek o Slovencih v Denverju (2014) sta sledila pregled zgodovine slovenske skupnosti v Elyju v Minnesoti Matjaža Klemenčiča in Tadeja Šeruge (2019) ter zgodovine slovenske skupnosti v Calumetu v Michiganu Dominika Herleta (2010). V to serijo sodi tudi monografija, ki jo predstavljamo tu in ki je sad obsežnega raziskovalnega dela treh avtorjev.

Monografija je primerjalna študija o politični dejavnosti v slovenskih izseljenskih skupnostih v Clevelandu in v Elyju z vidika aktivne participacije njihovih članov na ameriški lokalni, državni in zvezni politični sceni. Delo nadgrajuje dosedanje študije o dveh izmed najznamenitejših slovenskoameriških naselbinah in o vpetosti slovenskega izseljenstva v politično življenje ZDA nasploh. Metropolitanski Cleveland in malo mestece Ely predstavljata v marsičem diametralno različna primera urbanih naselij, s katerimi je povezana zgodovina slovenske prisotnosti v ZDA. Cleveland si je kot kraj z največjim številom slovenskega prebivalstva prislužil ime »ameriška Ljubljana« in je imel kot tak poteze slovenskoameriške »prestolnice«. Rudarski Ely, zadnje v vrsti naselij vzdolž največjega ameriškega nahajališča železa in drugih rud, na skrajnem severu Minnesote na meji s Kanado, je v svojih najboljših časih štel le nekaj tisoč prebivalcev. Polovica jih je bila Slovencev, in temu primeren je bil njihov vpliv v organiziranem in javnem življenju. Kraj se je po drugi svetovni vojni proslavil z okoljevarstveno politiko in naravi prijaznim prestrukturiranjem gospodarstva. V obeh primerih so politični predstavniki in volivci iz vrst slovenskega izseljenstva odigrali vidno javno vlogo. Pri tem so presegli meje organiziranih priseljenskih skupnosti in se povzpeli vse do najvišjih državnih ter zveznih upravno-političnih ravni.

V knjigi je uvodoma predstavljena zgodovina obravnavanih naselbin skozi razvoj in tipologijo naseljevanja slovenskih priseljencev in oblikovanja družbeno in gospodarsko strukturiranih skupnosti. Izpostavljene so zgodovinske okoliščine in vloge institucionalnih stebrov tega razvoja, od cerkve in bratskih podpornih organizacij do narodnih domov in druge organizacijske infrastrukture, okrog katerih se je vrtelo življenje skupnosti v svoji svetovnonazorski raznolikosti. V obeh primerih se je ta razvoj začel že konec 19. stoletja, svoj višek pa je dosegel v obdobju med svetovnima vojnoma, ko so se skupnosti ekonomsko in vsestransko okrepile tudi z novimi generacijami in svoj pretežno delavski družbeni profil nadgradile z vse številnejšimi srednjimi družbenimi plastmi. V dvajseta leta 20. stoletja segajo tudi prvi vidnejši politični uspehi, sprva na ravni mestne in lokalne politike, od štiridesetih let

20. stoletja dalje pa so politični predstavniki iz slovenskih vrst prodrli tudi do državnih parlamentov in washingtonskega zveznega kongresa.

Knjiga ponuja podrobno in večplastno sliko političnega življenja v obravnavanih skupnostih od konca 19. stoletja do današnjih dni. Predstavljen je kronološki razvoj političnega dogajanja v kontekstu spreminjajočih se lokalnih in širših političnih scenarijev. Avtorji razpravljajo o družbeno-političnih razmerah, v katerih so se formirali slovenski politični subjekti, o etničnih in drugih političnih zaveznih, ki so zaznamovala politično delovanje in orientacijo volilnega telesa znotraj slovenskih priseljskih skupnosti. Prikazane so oblike politične participacije, stališča in vloge slovenskega časopisja pri oblikovanju javnega mnenja, obravnavani so vplivi, ki so jih imeli v izseljskih skupnostih dogajanja v »stari domovini« in mednarodni zgodovinski prelomi. Podrobno so obdelani posamezni nivoji političnega delovanja v areni vsakokratnih lokalnih in širših interesov ter konfrontacije med demokratsko in republikansko politično opcijo, ki sta delili tudi slovensko priseljsko skupnost. Prikazano je, kako je slovenska skupnost gradila svoj politični ugled in politični vpliv, kako je bila etnična politika pri podpori kandidatov dolgo pomembnejša kot sami politični programi, a hkrati tudi, kako so na politične izbire volivcev vplivali konkretni interesi ljudi. Ti so bili pogosto v navzkrižju z interesi vplivnih gospodarskih in drugih lobijev. Bralec je seznanjen s kompleksnimi političnimi dinamikami znotraj samih slovenskih skupnosti in igranih posameznih političnih akterjev. Posebno zanimiva je primerjava med obravnavanima primeroma. Prikazano je, kako pomembna je bila angažiranost slovenskih priseljencev v politiki nove domovine, do izraza pa pridejo razlike, ki jih moremo povezati s krajevnimi specifikami življenjskega ter družbenega okolja.

Aleksej Kalc



**Lorella Viola, Andreas Musolff (ur.), *Migration and Media: Discourses about identities in crisis***

Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2019, 360 str.

Raziskovanje migracij in medijev odlikuje izjemno obsežna in bogata raziskovalna dinamika, ki jo določata področji »migracije v medijih« in »mediji v migracijah«. Medtem ko je za prvo usmeritev značilna obravnava medijskih reprezentacij beguncev in migrantov v množičnih in družbenih medijih, pa je druga linija usmerjena v etnografsko in antropološko raziskovanje načinov uporabe novih medijskih tehnologij (npr. pametnih telefonov) z vidika posameznikove izkušnje v migracijskem procesu. Če študije na področju raziskovanja migracij v medijih potrjujejo vpliv množičnih medijev in družbenih medijev pri reprezentaciji beguncev in migrantov kot »drugih«, »kriminalcev« in »nezaželenih« v javnem diskurzu, pa je temeljni doprinos raziskovanja medijev v migracijah v ugotovitvi, da so nove medijske tehnologije pomemben dejavnik v procesu integracije beguncev in migrantov v okolje ciljne države.

Na prvo področje se umešča tudi zbornik *Migration and Media: Discourses about identities in crisis* (2019), ki ga sestavlja štirinajst raziskav, razvrščenih v štiri tematske sklope. Študije v zborniku se osredotočajo na diskurzivno konstrukcijo »identitete v krizi«, ki se nanaša na ogroženost in krhkost identitete dominantne družbe, v zborniku imenovane tudi »domača identiteta« (angl. home identity). Ta izhaja iz kompleksnega razmerja med »nami«, člani večinske družbe, in »njimi«, begunci in migranti. Identiteta dominantne družbe se ne vzpostavlja neodvisno od ostalih – domnevno drugačnih – identitetnih pozicij, ampak jo oblikuje interakcija z »drugim«, ki jo hkrati tudi ogroža. Zdi se, da je vzpostavitev in reprodukcija identitete dominantne družbe, ki temelji na dualistični relaciji »mi« proti »oni«, ujeta v specifičen paradoks, po katerem ne more obstajati, ne da bi bila istočasno pospremljena z diskurzom o domnevni ogroženosti.

Raziskave v zborniku obravnavajo zelo raznolike študije primerov, preko katerih razkrivajo kompleksne dimenzije tega paradoksa. Čeprav naslov zbornika izpostavlja obravnavo medijskega diskurza, nas ne sme zavesti, saj so poleg klasičnih množičnih (npr. tiskani mediji, televizijsko poročanje) in spletnih medijev (npr. spletni komentarji, razprave na forumih) predmet analize tudi mnoga druga besedila (npr. politični govori, pravna besedila in ustna pričevanja potujočih oseb), ki se pojavljajo v hrvaškem, angleškem, francoskem, nemškem, grškem, italijanskem, poljskem, ruskem, srbskem, španskem in ukrajinskem jeziku. Vsebinsko in jezikovno heterogene primere dopolnjuje tudi uporaba številnih metodoloških prijemov. Njihov skupni imenovalec je diskurzivno-historičen pristop avtorice Ruth Wodak, ki predpostavlja obravnavo diskurza v njegovem družbeno-zgodovinskem kontekstu.

Prispevki v prvem delu obravnavajo implicitne ideološke pomene posameznih označevalcev, povezanih z migracijami. Melani Schröter, Marie Veniard, Charlotte Taylor in Andreas Blätte v uvodnem poglavju analizirajo uporabo pridevnika

»multikulturen« in samostalnika »multikulturalizem« v angleškem, francoskem, nemškem in italijanskem jeziku. Na osnovi člankov iz konservativnih in levo-liberalnih časopisov iz obdobja 1998–2012 ugotovijo, da je pridevnik rabljen bolj nevtralnno, medtem ko samostalnik označuje abstrakten koncept z negativnim prizvokom. V naslednjem poglavju Lorella Viola na osnovi obsežnega empiričnega gradiva iz obdobja 1861–2016 proučuje rabo diskriminacijskih izrazov »polentone« (oznaka za ljudi na severu Italije) in »terrone« (oznaka za ljudi na jugu Italije). Avtoričina analiza potrди korelacijo med diskurzivno diskriminacijo do italijanskih migrantov znotraj Italije in implicitnimi ideologijami vladnih odločitev, ki so s favoriziranjem severnih predelov in zapostavljanjem južnih območij pripomogle k (re)produkciji predsodkov do slednjih. V tretjem poglavju Purificación Sánchez, Pilar Aguado in Pascual Pérez-Paredes pod drobnogled vzamejo španske in britanske vladne dokumente iz obdobja 2007–2011. Na osnovi analize implicitnih pomenov besed »imigrant« in »državljan« ugotovijo, da britanska vlada poudarja nadzorne postopke za migrante, španska pa se osredotoča na nujnost njihove integracije. Poleg tega se britanskega »državljana« v dokumentih povezuje z regulacijo vstopa v državo, registracijo in naturalizacijo, španskega pa z Evropsko unijo, stalnim bivališčem in dostopom do javnih storitev.

Prispevki v drugem delu se osredotočajo na argumentacijske, pragmatične in figurativne strategije reprezentiranja migracij. V četrtem poglavju Zeynep Cihan KocaHelvacı obravnava britansko medijsko poročanje na primeru tragične smrti triletnega sirijskega begunca Aylana Kurdiya, ki je leta 2015 utonil v Sredozemskem morju, in spolnega napada v Kölnu na novoletni večer 2015/2016. Ne glede na vsebinsko različnost obeh medijskih dogodkov avtorica ugotavlja, da so bile migracije v obeh primerih reprezentirane kot »kriza«, »kontroverznost« in »katastrofa«. V naslednjem poglavju Piotr Cap pokaže, kako je desna poljska vlada v obdobju evropske begunske »krize« 2015–2016 preko diskurzivne konstrukcije »grožnje« in »strahu« upravičevala nasprotovanje sporazumom Evropske unije in sprejemanje striktnih protimigracijskih ukrepov. V zadnjem poglavju drugega dela Liudmila Arcimaviciene raziskuje rabo metafor v zvezi z migracijami z vidika spola. Na osnovi ameriških in angleških spletnih medijev iz obdobja 2015–2017 ugotavlja odsotnost večjih vsebinskih razlik med »moškim« in »ženskim« negativnim stereotipnim novinarskim pisanjem, saj je v obeh mogoče zaslediti rabo metafor (npr. naravni pojavi), ki begunce in migrante prikazujejo kot »druge«.

Tretji del, ki v ospredje postavi multimodalno in multimedijsko analizo, se prične s poglavjem Eleni Butulussi, ki na primeru grških televizijskih pogovornih oddaj v obdobju 1996–2016 pokaže, da sogovorniki v oddajah, predvsem politiki, uporabljajo mnoge metafore in retorične tendence (simplifikacija, polarizacija, pretiravanje), da bi okrepili določene argumente, v ozadju katerih so različne politične ideologije. V osmem poglavju se Nadežda Silaški in Tatjana Đurović osredotočita na metaforo zidu v srbskih medijskih tekstih. Ugotovita, da prevladujeta metafori »Trdnjava Evropa« in »Berlinski zid«, ki sta asociirani z marginalizacijo migrantov in

nepripadnostjo srbske nacije prostoru EU. Sledi poglavje Ljiljane Šarić in Tatjane R. Felberg, v katerem avtorici raziskujeta verbalne in vizualne reprezentacije evropske begunske »krize« 2015–2016 na hrvaškem in srbskem javnem portalu. V nasprotju z običajnimi sklepi podobnih raziskav, ki izpričujejo negativno stereotipno medijsko poročanje, avtorici ugotavljata, da so begunci in migranti prikazani pozitivno. Naklonjeno poročanje je skladno z uradno hrvaško in srbsko migracijsko politiko v tem obdobju, poleg tega pa ima funkcijo pozitivne samoocene ukrepov lastne države in negativne ocene ravnanja ostalih držav v regiji, tudi Slovenije. V desetem poglavju Theresa Catalano in Jessica Mitchell-McCollough obravnava reprezentacijo mladoletnih otrok brez spremstva, ki bežijo iz Medmorske Amerike (Honduras, Gvatemala in Salvador) v Združene države Amerike. Avtorici primerjata diskurz ameriških nacionalnih novinarskih virov iz leta 2016 z diskurzom intervjujev z otroki, v katerih ti pojasnijo lastno razumevanje migracij in razloge za odhod. Čeprav gre za otroško populacijo, so migrantski otroci v medijskem diskurzu dehumanizirani in prikazani v negativni stereotipni luči, to pa je v nasprotju z njihovim osebnim doživljanjem poti.

V uvodnem poglavju četrtega dela, ki prinaša analize spletnih debat, Ludmilla A'Beckett obravnava ukrajinske razseljene osebe na rusko-ukrajinskem konfliktnem območju. Medtem ko so ukrajinski in ruski množični mediji o konfliktu poročali sočutno in razumevajoče, da bi si pridobili naklonjenost tamkajšnjih prebivalcev in podporo mednarodne skupnosti, so spletni komentatorji uporabljali stereotipen negativen ton, s čimer so krepili tako ukrajinske kakor tudi ruske nacionalne vizije v regiji. V dvanajstem poglavju Michael S. Boyd proučuje uredniški članek *Europe should see refugees as a Boon, not as a Burden*, objavljen septembra 2015 v časopisu *New York Times*, in komentarje bralcev pod njimi. Avtor ugotavlja, da vsi analizirani komentarji do določene mere izražajo nestrinjanje in neodobravanje z urednikovimi stališči. Sledi študija Janet M. Fuller, v kateri si zastavi vprašanje, kako komentarji pod članki v nemškem liberalnem časopisu *Die Zeit* v obdobju 2014–2016 karakterizirajo migrante, integracijo in nemško identiteto. Čeprav je razumevanje identitete z etnonacionalističnega vidika – tj. razumevanje Nemčije kot države krvno in sorodstveno povezane skupnosti oseb, in ne kot skupnosti vseh njenih prebivalcev – v manjšini, je kljub temu prisotna tendenca po kategoriziranju migrantov in prebivalcev turškega porekla po etnonacionalističnih in religijskih kriterijih. »Nemškost« je opredeljena kot nasprotje muslimanskih praks, zato so tudi domnevno najbolj integrirani migranti še zmeraj označeni kot »drugi« in »ne-Nemci«. V zadnjem poglavju zbornika Andreas Musolff raziskuje izraze ljudskega skepticizma, ki učenje, govorjenje in celo poslušanje tujih jezikov pojmuje kot grožnjo »domači identiteti«. Na primeru analize komentarjev uporabnikov na BBC-jevem spletnem portalu *Have Your Say* v letu 2010 ugotavlja, da enojezikovnost pomeni zlati standard kulturne lojalnosti, po katerem sta pomanjkljivo znanje uradnega jezika in vsesplošna odsotnost njegove rabe pri migrantih označena s prezirom in zaničevanjem.

Zaradi vseh tehtnih in pomenljivih ugotovitev, predstavljenih zgoraj, je mogoče celoten zbornik označiti za pomemben prispevek na področju raziskovanja migracij

v medijih. Njegova odlika je v tem, da sodobnega migracijskega diskurza ne proučuje le na primeru evropske begunske »krize« 2015–2016, ki predstavlja prevladujočo raziskovalno temo v zadnjih nekaj letih, ampak pod drobnogled vzame tudi primere, ki imajo s časovnega, nacionalnega in medijskega vidika bistveno širši domet. Z njimi osvetljuje kompleksno naravo stare/nove sociološke maksime, da se dominantno vselej vzpostavlja v odnosu do marginalnega.

Na širšem področju raziskovanja migracij v medijih so najpogosteje tematizirani »tradicionalni« tiskani mediji, medtem ko so vsebina družbenih medijev, novice na spletnem omrežju in medosebna komunikacija redkeje deležni obravnave. V nasprotju s prevladujočimi raziskovalnimi trendi je diskurzu spletnih uporabniških komentarjev namenjen celotni zadnji razdelek v zborniku, ki vključuje štiri raziskave, poleg tega pa se analiza spletnih medijskih vsebin pojavlja tudi v nekaterih ostalih prispevkih, npr. v devetem poglavju. Podobno na širšem raziskovalnem področju proučevanja migracij v medijih primanjkujejo tudi primerjalne raziskave med medijskimi diskurzi posameznih nacionalnih držav. Zbornik zapolnjuje tudi ta manko, saj prinaša kar štiri raziskave (prvo, tretje, deveto in enajsto poglavje), ki temeljijo na primerjalnem izhodišču.

Zaradi vsega naštetega zbornik ne pomeni koristnega branja samo za raziskovalce, profesorje, študente in aktiviste, ampak tudi za novinarje, urednike, zaposlene v vladnih institucijah in nenazadnje tudi za politike. Prav slednji imajo – navkljub prisotnosti družbenih medijev ali pa morda ravno zaradi njih – še vedno osrednjo vlogo pri usmerjanju sodobnega medijskega diskurza o migracijah, ki je, kot nam sporoča zbornik, inherentno povezan s širšimi identitetnimi vprašanji.

Rok Smrdelj

**Marcelo J. Borges, Sonia Cancian, Linda Reeder (eds.), *Emotional Landscapes: Love, Gender, and Migration***

Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2021, 280 pp.

The essays gathered in the volume *Emotional Landscapes: Love, Gender, and Migration*, edited by Marcelo J. Borges, Sonia Cancian, and Linda Reeder, give a valuable insight into the multifaceted migration experience imbued with emotions. Attending to subtle and variable affective languages, the authors “painted” compelling “emotional landscapes,” historically contingent and shaped transnationally by love and an array of other emotions accompanying people on the move, such as loss, nostalgia, hope, and joy. Love, gender, and migration are interwoven in all the narratives. Love as a driving force of migration, its meaning, the main bond overcoming distance, and an affective underpinning of public discourse pursuing political interests. Changeable in time and space, the meanings of love entail various ways of emotional expression and reshape gender norms.

The publication explores the affective dimension of mobility, aiming to unravel the dynamics between emotions, gender norms, and migrations in diverse spatial-temporal contexts from 1880 until the present day. The book’s asset stems undoubtedly from its methodological inspirations drawing on the “turn to experience,” which since the 1980s has decisively reconfigured the theoretical framework in the humanities. Putting emotion in the foreground as an analytic category enabled the authors to depict their protagonists as people from flesh and blood, torn by contradictory feelings and very often driven by irrational impulses.

All the essays provide new knowledge on various aspects of the migration experience. In his study of “transnational affect” between turn-of-the-century Portuguese migrants and their loved ones left behind, Marcelo J. Borges distinguished in their letters the recurring narratives of responsibility and sacrifice, which enabled separated families to make sense of their transnational life. Emotions expressed transnationally in correspondence reinforce the normative affective and gendered expectations of the society of origin and undergo decisive reconfigurations in accordance with the migration process in general and the host society in particular.

Letter-writing remains important in maintaining relationships in other spatial-temporal contexts. Suzanne M. Sinke presents the epistolary exchanges among one Jewish Viennese family in the mid-twentieth century as “the bedrock of emotional community” and an attempt to provide a certain sense of normality, continuity, and closeness abnormal and disruptive times of war (147). Each writer of letters, expressing some emotions and silencing others, performs certain roles prescribed for particular “epistolary personae” changing in time and relation to the audience.

Female migration was analyzed in several essays. María Bjerg, in her research based on criminal records, focuses on two stories of bigamy caused by spatial-temporal distance and shifting emotional landscapes in both societies of origin (Italy, Spain) and of arrival (Argentina). These stories show how migration imposes

on an individual a need to constantly “navigate among conflicting feelings” (49), emotional communities, values (erotic freedom or ties with the homeland implying certain responsibilities?), and orders of time (future-oriented assimilation or nostalgic yearning for the previous life?).

Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik also addresses female transoceanic mobility in her essay devoted to women’s labor migration from the Goriška region to Egypt in the interwar period. Milharčič Hladnik’s study of a separated couple’s long epistolary communication presents the narrative ways of renegotiating gender roles which allowed for maintaining ties and final reunification. By undermining prescribed gender norms, at the turn of the twentieth century, these migrating women, *Aleksandrinke*, found themselves between increased social control of the society of origin and lures of independence enabled by migration.

Margarita Dounia’s contribution also focuses on female transatlantic migration from Greece to Canada (Montreal) after World War II. Basing her research on oral history, Dounia argues that migration did not hinder the preservation of certain social practices and gender roles prevailing in Greece, such as arranged marriages. Still, it also allowed for their renegotiation, giving women more agency in deciding about partner or job. Migration was thus experienced, on the one hand, as a continuation of previous existential patterns and, on the other, as the processes making certain rearrangements of the normative framework of social life possible.

As Alexander Freund remarked in his essay, women perceived their migration very often as a “creative life strategy” (185) enabled not only by work but also by marriage. In his analysis of the post-World War II German emotional landscape, Freund addresses various competing affective languages pertaining to different actors: advocates of the old discourses nationally and racially underpinned which imposed social control on women and their sexuality (the church, the state, private organizations) and women themselves striving for more autonomy, in this case, to marry an American man.

What was the role of urban centers in shaping new meanings of love? Referring to urban literature and press, Tyler Carrington depicts the impact of the accelerated pace of life in turn-of-the-century Berlin and its demographic composition as the main factors defining “a new language of love” based on fate and fortuitous encounters. This alternate “individualistic approach to love” or “love at last sight” (Walter Benjamin) opposed the previous affective, normative ideas such as the one of respectability (76, 79). Berliners’ “new language of love” founded on fate depicts possible relationships between love and phenomena like urbanization and modernity. What was its relationship with nationalism?

Elizabeth Zanoni and Linda Reeder give some answers to this question. Zanoni explores the gendered concept of fraternal love between Italians and Argentines reconstructed based on the migrant publications, the press of the Italian diaspora in Argentina, and advertisements. This affective language of brotherly love (later during the Great War also sisterly love) becomes “an alternative lens for studying

the history of international relations between migrant-sending and -receiving countries" (91). In the analysis of the letters of Italian emigrants-soldiers during the Great War, Reeder addresses the issue of love of country equaled with familial love and founded on the gendered concept of Italian citizenship. Emotional landscapes shift in time, and thus, after the war, the emigrants' love of their country became disassociated from the notion of citizenship.

Emily Pope-Obeda shows how and why the press applied emotional language to the issue of the deportation regime in the United States (1919–1935). The sensationalized lens of tragic deportee love stories narrated in a highly unrepresentative manner served the newspapers to make sense of this expanding phenomenon in the United States. Deportation as a tool of social control was supposed to guard a certain normative image of sexuality and punish those whose acts were regarded as transgressing the "social conventions of love" (117).

Applying an "auto/biographical" approach to her research, Sonia Cancian tackles the issue of material and emotional meanings of separations for both mother and daughter in the contexts of post-World War II Italy and migration to Canada. Cancian accentuates the ambiguous meanings of the language of love regarded both as "a driver of migration and as a legitimizer of separation between mother and daughter" (165). These meanings were largely shaped in the "emotional community" of Fascist Italy, which emphasized the importance of the sacrificial aspect of maternal love.

A. James Hammerton's "Stories of Love and Marriage in the Modern British Diaspora" stems from the recent "mobility of modernity" characterized by mass travel, the better economic status of migrants, and "lifestyle migration" aimed at personal self-accomplishment (221–222). The author studies the changes in migrant experiences in the long timespan of half a century marked with the "shift from a postwar migration of austerity to a migration of prosperity" (222).

Roberta Ricucci analyzes the impact of the language of new media on intergenerational communication and the affective bonds among immigrant families of Moroccan and Peruvian origin in Turin, Italy. Eighty interviews with parents and children show new technology's disruptive effect on the affective ties in families weakened by an increasing mutual lack of understanding, distance, and alienation.

The stories collected in the volume pertain to migrants whose itineraries connected different parts of the world, Europe, the Americas, Africa, and Australia. Following their paths, the authors managed to provide a wide range of various "emotional landscapes." However, the Western European perspective, particularly the Italian, seems to be prevalent. As Donna R. Gabaccia underlined in her epilogue, "it is not at all clear that studies of migration, emotion, and nation-building around the Pacific or in Asian or African regions [...] would reveal similar transformations. On the contrary they might be expected to modify, reverse, or refute the narrative offered here" (266). The limited geographical scope of the study leaves many questions unanswered, inciting further research on

other parts of the world, which could considerably reshape the anthology's argument reframing it more globally.

One question emerges in this context regarding the migration experience of inhabitants of East-Central Europe, which in the anthology seems to be tackled only in two contributions (Milharčič Hladnik and Sinke), leaving aside other Slavic groups such as, for instance, the Polish diaspora, one of the largest in the world. The migrant experience of so many actors driven by the accelerated pace of historical changes and grand narratives such as fascism, war, communism in Central Europe would certainly reinforce the collection's comparative perspective and possibly also reshape the argument.

Potential enrichment also lies in a more careful contextualization by emphasizing emotions' social embeddedness and historical contingency and including more actors (also those acting transgressively). These enrichments could better expose the impact of the experience of mobility on migrants' complex, dynamic self-identifications, ambivalent in-betweenness (simultaneous being in places of origin and new destinations), ruptures, tensions, and reconfigurations of self in time and space.

Aleksandra Tobiasz



**Dejan Valentinčič, *Medetnična integracija v lokalnem okolju. Primer Nove Gorice in Gorice***

Gorizia: Zadruga Goriška Mohorjeva and Inštitut ASEF za izobraževanje in raziskovanje, 2021, 413 pp.

A couple of years ago, I tried to collect information about the ethnic policies in South-Eastern Europe for university teaching. Slovenian colleagues were very cooperative and supplied me with rich information about the social integration policies concerning Roma. This information was enough for resolving the tasks I had at that time. However, step by step, I learned more about the ethnic composition and inter-ethnic relations in Slovenian society. I was struck by the fact that the ethnic picture there was much more complex and complicated than the single case of the Roma minority. In addition, I received a lot of information about Slovenian ethnic minorities in the neighboring countries.

Then another surprise came when I noticed very few studies on the economic, political, and cultural integration of the one-tenth of the population of Slovenia that has a non-Slovenian or mixed ethnic identity. I wondered about this situation of the ethnic studies in Slovenia given the numerous, detailed, and very competent sociological studies on other areas of the country's social life. The explanation I received was that the topic was not particularly interesting since there were no noticeable interethnic tensions and conflicts in Slovenian society. The people with non-Slovenian or mixed ethnic identities were primarily migrants from the republics of the former Yugoslavia, having a similar historical experience and—at least partly—a similar mentality. The relations between the Slovenian minorities and the ethnic majorities in the neighboring countries were described in the same positive way, thus avoiding complications.

Now we have a pioneering work containing rich information about the reality of the interethnic relations in Slovenia with some reflections on the situation of Slovenian minorities abroad. Dejan Valentinčič has managed to discover, convincingly describe, and explain the major parameters of interethnic relations in Slovenian society by focusing on the situation in the municipality of Nova Gorica and adding a limited comparison with neighboring Gorizia in Italy. The choice is due to circumstances, but it is undoubtedly a lucky one. Interethnic relations in the area of Nova Gorica are particularly rich and interesting because of the very emergence of the town on green fields as an outcome of WWII. The migration due to the dissolution of former Yugoslavia and the following economic and political turbulences has enriched the mosaic of ethnic groups in the municipality. However, wisely enough, the study's starting point is not the local interethnic situation in Gorizia/Nova Gorica but a theoretical elaboration on the fundamentals of Slovenian statehood. The second theoretical pillar of the empirical study is the juxtaposition of strategies for integrating ethnic minorities and the multiculturalist vision about the co-existence of ethnic groups. This conceptual framework shapes the orientation, ends, and means of the empirical study. They are transparent and productive.

The operationalization of the concepts of participation of non-Slovenians in the country's economic, political, and cultural life clearly shows the search for a theoretical and methodological balance between the extremes of the strategies of assimilation and multiculturalism. The logic of the face-to-face semi-structured interviews and the questionnaire for polling reveals the mutual support of theory and the methodology of empirical research. The statistical processing of the primary data follows the logic of the theoretical framework and the tools prepared for the field study.

The first stage in the implementation of the author's research strategy was a pilot study. Semi-structured interviews with relevant stakeholders were carried out in Nova Gorica and Gorizia. The author's target groups included civil servants at both municipalities, civil servants in the employment offices and centers for social affairs, police officers, and administrators in schools and humanitarian organizations. On this basis, Dr. Valentinčič prepared the tools for the major part of the study. He conducted sixty semi-structured interviews with migrants from former Yugoslavia and their descendants. Each of the six ethnic groups was represented by ten interviews. Twenty-five interviews were carried out with a control group of Slovenians. The interviews consisted of five blocks of questions. They cover the personal status, form and degree of economic, political, and cultural integration, and questions regarding the interviewee's minority status. This information is supplemented by the quantitative results of a survey of 149 non-Slovenians and 100 Slovenians from the control group. The questionnaire was structured in the same five blocks of questions as the interviews.

The comparison of the information about Nova Gorica and Gorizia is limited to the qualitative study data. In the study in Gorizia, immigrants from former Yugoslavia are included with immigrants from Albania, Romania, Bangladesh, China, and countries from the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa. All in all, the information is based on forty-eight interviews with immigrants. The control group consists of eighteen persons. There are twelve Italians and six members of the autochthonous Slovenian minority. The field studies were conducted during 2015 and 2016. The analysis was carried out using a triangulation of methods, including calculations of communality, Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Test for Sampling Adequacy, Bartlett's test, variations, regressions, and combining the interpretation of graphs and tables and statements from the interviews.

The outcome of the theoretical and empirical work is the convincing picture of the often-neglected ethnic diversity of Slovenian society. Fortunately, unlike many other local situations on the territory of former Yugoslavia, there are no signs of noticeable interethnic tensions and conflicts in Slovenia. Nevertheless, some potential for future conflicts can be identified. The most important indicator for this is that second-generation immigrants feel less integrated into Nova Gorica. Some subsocieties have somewhat limited contacts and cooperation with the majority society. The most interesting findings and conclusions concern the three patterns of interethnic

integration. The level of economic integration is the highest, followed by political integration, whereas the level of cultural integration is the lowest.

There are hardly any conflicts between the different immigrant ethnic groups in Nova Gorica, while there are indications of conflicts between Italians and immigrants in Gorizia. In general, the interethnic integration in Gorizia is lower than in Nova Gorica, with one exception—the command of the majority language in Gorizia is better. Since the non-European immigration to Gorizia began, the relations between Italians and European immigrants have become less tense. Italians and members of the Slovenian minority in Gorizia predict the same to happen in Nova Gorica in the future. Still, some Italian interviewees see Southern Italians as the least favorable immigrants to their town.

One could only agree with the warning that this encouraging situation about Nova Gorica should not be interpreted in the sense that no policies for economic, political, and cultural integration of non-Slovenians into Slovenian society are necessary. The study shows that differences in the social status, dispositions, and action patterns of ethnic groups in Slovenia do exist and should be carefully considered in the social policies. The cross-border comparison with Gorizia in Italy helps to understand the situation from an additional angle and is also an important contribution of the book.

Dejan Valentinčič's monograph enriches the knowledge of the ethnic composition and interethnic relations in Slovenia in the context of the highly interesting ethnic compositions and interethnic relations in the republics of former Yugoslavia.

Nikolai Genov



# Navodila avtorjem za pripravo prispevkov za revijo *Dve domovini / Two Homelands*

Najnovejšo verzijo navodil lahko najdete na naši spletni strani [http://twohomelands.zrc-sazu.si/sl/navodila\\_avtorjem](http://twohomelands.zrc-sazu.si/sl/navodila_avtorjem) ali pa na <https://ojs.zrc-sazu.si/twohomelands/prispevki>.

## 1. Usmeritev revije

Revija *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* je namenjena objavi znanstvenih in strokovnih člankov in knjižnih ocen s področja humanističnih in družboslovnih disciplin, ki obravnavajo različne vidike migracij in z njimi povezane pojave. Revija, ki izhaja od leta 1990, je večdisciplinarna in objavlja članke v slovenskem ali angleškem jeziku. Letno izideta dve številki v tiskani in elektronski obliki na svetovnem spletu (<http://twohomelands.zrc-sazu.si> in <https://ojs.zrc-sazu.si/twohomelands/>).

Prispevke, urejene po spodnjih navodilih, pošljite uredništvu v elektronski obliki na naslov [hladnik@zrc-sazu.si](mailto:hladnik@zrc-sazu.si). Članki so recenzirani. Prispevki morajo biti oblikovani v skladu z *Navodili avtorjem za pripravo prispevkov za revijo Dve domovini / Two Homelands*. Avtorji so odgovorni za jezikovno in slogovno dovršenost člankov. Rokopisov, ki jih uredništvo sprejme v objavo, avtorji ne smejo hkrati poslati drugi reviji. Avtorji se strinjajo, da se objavljeni članki v tiskani reviji *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* objavijo tudi v elektronski obliki na svetovnem spletu.

## 2. Sestavine prispevkov

Celoten članek je lahko dolg največ 45.000 znakov s presledki (vključno z literaturo) in mora vsebovati sestavine, ki si sledijo po naslednjem vrstnem redu:

- Naslov članka (okrepljeno) naj bo kratek, jasen in naj vključuje ključne pojme iz članka.
- Ime in priimek avtorja. Priimku naj sledi opomba pod črto, v kateri so s podpičjem ločeni štirje elementi:
  - o avtorjeva izobrazba (na primer: dr. zgodovine);
  - o ime avtorjeve institucije: Ustanova, Oddelek, Mesto (na primer: ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije, Ljubljana);
  - o avtorjev elektronski naslov;
  - o šifra ORCID.
- Predlog vrste prispevka (izvirni, pregledni ali kratki znanstveni članek oz. prispevek)
- Izvleček: do 700 znakov s presledki
- Ključne besede: do 5 besed
- Izvleček v angleškem jeziku (Abstract): do 700 znakov s presledki
- Ključne besede v angleškem jeziku (Keywords): do 5 besed
- Glavno besedilo, po potrebi razdeljeno na poglavja in podpoglavja
- Zahvale in drugi podatki: Informacije o projektu oz. financiranju (če je članek nastal v okviru projekta) ter morebitne zahvale avtorja oz. avtorjev (neobvezno)
- Seznam literature (urejen po spodnjih navodilih)
- Angleški povzetek prispevka (Summary) s prevedenim naslovom (ameriško črkovanje): do 3.000 znakov s presledki

## 3. Oblika

- Celotno besedilo naj bo označeno s stilom »Normal« – brez oblikovanja, določanja slogov in podobnega;
- Robovi strani: »Normal« (2,5 cm na vseh štirih straneh)
- Oštevilčenje strani: z arabskimi številkami spodaj desno
- Dokument naj bo oblikovan brez prelomov strani

- Pisava:
  - Glavno besedilo: pisava Times New Roman, velikost 12 pt, obojestranska poravnava, razmak med vrsticami 1,5
  - Sprotno opombe: pisava Times New Roman, velikost 10 pt, obojestranska poravnava, razmak med vrsticami 1, oštevilčenje z arabskimi številkami
- Med odstavki naj ne bo razmaka ali praznih vrstic. Vsak odstavek (razen za podnaslovi, slikami, tabelami in izpostavljenimi daljšimi citati) naj se začne z zamikom prve vrstice za 1,25 cm.
- Naslov in podnaslovi naj bodo označeni (Headings), oblikovani polkrepko (bold) in z malimi tiskanimi črkami. Podnaslovov oz. (pod)poglavij ne številčite.

V besedilih se izogibajte podčrtovanju besed oz. delov povedi ter okrepljenemu in poševnemu tisku; s poševnim tiskom označite le navedene naslove knjig, časopisov in revij. Izpust znotraj citata označite s tropičjem v oglatih oklepajih [...].

**Knjižne ocene** morajo imeti sestavine, ki si sledijo po naslednjem vrstnem redu: ime in priimek avtorja ali urednika knjige, ki je predmet ocene, naslov knjige, založba, kraj, leto izida, število strani. Besedilo naj obsega 5.000–10.000 znakov skupaj s presledki, na koncu sledita ime in priimek avtorja ocene.

#### 4. Citiranje in sprotno navajanje virov

Avtorji naj pri citiranju v besedilu upoštevajo naslednja navodila za sprotno navajanje virov:

- Citati, dolgi pet ali več vrstic, morajo biti ročno oblikovani v ločenih enotah, zamaknjeni za 1,25 cm, brez narekovajev, v pokončni pisavi.
- Citati, krajši od petih vrstic, naj bodo med drugim besedilom v narekovajih in v pokončni (ne poševni) pisavi.
- Navajanje virov v oklepaju: *priimek avtorja, letnica dela: stran oz. razpon strani*. Primeri:
  - navajanje enega vira: (Anderson, 2003: 91–99)
  - navajanje več virov: viri, ločeni s podpičjem in razvrščeni po letnicah (Hladnik, 2009: 15; Vah & Hacin, 2011: 251–253; Hladnik et al., 2019);
  - navajanje več del istega avtorja, ki so izšla istega leta: letnice, označene z malimi črkami (Anderson, 2003a, 2003b).
- Pri citiranju arhivskih dokumentov oz. virov navedemo ime avtorja (če je znan) in letnico dokumenta, npr. (Pitamic, 1930). Če avtor dokumenta ni znan, navedemo naslov dokumenta in letnico npr. (Poročilo o prekmurskih izseljencih, 1930). Če dokument nima naslova, vir opišemo v oglatem oklepaju ([Pismo veleposlanika zunanjemu ministru], 1931).

#### 5. Urejanje seznama literature

Seznam literature in virov naj bo v posebnem podpoglavju »Literatura« za glavnim besedilom.

V seznamu literature naj bodo navedene vse in samo tiste enote, na katere se avtor sklicuje v besedilu. Enote naj bodo razvrščene po abecednem redu priimkov avtorjev (ali naslovov časopisov/člankov oz. drugih virov, pri katerih avtorji niso znani), enote istega avtorja pa razvrščene po letnicah. V primeru več referenc istega avtorja iz istega leta letnice posameznih enot označite z malimi tiskanimi črkami (npr. Ford, 1999a, 1999b). Posamezne enote naj bodo oblikovane z visečim zamikom (Hanging Indent) 1,25 cm, med njimi naj ne bo razmakov.

Polnopomenski elementi v angleških naslovih knjig in člankov (razen veznikov in predlogov) se pišejo z veliko začetnico. Enote v seznamu literature naj vsebujejo naslov DOI (<https://doi.org/...>), kjer je ta na voljo. Stalni spletni naslov je v bibliografski enoti vedno zadnji podatek (glej primere spodaj).

Če ima tiskani vir tudi spletno objavo, ta podatek vključimo. Če ima spletna objava katerega od stalnih identifikatorjev (PID), kot so DOI, ARK, URN, Handle, URI, navedemo ta URL naslov brez datuma (zadnjega dostopa do strani). Če je URL spletne objave karkoli drugega, dodamo v oklepaju datum zadnjega dostopa do strani; npr. (15. 2. 2021).

Revija Dve domovini sprejema strukturirane oblike seznama literature v digitalnih formatih BibTeX, RIS in JATS XML.

Za urejanje literature v digitalnih formatih priporočamo uporabo računalniških programov za upravljanje z referencami kot so Zotero, EndNote, Mendeley, Citavi ipd., s pomočjo katerih lahko seznam v strukturirani obliki prenesete oziroma izvozite kot datoteko v enem izmed zgoraj navedenih formatov.

Če literature ne morete oddati v strukturirani obliki, upoštevajte naslednja pravila:

- a) Knjiga:  
Anderson, Benedict (2003). *Zamišljene skupnosti: O izvoru in širjenju nacionalizma*. Ljubljana: Studia Humanitatis.
- b) Zbornik:  
Milharčič Hladnik, Mirjam, Mlekuž, Jernej, ur. (2009). *Krila migracij: Po meri življenjskih zgodb*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU. <https://doi.org/10.3986/9789612541125>.
- c) Članek v zborniku:  
Milharčič Hladnik, Mirjam (2009). Naša varuška. *Krila migracij: Po meri življenjskih zgodb* (ur. Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik, Jernej Mlekuž). Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 15–20. <https://doi.org/10.3986/9789612541125>.
- d) Članek v reviji oz. časopisu:  
Vah, Mojca, Hacin, Marina (2001). Theorising Immigrant/Ethnic Entrepreneurship in the Context of Welfare States. *Migracijske i etničke teme* 27/2, 249–261, <https://hrcak.srce.hr/74487>.  
  
Turk, Helena (1925). Moja pot po svetu. *Amerikanski Slovenec*, 8. 10. 1925, 2, <https://www.dlib.si/details/URN:NBN:SI:doc-6OZVFZCN>.
- e) Spletna stran:  
Becker, Howard (2003). New Directions in the Sociology of Art. <http://www.howardsbecker.com/articles/newdirections.html> (14. 6. 2021).  
  
ILO (2018). *Global Estimates on International Migrant Workers*. Ženeva: ILO, [https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms\\_652001.pdf](https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_652001.pdf) (12. 10. 2020).  
  
Kochhar, Rakesh (2020). *Hispanic women, immigrants, young adults, those with less education hit hardest by COVID-19 job losses*. Pew Research, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/06/09/hispanic-women-immigrants-young%20adultsthose-with-less-education-hit-hardest-by-covid-19-job-losses> (5. 1. 2020).
- f) Arhivski viri:  
Arhivski viri naj vsebujejo:
  - o ime avtorja oz. naziv institucije, če avtor ni znan,
  - o naslov dokumenta,
  - o opis gradiva,
  - o ime zbirke;
  - o lokacijo;
  - o vir.

Primer:

Pitamic, Leonid (1930). [Pismo Leonida Pitamica Ministrstvu za zunanje zadeve o izseljencih iz Prekmurja], 13. 2. 1930. Veleposlaništvo Kraljevine Jugoslavije v Washingtonu (fond 371, mapa 50, enota 65), Arhiv Jugoslavije, Beograd.

## 6. Grafične in slikovne priloge

- Preglednice oz. tabele naj bodo narejene v programu Microsoft Word in vključene v besedilo. Oblikujte jih čim enostavneje (zanje ne uporabljajte posebnih slogov).
- Vseh drugih prilog (slike, zemljevidi, ilustracije, grafi ipd.) **ne** vključujte v besedilo.
- Vse preglednice, tabele in fotografije morajo biti označene v besedilu (npr. Tabela 1, Slika 1). Točno lokacijo v besedilu navedite po naslednjem vzorcu: ... (Slika 1) ... (Preglednica 1).
- Vse preglednice in drugo slikovno gradivo mora imeti pripis, ki naj se vedno začne z naslovom Slika/Preglednica (in zaporedna številka), npr.:
  - Slika 1: Kuharica Liza v New Yorku leta 1905 (avtor: Janez Novak, vir: Arhiv Slovenije, 1415, 313/14)
  - Preglednica 1: Število prebivalcev Ljubljane po popisu leta 2002 (vir: Statistični urad RS, *Statistične informacije*, 14).
- Pripisi k slikam in preglednicam naj ne vsebujejo opomb.
- Datoteke slikovnega gradiva poimenujte s priimkom avtorja in zaporedno številko gradiva, npr. „Novak1.jpg“, „Novak2.jpg“ itd.
- Velikost slike naj bo takšna, kot bo natisnjena, ali večja. Fotografije naj bodo v enem od naslednjih formatov: TIF, EPS, SVG, JPG, PNG v polni kakovosti in s tipografijami v krivuljah. Ločljivost slik naj bo najmanj 300 dpi.
- Za grafične in slikovne priloge, za katere nimate avtorskih pravic, morate dobiti dovoljenje za objavo in uredništvu predložiti dokazilo.



# Instructions for Authors Preparing English Articles for Publication in *Dve domovini / Two Homelands*

For the latest version of instructions for authors, please refer to our website: [http://twohomelands.zrc-sazu.si/en/instructions\\_for\\_authors](http://twohomelands.zrc-sazu.si/en/instructions_for_authors) or <https://ojs.zrc-sazu.si/twohomelands/prispevki>.

## 1. Editorial content

*Dve domovini / Two Homelands* welcomes scientific and professional articles and book reviews from the humanities and social sciences focusing on various aspects of migration and related phenomena. The journal, established in 1990, is multidisciplinary and publishes articles in Slovenian or English language. Two volumes are published per year in print and digital format online (<http://twohomelands.zrc-sazu.si> and <https://ojs.zrc-sazu.si/twohomelands/>).

Articles should be prepared according to the instructions below and sent to the editorial board at the e-mail address [hladnik@zrc-sazu.si](mailto:hladnik@zrc-sazu.si). All articles undergo a peer-review procedure. Authors are responsible for language and style proficiency. Manuscripts accepted for publishing by the editorial board should not be sent for consideration and publishing to any other journal. By publishing their articles in *Dve domovini / Two Homelands*, the authors also grant permission to publish them online.

## 2. English article elements

The length of the entire article can be up to 45,000 characters with spaces (including the References section) and should contain the following sections in the following order:

- Article Title (Title Case, bold): should be clear and concise and include the article's keywords.
- Name and surname of the author. The surname should be followed by a footnote with the following four elements separated by a semicolon:
  - o the author's education (e.g., PhD in history);
  - o the author's affiliation – Institution, Department, City (e.g., ZRC SAZU, Slovenian Migration Institute, Ljubljana);
  - o e-mail address;
  - o ORCID ID.
- Type of contribution (original, review, or short scientific article)
- Abstract: up to 700 characters with spaces (will be translated into Slovenian by the journal)
- Keywords: up to 5 words
- Main text, divided into sections and subsections, if necessary
- Information about the project or funding (if the article was written as part of a project) and any acknowledgments by the author(s) (optional)
- Reference list (References): see point 5 below for instructions
- Summary: up to 3,000 characters with spaces (will be translated into Slovenian by the journal)

## 3. Document formatting

- The style of the entire text should be "Normal" – no formatting, defining styles, or similar.
- Please use American English spelling and serial (Oxford) commas.
- Page margins: "Normal" (2.5 cm margins at all sides)
- Page numbering: Arabic numerals, bottom right
- The document should not contain any page breaks. Font
  - o Main text: Times New Roman, 12 pt, justified, line spacing 1.5
  - o Footnotes: Times New Roman, 10 pt, justified, line spacing 1, Arabic numerals

- There should be no spacing or blank lines between paragraphs. Each paragraph (except those after subtitles/headings, figures, tables, and long quotations) should begin with a first-line indent of 1.25 cm.
- The Title and Section (Sub-section) headings should be manually formatted: The Title and Level 1 Headings are bold, Title Case; Level 2 Headings are bold, Sentence case. Headings should not be numbered.

Avoid underlining words or parts of sentences, as well as using bold and italics. Italics should be used only when citing titles of artworks, books, newspapers, and journals. Indicate omitted parts of a citation with square brackets and an ellipsis [...].

**Book reviews** should contain the following elements in the order given: name and surname of the author or editor of the book, title of the book, name of publisher, place of publication, date of publication, number of pages. Reviews should be 5,000–10,000 characters with spaces and include the name and surname of the reviewer at the end.

#### 4. Citations and quoting in text

The following instructions should be followed for citing sources in the text:

- Long quotations (five lines or more) should be formatted in a separate paragraph indented by 1.25 cm, without quotation marks, in normal font (not italics).
- Quotations shorter than five lines should be included in the main text and separated with quotation marks in normal font (not italics).
- Cite sources using In-Text Author-Date citations in parentheses: *author's surname, year of publication: page number(s)*. Examples:
  - o citing a single source: (Anderson, 2003: 91–99);
  - o citing multiple sources: sources separated by semicolons and sorted by the year of publication in ascending order (Hladnik, 2009: 15; Vah & Hacin, 2011: 251–253; Hladnik et al., 2019);
  - o citing multiple works by the same author published in the same year: years marked with lowercase letters (Anderson, 2003a, 2003b).
- When citing archival documents or sources, state the author's name (if available) and the year of the document, e.g., (Pitamic, 1930). If the author of the document is not known, state the title of the document and the year, e.g., (Report on Prekmurje Immigrants, 1930). If the document does not have a title, provide a description in square brackets, e.g., ([Letter from the Ambassador to the Minister of Foreign Affairs], 1931).

#### 5. Reference list

A list of references should appear after the main text in a separate section named "References". The reference list should include all and only those sources that are referred to and cited in the text. The entries should be arranged alphabetically by the authors' surnames (or titles of newspapers/articles or other sources where authors are unknown), with multiple references by the same author arranged by year of publication. Multiple references by a single author published in the same year should be separated with lowercase letters (e.g., Ford, 1999a, 1999b). Each entry should be formatted with a hanging indent of 1.25 cm, with no line spacing between entries.

English book and article titles (except conjunctions, articles, and prepositions) should be capitalized in Title Case. The entries in the reference list should contain DOI addresses ([https://doi.org/...](https://doi.org/)) when available. The permanent web address is always the last information in a reference entry (see examples below).

If a printed source is also published online, this information should be included. If the online publication includes any persistent identifiers (PIDs), such as DOI, ARK, URN, Handle, or URI, provide the URL address without the last access date. If the URL of the online publication is in any other form, add the date of last access to the website in parentheses, e.g., (15. 2. 2021), using dd. mm. yyyy.

Our journal accepts reference lists in the following digital formats: BibTeX, RIS, and JATS XML.

For editing the reference list in digital formats, we recommend reference management software such as Zotero, EndNote, Mendeley, Citavi, etc., which enable downloading or exporting a structured reference list as a file in one of the abovementioned digital formats.

If you are unable to provide the reference list in one of the abovementioned formats, please prepare it according to the instructions below:

- a) Book:  
Anderson, Benedict (1995). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- b) Collection of articles:  
Milharčič Hladnik, Mirjam, Mlekuž, Jernej, eds. (2009). *Krila migracij: Po meri življenjskih zgodb*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU. <https://doi.org/10.3986/9789612541125>.
- c) Article in a collection:  
Milharčič Hladnik, Mirjam (2009). Naša varuška. *Krila migracij: Po meri življenjskih zgodb* (eds. Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik, Jernej Mlekuž). Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 15–20. <https://doi.org/10.3986/9789612541125>.
- d) Article in a journal/newspaper:  
Vah, Mojca, Hacin, Marina (2001). Theorising Immigrant/Ethnic Entrepreneurship in the Context of Welfare States. *Migracijske i etničke teme* 27/2, 249–261, <https://hrcak.srce.hr/74487>.  
  
Turk, Helena (1925). Moja pot po svetu. *Amerikanski Slovenec*, 8. 10. 1925, 2, <https://www.dlib.si/details/URN:NBN:SI:doc-6OZVFZCN>.
- e) Internet sources:  
Becker, Howard (2003). New Directions in the Sociology of Art. <http://www.howardsbecker.com/articles/newdirections.html> (14. 6. 2021).  
  
ILO (2018). *Global Estimates on International Migrant Workers*. Geneva: ILO, [https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms\\_652001.pdf](https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_652001.pdf) (12. 10. 2020).  
  
Kochhar, Rakesh (2020). *Hispanic women, immigrants, young adults, those with less education hit hardest by COVID-19 job losses*. Pew Research, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/06/09/hispanic-women-immigrants-young-adults-those-with-less-education-hit-hardest-by-covid-19-job-losses/> (5. 1. 2020).
- f) Archival sources:  
Archival sources should include:
  - o name of the author or name of the institution if the author is unknown,
  - o document title,
  - o description of the source,
  - o name of the collection,
  - o location,
  - o source.

Example:

Pitamic, Leonid (1930). [Letter of Leonid Pitamic to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the emigrants of Prekmurje], 13. 2. 1930. Embassy of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Washington (fond 371, folder 50, unit 65), Archive of Yugoslavia, Belgrade.

## 6. Graphics and illustrations

- Tables should be created in Microsoft Word and included in the text. Use simple formatting (no special builtin styles).
- All other figures (pictures, maps, illustrations, graphs, etc.) should **not** be included in the text but should be sent as separate files.
- All figures and tables should be referenced in the main text, e.g. (Table 1), (Figure 1).
- Please add the figure captions at the exact locations where they should appear in the text.
- All tables and other visual material should be captioned, always starting with the title Figure/Table [number], for example:
  - Figure 1: Lisa the Cook in New York in 1905 (Photo: Janez Novak, source: Archives of Slovenia, 1415, 313/14).
  - Table 1: The population of Ljubljana according to the 2002 Census (source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, *Statistics*, p. 14).
- Captions to visual material should not include footnotes.
- All digital files for visual material should be named with the author's surname and numbered, e.g., "Brown01.jpg", "Brown02.jpg".
- The size of images should be the same as they should appear in print or larger. Photos should be submitted in one of the following formats: TIF, EPS, SVG, JPG, PNG in full quality and fonts in curves. The image resolution should be at least 300 dpi.
- Permission to publish must be obtained for all copyrighted graphic and illustrative material. Please include proof of permission alongside the copyrighted visual material you submit to the editor.





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