

THE STANDPOINT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SLOVENIA TOWARDS THE POLITICAL EMIGRATION UP TO 1991

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INTRODUCTION

The after 1945 Slovenian political emigration were as part of the Yugoslav emigration subjected to a negative relation of the state and its political structures. Despite a different social development in Yugoslavia – in comparison with other states on the east side of the iron curtain – and despite a greater openness into the world from the sixties on an ideological construct was all the time firmly grounded in the policy of the communist party and the state on the federal (Yugoslavia) and republic (Slovenia) level. The construct rejected the world of capitalism and people of different opinions, including emigrants. The citizens were not allowed to have contacts with political emigrants. Such contacts were liable to legal punishment. With the use of repressive methods the state more or less successfully hindered the flow of information and ideas, which brought different views about the political, social and state regulation of Yugoslavia and Slovenia. We can notice this negative standpoint towards the political emigration in terminology as well – until the disintegration of Yugoslavia, and having in mind the Slovenian political emigration, the official documents and various published texts labelled them as the White Guard (right-wing political movement in Slovenia during World War II), fascist or in the mildest form the hostile emigration. All the time the state reproached the emigration with counter-communist activity – which is understandable – clericalism, nationalism and separatism. Clerical orientation was explained as counterrevolutionary activity with the aim to introduce in (confederate) Yugoslavia a bourgeois pluralistic social order with the supremacy of the Catholic oriented parties. In a smaller extent without Yugoslavia, that is in the frame of independent Slovenia.¹ The State knew about the ideological and programme differentiation within the emigration yet on the principal level they considered it as a whole. Continuous stressing of the formation of the Slovenian political emigration from the after-war refugees, among them were some who collaborated with the enemy during World War II, was to sharpen among the Slovenians hatred towards the emigrants, although many of politically active emigrants were when leaving their country under aged or even born abroad, and many coming from the homeland from the end of the forties on. Their cardinal »fault« was rejection of communism as a leading ideological-political option.

¹ The Archives of Slovenia, section I, fund 1589, a. e. IV/4755 (Sovražna aktivnost jugoslovanske emigracije / Hostile activity of the Yugoslav emigration, 18. 5. 1981).

YUGOSLAV POLITICAL EMIGRATION

The state legislation and emigration

The Yugoslav and republican legislation defined the relation towards all who threatened the basic elements of the State, social and political system, particularly the authority of the working class respectively working people, self-management, corporate ownership of means of production and political and legal regulation of the State.² Immediately after the war the government adopted under the strong influence of the Soviet legal doctrine laws, which interdicted provoking of national, racial and religious intolerance and punishable acts against the nation or the State.³ The first Yugoslav penal code (general part) was adopted in 1947 and in complete in 1951 and later experienced many modifications.⁴ The Yugoslav Constitution from 1974 decentralised legislative competencies. Thus Slovenia obtained its own penal code.⁵ If we take a look at the new Federal Penal Code from 1977 we find in it the notorious article no. 133, which dealt with activities against the foundations of the political regulation and security in the state, including hostile propaganda.⁶ There were many public oppositions against parts of the article no. 133 in the last years of existence of Yugoslavia and they were not about the provision on interdiction of subversive activity from abroad and malevolent and false interpretation of social and political circumstances in the state. The border between the permitted and the suppressed was not precise and its definition left to free interpretations by the repressive state organs and the politics, which individual experts frequently pointed out at that time. The border between the state and the political system was also undefined. The spheres of their activities interlaced although the communist party never let go of its so-called leading role in the sensitive spheres,

² Ustava SFRJ, člani 88-152, 203, Uradni list SFRJ, 4/1974 / The Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, articles 88/152, p. 203, Official Gazette of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 4/1974.

³ Zakon o prepovedi izzivanja nacionalne, rasne in verske mržnje in razdorov - ukaz Predsedstva Narodne skupščine FNRJ, št. 352, 11. 6. 1946, objavljeno v Ur. L. DFJ, št. 36, 29. 5. 1945 / Act on interdiction of provoking national, racial and religious intolerance and ruptures - Order of the Presidency of the National Assembly of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 352, 11th June 1946, published in the Official Gazette DFJ, No. 36, 29th May 1945; Zakon o kazenskih zadevah proti narodu in državi (Ur. L. DFJ, št. 66, 1. 9. 1945, drugi tekst Ur. L. FNRJ, št. 59, 23. 7. 1946) / Act on penal matters against the nation and the State, Official Gazette of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, No. 66, 1st September 1945, other text Official Gazette of the Federal National Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 59, 23rd July 1946.

⁴ Kazenski zakonik - splošen del (Uradni list FLRJ, št. 106/47) / Penal Code - General Part, Official Gazette of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 106/47; Kazenski zakonik FLRJ (Uradni list FLRJ, št. 11, 9. 3. 1951) / Penal Code of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, Official Gazette of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 11, 9th March 1951; it was reestablished with an order by the Presidium of the National Assembly of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 332, 2nd March 1951 and was valid until 1st July 1977.

⁵ Kazenski zakonik SR Slovenije (The Penal Code of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia) (Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, Nos. 12/77; 3/78 (corrigendum); 19/84.

⁶ Kazenski zakonik SFRJ / Penal Code of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 1st July 1977.

among them in leading the »struggle« against the enemies of Yugoslavia within the state and outside its borders. The party always was the leading ideological and political force in Yugoslavia.

The external and internal »enemy«

The Yugoslav state classified as the after-war Yugoslav political emigration all individuals who were at the time of the foundation of Yugoslavia outside its borders and did not return because of their refusal of the communist system and the State order, all the after-war refugees and displaced persons, and as well all those who illegally or legally left Yugoslavia because of their disagreement with its system and operated against it from abroad. Still in 1981 – by opinion of the state police – many dissatisfied, adventurers, criminals and few under-aged (undoubtedly from the groups of economic emigrants) joined the »emigrant population« (composed of former middle-class politicians and members of the royal Yugoslav Army, Chetniks / guerilla fighters in Serbia/, Ustaše /Croatian nationalist rebels/, members of the White Guard, Balisti etc.) under the pressures and threats of the extremist emigrant groups and individuals.⁷ The Slovenian political emigration were within the frame of the Yugoslav emigration frequently denoted as not numerous and as such not a very dangerous part of the whole. Many attributed the Slovenian emigration less ambitiousness and thus a lesser inclination to terrorism and other subversive activities (Bošković, 1980: 8). As subversive activities they considered meetings, printing and distributing pamphlets and similar. Considering the opinions of the »official« writers on political emigration, the Slovenian political emigration formally and actually renounced in the first half of the sixties to violent activities against Yugoslavia and transferred its activity into the field of propaganda (Doder, 1989: 46; Bošković, 1985: 104). We can trace one of the few demands for armed action with the Action committee for a united and sovereign Slovenian state that was published in the first volume of the gazette *Slovenska svoboda* in August 1964. For the liberation of Slovenia from »Tito's Yugoslavia« they advocated all democratic means, among which they placed the use of weapons as well.⁸ More exposed were in the frame of the State the Croatian, Serbian and Albanian political emigration, least but not last because of their violent operation, with weapons as well (terrorism). From 1945 to 1977 the terroristic oriented emigration performed 210 actions in which 72 Yugoslav and other citizens died and 232 were injured (Dolanc-Vejnovič, 1985: 65). Although the State looked upon the Yugoslav emigration as a whole, the archival documents reveal to us that the Slovenian politicians and the Slovenian government paid special attention and analysed the activities of the Slovenian political emigration, including its connections with the Slovenian economic emigration and the Church in Slovenia and among the emigrants (Drnovšek, 1998: 234-247).

⁷ AS, Section I, fund 1589, a. e. IV/4755 (Sovražna aktivnost jugoslovanske politične emigracije / Hostile activity of the Yugoslav political emigration).

⁸ *Boj proti titovskemu totalitarizmu / Struggle against Titoist totalitarism. Slovenska svoboda, I/1, München, 1. 8. 1964.*

The policy and the repressive agencies intended special attention to seeking connections between the so-called external (political emigration) and internal »enemy«, that is - in Yugoslavia living opponents of the political system. The greatest attention was directed to the intellectuals who published abroad their different stand-points towards the official policy (Dolanc and Vejnović, 1985: 76). In a notorious police jargon they included among the intellectuals »ideologists-politicians«, »offended priests«, fictitious »theoreticians«, »self appointed professors and writers« and other mediocrity.⁹ The assertion that one party systems create emigration even in their own midst undoubtedly holds (Galić, 1990: 6). We may characterise it as a unique inner emigration (opposition). The Penal Code of Yugoslavia (1977) in its 67th article enabled prevention from public activity to certain individuals. In the field of limitation of human privileges (rights) we can find numerous arbitrary interpretations of the legislation and abuse of penal law repression from the side of the State agencies (Demšar, 1989: 156). The Yugoslav penal law enabled punishment of carriers of different views upon the development of the society and the state, which was in accordance with the Marxist view upon its origin. The mentioned view defines that penal law has an explicitly class and political character. It serves as an instrument of restraint, with which the State or the government safeguards the existing social order and themselves being the authority (Jakulin, 1990: 8). Thus we can say in simplified words that the political emigration were isolated from the homeland, and that the inner opposition was in the best case forced into living in homeland in isolation.

The citizenship and the introduction of amnesty in 1962

The relation towards the political emigration is also evident from the legislation on citizenship. In the Law of Citizenship from 1976 it is written that a person without citizenship is like a child without parents, that Yugoslavia is the homeland to all good-willed and honest people who carry it in their hearts, and that it protects its citizens when they are abroad as well.¹⁰ Frequently a slogan was used: »When it is said 'Yugoslavia' that means the Yugoslavs who actually carry it in their hearts« (Todorović, 1989: 4). Incidentally: not so rarely - when dealing with political emigration - the State would equate the emigration's refusal of Yugoslav citizenship with refusal of the homeland. That is the reason why, for example, because of opposing to communism and Yugoslavia, the emigrants were frequently designated as traitors of homeland. Expunction from citizenship because of political reasons was possible for the home dissidents. All abroad living citizens of Yugoslavia who refused to perform their citizen duties (for example serving the army), and were members of counter-Yugoslav organisations, offered service to foreign states against Yugoslavia, discredited and diminished the reputation and the interests of Yugoslavia, and all who rejected loyalty to Yugoslavia - we could

⁹ AS, Section I, fund 1589, a. e. IV/4755 (Sovražna aktivnost jugoslovsanske emigracije / Hostile activity of the Yugoslav emigration, 18. 5. 1981).

¹⁰ Uradni list SFRJ / Official Gazette of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 58/76.

enumerate more – could also be deprived of their Yugoslav citizenship.¹¹ Thus all »extremist« political emigrants and other so-called »enemies« were deprived of Yugoslav citizenship. Deprivation of Yugoslav citizenship meant also deprivation of the citizenship of the republic (Todorović, 1989: 10-13).

An important turning point in the relation towards political emigration in Yugoslavia was the introduction of amnesty in 1962.¹² Before that time the official policy did even not acknowledge emigration for economic reasons, which was to them a phenomena that only the capitalist world knew. All who left the country and did not return were automatically defined as political emigrants. At the beginning of the sixties Yugoslavia started a more open policy towards the rest of the world. That was also the time of the beginnings of the non-aligned movement in which Yugoslavia played one of the leading roles. As a consequence the State had to regulate its relation towards all the people who left Yugoslavia after 1941. Vice-president of the Federal Executive Council Aleksander Ranković announced in July 1961 a new policy towards emigrants. He made an estimation that about 200 000 people left the territory of Yugoslavia during and after World War II. Many wanted to regulate the civic relations with the State and to get Yugoslav citizenship. Ranković attributed that fact to a great reputation of Yugoslavia in the world and to its economic and interior political successes. The 1962 amnesty enabled regulation of the civic (civil) status to many, excluded were all: »...who stained themselves with heavy war crimes or abroad actively collaborated in hostile activity against the FLRJ (Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia)«. ¹³ Particularly the formulation on active hostile operation against Yugoslavia enabled the policy optional ranging of inconvenient individuals into the group of organisers of the counter-Yugoslav activity abroad.

SLOVENIAN POLITICAL EMIGRANTS

The Yugoslav agencies of repression on federal and republic levels followed the activity of the political emigration. On the territory of Slovenia the roots of such observation extend into the time of World War II. In spring 1944 a department for foreign countries was set up in the frame of the Section for Internal Affairs of the Presidency of SNOS (Slovenski narodnoosvobodilni svet – Slovenian National Liberation Council), which had in its programme detection and supervision of the activity of Slovenian emigration abroad (Dornik-Šubelj, 1999: 18). The police and the army were most ambitious in observing and in activities against the Slovenian political emigration abroad

¹¹ The basis presents the article No. 200 of the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from 1974.

¹² Three laws on amnesty were adopted in Yugoslavia (1962, 1973 and 1983).

¹³ The homeland threw open its doors. The speech of Aleksander Ranković, Slovenski izseljenski koledar 1962, Ljubljana 1961, pp. 46-47.

and their activity in homeland.¹⁴ The Service of State Security often acted practically autonomous, as »a state within a state«. Thus, for example, the Commission for special ideological political problems at the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, in April 1968 criticised its too weak presence among the emigrants, political emigrants and Slovenians in neighbouring countries.¹⁵ The Service of State security or the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia controlled this field, which is confirmed by their numerous written analyses on the situation among the mentioned groups of Slovenians abroad and which the leaders of the Slovenian party received and used them in planning political relation towards the Slovenians abroad. The operating methods of the police are more or less known, although on the basis of preserved archival material not yet investigated, for example controlling and seizing mail, supervision of individuals at home and through consular missions abroad, recruiting economic emigrants for observing the »counter-state elements« and similar. The mentioned agencies performed periodical analyses of the conditions amidst the political emigration using the emigrant printed matter (newspapers, magazines, books), radio broadcasts in Slovenian language from foreign stations and undoubtedly informers from home and abroad as the main source of information. Beside analysing the organisation, ideological oppositions and disagreements among the emigrants they paid special attention to their writing about Yugoslavia, its economy, social and political regulation.¹⁶ Secrecy of the work and of the results was self-evident. That is why all to me known preserved party and police documents on political emigration carry a denotation »strict confidence« or »confidential« or »for internal use«. Today the material is accessible to the public.¹⁷

The Communist Party or the League of Communists of Slovenia was the fundamental orientating force (creator of the policy) in forming the relation towards the Slovenian emigration as a whole, including Slovenian political emigration. Not yet researched is the relation between the federal party leadership in Belgrade and the Slovenian one. We know there were many collisions between the two leaderships. Certain disagreements with the federal authorities were, for example, on the Cominform emigration. Belgrade frequently reproached the Slovenian party that they were not active enough regarding the Cominform emigration, which they characterised as »the Slovenian political emigration in the Eastern states«. This is understandable as in 1968 only 50 Slovenian Cominform emigrants were registered. Stane Dolanc made an estimation

¹⁴ For example The Department for the Protection of the Nation (OZNA) and The Corpus of the National defence of Yugoslavia (KNOJ). In April 1946 OZNA was renamed into The Direction of State Security, which with January 1st 1967 became The Service of State Security. The system of the State security was in Slovenia regulated by the Law of foundations of the system of the State security of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1974) and the Law of internal affairs of SRS (Socialist Republic of Slovenia) (1980).

¹⁵ AS, Section I, fund 1589, part 694.

¹⁶ One of the analyses from 1968 comprises 166 typed pages. See: AS, Section I, fund 1589, part 353.

¹⁷ *Vodnik po fondih in zbirkah Arhiva Republike Slovenije / A Guide through funds and collections of the Archive of the Republic of Slovenia*, Vol. 2, Ljubljana 1999.

in mid eighties that 3000 of all Yugoslav emigrants were Cominformers (Dolanc-Vejnović, 1985: 62). We should not neglect the role of other social organisations, for example The Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia (SZDL) and the syndicates, which had contacts with the Slovenian economic emigrants. Their activity increased during the outburst of the new economic migration wave in the sixties and seventies and in the last decade before the fall of Yugoslavia. Especially in the eighties their role among economic emigrants of »guarding and protecting« Yugoslavia and its social order was stressed. We should not leave out the agencies of the republic, for example the Secretariat for Enquiries at the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, which was active in the field of propaganda abroad, and there is more to enumerate. Fear that the number of people who would alienate from Yugoslavia and its system or even start activities against it, was not small. Thus other political organisations and syndicates were included into work with the new emigration. Even more, the economic emigration were to become a means in the »struggle« with the Slovenian political emigration.¹⁸ I must emphasize that all basic political decisions regarding economic and particularly political emigration were reserved for the party leadership. Thus all enumerated and some other social and political organisations and the agencies of the Republic were only mediators and performers of the State or Party policy.

The different numbers of Slovenian political emigrants

Estimations on the number of political emigrants were diversified. From the archival documents we can understand that after the war the attention was increasingly focusing on the intellectual core of the emigration, which was relatively small in number but actively counter-communist and regarding the State regulation inclined to an independent Slovenia or seeking a compromise with the idea of a democratic and confederate settlement of the future Yugoslavia. How many Slovenian political emigrants were there? According to an estimation by Stane Dolanc and Zoran Vejnović approximately 250 000 people, who did not all join any counter-Yugoslav activity, fled after 1945 from Yugoslavia. Estimations on the number of Slovenian political emigration vary: 8000 in Argentina and 5000 in the United States in 1955,¹⁹ 7000 in Argentina and 3000 elsewhere in 1959,²⁰ approximately 18.000 in 1966,²¹

¹⁸ AS, Section I, fund 1589, part 694 (Komisija za idejno politične probleme, Zapisnik podkomisije CK ZKS za probleme emigracije in izseljenišva, 4. 3. 1968). (Commission for ideological political problems, Minutes of the subcommission of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia for emigration problems).

¹⁹ Slovenski izseljenci / Slovenian Emigrants, Slovenska izseljenska matica (Slovenian Emigrant Society), Ljubljana 1955 (detailed report).

²⁰ AS, Meeting of the Execution Committee of the Central Committee of the League of Slovenian Communists (IK CK ZKS), 4. 12. 1959, box 14.

²¹ AS, Section I, fund 1589, part 507 (Komisija za mednacionalne in medrepubliške odnose, Sovražni vplivi separatističnih organizacij politične emigracije na delovno silo v tujini / Commission for international and interrepublican relations, Inimical influence of separatist organisations of the political emigration on labour resources abroad).

20.216 in 1968²² and 20.000, of those 5000 active, in 1989 (Doder, 1989: 207). Regarding Yugoslav political emigration we find an estimation of approximately 30 000 people in mid eighties, of those 5000 permanently hostile active, and about 1000 active terrorists. The authors do not indicate how many of those were supposedly Slovenians (Dolanc and Vejnovič, 1985: 61). An analysis by the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia from May 1981 indicates 500 active Slovenian »hostile« emigrants.²³ As an example let us have a look at a calculation of the number of Slovenian political emigrants for the mentioned year 1968, when they counted 20.216 Slovenian emigrants. Surprising are the exact numbers, which put us before a dilemma whether the numbers were written »by heart« or made on the basis of exact records (dossiers), which were managed by the Secretariat for Internal Affairs. When the archival materials of the mentioned secretariat will be delivered in its entirety to the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia (presentation of the materials in process) we will be able – in the case of preserved material – to solve the mentioned dilemma as well.

As a case we can see a police analysis on the Slovenian political emigration from 1968.²⁴ The analysis was prepared by Jože Kragelj (Secretariat of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia in Ljubljana). The object of the analysis was to »highlight the hostile activity of the Slovenian emigration«. The method: on the basis of records on emigrants and other »unquestionable documentation« composed evaluation/definition of the activity and attitude of individual emigrants in the past. The author does not deny subjectivity of the evaluation but at the same time points out the lack of documentary data on their actual activity.

1. Calculation of number of Slovenians outside Yugoslavia at 1968

<i>Abroad living Slovenians*:</i>	<i>Number</i>
- economic emigrants	388.500
- minority	180.000
- political emigration	20.261
Total	588.761

**Knowledge of spoken language (or mother tongue) as a criteria.*

2. Emigration periods

<i>Emigrated*</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
Up to 1940	572	2,8
1940-45	6931	34,2

²² AS, Section I, fund 1589, part 694 (Komisija za idejno politične probleme, Slovenska politična emigracija, Republiški sekretariat za notranje zadeve, 10. 1. 1968) (Commission for ideological political problems, Slovenian political emigration, Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia).

²³ AS, Section I, fund 1589, a. e. IV/4755.

²⁴ AS, Section I, fund 1589, part 507: Commission for ideological political problems of the Central Committee of the League of Slovenian Communists / Slovenian political emigration, Secretariat of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia, 10th January 1968.

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1945-52	2981	14,7
1952-67	9402	46,4
Not known when	375	1,9
Total	20.261	100

Of those:

A: 5008 24,7**

Among them::

a 495 2,2

b 1963 9,6

**All who emigrated before 1968 for political reasons.*

A: Counter-revolutionists or enemies of Yugoslavia before emigrating.

a: Followers of occupational political organisations.

b: Members of occupational military units.

*** Estimation by Silvo Gorenc: only 4-10% are hostile active.*

3. Directions of emigrating

State	Number	State	Number	Elsewhere
Austria	3519	Argentina	1979	2268
Belgium	287	Australia	1464	
France	1015	Canada	2927	
Italy	1221	USA	1931	
W. Germany	3972		8301	
Sweden	270			
G. Britain	408			
	(10.692*)			
	9692			

Total 9692+8301+2268= 20.261

**Mistake for 1000 (too many) is in the sum.*

4. »Inclinations« of the political emigration

Characteristic	Number	%
Loyal	1731	8,5
Hostile	11939	58,9
Not interested	4928	24,3
Friendly	204	1,1
Unknown standpoint	1459	7,2
Total	20.261	100

Of those:

A. 265 1,3

B. 56 0,3

A: Members of the organisations of Slovenian political emigration.

B: »Strongly« hostile towards Yugoslavia.

5. Some data on actual, continual and rigid hostile activity

<i>Forms of activity</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>%</i>
Determined cases and suspicions:	735	3,6
- work for foreign intelligence services	145	0,7
- suspicion of working for intelligence services	304	1,5
- other forms of hostile action*	286	1,4
Terrorism, diversions etc.**	12	0,05
War criminals***	161	0,8

A: Number of registered for the time up to 1968.

**They had in mind other rigid forms of hostile activities which they do not define.*

***Most severe forms of hostile activities were ranged in this group.*

****They took into consideration the number of officially registered war criminals.*

6. Age structure of collaborators and those suspected of working for foreign intelligence services

<i>Age structure</i>	<i>Number</i>
18 - 25 years	1
30 - 40 years	111
40 - 50 years	141
50 - 60 years	103
over 60 years	78
age not ascertained	65
Total	499**

*** Correct sum should be 449.*

7. Successful and unsuccessful flees and number of persons remaining abroad

<i>Year of departure</i>	<i>Number</i>		
	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>
1961	1981	1194	805
1962	1652	1160	1086
1963	1668	856	921
1964	1955	864	795
1965	1337	1160	1011
1966	852	446	587
1967*	208	114	205
Total	9653	5794	2472

**Until October 1967.*

A: Fled or remained abroad with valid passports.

B: Attempted to flee.

C: Returned to Slovenia.

8. Purpose of departure, structure and number of emigrants 1961-1967

A. Fled or stayed abroad:	9653
- from hostile reasons	18
- criminal, prison, military service	290
B. Stayed abroad:	7181*
- with secondary education	63
- with high and university education**	21
- economic emigration***	7097
C. Returned to Slovenia	2472
D. Attempt of escape	5794

The »escapees« illegally left Yugoslavia and »stayed abroad« legally, with passports, but by the opinion of the police they »emigrated«, that is remained abroad.

** The analyst finds that it is not ascertainable, but estimates that approximately 7000 persons with passports remained abroad. (In fact they had 3803 persons registered as not having returned to Slovenia). The majority regulated abroad their »status« to Yugoslavia and they by the opinion of the analyst should not be recognised as political emigrants, and a minority (approximately one hundred per year) did not do so and thus passed over to the political emigration.*

*** The educated were by the analyst's opinion the carriers of hostile activities as designers of political programmes and stimulators of activities against Yugoslavia.*

**** The analyst characterises economic emigration as principally »non-hostile«, but a source of information for foreign intelligence services, police of the immigrant countries and as well for the extreme political emigration.*

The role of communists among emigrants

The question on activity of communists abroad was put already in the seventies in parallel with the new economic migration wave. The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia adopted in the second half of the eighties several resolutions and instructions on the activities of emigrants abroad.²⁵ Members of the party abroad were obliged to ideological and political activity among emigrants with the aim to preserve socialist patriotic consciousness, contacts with Yugoslavia, brotherhood and unity, values of self-management; they were also to educate the young in the spirit of Yugoslavism etc. At the same time their task was to prevent influences of other ideologies, nationalistic and separatist ideas spreading among economic emigrants. In that context they were obliged to »fight« in the spirit of social self-defence the activities of the »hostile« emigration and clergy. They were to be active in the work of cultural, educational and sports societies and unions, clubs and all other forms that associated economic emigrants. Communists at the Yugoslav diplomatic and consular missions, in emigrant educational institutions, in business representations and in me-

²⁵ Dokumenti Predsedništva CK SKJ i opunomoćstva P CK SKJ o organizovanju i delovanju SKJ u inostranstvu, Beograd 1989 / Documents of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and authorisation of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

dia bureau were to help the communists in all the mentioned activities.²⁶ The communists also informed the central party organs in Yugoslavia on events in the surroundings where they worked and lived. Their task was to pay attention to ideological political issues and various phenomena, declinations and tendencies hostile to Yugoslavia. The party were aware of the complex economic and political situation in Yugoslavia as well as of danger of ideological disorientation of the communists abroad.²⁷ Therefore the party sent advisors who were to consolidate the organisation of the communists abroad and at the same time direct, co-ordinate and strengthen the ideological political influence among economic emigrants. They operated in the frame of diplomatic missions.²⁸ In the case of terrorist or war threat upon Yugoslavia they were to acquaint with events in Yugoslavia as many economic emigrants as possible. Regardless of the mentioned they were obliged to follow the political and security situation in their environment abroad. The appreciation of the party was they should distinguish hostile activity from uninformed ignorance or well-intentioned criticism and legitimate dissatisfaction because of poor performance of the Yugoslav representative bodies abroad. The evaluation supposedly in particular analysed the activity of political emigration, of the disinclined clergy and all other opponents of Yugoslavia. During the time of emergency circumstances in Yugoslavia they were to focus on their influence on economic emigrants. With the help of economic organisations, societies, unions, clubs, cultural-informational centres, business representatives, teachers and other they were to prevent the spreading of hostile propaganda, rumours and discouragement.²⁹

²⁶ »Odluka o zadacima SKJ na organizovanju i usmeravanju delatnosti članova SKJ u inostranstvu«: sklep je sprejelo Predsedstvo CK ZKJ 27. 12. 1988 / »A Resolution on tasks of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on organising and directing activities of members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia«: the resolution was adopted by the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on 27th December 1988.

²⁷ »Uputstvo o političkom informisanju članova SKJ u inostranstvu«: navodilo je bilo sprejeto na seji Predsedstva CK ZKJ 27. 12. 1988 / »Instructions on political informing of the members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia abroad«: the instructions were adopted at the meeting of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on 27th December 1988.

²⁸ »Odluka o upućivanju savetnika Predsedništva Centralnog Komiteta Saveza Komunističke Jugoslavije u inostranstvo i regulisanju njihovog statusa«: sklep je sprejelo Predsedstvo CK ZKJ 27. 12. 1988 / »A Resolution on directing advisors of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia abroad and on regulation of their status«: the resolution was brought by the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on 27th December 1988.

²⁹ »Uputstvo o delovanju članova SKJ, osnovnih organizacija i povereništva SKJ u inostranstvu u slučaju vanrednih prilika u SFRJ«: navodilo je bilo sprejeto na seji Predsedstva CK ZKJ 19. 2. 1986 / »Instructions on activities of members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, basic organisations and representative bodies of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia abroad in case of emergency circumstances in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia«: the instruction was adopted at the meeting of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on 19th February 1986.

Special attention was intended to the activity of the Catholic priests among the pre-war and new economic emigrants in Western Europe and to their connections with political emigration. Public expressing of religiousness abroad and at the same time rejecting official State celebrations, for example The Day of the Republic, the Day of Youth and similar, or performances organised by the Slovenian Emigrant Society, were a sign for caution and supervision from the side of Yugoslav diplomatic missions. Politically active emigrant priests and those acting against Yugoslavia and its system were distinguished from at least the priests who arrived from Slovenia among economic emigrants in Western Europe after 1972 and were considered as »Yugoslav and Slovenian patriots«. In the seventies they even asserted that the emigrant priests partly replaced in European space the activity of the Slovenian political emigration.³⁰ Not so rarely they would reproach them using religion for political purposes and as an example stated the foundation of religious and social centres (Dolanc and Vejnovič, 1985: 70).

The knowledge about Slovenian emigration in Slovenia

How much were the Slovenian public informed on the life and activity of Slovenian emigration? More on pre-war and new after-war economic emigration in the sixties and seventies that were inclined to the new Yugoslavia, and less or next to none on all the rest, particularly Slovenian political emigration. The Yugoslav and Slovenian Constitutions from 1974 guaranteed: »Members of the community are guaranteed the right to be informed on events in homeland and abroad that are significant for their life and work, and on issues important for the community.«³¹ There was a considerable discrepancy between the mentioned constitutional right of being informed and its practical realisation (Kristan, 1989: 60). The question interesting for our topic is the one about bringing into the state and distributing the abroad printed matters, among them prints of the political emigration. The legislation was precise in regard of the mentioned.³² It was forbidden to bring into the country and distribute printed matters, which undermined the foundations of the political system and security of the state, offended the reputation and good name of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and its leadership, brought untruthful and stirring news that threatened order and peace and upset the public etc. The state borders were closed to emigrant printed matter containing different views from the tolerated, and thus access to those materials

³⁰ AS, Section I, fund 1589, a. e. IV/2778 (Meeting of the commission, 24th February 1977).

³¹ Ustava SFRJ, člen 168, Ustava SRS, člen 290/4-6 (Uradni list SFRJ, 4/1974) / The Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, article 168: The Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, article 290/4-6) (The Official Gazette of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 4/1974).

³² Zakon o vnašanju in razširjanju tujih sredstev množičnega komuniciranja in o tuji informacijski dejavnosti v Jugoslaviji (Act on carrying into and distributing foreign means of mass communication and on foreign informational activity in Yugoslavia), Official Gazette of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Nos. 39/74, 74/87, particularly article no. 13.

hindered. The republic Law on public informing³³ experienced, regarding the definition on bringing into the country and spreading untruthful and annoying news, a modification while the definition in the Federal Law remained unchanged until the fall of Yugoslavia. Partly with presents, exchanges and cessions of the suppressed print from the side of the police the so-called D-fund in the National and University Library in Ljubljana enriched but was accessible to only a small number of people. Intake of the mentioned prints was for the needs of the State, science and archives possible by a special permission of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs. For the Slovenian print in the neighbouring states the regime was rigorous in the sense that all in Slovenian language printed magazines had to wait for permission of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs (Deisinger, 1989: 117). More obstacles for prevention of accessibility of the emigrant print in Yugoslavia could be enumerated. At the time of increased propaganda activity of the political emigration the print was the most frequently used from of informing. It was estimated in mid eighties that Yugoslav political emigration issues approximately 200 gazettes in the annual edition of about two million copies. Radio and television were more and more establishing as mass media. According to those estimations 100 000 copies on average came yearly into Yugoslavia (Dolanc and Vejnović, 1985: 67). In short: Suppressing achievements of members of the Slovenian political emigration in the fields of art, culture, science, economy and many other, and simultaneous stressing of their counter-communism and opposing Yugoslavia and its social order was the common »informativeness« of Slovenians in the homeland. And even more. Belittling, mocking and despising were not alien to many writers, journalists and other thinking Slovenians who during their visits abroad moved near or even within the emigrant circles.

More attention was devoted to informing economic emigrants about the achievements of Yugoslavia and Slovenia than to informing the home public. The Society of Journalists of Slovenia started in 1950 to publish the *Glas domovine* (The Voice of Homeland), which was intended for Slovenian emigrants. For the emigrants inclined to contacts with Yugoslavia The Slovenian Emigrant Society was founded in 1951, which in 1953 started to publish the *Slovenski izseljenski koledar* (The Slovenian Emigrant Almanac) and a year later the monthly magazine *Rodna gruda* (The Native Soil) and only in 1987 a quarterly *Slovenija* (Slovenia) in English language intended for the descendants of Slovenian emigrants. In 1978 the Slovenian newspapers started to publish a common magazine *Naš delavec* (Our Worker) intended exclusively for informing Slovenian citizen on temporary work abroad. After a two-year brake the magazine was in 1989 replaced by *Naša Slovenija* (Our Slovenia). The Slovenian Emigration Society was characterised as a social organisation specialised for contacts with emigrants.³⁴ But not until 1991 the Slovenian Emigrant Society managed to establish

³³ Zakon o javnem obveščanju (Law on public informing), Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 2/86.

³⁴ AS, Section I, fund 1589, a. e. IV/4669 (Sklepi predsedstva Socialistične zveze delovnega ljudstva) (Resolutions of the Presidency of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People, 7th October 1980).

contacts with former societies of the Slovenian political emigration (Prešeren, 1997: 404).

CONCLUSION

Instead of a conclusion. Researching the relation of Slovenians and the representative agencies of Slovenia and the policy towards the Slovenian after-war political and economic emigration is still at its beginnings. The picture will be complete after the researches are being completed and after the completion of studies of the relations by the other side, that is, from the side of the Slovenian political emigration. Comparison of the both will provide us with a clearer view upon the phenomena, which we denominate as Slovenian political emigration.

NOTES

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POVZETEK

ODNOS ZVEZE KOMUNISTOV SLOVENIJE DO POLITIČNE EMIGRACIJE PRED LETOM 1991

Marjan Drnovšek

Slovenska politična emigracija je bila v času od 1945 do 1991 bolj ali manj v centru zanimanja tako represivnih organov, npr. policije, kot tudi partijskih organov. Spremljanje njene aktivnosti in preprečevanje njenega vpliva v Sloveniji in med ekonomskimi izseljenci v svetu so bile tudi naloge vrhov Partije in številnih družbenopolitičnih organizacij in društev, ki so jih izvrševali po njenih direktivah. Odnos slovenske Partije do politične emigracije pozna dvoje, prvič, čas »trdega« razmerja do nje nekako do začetka šestdesetih let, ki mu sledi bolj »prilagodljiv« odnos, in drugič, zoževanje politične emigracije od sprva vseh, ki so na tak ali drugačen način zapustili Jugoslavijo (npr. v 50-ih letih), na vedno bolj ozki intelektualni ter politično dejavni krog ljudi (jedra), proti kateremu ni popustila do padca komunizma. Jugoslovanski oz. slovenski pravni okvir je omogočal to dejavnost, zlasti na področju preprečevanja dotoka informacij o njenem delovanju v tujini. Kljub temu so bili stiki, marsikdo je bil zaradi tega preganjan ali prisiljen živeti in delovati v osami. Dobro ohranjen arhivski material nam omogoča vpogled v zakulisje načrtovanja in delovanja Partije do slovenske politične emigracije.