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Shifts and Sensationalism in Press Coverage of Drought in the Territory of Slovenia (1921–2003)

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Abstract:

This article examines how major droughts that affected all or parts of the Slovenian ethnic territory between 1921 and 2003 were reported in major Slovenian daily newspapers. Using qualitative content analysis, supported by basic corpus techniques, it analyses coverage of eight drought years (1921, 1939, 1950, 1952, 1962, 1983, 1992, and 2003) in *Slovenec*, *Slovenski narod*, *Jutro*, *Slovenski poročevalec*, *Ljudska pravica*, *Delo*, and *Večer*. The article analyses which vocabulary and metaphors newspapers used to describe heat and drought, how they reported on the impacts on agriculture and water resources, and how they portrayed state authorities, expert institutions, and farmers both as key response actors and as those most severely affected by the consequences of drought. It shows a shift from locally grounded and often sensational narratives in the interwar period, through more restrained and regime-aligned reporting under socialism, to more critical and risk-oriented framings after independence.

Keywords:

environmental history, climate change, drought, heat, press coverage, Slovenia, 20th–21st century

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1. Introduction¹

Droughts are among the most consequential climate-related hazards, with far-reaching ecological, economic, and social impacts.² Their documentation has evolved throughout human history from scattered narrative references in chronicles and diaries to increasingly systematic multi-proxy reconstructions that combine tree rings, lake sediments, pollen records, instrumental measurements, and remote sensing data.³ Written records – including newspapers, administrative reports, and private correspondence – play a crucial role in this development, especially from the late 18th century onwards, when they begin to provide evidence on the spatial extent and perceived severity of dry periods.⁴ Recent research has also underlined that such documentary sources do not simply record climate anomalies in a neutral fashion; they also frame droughts through contemporary political priorities, cultural expectations, and media

¹ This article was prepared within the research programme P6-0138: *The Past of North-Eastern Slovenia between the Slovene Historical Lands and in Interaction with the European Neighbourhood*, funded by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS), and the project NOO C3330-22-953012: *Communicating the Climate Crisis for a Successful Transition to a Green Society – ZELEN. KOM*, funded by the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Innovation, and the European Union – NextGenerationEU. The study expands on a preliminary analysis published as "Komuniciranje izbranih primerov suš na Slovenskem v 20. stoletju", in: *Komuniciranje okoljske krize*, eds. Alja Lipavac Oštir, Melanija Larisa Fabčič and Danijel Ivajnsič (Maribor, 2025). <https://doi.org/10.18690/um.ff.6.2025.4>.

² Marc Elie, "Toward a complex socio-environmental understanding of drought: The contribution of the social sciences and humanities", *WIREs Climate Change* 15, No. 6 (2024), e907 (hereinafter: Elie, "Toward a complex socio-environmental understanding of drought"). <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.907>; Yanping Qu, Xiaojing Yang, Wenjuan Chang, Juan Lv and Zhicheng Su, "Recurrence analysis of extreme historical drought under the current defense conditions in China", *Science of The Total Environment*, No. 822 (2022), 153400. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scitotenv.2022.153400>; Niko Wanders, Christel Prudhomme, Jean Philippe Vidal, Katie Facer-Childs and James H. Stagge, "Past and future hydrological drought", in: *Hydrological Drought: Processes and Estimation Methods for Streamflow and Groundwater*, Second Edition, eds. Lena M. Tallaksen and Henny A. J. van Lanen (Amsterdam, 2023), pp. 525–561 (hereinafter: Wanders et al., "Past and future hydrological drought").

³ Justin T. Maxwell, Grant L. Harley and Scott M. Robeson, "On the Declining Relationship Between Tree Growth and Climate in the Midwest United States: The Fading Drought Signal", *Climatic Change* 138, No. 1–2 (2016), pp. 127–142. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-016-1720-3> (hereinafter: Maxwell, Grant and Robeson, "On the Declining Relationship"); Wanders et al., "Past and future hydrological drought", pp. 525–561.

⁴ Nazzareno Diodato and Gianni Bellocchi, "Historical Perspective of Drought Response in Central-Southern Italy", *Climate Research* 49, No. 3 (2011), pp. 189–200. <https://doi.org/10.3354/cr01020>; Fernando Domínguez-Castro and Ricardo Alfonso Garcia-Herrera, "Documentary sources to investigate multidecadal variability of droughts", *IEEE Conference on Computational Intelligence and Games* (2016); Emmanuel Garnier, "Historic Drought from Archives: Beyond the Instrumental Record", in: *Drought: Science And Policy*, eds. Ana Iglesias, Dionysis Assimacopoulos and Henny A. J. Van Lanen (Hoboken, NJ, 2018), pp. 45–47. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119017073.ch3> (hereinafter: Garnier, "Historic Drought from Archives"); Hans W. Linderholm and Tina Molin, "Early nineteenth century drought in east central Sweden inferred from dendrochronological and historical archives", *Climate Research* 29 (2005), pp. 63–72. <https://doi.org/10.3354/cr029063> (hereinafter: Linderholm and Molin, "Early nineteenth century drought").

conventions, thereby shaping public understandings of risk and of which institutions or social groups are considered responsible for managing drought and its impacts.⁵ In parallel, climatologists have increasingly sought to integrate these qualitative narratives with quantitative indices and proxy data, highlighting both the promise and the methodological challenges of using historical documentation and the tools and methods of historians to reconstruct past droughts.⁶

Against this broader backdrop, the present article examines how selected major droughts were reported and interpreted in Slovenian newspapers during the twentieth century and the early years of the twenty-first century. It focuses on the linguistic and narrative strategies through which journalists and editors represented dry spells and heatwaves: the choice of descriptors and metaphors for heat and for water scarcity, the ways in which impacts on agriculture, water supply, and everyday life were highlighted, and the extent to which droughts were framed as exceptional disasters, recurrent climatic episodes, or symptoms of broader environmental change. The article also pays attention to how different actors – state authorities, meteorologists, and local residents – were given a voice in press coverage, and how responsibility for both causes and responses was distributed. In doing so, the analysis contributes to socio-political and environmental history, and to the history of the media by showing how print journalism mediated between hydroclimatic events, scientific expertise, and public perception in a small Central European society. It also speaks to the international literature that stresses the importance of documentary sources and socio-environmental narratives for understanding drought as both a physical and a social phenomenon.

The empirical investigation concentrates on three political periods that correspond to the main state formations under which most of the Slovenian ethnic territory was situated: first, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kingdom of SCS), renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929 (1918–1941); second, the socialist Yugoslav state, initially the Federal People's Republic of

⁵ Elie, "Toward a complex socio-environmental understanding of drought"; Stefan Grab and Tizian Zumthurn, "Everything is scorched by the burning sun: missionary perspectives and experiences of 19th- and early 20th-century droughts in semi-arid central Namibia", *Climate of the Past* 16, No. 2 (2020), pp. 679–697. <https://doi.org/10.5194/cp-16-679-2020>; David J. Nash, Jørgen Klein, Georgina H. Endfield, Kathleen Pribyl, George C.D. Adamson and Stefan W. Grab, "Narratives of nineteenth century drought in southern Africa in different historical source types", *Climatic Change* 152, No. 3–4 (2019), pp. 467–485. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-018-2352-6>; Tinashe Takuva and Sandra Swart, "The Hunger Games: politics and drought in post-colonial Zimbabwe, 1980–1992", *Critical African Studies* 17, No. 1 (2025), pp. 97–113. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21681392.2024.2443403>.

⁶ Garnier, "Historic Drought from Archives", pp. 45–47; Linderholm and Molin, "Early nineteenth century drought", pp. 63–72; Maxwell, Grant and Robeson, "On the Declining Relationship", pp. 127–142.

Yugoslavia and from 1963 the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–1991); and third, the independent Republic of Slovenia since 1991. Within these broader frameworks, the article analyses press coverage of eight major drought years that affected all or parts of the Slovenian ethnic territory: 1921, 1939, 1950, 1952, 1962, 1983, 1992, and 2003. The selection of cases is based on the literature presented in the section on the state of research, especially the works of Karel Natek, Miran Trontelj, and Gregor Vertačnik.⁷ The source base consists of leading major Slovenian daily newspapers in each period. For 1921, these are *Slovenec* and *Slovenski narod*, while for 1939 *Slovenec* is complemented by *Jutro*. For 1950 and 1952 the analysis draws on *Slovenski poročevalec* and *Ljudska pravica* (which in 1952 appeared only weekly). After the merger of these two papers into *Delo* at the end of the 1950s, coverage of the 1962 and 1983 droughts is studied in *Delo* and *Večer*. For the post-independence droughts in 1992 and 2003, *Delo* and *Večer* again form the core of the corpus. Taken together, these newspapers offer insight into differing political, ideological, and social contexts of reporting, as they represented distinct worldviews and readerships across the century.

The remainder of the article is structured as follows. Section 2 sets out the methodological framework. It first surveys the state of the art on drought research in Slovenia and on the use of newspapers and other documentary sources in climate history (2.1) and then outlines the aims of the study and formulates the central research questions (2.2). Section 3 provides an overview of the socio-political history of the territory of Slovenia in the twentieth century and sketches the parallel evolution of the Slovenian media landscape, with particular attention to the position and profiles of the newspapers analysed. Section 4 summarises current knowledge on the occurrence of droughts in the territory of Slovenia from the early modern period to the early twenty-first century. Section 5 presents the core empirical analysis of selected drought cases in

⁷ Karel Natek, "Suša v letu 1983 v Sloveniji", *Geografski zbornik* 24 (1984), pp. 161–211 (hereinafter: Natek, "Suša v letu 1983 v Sloveniji"); Miran Trontelj, *Kronika izrednih vremenskih dogodkov XX. stoletja: pomembni vremenski dogodki v zgodovini: vreme ob pomembnih dogodkih* (Ljubljana, 1997) (hereinafter: Trontelj, *Kronika izrednih vremenskih dogodkov*); Gregor Vertačnik et al., "Vremenske skrajnosti v Sloveniji v obdobju 1948–2018: 1. del (2019)", *Agencija Republike Slovenije za okolje: Državna meteorološka služba*, available at: https://meteo.arso.gov.si/uploads/probase/www/climate/text/sl/weather_events/vremenske-skrajnosti-slovenija-do24ur.pdf, accessed: 20. 3. 2025 (hereinafter: Vertačnik et al., "Vremenske skrajnosti v Sloveniji: 1. del"); Gregor Vertačnik et al., "Vremenske skrajnosti v Sloveniji v obdobju 1948–2018: 2. del (2019)", *Agencija Republike Slovenije za okolje: Državna meteorološka služba*, available at: https://meteo.arso.gov.si/uploads/probase/www/climate/text/sl/weather_events/vremenske-skrajnosti-slovenija-1do10dni.pdf, accessed: 20. 3. 2025 (hereinafter: Vertačnik et al., "Vremenske skrajnosti v Sloveniji: 2. del"); Gregor Vertačnik et al., "Vremenske skrajnosti v Sloveniji v obdobju 1948–2018: 3. del (2020)", *Agencija Republike Slovenije za okolje: Državna meteorološka služba*, available at: https://meteo.arso.gov.si/uploads/probase/www/climate/text/sl/weather_events/vremenske-skrajnosti-slovenija-10dni-nekaj-mesecev.pdf, accessed: 20. 3. 2025 (hereinafter: Vertačnik et al., "Vremenske skrajnosti v Sloveniji: 3. del").

the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. It begins with the meteorological characteristics of the chosen drought years (5.1), followed by an examination of how weather conditions and associated natural hazards were reported (5.2), and then turns to the impacts on agriculture (5.3) and on water resources (5.4). Subsection 5.5 discusses the role of state authorities in addressing drought impacts, especially in agriculture, while Subsection 5.6 considers other consequences of heat and drought for everyday life, and analyses instances where drought was mobilised for political and ideological purposes. Section 6 concludes by summarising the main findings.

2. Methodology

2.1 *State of the Art*

Research on drought in the territory of Slovenia remains fragmented and largely sectoral. Although a number of climatological, hydrological, and agronomic studies address individual events or specific aspects of drought, there is still no comprehensive work that analyses droughts in the territory of Slovenia systematically, let alone from a historical perspective. Existing scholarship can be grouped into several partially overlapping strands.

A brief survey of droughts up to 1983 is provided by Natek,⁸ and by Trontelj up to 1997; the latter also devotes attention to floods, storms, gales, hail, snow avalanches, frosts, and deep snow.⁹ A shorter overview of "weather extremes", as the authors call them, between 1948 and 2018 in the area of the present-day Republic of Slovenia, including certain drought episodes, is offered by Vertačnik et al.¹⁰ Ogrin, drawing primarily on chronicles, presents a brief survey of dry (and also wet) years in sub-Mediterranean Slovenia, that is, in its lower south-western part, from the fourteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century.¹¹ An initial framework for a historical treatment of particular droughts in Slovenia is provided by the book of abstracts of a scientific symposium held in

⁸ Natek, "Suša v letu 1983 v Sloveniji".

⁹ Trontelj, *Kronika izrednih vremenskih dogodkov*.

¹⁰ Gregor Vertačnik et al., "Vremenske skrajnosti v Sloveniji v obdobju 1948–2018: 1. del"; Vertačnik et al., "Vremenske skrajnosti v Sloveniji: 2. Del"; Vertačnik et al., "Vremenske skrajnosti v Sloveniji: 3. del".

¹¹ Darko Ogrin, "Suha in mokra leta v Submediteranski Sloveniji od 14. do srede 19. stoletja", *Annales, Series historia naturalis* 13, No. 1 (2003), pp. 65–74 (hereinafter: Ogrin, "Suha in mokra leta v Submediteranski Sloveniji").

Ljubljana in November 2024.¹² In his bachelor's thesis, Vezovnik analyses the occurrence of droughts in the area of present-day Slovenia between 1940 and 1950.¹³ Adamič discusses drought and its consequences in Slovenia and Yugoslavia only in a cursory manner,¹⁴ whereas Žiberna focuses on changes in the water balance in Slovenia between 1961 and 2024.¹⁵ An overview and analysis of the largest hydrological droughts in Slovenia is provided by Cunja, Kobold, and Šraj¹⁶, while a shorter overview of agricultural drought in Slovenia in the twenty-first century, with special emphasis on the drought of 2017, is offered by Sušnik and Gregorič.¹⁷ In the mid-1980s, Natek examined the vulnerability of Slovenia to drought.¹⁸

Several works deal with individual drought episodes. Natek mainly concentrates on various aspects of the 1983 drought, namely its meteorological and hydrological characteristics, its impact on agriculture, water supply, and electricity production.¹⁹ In a separate study, he analyses the comparative dimension of the droughts of 1983, 1992, and 1993.²⁰ The last of these was examined in a dedicated monograph²¹ and a shorter article²². Certain aspects of other droughts have been treated less extensively, among them those of 1988²³,

¹² *Suše v zgodovini in njihov vpliv na okolje, družbo in prebivalstvo: zbornik povzetkov*, eds. Dunja Dobaja et al. (Ljubljana, 2024), available at: <https://omp.inz.si/zalozba/catalog/book/160>, accessed: 20. 3. 2025.

¹³ Vid Vezovnik, "Analiza suše na območju Slovenije v obdobju od 1940 do 1950", *Diplomsko delo*, Univerza v Ljubljani, Naravoslovnotehniška fakulteta (Ljubljana, 2020).

¹⁴ Milan Orožen Adamič, "O suši in njenih posledicah v Sloveniji in Jugoslaviji", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 3 (1989), pp. 14–17.

¹⁵ Igor Žiberna, "Spremembe vodne bilance v Sloveniji v obdobju 1961–2024", *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 95=Nv60, No. 2 (2024), pp. 89–107.

¹⁶ Jan Cunja, Mira Kobold and Mojca Šraj, "Časovna in prostorska analiza največjih hidroloških suš v Sloveniji", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 33 (2019), pp. 95–103.

¹⁷ Andreja Sušnik and Gregor Gregorič, "Kmetijska suša v 21. stoletju v Sloveniji", in: *Mišičev vodarski dan 2017: zbornik referatov* (Maribor, 2017), pp. 37–44.

¹⁸ Karel Natek, "Ogroženost Slovenije zaradi suše", in: *Naravne nesreče v Sloveniji kot naša ogroženost*, ed. Ivan Gams (Ljubljana, 1983), pp. 94–99; Karel Natek, "O problematiki suše v Sloveniji", *Geografski vestnik* 56, No. 1–4 (1984), pp. 83–88.

¹⁹ Natek, "Suša v letu 1983 v Sloveniji", pp. 161–211.

²⁰ Milan Natek, *Analiza vzrokov in posledic suše v izjemno sušnih letih 1983, 1992 in 1993 s poudarkom na kmetijstvu* (Ljubljana, 1996).

²¹ Marko Kolbezen et al., *Suša v letu 1993* (Ljubljana, 1994).

²² Boris Zupančič, "Suša v letu 1993", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 8 (1994), pp. 9–11.

²³ Drago Perko, "Učinki suše v Sloveniji poleti 1988 na različnih rečnih nanosih: primerjava med Vzhodno Krško kotlino in Pokokrjem", *Geografski vestnik* 60, No. 1 (1988), pp. 31–39; Janez Čeplak, "Suša v Sloveniji v letu 1988 in sanacija njenih posledic", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 3 (1989), pp. 10–13.

1992²⁴, 1994²⁵, 2000²⁶ in north-eastern Slovenia, 2001²⁷, 2003²⁸, 2011²⁹, 2012³⁰, and 2013³¹. More recent studies deal with more recent droughts. They show that such episodes have become more frequent than in the past; between 2020 and 2022 they occurred every year.³²

The issue of agricultural drought and irrigation in Slovenia was addressed in two articles in the 1990s by Matajč and Matičič.³³ Hydrological drought, especially as a consequence of climate change, has been examined by Kajfež-

²⁴ Tanja Cegnar, "Sušno obdobje v juliju in avgustu 1992", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 7 (1993), pp. 10–13; Slavko Šipec, "Oskrba s pitno vodo med poletnim sušnim obdobjem v letu 1992", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 7 (1993), pp. 19–20; Franci Avšič, Blaženka Fliser and Borut Roškar, "Hidrološka slika suše 1992 na povodju Drave", in: *Mišičev vodarski dan 1992: zbornik referatov* (Maribor, 1992), available at: <https://www.mvd20.com/zbornik.php?page=letnik2&leto=1992>, accessed: 15. 4. 2025 (hereinafter: Avšič, Fliser and Roškar, "Hidrološka slika suše 1992 na povodju Drave").

²⁵ Ana Žust and Andreja Sušnik, "Suša v Slovenskem Primorju leta 1994", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 9 (1995), pp. 51–54.

²⁶ Igor Žiberna, "Suša leta 2000 v Severovzhodni Sloveniji in njeni učinki na kmetijske rastline", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 14–15 (2000–2001), pp. 162–166; Saška Štraus, "Suša v Prekmurju leta 2000", *Geografski obzornik* 49, No. 2 (2002), pp. 9–13.

²⁷ Iztok Matajč, "Suša leta 2001", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 16 (2002), pp. 74–80.

²⁸ Mira Kobold and Mojca Sušnik, "Hidrološke razmere površinskih voda opazovanih slovenskih rek v letu 2003", in: *Mišičev vodarski dan 2003: zbornik referatov* (Maribor, 2003), pp. 70–78; Andreja Sušnik and Blaž Kurnik, "Katastrofalna kmetijska suša leta 2003", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 17–18 (2003–2004), pp. 54–60 (hereinafter: Sušnik and Kurnik, "Katastrofalna kmetijska suša leta 2003"); Andreja Sušnik et al., "Spremenljivost suš v slovenskem prostoru in analiza suše 2013", in: *Mišičev vodarski dan 2013: zbornik referatov* (Maribor, 2013), pp. 102–109 (hereinafter: Sušnik et al., "Spremenljivost suš v slovenskem prostoru"); Andrej Ceglar and Lučka Kajfež-Bogataj, "Obravnava meteorološke suše z različnimi indikatorji", *Acta agriculturae Slovenica* 91, No. 2 (2008), pp. 407–425 (hereinafter: Ceglar and Kajfež-Bogataj, "Obravnava meteorološke suše").

²⁹ Andreja Sušnik, "Spomladanska suša in drugi vremenski vplivi na kmetijske rastline leta 2011", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 26 (2012), pp. 55–69.

³⁰ Andrej Predin, "Suša v Sloveniji, 2012", *Journal of Energy Technology* 5, No. 3 (2012), pp. 8–9; Urška Pavlič, "Suša v vodonosnikih leta 2012", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 27 (2013), pp. 71–77.

³¹ Sušnik et al., "Spremenljivost suš v slovenskem prostoru", pp. 102–109.

³² Peter Frantar, "Suša podzemnih voda v letu 2022", in: *Tretji slovenski kongres o vodab 2023: zbornik*, eds. Lidija Globevnik and Anton Prešeren (Kamnik, 2023), pp. 45–51; Peter Frantar, "Kratek pregled suše na podzemnih vodah leta 2022", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 37 (2023), pp. 81–88; Mira Kobold and Igor Strojčan, "Hidrološka suša od januarja do aprila 2020", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 34–35 (2021), pp. 128–137; Andreja Sušnik, "Suša leta 2020 v alpskem prostoru", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 34–35 (2021), pp. 138–151; Andreja Sušnik, "Suša leta 2022 v obsegu naravne nesreče v kmetijski pridelavi", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 37 (2023), pp. 89–97; Maja Žun, Andreja Moderc, Živa Vlahovič and Gregor Gregorič, "Suša površinskega sloja tal leta 2021", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 36 (2022), pp. 114–121.

³³ Iztok Matajč, "Suša v kmetijstvu in namakanje", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 5 (1991), pp. 153–156; Brane Matičič, "Suša in namakanje v Sloveniji", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 8 (1994), pp. 211–214.

Bogataj and Bergant, Kobold, and Bergant and Cegnar.³⁴ Hozjan analysed the impact of climate change on the occurrence of natural disasters by statistical region in Slovenia between 2000 and 2015.³⁵

Taken together, these works provide valuable insights into individual drought episodes, hydrological extremes, agricultural impacts, and recent climate-driven changes. However, they do not offer a systematic account of droughts in the territory of Slovenia from a historical perspective, nor do they examine how past droughts were reported in the Slovenian press. The present article addresses this gap by analysing the coverage of selected twentieth- and early twenty-first-century droughts in major Slovenian newspapers.

2.2 Aims and Research Questions

This article has two main aims. First, it seeks to reconstruct how severe droughts that affected the territory of Slovenia in the twentieth- and early twenty-first century were reported in major Slovenian newspapers. It focuses on the language, narrative patterns, and evaluative strategies through which journalists and editors described meteorological conditions, impacts, and responses. Second, it aims to analyse how these representations were shaped by changing political regimes, media systems, and expert discourses.

Empirically, the analysis concentrates on eight drought years (1921, 1939, 1950, 1952, 1962, 1983, 1992, and 2003) and on how these events were reported in leading Slovenian newspapers (*Slovenec*, *Slovenski narod*, *Jutro*, *Slovenski poročevalec*, *Ljudska pravica*, *Delo*, and *Večer*). It combines close reading with corpus-based methods to examine adjectives, metaphors, comparisons with past events, and the attribution of responsibility. Particular attention is paid to how the press presented impacts on agriculture and water resources, how it depicted the actions of state authorities and other institutional actors in responding to and mitigating the consequences of drought, and in what ways droughts were mobilised in political or ideological argument. The article also asks when and how drought began to be linked to broader narratives of climate variability and climate change.

³⁴ *Okolje se spreminja: podnebna spremenljivost Slovenije in njen vpliv na vodno okolje*, eds. Klemen Bergant and Tanja Cegnar (Ljubljana, 2010); Lučka Kajfež-Bogataj and Klemen Bergant, "Podnebne spremembe v Sloveniji in suša", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 19 (2005), pp. 37–41; Mira Kobold, "Vpliv podnebnih sprememb na ekstremne hidrološke pojave", *Ujma: revija za vprašanja varstva pred naravnimi in drugimi nesrečami*, No. 23 (2009), pp. 128–135.

³⁵ Karmen Hozjan, "Vpliv podnebnih sprememb na naravne nesreče na območju Slovenije", *Revija za geografijo* 10, No. 1 (2015), pp. 69–90.

On this basis, the study addresses the following research questions:

- How did major Slovenian newspapers describe and explain meteorological conditions during the selected drought years?
- In what ways did they report the impacts of drought on agriculture, livestock production, water supply, and other sectors of everyday life?
- Which lexical, metaphorical, and evaluative expressions were used to characterise heat and drought, and how did these linguistic choices change over time and across political regimes?
- How were the actions and responsibilities of state authorities, expert institutions, and local communities represented in press coverage of drought?
- To what extent, and under what circumstances, were drought events interpreted as part of wider discussions about long-term climatic change?

The study has certain limitations. We concentrate on major daily newspapers and on a set of particularly severe drought years. Local papers, specialised agricultural journals, and radio or television archives may reveal additional perspectives, especially on regional differences and on voices that were less visible in national outlets. Future research could extend the corpus to include other hazards such as floods or hailstorms in order to examine how different types of events were comparatively framed. It could also combine press analysis with oral history, administrative records and quantitative impact data to explore more systematically how public narratives and policy responses interacted.

3. An Overview of the Socio-Political History and of the Media Landscape in the Territory of Slovenia in the 20th Century

At the turn of the twentieth century the Slovenian ethnic territory mostly lay within the Cisleithanian half of the Habsburg Monarchy. According to Melik and Šimac, Slovenians were dispersed across six Austrian crown lands, two Hungarian counties or *zhupas* (Zala and Vas), and the (by then Italian) Province of Udine (formerly in the Austrian Kingdom of Lombardy–Venetia).³⁶ Political life operated within the imperial parliament and the provincial diets where Slovenian parties advanced through alliances with Catholic, liberal, and agrarian currents.

³⁶ Vasilij Melik, "Slovenske dežele v Avstro-Ogrski", in: *Dajnkov zbornik: referati s simpozija v Črešnjevcih*, eds. Marko Jesenšek and Bernard Rajh (Maribor, 1998), p. 27 (hereinafter: Melik, "Slovenske dežele v Avstro-Ogrski"); Miha Šimac, *Vojaški dubovniki iz slovenskih dežel pod habsburškim žezlom* (Ljubljana, 2014), p. 26.

Industrialisation was uneven. Railway corridors that linked Vienna with Trieste supported urban growth in Ljubljana and Maribor, banking and insurance expanded, and printing houses and food processing diversified the urban economy. The countryside remained marked by agriculture and artisan production. Education broadened quickly in the late imperial decades, and a richer print culture took hold as daily and weekly newspapers in Slovenian multiplied. These media would later provide institutional memory and the routines of local reporting that carried over into new state formations after the First World War.³⁷

The First World War transformed this landscape considerably. Mobilisation and requisitions disrupted trade and strained households, and the collapse of the Monarchy in 1918 brought an abrupt end to imperial routines.³⁸ South Slavic political representatives formed the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs and then entered into union with the Kingdom of Serbia to form a new state – the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kingdom of SCS). Yet Slovenian political aspirations were not fully realised on the ground, as border questions remained open during the formation of the new state. In the struggle for the northern border, volunteer formations – effectively paramilitary units – of soldiers and officers led by General Rudolf Maister played a crucial role in securing key areas, especially Maribor, but these gains then had to be defended at the negotiating table, where politicians were less successful.³⁹ The Paris peace settlements subsequently reshaped borders in ways that were decisive also for Slovenian ethnic territory. In 1920, the Treaty of Rapallo assigned most of the Slovenian Littoral to Italy,⁴⁰ and the Carinthian plebiscite placed the southern districts of Carinthia (the Klagenfurt basin) under the authority of Austria, while Prekmurje was incorporated into the Kingdom of SCS.⁴¹ The Slovenian core consolidated around Carniola and Lower Styria. Administrative centralisation

³⁷ Melik, "Slovenske dežele v Avstro-Ogrski", pp. 27–34.

³⁸ Manfred Rauchensteiner, *Der Erste Weltkrieg: und das Ende der Habsburgermonarchie 1914–1918* (Wien, 2013).

³⁹ Tomaž Kladnik, "General Rudolf Maister", *Studia Historica Slovenica* 11, No. 2–3 (2011), pp. 463–482; Jurij Perovšek, *Slovenski prevrat 1918: položaj Slovencev v Državi Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov* (Ljubljana, 2018), pp. 96–101, 139–151.

⁴⁰ Cf. Božo Repe, "Rapalska pogodba in njeno diplomatsko ozadje: položaj Slovencev ob koncu prve svetovne vojne in vprašanje meja", *Retrospektive: znanstvena revija za zgodovinsopisje in sorodna področja* 6, No. 2/3 (2023), pp. 11–41; Peter Mikša and Matija Zorn, "Rapalska meja: četrto stoletje obstoja in stoletje dediščine", in: *Nečakov zbornik: procesi, teme in dogodki iz 19. in 20. stoletja*, eds. Kornelija Ajlec, Bojan Balkovec and Božo Repe (Ljubljana, 2018), pp. 605–641.

⁴¹ Cf. *Koroški plebiscit: razprave in članki*, eds. Janko Pleterski, Lojze Ude and Tone Zorn (Ljubljana, 1970); Darko Friš, Janez Osojnik and Gorazd Bajc, "Koroška v odločilnem letu 1920: delovanje plebiscitne komisije", *Acta Histriae* 26, No. 3 (2018), pp. 923–944. <https://doi.org/10.19233/AH.2018.38>; Andrej Rahten, *Po razpadu skupne države. Slovensko-avstrijska razhajanja od mariborskega prevrata do koroškega plebiscita* (Celje, Celovec and Gorica, 2020); Janez Osojnik, Gorazd Bajc and Mateja Matjašič Friš, "Koroška leta 1919 in ozadje sprejetja odločitve o plebiscitu – britanski pogled in reakcije v slovenskem tisku", *Studia Historica Slovenica* 20, No. 2 (2020), pp. 525–563. <https://doi.org/10.32874/SHS.2020-15>.

advanced during the 1920s and culminated after King Alexander proclaimed a royal dictatorship on 6 January 1929, when the kingdom was renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and reorganised into *banovinas* (administrative provinces). The Drava Banovina, with Ljubljana as its seat, covered most of the "Slovenian area" inside the kingdom and served as a framework for administration, taxation, and infrastructure planning. Interwar politics combined parliamentary rule and periods of radicalisation and authoritarian consolidation by the king.⁴² Literacy rates were high by banovina standards and secondary schooling expanded, which supported a lively urban culture.⁴³ The media landscape was plural. As in the Austro-Hungarian period, the two principal Slovenian dailies served as flagship newspapers of the largest political blocs, the liberal and the Catholic-national, through which those blocs articulated their political and ideological positions and engaged in near-daily polemic with one another.⁴⁴

Migration formed a continuous thread across these decades. Overseas emigration that had begun in the late nineteenth century continued after 1900, mainly to the United States and Argentina, while interwar immigration restrictions, seasonal work abroad, and internal moves from hill districts and borderlands to towns reshaped Slovenian households, labour markets, and local economies.⁴⁵

The Second World War imposed an abrupt partition of Slovenian ethnic territory and a profound reordering of institutions. On 6 April 1941 the Axis powers invaded the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Germany annexed northern and central areas, including much of Styria and Upper Carniola, as well as four villages in Prekmurje. Italy annexed most of central and southern Carniola; Hungary occupied the remaining part of Prekmurje; and a small south-eastern strip of Slovenian ethnic territory was incorporated into the newly proclaimed Inde-

⁴² Cf. Ervin Dolenc, "Slovensko zgodovinopisje o času med obema vojnama in kulturna zgodovina", *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino* 38, No. 1–2 (1998), pp. 43–57; Jure Gašparič, *SLS pod kraljevo diktaturo: diktatura kralja Aleksandra in politika Slovenske ljudske stranke v letih 1929–1935* (Ljubljana, 2007); Andrej Rahten, *Anton Korošec: Slovenski državnik kraljeve Jugoslavije* (Ljubljana, 2022); Matic Batič and Tomaž Ivešič, "Idejnopolični profil Antona Korošca v tridesetih letih 20. stoletja", *Studia Historica Slovenica* 23, No. 1 (2023), p. 171. <https://doi.org/10.32874/SHS.2023-05>. Bojan Balkovec, "Vsi na noge, vsi na plan, da bo zmaga čim sijajnejša": volilna teorija in praksa v prvi jugoslovanski državi (Ljubljana, 2011).

⁴³ Ervin Dolenc, "Izobraževanje", in: *Slovenska novejša zgodovina: od programa Zedinjena Slovenija do mednarodnega priznanja Republike Slovenije: 1848–1992*, eds. Jasna Fischer et al. (Ljubljana, 2005), pp. 423–429.

⁴⁴ Bernard Nežmah, *Časopisna zgodovina novinarstva: na Slovenskem med letoma 1797–1989* (Ljubljana, 2012); e. g. Bernard Nežmah, "Kako je poročanje o protiturski vstaji v Bosni in Hercegovini 1875–1876 oblikovalo osrednje slovenske časopise: *Novice, Slovenca* in *Slovenski narod*", *Studia Historica Slovenica* 24, No. 2 (2024), pp. 323–358.

⁴⁵ Cf. Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik, Aleksej Kalc and Janja Žitnik Serafin, *Doba velikih migracij na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana, 2024); David Hazemali and Mateja Matjašič Friš, "Naši simpatizerji Avstrije so bili utišani kot z nabojem. Položaj slovenske skupnosti v Združenih državah Amerike v času prve svetovne vojne", *Acta Histriae* 26, No. 3 (2018), pp. 902–906. <https://doi.org/10.19233/AH.2018.37>.

pendent State of Croatia. Each occupier imposed its own administration, legal order, and currency. Repression, censorship, deportations, and forced labour were part of everyday experience, while the resistance movement organised under the Liberation Front created clandestine structures, including networks of local committees. Administrative routines that had run across the Drava Banovina were fractured. Municipal elites navigated coercive environments, and record-keeping and public communication were reshaped by occupation policy and the work of the resistance.⁴⁶

Alongside occupation violence, an internal armed conflict unfolded between the Liberation Front (the partisans), within which the Communist Party increasingly assumed the leading role, and various groups that opposed it. As the balance of forces shifted in favour of the partisans, these confrontations increasingly anticipated the postwar political order. The end of the war left a legacy of loss and displacement that shaped postwar property regimes and social policy. After the partisan victory, the new authorities carried out executions and other forms of repression against real and perceived political opponents. Some individuals and families managed to flee into exile, where they established émigré organisations that worked to preserve Slovenian identity abroad and, at the same time, articulated sustained criticism of the socialist regime in the homeland.⁴⁷ After the war, the border between Italy and Yugoslavia was redrawn; consequently, most of the Slovenian Littoral (Primorska) was incorporated into the Slovenian part of the federation. The transition to a federal order introduced a new constitutional framework in which Slovenia became a constituent republic with its own institutions and a clearer jurisdiction over education, culture, and internal administration.⁴⁸

After 1945 the new Yugoslav federation, led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, set out to reconstruct and modernise the economy, while simultaneously developing the idea of a Yugoslav nation.⁴⁹ In the People's Republic of Slovenia (PRS), later the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, reconstruction quickly gave way to

⁴⁶ Cf. Sabrina Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918–2005* (New York, 2006); Božo Repe, *S puško in knjigo: Narodnoosvobodilni boj slovenskega naroda 1941–1945* (Ljubljana, 2015); Zdenko Čepič, Damijan Guštin and Nevenka Troha, *Slovenija v vojni* (Ljubljana, 2017).

⁴⁷ Božo Repe, "Izgon, Usoda slovenskih izgnancev med leti 1941–1945", in: *Migracije in slovenski prostor od antike do danes*, eds. Peter Štih and Bojan Balkovec (Ljubljana, 2010), pp. 245–269; Mitja Ferenc, "Leto 1945 in prikrita grobišča: zakonske podlage in možnost raziskav", *Studia Historica Slovenica* 17, No. 1 (2017), pp. 289–313.

⁴⁸ Gorazd Bajc, "Odmevi in posledice podpisa Osimskih sporazumov med Slovenci v Italiji", in: *Osimska meja: jugoslovansko-italijanska pogajanja in razmejitve leta 1975*, eds. Darko Darovec et al. (Koper, 2006), pp. 187–193.

⁴⁹ Tomaž Ivešič, *The Rise and Fall of Communist Yugoslavia: Soft Nation-Building in Yugoslavia* (New York: Routledge, 2024).

large-scale industrialisation and electrification. Land reform and agrarian colonisation redistributed former German-owned land in parts of the PRS and in other regions of the federation, while nationalisation of large firms altered ownership structures and enabled more coordinated investment.⁵⁰ Urban growth accelerated in cities and towns, where housing estates, schools, hospitals, cultural homes, industrial and transport infrastructure changed the urban and suburban landscape. The constitutional architecture evolved through successive reforms. From 1950 onwards, when workers' self-management was first introduced by law, it became embedded in enterprises, while communal self-government was gradually strengthened in municipalities. The 1960s and 1970s increased the role of the socialist republics in planning and foreign trade. Slovenia used this autonomy to modernise production, improve vocational training, and raise living standards. Relations between the socialist state and the Catholic Church were initially marked by pronounced hostility and heavy restrictions, including surveillance, pressure on clergy, and the removal of religious instruction from schools. From the late 1950s and especially during the 1960s, these tensions gradually eased into a more pragmatic *modus vivendi*, even though structural constraints and ideological suspicion persisted. Throughout these shifts, parishes continued to function as important social centres, particularly in smaller towns and villages, and church-based activities remained a notable part of local associational life.

Internal migration under socialism redrew the social map. Rural-to-urban movement became the defining pattern from the 1950s to the 1980s. Young adults left hill farms and peripheral districts for factory jobs and training in towns. Commuter belts formed around regional centres, and the family economy adjusted as wage income replaced a larger share of subsistence production. Women, who by the postwar years had acquired full political rights including the right to vote and stand for office, entered formal employment in growing numbers, supported by childcare and schooling, and this reshaped household roles and career trajectories. Housing estates integrated new residents through schools, local councils, and cultural homes, creating neighbourhood identities that were reflected in local pages of the press.

External labour migration became a major feature from the mid-1960s. The opening of guest worker (*Gastarbeiter*) programmes in West Germany, Austria, and Switzerland drew tens of thousands of citizens of Yugoslavia, including many from Slovenia. Some travelled alone and sent remittances home, while others settled with families and built transnational routines. Remittances financed house construction, consumer durables, and small businesses. Return

⁵⁰ Petar Grubišić, "Agrarian Reform and Colonization as the Foundations for the Legitimate Rule of the Yugoslav Socialist Government: The Gateway towards Collectivization in Slavonia and Vojvodina", *Dileme* 6, No. 2 (2022), pp. 141–166. <https://doi.org/10.55692/D.18564.22.11>.

migration grew in the late 1970s and 1980s, yet a significant number remained abroad and anchored diaspora communities that maintained cultural associations, weekend schools, and media that connected them to the homeland. These networks influenced tastes, investment, and political conversation and became part of everyday life in many Slovenian municipalities.⁵¹

The media system changed under socialist rule while preserving a strong regional character. The publishers, controlled by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, consolidated older newspapers and founded new dailies and weeklies. *Delo* and *Večer* emerged as leading newspapers, with *Delo* created in 1959 through the merger of the dailies *Slovenski poročevalec* and *Ljudska pravica*. Radio and television expanded audiences and introduced new genres and professional routines. Despite constraints at the centre, local reporting often retained practical tone and considerable initiative, which sustained a direct relationship between readers and newsrooms.

By the late 1970s Slovenia had a diversified industrial base and strong integration with Western markets, but structural difficulties accumulated at the federal level. Inflation and foreign debt rose, and investment imbalances among republics sharpened political debate. The 1980s brought macroeconomic stress and enterprise liquidity crises. Public discourse widened as journals and newspapers opened space for discussion of economic policy, culture, and constitutional reform. Civil society organisations advocated for human rights and for changes in governance, and the media became more plural.⁵²

Democratisation gathered pace at the decade's close. Multi-party elections in April of 1990 produced a new republican government. The independence referendum in December of that year received overwhelming support,⁵³ and the Republic of Slovenia declared statehood on 25 June 1991. The 10-day Slovenian War of Independence ended with the withdrawal of the federal forces and international mediation. In the first half of 1992 the Republic of Slovenia

⁵¹ Sara Bernard, *Deutsch marks in the head, shovel in the hands and Yugoslavia in the heart: the Gastarbeiter return to Yugoslavia: (1965-1991)* (Wiesbaden, 2019); Ana Šela and David Hazemali, "Spremljanje slovenskih delavcev na začasnem delu in bivanju v Zvezni republiki Nemčiji v sedemdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja: prispevek k poznavanju zgodovine slovenske Službe državne varnosti", *Studia Historica Slovenica* 20, No. 3 (2020), pp. 879–919. <https://doi.org/10.32874/SHS.2020-25>.

⁵² Božo Repe, *Slovinci v osemdesetih letih* (Ljubljana, 2001), pp. 80–81; Aleš Gabrič, "Slovenska kulturnopolitična razhajanja med kulturno ustvarjalnostjo in politično akcijo 1980–1987", *Zgodovinski časopis* 56, No. 1–2 (2002), pp. 199–221; Tomaž Mastnak, *Civilna družba. Osemdeseta: Pojmovnik novega kulturnega polja* (Ljubljana, 2023), pp. 95–100, 113–116; Ana Šela, *Služba državne varnosti v desetletju kritike in kriz: (1980–1989)* (Maribor, 2023), pp. 85–90; Ana Šela, "Alternativna gibanja pod nadzorom Službe državne varnosti" *Studia Historica Slovenica* 23, No. 3 (2023), pp. 771–804. <https://doi.org/10.32874/SHS.2023-21>.

⁵³ Janez Osojnik, "Predlog Socialistične stranke Slovenije oktobra 1990 za izvedbo plebiscita o samostojnosti Republike Slovenije in odzivi nanj v Sloveniji", *Studia Historica Slovenica* 22, No. 2 (2022), p. 464. <https://doi.org/10.32874/SHS.2022-13>.

achieved broad international recognition: it was recognised by the European Community in January, by the Russian Federation in February, by the United States in April, and it was admitted to the United Nations in May. The new state retained the administrative backbone of the former republic but gained full control of foreign policy, customs, and currency. The tolar was introduced in 1991 and macroeconomic stabilisation followed. Privatisation and company restructuring reshaped enterprise ownership, while ministries, courts, and regulatory agencies were reorganised to reflect the new constitutional order.⁵⁴

Media law moved towards European standards and the communication environment changed accordingly. Public broadcasting was redefined, and commercial radio, television, and print outlets multiplied.⁵⁵ Legacy dailies modernised formats and expanded investigative reporting. Editorial independence increased, and the courts adjudicated defamation and access to information cases that clarified the rights and duties of journalists and officials. The resulting media system blended the experience of older newsrooms with market-oriented practices and a stronger emphasis on accountability.

4. Overview of Drought Occurrence in the Territory of Slovenia

Until the sixteenth century, there are no concrete records of drought in the territory of Slovenia, with the exception of the year 1324, when drought is reported to have affected the south-western part of the area of present-day Republic of Slovenia.⁵⁶ Natek and Trontelj mention several major droughts that occurred in Europe in the Middle Ages – in 638, 1000, and 1132 – although it is not clear whether these also extended into the Slovenian ethnic territory, with the possible exception of the last one, when the Drava and Mura rivers are said to have had very low water levels.⁵⁷ For the period between the sixteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, Ogrin compiled an overview of drought periods that affected the Slovenian ethnic territory, specifically its south-western part.⁵⁸ In addition to isolated cases, he also mentions three intervals when this phenomenon was more frequent: between 1540 and 1562 there were six drought years, between 1704 and 1748 there were nine such years, and between 1802 and 1848, fourteen years. It

⁵⁴ Cf. Božo Repe, *Jutri je nov dan: Slovenci in razpad Jugoslavije* (Ljubljana, 2002); Rosvita Pesek, *Osamosvojitve Slovenije: ali naj Republika Slovenija postane samostojna in neodvisna država?* (Ljubljana, 2007).

⁵⁵ Darja Kerec, "Nad nami le nebo", *Mladina* (ODESETA, posebna številka – zgodovina, Rojstvo države, 2. del), 26. 3. 2021, p. 139.

⁵⁶ Ogrin, "Suha in mokra leta v Submediteranski Sloveniji", p. 68.

⁵⁷ Natek, "Suša v letu 1983 v Sloveniji", p. 173; Trontelj, *Kronika izrednih vremenskih dogodkov*, p. 120.

⁵⁸ Ogrin, "Suha in mokra leta v Submediteranski Sloveniji", pp. 66 and 68–70.

should be added that in 1841 a meteorological station began operating in Trieste. From that point onwards it became easier to identify drought years thanks to the availability of concrete meteorological data. Trontelj also mentions several drought years from the early eighteenth to the first half of the nineteenth century. Some of his references overlap with Ogrin's, whereas others do not, and in the latter cases it is not necessarily clear that they actually refer to drought. Trontelj merely notes that those years in Lower Styria were "exceptionally hot".⁵⁹ Even so, it is worth drawing attention to the three-year drought between 1832 and 1835. The winter of 1833–1834 was particularly warm and dry, and the same was true for the spring and summer of 1834. According to Natek, spring cereals therefore failed to yield, and there was also a shortage of fodder for livestock.⁶⁰ As streams dried up, mills came to a halt, and because the rivers, which were important transport routes, had low water levels, flour could not be supplied in sufficient quantities from the Croatian ethnic territory, which led to shortages.

The severe drought was also described by Anton Krempl (1845) in his book *Dogodivšine štajerske zemle* (subtitled *S posebnim pogledom na Slovence*), which represents the first extensive attempt to present the history of Styria in Slovene.⁶¹ In the sixth chapter (*Obdelanje zemle, družbinsko ino hižno življenje*), he discussed major natural disasters (drought, hail, floods, and frost) that had significant consequences for agriculture and for the lives of people in Lower Styria. He wrote that in 1834 the land had

dried out so deeply that many trees withered, the vines as well, the springs and wells ran dry, the meadows and pastures were scorched, and since the cattle then had nothing to eat, people stripped all the trees and vineyards and fed this foliage to the livestock.⁶²

In February 1835 a larger amount of precipitation temporarily alleviated the situation, but by May another dry spell had set in, which again resulted in reduced yields. Krempl also mentions a severe summer drought in 1839, as a result of which "hardly any spring crops or vegetables grew, but the wine was very good".⁶³

⁵⁹ Trontelj, *Kronika izrednih vremenskih dogodkov*, p. 120.

⁶⁰ Natek, "Suša v letu 1833 v Sloveniji", p. 173.

⁶¹ Darko Friš and Mateja Matjašič Friš, "Dogodivšine štajerske zemle' Antona Krempla v 'krempljih' cenzure", *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 71=Nv36, No. 3 (2000), pp. 429–456.

⁶² Translated from the original: "... tak globoko posušila, da je veliko drevja posehnilo, tudi tersja, zvirovčine ino studenci so persušli, travniki ino trate so podgorele, ino da je živina tak ne mela kaj jesti, so ljudje vso drevje ino vinograde ogolili ino toto listje živini davali." Anton Krempl, *Dogodivšine štajerske zemle, Z' posebnim pogledom na Slovence* (Ljutomer, 1845), pp. 246–248.

⁶³ Translated from the original: "... skoro nikaka jarina, ne zeljad prirasla, vino je pa bilo prav dobro". Ibid.

In the second half of the nineteenth century a larger number of meteorological stations were established in the territory of Slovenia. As a result, the availability of appropriate data makes it easier to track the occurrence of adverse weather conditions, including drought. In 1851, with the establishment of the Central Institute for Meteorology and Geomagnetism in Vienna, systematic meteorological observations began to be organised. In the same year, meteorological stations were already in operation in Ljubljana and Postojna. The number of such stations had increased to more than 100 by the end of the nineteenth century.⁶⁴

Henig Mišičič notes that there were three major drought years in the second half of the nineteenth century, namely 1857, 1865, and 1890.⁶⁵ In the twentieth century the number of drought years increased, particularly towards its end. In a brief overview of droughts up to 1983, Natek lists the following as the driest years in Slovenia: 1917, 1921, 1939, 1942, 1943, 1946, 1950, 1952, 1962, 1973, 1979, and 1983.⁶⁶ Trontelj adds that all years up to 1997 were warmer than average, if not already dry.⁶⁷ For the twenty-first century, Rendla notes that there were seven agricultural droughts (2000, 2001, 2003, 2006, 2012, 2013, and 2017),⁶⁸ while Kobold mentions three major hydrological droughts during the same period (2003, 2012, and 2022).⁶⁹

5. Selected Drought Cases in the Territory of 20th–21st-Century Slovenia and their Reporting in the Slovenian Press

5.1 Weather Characteristics of the Drought Years under Review

As noted above, in this part we examine droughts that affected the Slovenian ethnic territory in 1921, 1939, 1950, 1952, 1962, 1983, 1992, and 2003.

Natek wrote that the newspapers, "because of turbulent times", did not report on the 1921 drought, which is incorrect.⁷⁰ Based on reports in *Slovenec*

⁶⁴ Agencija Republike Slovenije za okolje, "Spremljanje vremena in voda nekoč in danes", available at: <https://www.gov.si/novice/2023-03-22-spremljanje-vremena-in-voda-nekoc-in-danes>, accessed: 21. 4. 2025.

⁶⁵ Nataša Henig Mišičič, "Vremenske opazovalnice in spremljanje meteoroloških podatkov v Ljubljani v drugi polovici 19. stoletja", in: *Suše v zgodovini in njihov vpliv na okolje, družbo in prebivalstvo. Povzetki* (Ljubljana, 2024), p. 9.

⁶⁶ Natek, "Suša v letu 1983 v Sloveniji", pp. 173–175.

⁶⁷ Trontelj, *Kronika izrednih vremenskih dogodkov*, pp. 123–124.

⁶⁸ Marta Rendla, "Suše v osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja", in: *Suše v zgodovini in njihov vpliv na okolje, družbo in prebivalstvo. Povzetki* (Ljubljana, 2024), p. 16.

⁶⁹ Mira Kobold, "Hidrološke suše in pomanjkanje vode v Sloveniji", in: *Suše v zgodovini in njihov vpliv na okolje, družbo in prebivalstvo. Povzetki* (Ljubljana, 2024), p. 24.

⁷⁰ Natek, "Suša v letu 1983 v Sloveniji", p. 174.

it can be inferred that in that year the winter was already very dry in many parts of the Kingdom of SCS, meaning that little snow or precipitation in general fell. This was followed by a dry spring. Some rain then fell in May and early June, but in insufficient amounts to mitigate the consequences of the preceding months. At the beginning of summer, heat set in without precipitation.⁷¹ Judging by how regularly *Slovenec* and *Slovenski narod* reported on the drought, such conditions lasted until mid-August. The drought was most severe in the Littoral region, which at that time formed part of the Kingdom of Italy, but it also strongly affected other Slovenian ethnic regions within the new Kingdom of SCS. Meteorological measurements in Ljubljana and Celje likewise show that July was drier than average. September was also quite dry.⁷²

The next year that we examine in more detail is 1939. Whereas January was wetter than average, February was very dry.⁷³ Little rain fell in March, and it was especially dry in April and the first half of May. In the second half of that month the weather changed completely, as there was heavy rainfall that caused flooding on the Mura, Pesnica, Dravinja, and Krka rivers.⁷⁴ According to reports in *Slovenec* and *Jutro*, the heat accompanied by drought set in during July. It lasted until the end of the month, and in some places into early August. Reports on drought appeared from much of the area of the then Drava Banovina.

In 1950 a summer drought affected the whole of Yugoslavia. In the PRS, as it was then officially called, it hit the Littoral, Bela krajina, and Dolenjska regions hardest. The consequences were most serious for maize and root crops and for the amount of grassland. The latter in particular had a very negative impact on livestock production, and even more serious consequences were prevented by the intervention of state authorities.⁷⁵ To alleviate the increasingly imminent threat of famine, a memorandum was sent from Belgrade to the United States Department of State, requesting assistance in the amount of 100 million dollars, which would cover the most urgent needs for food supplies. In addition, the state adopted a number of measures, including a *Decree on the Prohibition of the Export of Basic Foodstuffs* (cereals, meat, fat, etc.).⁷⁶ Slovenian newspapers – we examined *Slovenski poročevalec* and *Ljudska pravica* – with rare exceptions did not report on this drought.

⁷¹ "Suša in njene posledice za živinorejo", *Slovenec*, 13. 8. 1921, No. 183, p. 4.

⁷² The data on air temperature and precipitation were provided to the authors by the Slovenian Environment Agency – ARSO.

⁷³ "Posebnosti letošnje zime", *Jutro*, 12. 3. 1939, No. 61, p. 5.

⁷⁴ Natek, "Suša v letu 1983 v Sloveniji", p. 174.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁷⁶ Tomaž Čelig and Darko Friš, "Med pragmatizmom in grožnjami – FLRJ 1950–1951", *Studia Historica Slovenica* 24, No. 1 (2024), pp. 182–191. <https://doi.org/10.32874/SHS.2024-05> (hereinafter: Čelig and Friš, "Med pragmatizmom in grožnjami").

Only two years later a new and more severe drought occurred. As Natek notes, the winter had already been dry and at the same time cold, which severely damaged autumn-sown cereals.⁷⁷ This was followed by a spring drought, which hit Prekmurje and Dolenjska hardest; it also significantly affected Bela krajina. Between 19 and 22 May, there was a sharp cold spell with frost, except in the Gorica district and part of the Sežana district. The frost further exacerbated the difficulties faced by farmers.⁷⁸ *Slovenski poročevalec* and *Ljudska pravica* mention the occurrence of a summer drought in August. This affected the Littoral, Prekmurje, and Bela krajina most severely, that is, also areas that had already been struck by a more intense spring drought.

In 1962 the winter, as in most of the drought years already mentioned, was quite dry. It was followed by a spring with abundant precipitation. A summer drought with very little rainfall began at the end of July. Judging from an article in *Delo*, it had already started earlier in Slovenian Istria, where reportedly no rain had fallen since the beginning of the month. The drought lasted until the beginning of September, and in some places until the first third of that month. Once again it left the most serious consequences in the Littoral region and in Bela krajina.⁷⁹

The beginning of 1983 was warm and dry, but from 7 February onwards the air temperature dropped sharply and there was a great deal of snowfall. The cold spell lasted for ten days, after which temperatures rose. Very dry weather prevailed until 22 March. Considerable precipitation then fell until the beginning of April, followed by a spring drought. This was most intense in north-eastern Slovenia. The beginning and end of May were cold and rainy, but the middle of the month was dry and very hot, especially in eastern Slovenia. Early June was also very hot, followed by a rainy remainder of the month. The summer drought set in during July, which was very hot. With rainfall in the last days of the month the drought ended, except in the Littoral.⁸⁰

In 1992, in the north-eastern part of the Republic of Slovenia, which was the area most severely affected by the drought, there were seven months in which precipitation was considerably below the (long-term) monthly average. Overall, the first half of the year was below average in terms of precipitation, and the summer months were particularly dry, especially the period between mid-July and the end of August. In Murska Sobota there were 34 consecutive days without precipitation. In addition to Pomurje – the area along both banks

⁷⁷ Natek, "Suša v letu 1983 v Sloveniji", p. 174.

⁷⁸ J. P., "Mráz in slana sta povzročila precej škode", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 22. 5. 1952, No. 120, p. 6; "Škoda, ki sta jo povzročila slana in mráz, bomo lahko popravili", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 29. 5. 1952, No. 126, p. 3.

⁷⁹ M. F., "Suša v Istri in na Koprskem", *Delo*, 1. 9. 1962, No. 240, p. 2.

⁸⁰ Natek, "Suša v letu 1983 v Sloveniji", pp. 175–178.

of the Mura River (Prekmurje and the north-eastern Styrian Mura basin), the drought also significantly affected eastern Slovenia and the coastal part of the Littoral. With the precipitation in September, the period of high temperatures came to an end, and in October some parts of the Republic of Slovenia experienced flooding.⁸¹

Finally, a few words should be said about weather conditions in 2003. In that year drought affected more than 60 per cent of the territory of the Republic of Slovenia. Once again, the drought hit north-eastern and eastern Slovenia and the Littoral hardest. In most of the country it began as early as March and lasted until October. The spring drought caused damage particularly to winter and spring cereals, and the summer drought further affected other crops, fruit trees, and grassland. The yield of hay was already below average, and the second and third cuts were hit even harder, since in many places grass did not regrow at all after the first cut.⁸² Water shortages also posed a major problem. In 2003, for example, Prekmurje recorded "the lowest groundwater levels since the beginning of systematic measurements", and throughout the Republic of Slovenia water had to be delivered by tanker trucks to around 47,400 inhabitants, which represented 2.4 per cent of the country's population.⁸³

5.2 Reporting on Weather Conditions and Natural Hazards

The Slovenian newspapers we examined wrote considerably more about drought in the summer months than in spring. These reports provide numerical data on air temperature and, at times, also on precipitation (for example in the case of summer storms, or when indicating how much less rain fell in a given drought month compared to the long-term average). Data on precipitation amounts occur more frequently in reporting on the two droughts from the period of the independent Republic of Slovenia. The reporting is mostly limited to clearly defined geographical (regions, cities and towns, or villages) or administrative units (districts). The newspapers under review also reported on heat and drought in other parts of the Yugoslav state (before its dissoluti-

⁸¹ Avšič, Fliser and Roškar, "Hidrološka slika suše 1992 na povodju Drave"; Vertičnik et al., "Vremenske skrajnosti v Sloveniji: 3. del", pp. 28–30.

⁸² Sušnik and Kurnik, "Katastrofalna kmetijska suša leta 2003", pp. 55–60; Cegljar and Kajfež-Bogataj, "Obravnava meteorološke suše", pp. 419–421.

⁸³ Sušnik et al., "Spremenljivost suš v slovenskem prostoru", pp. 103–104. The share of the population to whom water had to be delivered was calculated on the basis of data from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia on the total number of inhabitants at the end of June 2003. Janja Povhe, "Statistične informacije, No. 312/2003", available at: <https://www.stat.si/doc/statinf/2003/si-312.pdf>, accessed: 10. 4. 2025.

on), in Europe, and elsewhere in the world, but due to the conceptual limits of this article we do not discuss these here. It is sufficient to note that the words used to describe those droughts were the same as those used for droughts in Slovenia, which will be presented below. Alongside the droughts themselves, newspaper articles also reported on hail and its consequences. Hailstorms were regular companions of drought periods. They were local in nature but often caused material and economic damage, which further worsened the situation, especially in agriculture.⁸⁴

To establish which terms newspapers used to denote drought and high air temperatures, we carried out a corpus analysis of the reporting articles. The most frequent expression – in all cases except 1950, due to the scant reporting in the press – is *severe beat* ("huda vročina").⁸⁵ Another very frequent expression is *great beat* ("velika vročina").⁸⁶ This expression does not appear in the newspaper material examined for the years 1950, 1983, and 1992. Very high temperatures are often highlighted, whether in relation to a given year, sev-

⁸⁴ "Iz Sinjega vrha se nam poroča", *Slovenec*, 26. 7. 1921, No. 167, p. 3; "Stanje ozimnih in jarih sadežev", *Slovenec*, 9. 8. 1921, No. 179, p. 4; "Toča na Kočevskem", *Jutro*, 16. 8. 1939, No. 189, p. 5; "Hudo neurje s točo nad Loško dolino", *Slovenec*, 17. 8. 1939, No. 186a, p. 6; "Neurje na robu Slovenskih goric", *Jutro*, 19. 8. 1939, No. 192, p. 3; "Neurje nad Kranjem", *Ljudska pravica*, 8. 7. 1950, No. 161, p. 4; "Vihar odnašal strehe", *Večer*, 30. 7. 1962, No. 176, p. 1; J. V., "Hudo neurje nad Celjem in okolico", *Večer*, 30. 7. 1962, No. 176, p. 3; "Toča in suša 'obirata' pridelek", *Delo*, 26. 7. 1983, No. 170, p. 1; Bojan Postružnik, "Ponekod je zmanjkalo raket", *Večer*, 26. 7. 1983, No. 170, p. 16; Bojan Postružnik, "Ocene kažejo na katastrofo", *Večer*, 30. 7. 1983, No. 174, p. 20; S. C., "Toča najbolj oklestila nasade hrušk", *Delo*, 7. 9. 1992, No. 206, p. 6; Zdenka Lindič-Dragaš in Lado Stružnik, "Toča oklestila pridelek", *Delo*, 10. 7. 2003, No. 157, p. 3; Zdenka Lindič-Dragaš, "Kot jajca debela toča poškodovala tudi ljudi", *Delo*, 30. 7. 2003, No. 174, p. 3; Barbara Guček, Primož Škerl in Miha Rubin, "Veter, dež, toča in ogenj", *Delo*, 30. 7. 2003, No. 174, p. 3; Jasmina Detela, "Najhuje je bilo na Koroškem in Dolenjskem", *Večer*, 30. 7. 2003, No. 174, p. 21.

⁸⁵ "Iz Novega mesta", *Jutro*, 15. 7. 1939, No. 162, p. 7; "Iz Celja", *Jutro*, 18. 7. 1939, No. 164, p. 4; "Iz učiteljskega protialkoholnega tečaja", *Jutro*, 21. 7. 1939, No. 167, p. 3; "Po hudi vročini nalivi", *Slovenec*, 26. 7. 1939, No. 168a, p. 7; "Dva velika gozdna požara", *Slovenec*, 11. 8. 1939, No. 182a, p. 7; "Čnomelj", *Delo*, 21. 8. 1962, No. 229, p. 5; "Za vse nikoli ni prav", *Delo*, 20. 7. 1983, No. 166, p. 1; "Dež je pregnal hudo vročino", *Delo*, 30. 7. 1983, No. 174, p. 1; Žarko Hojnik, "Huda vročina je bila usodna za veliko število piščancev", *Delo*, 5. 8. 1983, No. 179, p. 8; J. K., "Huda vročina usodna za piščance", *Večer*, 3. 8. 1983, No. 177, p. 16; bs, "Admiral se bo predstavil!", *Večer*, 22. 8. 1992, No. 193, p. 8; Slavica Crnica, "Težave z vodo, zbiralniki in službami", *Delo*, 18. 6. 2003, No. 139, p. 7; Miša Vugrinec, "Pasja vročina in pregreti zidovi", *Večer*, 7. 8. 2003, No. 181, p. 15; Dragica Bošnjak, "Senca in plavanje blagodejna", *Delo*, 13. 8. 2003, No. 186, p. 3.

⁸⁶ "Velika vročina vlada v Mariboru", *Slovenec*, 14. 7. 1921, No. 157, p. 3; "Vročina pasjih dni!", *Slovenski narod*, 21. 7. 1921, No. 160, p. 4; "Velika vročina vlada v Mariboru", *Slovenec*, 24. 7. 1921, No. 166, p. 3; "Trst, 30. julija", *Slovenski narod*, 31. 7. 1921, No. 169, p. 4; "Novice z Ruš", *Jutro*, 21. 7. 1939, No. 167, p. 5; "Požar na Opčinah", *Jutro*, 23. 7. 1939, No. 169, p. 8; "Nogomet v Murski Soboti", *Jutro*, 4. 8. 1939, No. 179, p. 7; N. L., "Letošnja vročina in suša", *Delo*, 16. 8. 1962, No. 224, p. 2; Kristina Menih, "Pozeba, potem suša, nazadnje še velika vročina", *Večer*, 14. 8. 2003, No. 187, p. 13; Robert Galun, "Bodo ribe izumrle?", *Delo*, 21. 8. 2003, No. 192, p. 3.

eral decades, or the occasional absolute record.⁸⁷ This was particularly evident when examining the newspaper material for 1992 and 2003, which is why we devote special attention to these years below. In 1939 and 1952 the expression *severe drought* ("huda suša")⁸⁸ appears frequently, and more exceptionally also in 1992 and 2003.⁸⁹

In connection with the droughts of 1921 and 1939 we also find the following expressions: *unbearable heat* ("neznosna vročina")⁹⁰, *unbearable drought* ("neznosna suša"),⁹¹ *intense heat* ("silna vročina"),⁹² *intense drought* ("silna suša"),⁹³ *great drought* ("velika suša"),⁹⁴ *enormous drought* ("velikanska suša"),⁹⁵

⁸⁷ "Silna vročina", *Slovenec*, 16. 7. 1921, No. 159, p. 4; Vročina pasjih dni", *Slovenski narod*, 21. 7. 1921, No. 160, p. 4; "Vročina v Ljubljani", *Slovenski narod*, 27. 7. 1921, No. 165, p. 3; "Silna vročina", *Slovenec*, 28. 7. 1921, No. 169, p. 3; "Ljubljana, 29. julij", *Slovenski narod*, 30. 7. 1921, No. 168, p. 3; "Ljubljana, 1. avgusta", *Slovenski narod*, 2. 8. 1921, No. 170, p. 3; "Nad 5000 ljudi na Mariborskem otoku", *Slovenec*, 12. 7. 1939, No. 136a, p. 7; "Najbolj vroč dan letošnjega poletja", *Slovenec*, 22. 7. 1939, No. 165a, p. 7; "Višek letošnje vročine v Mariboru", *Jutro*, 23. 7. 1939, No. 169, p. 7; "Iz Št. Lovrenca na Dolenjskem", *Slovenec*, 23. 7. 1939, No. 166a, p. 6; "Vročina narašča", *Slovenec*, 23. 7. 1939, No. 166a, p. 7; "Po hudi vročini nalivi", *Slovenec*, 26. 7. 1939, No. 168a, p. 7; "Silna vročina v Beli krajini", *Slovenec*, 1. 8. 1939, No. 173a, p. 6; V. Mahonin, "Vročina v Sloveniji", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 6. 7. 1950, No. 159, p. 3; "Taka vročina še ni bila zabeležena v Sloveniji", *Ljudska pravica*, 8. 7. 1950, No. 161, p. 4; N. L., "Letošnja vročina in suša", *Delo*, 16. 8. 1962, No. 224, p. 2; "Neznosna vročina je zajela vso Slovenijo", *Delo*, 29. 7. 1983, No. 173, p. 1; "Vročje, bolj vroče", *Večer*, 29. 7. 1983, No. 173, p. 1; "Danes se bo vročina menda malo unesla", *Delo*, 21. 8. 1992, No. 192, p. 3; Kristina Menih, "Alge ubijalke v našem morju ni", *Večer*, 14. 6. 2003, No. 136, p. 13; Bojan Bauman, "Vročina, kot je doslej še ni bilo", *Večer*, 12. 8. 2003, No. 185, p. 3.

⁸⁸ "Betnavski studenec se dobro obnese", *Slovenec*, 22. 7. 1939, No. 165a, p. 7; "Zaradi suše zalivajo – slive", *Slovenec*, 25. 7. 1939, No. 167a, p. 7; "Krme ne bo", *Jutro*, 4. 8. 1939, No. 179, p. 4; "Neurje na robu Slovenskih goric", *Jutro*, 19. 8. 1939, No. 192, p. 3; "Suša je v sežanskem okraju prizadejala po prvih podatkih okoli 230 milijonov dinarjev škode", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 23. 8. 1952, No. 199, p. 1; "Suša in gosnice so uničile pridelek okoli vasi Gorjansko", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 24. 8. 1952, No. 200, p. 3.

⁸⁹ at, Zapis ob fotografiji, *Večer*, 4. 8. 1992, No. 178, p. 7; Nace Novak, "Oljkam odpadajo cvetovi", *Delo*, 5. 7. 2003, No. 153, p. 3; Janez Petkovšek, "Suša ogroža tudi okrasno drevje", *Delo*, 8. 7. 2003, No. 155, p. 3.

⁹⁰ "Velika suša na Goriškem", *Slovenec*, 16. 7. 1921, No. 159, p. 4; "Celje", *Slovenec*, 30. 7. 1921, No. 171, p. 3; "Nemška vas pri Ribnici", *Slovenec*, 31. 7. 1921, No. 172, p. 3; "Pomanjkanje vode v Beogradu", *Jutro*, 23. 7. 1939, No. 169, p. 2; "Za deco bi se morali bolj brigati", *Jutro*, 25. 7. 1970, No. 170, p. 3; "O sv. Jakobu sneg", *Slovenec*, 27. 7. 1939, No. 169, p. 6.

⁹¹ "Stanje ozimnih in jarih sadežev", *Slovenec*, 9. 8. 1921, No. 179, p. 4.

⁹² "Silna vročina", *Slovenec*, 26. 7. 1921, No. 167, p. 3; "Silna vročina", *Slovenec*, 28. 7. 1921, No. 169, p. 3; "Nevaren požar", *Jutro*, 22. 7. 1939, No. 168, p. 7; "Betnavski studenec se dobro obnese", *Slovenec*, 22. 7. 1939, No. 165a, p. 7; "Pomanjkanje vode v Beogradu", *Jutro*, 23. 7. 1939, No. 169, p. 2; "Tretja žrtev Drave", *Jutro*, 23. 7. 1939, No. 169, p. 4; "Obisk holandskih turistov", *Jutro*, 23. 7. 1939, No. 169, p. 10; "Iz Št. Lovrenca na Dolenjskem", *Slovenec*, 23. 7. 1939, No. 166a, p. 6; "Sneg na Kamniškem sedlu", *Jutro*, 28. 7. 1939, No. 173, p. 3; "Silna vročina v Beli krajini", *Slovenec*, 29. 7. 1939, No. 171a, p. 6.

⁹³ "Živinski semenj v Mariboru", *Slovenec*, 12. 8. 1921, No. 182, p. 3; "Novice z Ruš", *Jutro*, 21. 7. 1939, No. 167, p. 5; "Nevaren požar", *Jutro*, 22. 7. 1939, No. 168, p. 7.

⁹⁴ "Velika suša na Goriškem", *Slovenec*, 16. 7. 1921, No. 159, p. 4; "Trst, 30. julija", *Slovenski narod*, 31. 7. 1921, No. 169, p. 4; "Požrtvovalni gasilci in malomarni gledalci", *Jutro*, 2. 8. 1939, No. 177, p. 5; "Katastrofalen požar", *Slovenec*, 2. 8. 1939, No. 174, p. 6.

⁹⁵ "Velikanska suša", *Slovenec*, 9. 8. 1921, No. 179, p. 3.

critical drought ("kritična suša"),⁹⁶ *devastating drought* ("uničujoča suša"),⁹⁷ *tropical heat* ("tropska vročina" and "tropska vročina"),⁹⁸ while days with high temperatures were described with the adjective *dog days* ("pasji", literally *canine*).⁹⁹ With these adjectives used for drought and high air temperatures, the authors of the texts presumably sought to trigger specific emotions in readers, above all empathy with those affected who suffered the adverse consequences of these weather phenomena. The variety of labels for drought and heat was thus quite extensive in newspaper reporting before the Second World War. It became much more limited after the war, at a time when most of the Slovenian ethnic territory formed part of the "second" Yugoslav state. In this period drought was described as *unpleasant* ("neprijetna"),¹⁰⁰ *long* ("dolga"), and *prolonged* ("dolgotrajna"),¹⁰¹ that is, with reference to its duration. In the newspaper *Jutro's* reporting on the 1939 drought, the phrase *long drought* ("dolga suša") was used three times and *prolonged drought* ("dolgotrajna suša") once. In later droughts, the expression *unbearable heat* ("neznosna vročina")¹⁰² was used twice, and in four it was described as *dog-day heat* ("pasja").¹⁰³

The variety of labels for drought and heat increased again after the establishment of the independent Republic of Slovenia. Several expressions reappear that had been present in newspapers before the Second World War, such as *unbearable heat*¹⁰⁴ or *unbearable temperatures* ("neznosna vročina/

⁹⁶ "Vročina", *Slovenski narod*, 28. 7. 1921, No. 166, p. 4.

⁹⁷ "Suša na Gorenjskem", *Slovenec*, 26. 7. 1921, No. 167, p. 3.

⁹⁸ "Škoda na poljih in travnikih", *Slovenski narod*, 30. 7. 1921, No. 168, p. 3; "Gospodarske vesti", *Slovenski narod*, 3. 8. 1921, No. 171, p. 3. S pridevnikom "tropska" so vročino označili tudi v *Delu* leta 1983. "Prijetna osvežitev tudi v škaflu", *Delo*, 21. 7. 1983, No. 167, p. 1; "Reke skoraj že usihajo, v polnilnici Radenske pa so podaljšali delavnik", *Delo*, 29. 7. 1983, No. 173, p. 10; "Dež je pregnal hudo vročino", *Delo*, 30. 7. 1983, No. 174, p. 1.

⁹⁹ "Vročina pasjih dni!", *Slovenski narod*, 21. 7. 1921, No. 160, p. 4; "Sneg v pasjih dneh", *Jutro*, 27. 7. 1939, No. 172, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ "Dež v Sloveniji in Hrvatski", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 30. 8. 1952, No. 205, p. 3.

¹⁰¹ "V stiski in boju za vsako bilko", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 19. 8. 1952, No. 195, p. 1; J. Slodnjak, "Gasilci vozijo vodo", *Večer*, 5. 5. 1983, No. 102, p. 9; "Zaradi vročine in suše vse več škode", *Delo*, 28. 7. 1983, No. 172, p. 6; J. Pojbič, "Suša grozi ribam", *Večer*, 28. 7. 1983, No. 172, p. 8; SzP, "Koruzo bodo kosili", *Večer*, 28. 7. 1983, No. 172, p. 16. "Po dolgi suši dež in sneg", *Jutro*, 19. 4. 1939, No. 90, p. 3; "Dež po dolgi suši", *Jutro*, 26. 7. 1939, No. 171, p. 3; "Nabiranje malin po kočevskih gozdovih", *Jutro*, 23. 8. 1939, No. 195, p. 4.

¹⁰² "Zaradi vročine in suše vse več škode", *Delo*, 28. 7. 1983, No. 172, p. 6; "Neznosna vročina je zajela vso Slovenijo", *Delo*, 29. 7. 1983, No. 173, p. 1.

¹⁰³ "Plaža na Savinji", *Večer*, 14. 8. 1962, No. 189, p. 4; "Sredi poletja...", *Večer*, 18. 7. 1983, No. 164, p. 2; jv, "V pasji vročini o ogrevanju", *Večer*, 29. 7. 1983, No. 173, p. 9; kg, "Koliko vode je steklo", *Večer*, 3. 8. 1983, No. 177, p. 8.

¹⁰⁴ Slavica Crnica, "Težave z vodo, zbiralniki in službami", *Delo*, 18. 6. 2003, No. 139, p. 7; Jaša Lorenčič, "Uh, kako je vroče! Še eno pivo, prosim!", *Večer*, 23. 7. 2003, No. 168, p. 16; Oste Bakal, "Trgali bodo že konec avgusta!", *Večer*, 13. 8. 2003, No. 186, p. 3; zku, "Vedno večje zanimanje za klimatske naprave", *Večer*, 13. 8. 2003, No. 186, p. 4.

neznosne temperature"),¹⁰⁵ *great drought* ("velika suša", only in 1992),¹⁰⁶ *devastating drought* ("uničujoča suša", only in 2003),¹⁰⁷ *tropical heat* ("tropska vročina") or the statement that temperatures were becoming *tropical*,¹⁰⁸ and *dog-day heat* ("pasja vročina"), along with the variants *dog days* or *dog-hot days* ("pasji dnevi", "pasje vroči dnevi").¹⁰⁹ The temporal aspect of drought is also frequently emphasised, for example with the expression *prolonged drought* ("dolgotrajna suša"),¹¹⁰ and in one case even as a *once-in-a-century drought* ("stoletna suša").¹¹¹ Most often, in 1992 and 2003, drought is described as *catastrophic* ("katastrofalna"), and the same adjective is used for its consequences,¹¹² by which the authors and editorial boards of the two newspapers under review most likely wished to underline its grave negative impact, especially on peo-

¹⁰⁵ Kornelija Golob, "Premalo, da bi si rastline opomogle!", *Večer*, 24. 8. 1992, No. 194, p. 24.

¹⁰⁶ Marjan Toš, "Suša prerašča v katastrofo", *Večer*, 6. 8. 1992, No. 180, p. 15.

¹⁰⁷ Zoran Potič, "Ali bo država ravnala pametno?", *Večer*, 31. 7. 2003, No. 175, p. 4.

¹⁰⁸ Branko Žunec, "Le ne bo lahko še pomaga", *Večer*, 5. 8. 1992, No. 179, p. 15; Edi Prošt, "Za 700 milijonov tolarjev škode", *Večer*, 28. 8. 1992, No. 198, p. 10; Boris Šuligoj, "Vročina spreminja življenjski ritem", *Delo*, 12. 6. 2003, No. 134, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ Branko Žunec, "Suša 'požiga' koruzo, krompir, buče...", *Večer*, 30. 7. 1992, No. 174, p. 15; mp, "Preganjanje z bazena", *Večer*, 1. 8. 1992, No. 176, p. 10; bž, "Katastrofalne posledice suše", *Večer*, 4. 8. 1992, No. 178, p. 7; "Tegobe pasje vročine", *Delo*, 5. 8. 1992, No. 179, p. 1; Jože Pojbič, "Pol Prekmurja v Moravcih", *Delo*, 6. 8. 1992, No. 180, p. 10; Marjan Toš, "Suša prerašča v katastrofo", *Večer*, 6. 8. 1992, No. 180, p. 15; Damjana Stamejčič, "Suša slabša vodo", *Delo*, 2. 7. 2003, No. 150, p. 10; Miša Vugrinec, "Pasja vročina in pregreti zidovi", *Večer*, 7. 8. 2003, No. 181, p. 15.

¹¹⁰ We cite only some examples, as there are quite a few of them. fg, "Ogrožena letina", *Večer*, 4. 8. 1992, No. 178, p. 7; ps, "Nenehna pomoč gasilcev", *Večer*, 11. 8. 1992, No. 184, p. 10; Franci Golob, "Suša pobira letino", *Večer*, 11. 8. 1992, No. 184, p. 11; Ivan Gerenčar, "Cena letošnje suše bo strahotno visoka", *Delo*, 20. 8. 1992, No. 191, p. 1; Gordana Pipan, "Brez vode pač ni elektrike", *Delo*, 22. 8. 1992, No. 193, p. 1; Iztok Utenkar, "Pomoč šmarskim kmetom v koruzi in ječmenu", *Delo*, 31. 8. 1992, No. 200, p. 2; Dušan Grča, "Vode porabijo vsak dan več", *Delo*, 11. 6. 2003, p. 7; Slavica Crnica, "Zaradi zalivanja ponekod ni dovolj vode", *Delo*, 14. 6. 2003, No. 133, p. 7; mt, "Gladina vodotokov upada, nevarno onesnaževanje", *Večer*, 27. 6. 2003, no 146, p. 16; Marjan Toš, "Poginile vse ribe in školjke", *Večer*, 29. 7. 2003, No. 173, p. 13; Darja Lukman Žunec, "Na travnikih bo letina manjša za 60 odstotkov", *Večer*, 29. 7. 2003, No. 173, p. 16; Slavica Crnica, "Črnoglede napovedi", *Delo*, 1. 8. 2003, No. 176, p. 5; Milan Glavonjič, "Suša slabi vitalnost drevja", *Večer*, 16. 8. 2003, No. 188, p. 12; Boris Šuligoj in Slavica Crnica, "Bomo pili vino iz rozin?", *Delo*, 19. 8. 2003, No. 190, p. 1.

¹¹¹ Slavica Crnica, "Črnoglede napovedi", *Delo*, 1. 8. 2003, No. 176, p. 5.

¹¹² We cite only some examples, as there are quite a few of them. "V slovenski žitnici bijejo plat zvona", *Večer*, 4. 8. 1992, No. 178, p. 1; "Potreben bo rešilni poseg države", *Večer*, 11. 8. 1992, No. 184, p. 3; Branko Žunec, "Po vsej Sloveniji pač ni vročinskih udarov!", *Večer*, 13. 8. 1992, No. 186, p. 11; Zlatka Rashid, "Za praznimi njivami še prazni hlevi in shrambe?", *Večer*, 19. 8. 1992, No. 190, p. 8; Marjeta Šoštarič, "Udarec po narodovem žepu", *Delo*, 20. 8. 1992, No. 191, p. 1; Ivan Gerenčar, "Cena letošnje suše bo strahotno visoka", *Delo*, 20. 8. 1992, No. 191, p. 1; Marko Jakopec et al., "Suša je dodobra izpraznila vodna zajetja skoraj v vsej Sloveniji", *Delo*, 21. 8. 1992, No. 192, p. 3; Ivan Gerenčar et al., "Škoda zaradi suše bo še večja", *Delo*, 25. 8. 1992, No. 195, p. 3; Marjeta Šoštarič, "Vrisk kliče na pomoč državo", *Delo*, 27. 6. 2003, No. 146, p. 3; Nataša Gider, "Ena največjih naravnih nesreč", *Večer*, 3. 7. 2003, No. 151, p. 3; Jutka M. Kiraly, "Potrebujejo denar, ne le papirjev", *Delo*, 11. 7. 2003, No. 158, p. 3; Zoran Potič, "Kmetom je treba takoj pomagati", *Večer*, 26. 7. 2003, No. 171, p. 2; Maja Nabernik, "Suša je še izraziltejša v hribovitih predelih", *Večer*, 26. 7. 2003, No. 171, p. 15; Iztok Umer, "Primorska skoraj brez pridelka", *Delo*, 6. 8. 2003, No. 180, p. 3; Kristina Menih, "Pozeba, potem suša, nazadnje še velika vročina", *Večer*, 14. 8. 2003, No. 187, p. 13.

ple's lives. The label of "catastrophe" also appears in semantically related formulations: the droughts of 1992 and 2003 are described as *natural catastrophes* ("naravni katastrofi"),¹¹³ the 2003 drought is said to have the dimensions of an economic *catastrophe* ("gospodarska katastrofa"),¹¹⁴ and it is stated that it bordered on an *ecological catastrophe* ("ekološka katastrofa").¹¹⁵ The high air temperatures in 1992 were characterised as *hellish* ("peklenske"),¹¹⁶ that year's drought as *terrible* ("strahotna"),¹¹⁷ while the drought of 2003 was called *exceptional* ("izjemna")¹¹⁸ and *horrific* ("grozovita").¹¹⁹

In addition to the labels listed above, comparisons and longer descriptive phrases relating to drought and heat – again particularly numerous in 1921, 1939, and in the period after the dissolution of Yugoslavia – further intensified the emotional response and encouraged empathy with people affected during drought periods. Thus, in 1921 *Slovenec* wrote that the sun "burns /.../ as if with needles, and dries out the soil and plants" (*žge /.../ kot z iglami in suši zemljo in rastline*),¹²⁰ while *Slovenski narod* in the same year noted that "across the fields and meadows the sun simply scorches" (*po poljih in travnikih solnce kar žge*),¹²¹ that the soil was "dry as a sponge" (*suha kot goba*),¹²² and that the heat had arrived with "all its catastrophic consequences" (*vsemi katastrofalnimi posledicami*),¹²³ where drought was also implied. A few such descriptions can also be found in reports on later droughts. In 1983, for instance, a journalist from *Večer* wrote that in Maribor it was "like in a bread oven" (*kot v krušni peči*),¹²⁴ while a journalist from *Delo* observed that the severe heat "dries out our fields and drinks up the drinking water" (*nam suši polja in pije pitno vodo*),¹²⁵ and in another piece in the same newspaper that the sun "mer-

¹¹³ Jože Pojbič, "Pomurje se še naprej zvija v krču pripeke", *Delo*, 6. 8. 1992, No. 180, p. 1; Jože Splichal, "Na prodnatih tleh bo uničenih več poljščin", *Delo*, 12. 8. 2003, No. 185, p. 3; Jože Pojbič, "Pomurju bo zaradi suše morala pomagati vlada", *Delo*, 13. 8. 2003, No. 186, p. 2; Zoran Potič, "Namesto dežja izvozne vzpodbude", *Večer*, 13. 8. 2003, No. 186, p. 2.

¹¹⁴ Branko Žunec, "Suša ima razsežnost gospodarske katastrofe", *Večer*, 13. 8. 2003, No. 186, p. 2.

¹¹⁵ Franc Jurač, "Vroče sonce posuši travo, še preden zrasede", *Večer*, 25. 7. 2003, No. 170, p. 16.

¹¹⁶ Vojislav Bercko, "V treh nesrečah štirje mrtvi", *Večer*, 22. 8. 1992, No. 193, p. 24; Edi Prošt, "Za 700 milijonov škode", *Večer*, 28. 8. 1992, No. 198, p. 10; "Konec peklenske vročine?", *Večer*, 31. 8. 1992, No. 200, p. 1.

¹¹⁷ Marjeta Šoštarič, "Strahotna suša, pa še huje bo", *Delo*, 20. 8. 1992, No. 191, p. 3.

¹¹⁸ Damijan Toplak, "Kmetje se sprašujejo, ali bodo pšenico letos sploh želi", *Večer*, 12. 6. 2003, No. 134, p. 13; Slavica Crnica, "Namakanje dolgoročna naložba v kmetijstvo", *Delo*, 20. 8. 2003, No. 191, p. 6; Franc Kramer, "Vročina razmnožila lubadarja", *Večer*, 21. 8. 2003, No. 192, p. 14.

¹¹⁹ "Meseci brez milosti za žejno naravo", *Delo*, 24. 7. 2003, No. 169, p. 5.

¹²⁰ "Gospodarski položaj vsled suše", *Slovenec*, 11. 8. 1921, No. 181, p. 3.

¹²¹ "Škoda na poljih in travnikih", *Slovenski narod*, 30. 7. 1921, No. 168, p. 3.

¹²² "Na ljubljanskem barju je zemlja suha kot goba", *Slovenski narod*, 30. 7. 1921, No. 168, p. 3.

¹²³ "Ljubljana, 1. avgusta", *Slovenski narod*, 2. 8. 1921, No. 170, p. 3.

¹²⁴ bs, "Kot v krušni peči", *Večer*, 29. 7. 1983, No. 173, p. 8.

¹²⁵ "Za vse nikoli ni prav", *Delo*, 20. 7. 1983, No. 166, p. 1.

cilessly scorches" (*neusmiljeno žge*).¹²⁶ Twenty-one years earlier, *Delo* had also used vivid language, remarking that "the gaping, cracked earth /.../ cries out for rain" (*zevajoča razpokana zemlja /.../ kliče po dežju*),¹²⁷ and a telling quotation from a farmer stated: "Such a drought has set in that even the earth itself would burn" (*Pritisnila je taka suša, da bi še zemlja gorela*).¹²⁸ In 1992, *Delo* looked with apprehension towards the near future, noting that the first consequences of the drought were already so negative that "with each new hot and dry summer day we have even more reason to be afraid" (*nas je labko vsakega novega vročega in subega poletnega dneva še bolj strah*),¹²⁹ and that (Slovenian) Carinthia and Pomurje were already "virtually" or "completely dried out" (*domala oziroma povsem izsušena*).¹³⁰ *Večer* was similarly vivid in the same year, observing that it was so hot that "every drop literally seeps into the thirsty soil within a second" (*da vsaka kaplja dobesedno v sekundi pronikne v žejno zemljo*).¹³¹ Equally telling was the remark of an employee of the agricultural advisory service at the Pomurje livestock and veterinary institute in Murska Sobota, who said that "if it would help, I myself would pay for a Mass" (*če bi kaj pomagalo, bi tudi sam dal za mašo*).¹³² At least some of these descriptions clearly aim to highlight the sensational aspect of drought and heat. The authors of the articles often resorted to metaphors that were close to everyday experience or reproduced the vivid statements of eyewitnesses. In this way they presented the natural hazard through carefully intensified descriptions and at the same time emphasised its socio-economic consequences.

In all the drought episodes under review, the journalists also looked back into the past. They presented specific cases and their consequences as something that occurred rarely, or even as events that living generations did not remember experiencing before. This is clearly illustrated in the *table* below.

¹²⁶ "Izsušena zemlja na Obali", *Delo*, 27. 7. 1983, No. 171, p. 1.

¹²⁷ jp, "Hude posledice suše na Goriškem", *Delo*, 10. 8. 1962, No. 218, p. 4.

¹²⁸ jp, "Vse senožeti so pokosili", *Delo*, 14. 8. 1962, No. 222, p. 4.

¹²⁹ Marjeta Šoštarič, "Udarec po narodovem žepu", *Delo*, 20. 8. 1992, No. 191, p. 1.

¹³⁰ "Nevihte na obali, suša v Pomurju", *Delo*, 31. 8. 1992, No. 200, p. 1; S. S., "Suša je že povsem izsušila Koroško", *Delo*, 31. 8. 1992, No. 200, p. 3.

¹³¹ "Suša pesti tudi okolico Maribora", *Večer* 4. 8. 1992, No. 178, p. 7.

¹³² Branko Žunec, "Suša 'požiga' koruzo, krompir, buče...", *Večer*, 30. 7. 1992, No. 174, p. 15.

Table 1: Comparison of the drought and heat episodes under review with other past experiences of these phenomena

Newspaper and year	Comparison with the past, either as a verbatim quotation or as a summary of the description
<i>Slovenec</i> , 1921	In the Goriška region there is "a severe drought such as people have not remembered for a very long time" (<i>Na Goriškem je "silna suša, kakršne ljudje že davno ne pomnijo."</i>). ¹³³
<i>Slovenski narod</i> , 1921	The inhabitants of Carniola recall that the last time such a severe drought occurred was seventeen years ago. ¹³⁴
<i>Slovenec</i> , 1939	".../ heat in Maribor such as only few people can remember" (" <i>.../ vročina v Mariboru, kakor jo le redki pomnijo."</i>). ¹³⁵
<i>Slovenec</i> , 1939	"Such severe heat people in the countryside scarcely remember" (" <i>Take bude vročine ljudje na deželi že kmalu ne pomnijo."</i>). ¹³⁶
<i>Slovenec</i> , 1939	"People do not remember heat as intense as that which blazed on that day" (" <i>Tolikošne vročine, kot je žarela omenjenega dne, ljudje ne pomnijo."</i>). ¹³⁷
<i>Jutro</i> , 1939	"We do not remember such heat in Maribor for many long years" (" <i>Takšne vročine v Mariboru že dolgo vrsto let ne pomnimo."</i>). ¹³⁸
<i>Ljudska pravica</i> , 1950	"Such heat has never before been recorded in Slovenia" (" <i>Taka vročina še ni bila zabeležena v Sloveniji!"</i>). ¹³⁹
<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 1950	In Ljubljana, temperatures reached or exceeded 35 °C for five consecutive days, which had never happened there before. ¹⁴⁰
<i>Ljudska pravica</i> , 1952	The drought is more severe than in 1950, but the damage is smaller due to better preparedness on the part of the state. ¹⁴¹
<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 1952	".../ not even the oldest people can remember the weather being as unfavourable to farmers as in recent years!" (" <i>.../ niti najstarejši ljudje ne pomnijo, da bi bilo vreme kmetovalcem tako neugodno kakor zadnja leta!"</i>). ¹⁴²
<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 1952	The drought years in the period 1941–1950 are not the result of climate change but are "merely normal phenomena in a long observation period" (<i>Sušna leta v obdobju 1941–1950 niso posledica podnebnihih sprememb, temveč gre "le za normalne pojave v dolgi opazovani dobi."</i>). ¹⁴³

¹³³ "Velika suša na Goriškem", *Slovenec*, 16. 7. 1921, No. 159, p. 4.

¹³⁴ "Vročina in suša", *Slovenski narod*, 3. 8. 1921, No. 171, p. 3.

¹³⁵ "Najbolj vroč dan letošnjega poletja", *Slovenec*, 22. 7. 1939, No. 165a, p. 7.

¹³⁶ "Po velikih povodnjih suša", *Slovenec*, 23. 7. 1939, No. 166a, p. 6.

¹³⁷ "Silna vročina v Beli krajini", *Slovenec*, 29. 7. 1939, No. 171a, p. 6.

¹³⁸ "Višek letošnje vročine v Mariboru", *Jutro*, 23. 7. 1939, No. 169, p. 7.

¹³⁹ "Taka vročina še ni bila zabeležena v Sloveniji", *Ljudska pravica*, 8. 7. 1950, No. 161, p. 4.

¹⁴⁰ V. Maholin, "Vročina v Sloveniji", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 6. 7. 1950, No. 159, p. 3.

¹⁴¹ M. P., "Organizacija pomoči prizadetim po suši", *Ljudska pravica*, 23. 8. 1952, No. 34, p. 1.

¹⁴² Vital Maholin, "Zakaj so zadnja leta sušna?", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 17. 8. 1952, No. 194, p. 3.

¹⁴³ Vital Maholin, "Zakaj so zadnja leta sušna?", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 17. 8. 1952, No. 194, p. 3.

<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 1952	Inhabitants of various parts of the world do not remember weather changes of such magnitude in the past. The author cited, among other things, the retreat of glaciers, a rise in winter temperatures in Greenland by 5–6 °C, and the fact that in Finland grain ripens two to three weeks earlier than a hundred years ago. Global warming is not mentioned among the possible reasons for these changes. ¹⁴⁴
<i>Večer</i> , 1962	Reporting on unusual weather events in the territory of the Yugoslav state in the past, such as snowfall in Sarajevo at the end of August 1777. ¹⁴⁵
<i>Delo</i> , 1983	In the Socialist Republic of Slovenia there is a drought "the like of which has not been seen for a long time" (<i>V Socialistični republiki Sloveniji je suša, "ki je že dolgo ne pomnijo."</i>). ¹⁴⁶
<i>Delo</i> , 1983	"Farmers on the Slovenian coast do not remember such a dry June and July in the last seventy years" (" <i>Kmetje na slovenski obali že 70 let ne pomnijo tako sušnega junija in julija.</i> "). ¹⁴⁷
<i>Večer</i> , 1983	A resident of Selce in Slovenske gorice stated that "for a long time they have not remembered such a spring drought" in those parts (<i>Prebivalec Selc v Slovenskih goricah je dejal, da "že dolgo ne pomnijo takšne spomladanske suše" v teh krajih.</i>). ¹⁴⁸
<i>Delo</i> , 1992	A hop grower in the Savinja Valley, who was over seventy, "does not remember such a drought" (<i>Eden od pridelovalcev bmelja v Savinjski dolini, ki je bil starejši od 70 let, "ne pomni take suše"</i>). ¹⁴⁹
<i>Delo</i> , 1992	"/.../ almost no one remembers a drought like this year's /.../" (" <i>/.../ suše, kakršna je letošnja, ne spomni skorajda nihče /.../</i> "). ¹⁵⁰
<i>Večer</i> , 1992	"A drought in Slovenia that only the very oldest people can remember /.../" (" <i>Suša, kakršna na Slovenskem pomnijo le najstarejši ljudje /.../</i> "). ¹⁵¹
<i>Večer</i> , 1992	"Such a long, hot, and dry period has never occurred before" (" <i>Tako dolgega, vročega in subega obdobja doslej še ni bilo.</i> "). ¹⁵²
<i>Delo</i> , 2003	"In Bela krajina 'a catastrophe such as no one remembers' is predicted" (" <i>V Beli krajini se napoveduje 'katastrofa, kakršne ne pomnijo.'</i> "). ¹⁵³
<i>Delo</i> , 2003	The Chamber of Agriculture and Forestry of Slovenia (KGZS) stated that "there has never been a drought in Slovenia such as the one we are experiencing this year" (<i>V Kmetijsko gozdarski zbornici Slovenije (KGZS) so ugotavljali, da "v Sloveniji še ni bilo take suše, kot jo doživljamo letos."</i>). ¹⁵⁴
<i>Delo</i> , 2003	"/.../ they say that a drought such as began already at the end of winter has never before been remembered in Gorenjska" (" <i>/.../ pravijo, da take suše, ki se je začela že ob koncu zime, doslej na Gorenjskem ne pomnijo.</i> "). ¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁴ B. B., "Ali se Južni Evropi res obetajo časi s tropskim podnebjem?", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 25. 8. 1952, No. 34a, p. 3.

¹⁴⁵ "Jagode v decembru, led v avgustu", *Večer*, 25. 7. 1962, No. 172, p. 3.

¹⁴⁶ "Pitna voda po kapljicah", *Delo*, 19. 7. 1983, No. 165, p. 1.

¹⁴⁷ "Izsušena zemlja na Obali", *Delo*, 27. 7. 1983, No. 171, p. 1.

¹⁴⁸ J. Slodnjak, "Gasilci vozijo vodo", *Večer*, 5. 5. 1983, No. 102, p. 9.

¹⁴⁹ Ivica Burnik, "Suša pomaga obirati hmelj", *Delo*, 24. 8. 1992, No. 194, p. 1.

¹⁵⁰ Branko Vodušek, "Letina je izgubljena, s solzami v očeh ugotavljajo vinogradniki", *Delo*, 1. 9. 1992, No. 201, p. 3.

¹⁵¹ Violeta Vatovec-Einspieler, "Vitanjčani so jezni na Celjane", *Večer*, 21. 8. 1992, No. 192, p. 10.

¹⁵² "Najtoplejši avgust od 1852!", *Večer*, 1. 9. 1992, No. 201, p. 2.

¹⁵³ Milovan Dimitrič, "Rekordna vročina v zadnjih sto petdesetih letih", *Delo*, 18. 6. 2003, No. 139, p. 7.

¹⁵⁴ Marjeta Šoštarčič, "Vrisk kliče na pomoč državo", *Delo*, 27. 6. 2003, No. 146, p. 3.

¹⁵⁵ Zdenka Lindič-Dragaš in Lado Stružnik, "Toča oklestila pridelek", *Delo*, 10. 7. 2003, No. 157, p. 3.

Večer, 2003	"Such a hot June as this year's is not remembered on the Slovenian coast even by the oldest Istrians. It is said that such heat has not occurred for some 150 years" (" <i>Tako vročega junija, kot je letošnji, na slovenski Obali ne pomnijo niti najstarejši Istrani. Menda take vročine ni bilo že kar 150 let.</i> "). ¹⁵⁶
Večer, 2003	"A prolonged drought such as not even the oldest inhabitants can remember in the Pomurje region /.../" (" <i>Dolgotrajna suša, kakršne tudi v pomurski regiji ne pomnijo niti najstarejši prebivalci /.../.</i> "). ¹⁵⁷

As already indicated, in the coverage of the 1992 and 2003 droughts we found considerably more comparisons with past droughts than for the other events under review. Focusing first on 1992, *Delo* reported that "the worst drought in Slovenia, which affected the north-eastern part of Slovenia during the growing season" ("*najbujša suša v Sloveniji, ki je prizadela v vegetacijskem obdobju območje severovzhodne Slovenije*") occurred in 1952, when supposedly only 113 mm of rain fell between April and the end of July.¹⁵⁸ *Delo* referred twice more to the similarity or comparability of the scale of the 1992 drought with that of four decades earlier, noting among other things that this was also the assessment of "experts" ("*strokovnjaki*"), without any further explanation of who these "experts" were. The authors of the articles also wrote that there had been major droughts in 1988, 1983, and 1922 – in the last case they were most likely mistaken and meant 1921 – and that an even more severe drought than in any of the years mentioned occurred in 1833, when, it was claimed, no rain fell at all from June until winter.¹⁵⁹ They also noted that 1950 had been very hot,¹⁶⁰ which was certainly true. In *Večer*, recollections of past droughts focused less on drought as such and more on temperature extremes and years of high temperatures. Among the years examined in more detail in this article, *Večer* highlighted 1950; 1952, when – up to and including 1992 – the August heat record had been measured in Maribor and Murska Sobota; 1962; and 1983.¹⁶¹ Both *Delo* and *Večer* also mentioned that August 1992 was the warmest August on record in Ljubljana since measurements had begun at the local meteorological station.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁶ Kristina Menih, "Alge ubijalke v našem morju ni", *Večer*, 14. 6. 2003, No. 136, p. 13.

¹⁵⁷ Oste Bakal, "Omejitev porabe vode po vsem Pomurju", *Večer*, 13. 8. 2003, No. 186, p. 16.

¹⁵⁸ Gordana Pipan, "Pripeka pobira davek", *Delo*, 18. 8. 1992, No. 189, p. 1.

¹⁵⁹ "Z namakanjem proti suši", *Delo*, 21. 8. 1992, No. 192, p. 3; Branko Vodušek, "Letina je izgubljena, s solzami v očeh ugotavljajo vinogradniki", *Delo*, 1. 9. 1992, No. 201, p. 3.

¹⁶⁰ "Poletje, kakršnega še ni bilo", *Delo*, 1. 9. 1992, No. 201, p. 3.

¹⁶¹ Brane Šalamon, "Bilo je še bolj vroče", *Večer*, 27. 7. 1992, No. 171, p. 18; nj, "Bilo je še bolj vroče", *Večer*, 28. 7. 1992, No. 172, p. 1; Brane Šalamon, "Povsem normalno vreme", *Večer*, 4. 8. 1992, No. 178, p. 7; Brane Šalamon, "Avgustovske skrajnosti", *Večer*, 21. 8. 1992, No. 192, p. 2; Kornelija Golob, "Premalo, da bi si rastline opomogle", *Večer*, 24. 8. 1992, No. 194, p. 24.

¹⁶² "Poletje, kakršnega še ni bilo", *Delo*, 1. 9. 1992, No. 201, p. 3; "Najtoplejši avgust od 1852!", *Večer*, 1. 9. 1992, No. 194, p. 2.

June 2003 also set heat records.¹⁶³ In 2003 the two Slovenian newspapers under review did not, to any great extent, recall earlier droughts in Slovenia. Nevertheless, an article in the Saturday supplement of *Delo* is worth mentioning, which pointed out, among other things, that 2003 was already the sixth drought year in just over a decade, and drew attention to the high temperatures in August 1992.¹⁶⁴ It is also worth highlighting an interesting difference between the reports in *Delo* and *Večer*, published on the same day, about the drought that affected the Kozjansko area. Although in both cases we can detect sensationalist tones when they write about the historical scale of this natural disaster, this is more evident in *Večer*. *Delo* wrote that such a drought in Kozjansko "has not been remembered for decades" ("*ne pomnijo že desetletja*"),¹⁶⁵ whereas *Večer* claimed that "such a drought in these parts has not been remembered for 150 years" ("*takšne suše v teh krajih ne pomnijo že 150 let*"),¹⁶⁶ even though, according to the relevant literature consulted, there were no measuring stations there yet in the mid-nineteenth century. These assertions rest on local memory rather than on instrumental records and could in principle be corroborated or refuted only by a systematic analysis of long term meteorological and hydrological data.

Special comment is warranted in the case of *Slovenski poročevalec* in 1952, where the author of two articles raised the question of whether droughts were becoming more frequent and of weather changes more generally at that time. In one of the articles, he wrote that "scientists" ("*znanstveniki*") were not in agreement about the reasons for this. He did not mention climate change as a possible cause.¹⁶⁷ In the other article, however, he himself rejected the idea that climate change might be responsible for the occurrence of several drought years within a short period. He argued that weather anomalies occur in groups, adding that the period 1931–1940 had been markedly wet, whereas the following decade had been very dry. Despite his denial of climate change, it is noteworthy that he at least hinted at the possibility.¹⁶⁸ In 1938 the British engineer Guy Stewart Callendar had published a study in which he linked rising air temperatures to increasing carbon dioxide emissions and attributed responsibility to human activity.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶³ Milovan Dimitrič, "Rekordna vročina v zadnjih sto petdesetih letih", *Delo*, 18. 6. 2003, No. 139, p. 7.

¹⁶⁴ Jaroslav Jankovič, "Stebila nizka, zrna žalostno drobna", *Delo: Sobotna priloga*, 28. 6. 2003, No. 147, pp. 8–10.

¹⁶⁵ Danilo, Utenkar, "Že od februarja ni pošteno deževalo", *Delo*, 18. 7. 2003, No. 164, p. 7.

¹⁶⁶ Vasja Jager, "Živine nimajo s čim krmiti, pa tudi prodati je ne morejo", *Večer*, 18. 7. 2003, No. 164, p. 12.

¹⁶⁷ B. B., "Ali se Južni Evropi res obetajo časi s tropskim podnebjem?", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 25. 8. 1952, No. 34a, p. 3.

¹⁶⁸ Vital Maholin, "Zakaj so zadnja leta sušna?", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 17. 8. 1952, No. 194, p. 3.

¹⁶⁹ Mike Hulme, "Claiming and Adjudicating on Mt Kilimanjaro's Shrinking Glaciers: Guy Callendar, Al Gore and Extended Peer Communities", *Science as Culture* 19, No. 3 (2010), p. 313. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09505430903214427>.

Of the newspapers under review, only those reporting in 2003 wrote that droughts had become more frequent as a consequence of climate change.¹⁷⁰ *Delo* noted that since the late 1970s air temperatures had risen as a result of these changes and that weather extremes in the Republic of Slovenia would be more frequent in the future, while new diseases and pests would appear. It also warned that agriculture should be adapted accordingly, for example by planting crops that require less water for their growth.¹⁷¹

5.3 Impacts of Drought on Agriculture

In the newspapers under review, the greatest attention in reporting on the negative consequences of drought and heat is devoted to their impact on agriculture, above all on crop growth and grassland, which strongly affected livestock farming. In the case of spring droughts this is reflected in delays in field work, and in the poor performance of sown crops (for example cereals sown in autumn).¹⁷² Spring droughts also resulted in smaller quantities of hay.¹⁷³ Summer droughts most strongly affected yields of potatoes, maize, and beans. The loss of bean yields is mentioned only rarely in 1992 and not at all in 2003, whereas in those years damage to sugar beet caused by drought is explicitly noted. Among the highlighted examples, the newspapers also mention losses in various vegetable crops and, in some cases, fruit, which fell from the trees because of drought, as well as reduced hop yields in the Savinja Valley, where picking began earlier, at least in 1992, because of the unfavourable weather conditions. That year growers were additionally troubled by red spider mite.¹⁷⁴ An exception, in a sense,

¹⁷⁰ Jaroslav Jankovič, "Stebila nizka, zrna žalostno drobna", *Delo: Sobotna priloga*, 28. 6. 2003, No. 147, pp. 8–10; Franc Jurač, "Vročje sonce posuši travo, še preden zraste", *Večer*, 25. 7. 2003, No. 170, p. 16; Jože Plešnar, "Peklensko vročje (zadnje) svarilo", *Večer*, 9. 8. 2003, No. 183, p. 2; bb, "Vročina, kot je v Sloveniji doslej še ni bilo", *Večer*, 12. 8. 2003, No. 185, p. 1; Bojan Bauman, "Vročina, kot je doslej še ni bilo", *Večer*, 12. 8. 2003, No. 185, p. 3.

¹⁷¹ Borut Tavčar, "Topleje in manj vode bo", *Delo*, 21. 6. 2003, No. 142, p. 3; Tomaž Švigelj, "Pet stopinj nad povprečjem", *Delo: priloga znanost*, 14. 7. 2003, No. 160, p. 8.

¹⁷² In 1939, the poor grain harvest was also affected by the floods in May.

¹⁷³ "Vremenski režim 40 mučnikov", *Slovenec*, 18. 4. 1939, No. 88a, p. 6; "Položaj okoliškega kmeta", *Slovenec*, 22. 4. 1939, No. 92a, p. 11; "Prvi dež po dolgotrajni suši v Beli krajini", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 15. 5. 1952, No. 114, p. 4; "Kljub suši je v Sloveniji opravljene 95 odstotkov pomladanske setve", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 20. 5. 1952, No. 118, p. 3; "Suša v Pomurju bi bila nevarna za poljščine", *Delo*, 5. 5. 1983, No. 102, p. 1; mm, "Suša grozi posevkom", *Večer*, 7. 5. 1983, No. 104, p. 8.

¹⁷⁴ "Preveč suše", *Slovenski narod*, 24. 7. 1921, No. 163, p. 5; "Suša na Gorenjskem", *Slovenec*, 26. 7. 1921, No. 167, p. 3; "Posledice suše", *Slovenski narod*, 29. 7. 1921, No. 167, p. 3; "Škoda na poljih in travnikih", *Slovenski narod*, 30. 7. 1921, No. 168, p. 3; "Ljubljana, 29. julij", *Slovenski narod*, 30. 7. 1921, No. 168, p. 3; "Suša", *Slovenec*, 5. 8. 1921, No. 176, p. 3; "Posledice suše na Štajerskem", *Slovenski narod*, 6. 8. 1921, No. 174, p. 3; "Stanje ozimnih in jarih sadežev", *Slovenec*, 9. 8. 1921, No. 179, p. 4; J. K., "Iz D. M. v Polju", *Slovenec*, 10. 8. 1921, No. 180, p. 3; "Gospodarski položaj vsled suše", *Slovenec*, 11. 8. 1921, No. 181, p. 3;



Impact of drought on fruit trees (*Večer*, 2. 8. 2003, No. 177, p. 12)

"S Posavja pri Ljubljani", *Slovenec*, 11. 9. 1921, No. 206, p. 3; "Novice z Ruš", *Jutro*, 21. 7. 1939, No. 167, p. 5; "Suša hudo pritiska", *Jutro*, 23. 7. 1939, No. 169, p. 7; "Suša uničuje Dolenjcu letino", *Jutro*, 12. 8. 1939, No. 186, p. 3; "Posledice letošnje suše so precej občutne – preskrba delovnega ljudstva pa je zagotovljena", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 14. 8. 1952, No. 191, p. 3; "Kljub suši ni večjih težav v preskrbi z vrtninami in sadjem", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 17. 8. 1952, No. 194, p. 3; "Kako bomo rešili živino pred posledicami suše", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 20. 8. 1952, No. 196, p. 1; M. P., "Organizacija pomoči prizadetim po suši", *Ljudska pravica*, 23. 8. 1952, No. 34, pp. 1–2; "Suša je v sezanskem okraju prizadejala po prvih podatkih okoli 230 milijonov dinarjev škode", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 23. 8. 1952, No. 199, p. 1; "Suša in gosenice so uničile pridelek okoli vas Gorjansko", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 24. 8. 1952, No. 200, p. 3; jp, "Hude posledice suše na Goriškem", *Delo*, 10. 8. 1962, No. 218, p. 4; jp, "Vse senožeti so pokosili", *Delo*, 14. 8. 1962, No. 222, p. 4; "Manjši pridelek hmelja", *Večer*, 18. 8. 1962, No. 193, p. 4; "Pitna voda po kapljicah", *Delo*, 19. 7. 1983, No. 165, p. 1; "Izsušena zemlja na Obali", *Delo*, 27. 7. 1983, No. 171, p. 1; "Zaradi vročine in suše vse več škode", *Delo*, 28. 7. 1983, No. 172, p. 6; SzP, "Koruzo bodo kosili", *Večer*, 28. 7. 1983, No. 172, p. 16; "Kmetje in komunalci te dni v hudih skrbeh", *Delo*, 31. 7. 1992, No. 175, p. 2; Tatjana Vrbnjak, "Pridelek bo slabši", *Večer*, 1. 8. 1992, No. 176, p. 10; bž, "Katastrofalne posledice suše", *Večer*, 4. 8. 1992, No. 178, p. 7; ješ, "Suša pesti tudi okolico Maribora", *Večer*, 4. 8. 1992, No. 178, p. 7; fg, "Ogrožena letina", *Večer*, 4. 8. 1992, No. 178, p. 7; Gordana Pipan, "Pripeka pobira davek", *Delo*, 18. 8. 1992, No. 189, p. 1; Ivan Gerenčer, "Cena letošnje suše bo strahotno visoka", *Delo*, 20. 8. 1992, No. 191, p. 1; Ivan Gerenčer in drugi, "Pojd nam, pojd, dežek, na eto našo suho zemlo", *Delo*, 20. 8. 1992, No. 191, p. 3; Slavica Pičerkro, "Katastrofalne posledice, pa suše še ni konec", *Večer*, 20. 8. 1992, No. 191, p. 3; Ivica Burnik, "Suša pomaga obirati hmelj", *Delo*, 24. 8. 1992, No. 194, p. 1; Ivan Gerenčer in drugi, "Škoda zaradi suše bo še večja", *Delo*, 25. 8. 1992, No. 195, p. 3; "Suša pobira pridelke", *Delo*, 3. 6. 2003,

is 1950, when the newspaper reports allow us to infer only that the drought affected fields and gardens.¹⁷⁵ In 2003 drought damaged olive trees, which are otherwise more resistant to dry conditions, and they reportedly lost 60–70 per cent of their fruit.¹⁷⁶ Drought also had negative effects on forests, and in 2003 it contributed to the spread of bark beetle.¹⁷⁷

In the reporting on the 1992 drought, and to a lesser extent on the 2003 drought, journalists also paid attention to soil properties on agricultural land. The phenomenon in question most severely affected the gravelly soils of the plains in the north-east of the Republic of Slovenia and the marl soils of the surrounding hills.¹⁷⁸ In these two more recent droughts, the reports on yield losses are additionally supported by percentage estimates indicating the share of crops that would fall below expectations. Because the number of newspaper articles on the droughts of 1992 and 2003 is considerably higher than in the other cases, it is possible to follow how the reported estimates of crop losses increased as the drought persisted. Thus, for example, at the end of July 1992 losses in maize in Pomurje were estimated at 30–40 per cent, and at more than 60 per cent in the most severely affected areas, whereas in mid-August they were estimated at 65–90 per cent for all crops.¹⁷⁹ We may infer that the proportion of maize affected was very high. For the droughts of 1921 and 1939 it is emphasised that lower yields of vegetables and other garden produce led to shortages in urban supply and rising prices.¹⁸⁰ In the post-Second World War droughts examined here, such effects are not apparent in the reporting.

No. 126, p. 6; Damijan Toplak, "Kmetje se sprašujejo, ali bodo pšenico letos sploh želi", *Večer*, 12. 6. 2003, No. 134, p. 13; Jutka M. Kiraly, "Katastrofalna žetev v Prekmurju", *Delo*, 3. 7. 2003, No. 151, p. 3; Nataša Gider, "Ena največjih naravnih nesreč", *Večer*, 3. 7. 2003, No. 151, p. 3; D. S., "Suša je vzela celo košnjo", *Delo*, 15. 7. 2003, No. 161, p. 6; Vasja Jager, "Živine nimajo s čim krmiti, pa tudi prodati je ne morejo", *Večer*, 18. 7. 2003, No. 164, p. 12; "Meseci brez milosti za žejno naravo", *Delo*, 24. 7. 2003, No. 169, p. 5; Aleš Lednik, "Pridelka bo za tretjino manj", *Večer*, 6. 8. 2003, No. 180, p. 12.

¹⁷⁵ "Taka vročina še ni bila zabeležena v Sloveniji", *Ljudska pravica*, 8. 7. 1950, No. 161, p. 4.

¹⁷⁶ Nace Novak, "Oljkam odpadajo cvetovi", *Delo*, 5. 7. 2003, No. 153, p. 3; "Meseci brez milosti za žejno naravo", *Delo*, 24. 7. 2003, No. 169, p. 5; Iztok Umer, "Primorska skoraj brez pridelka", *Delo*, 6. 8. 2003, No. 180, p. 3; Kristina Menih, "Pozeba, potem suša, nazadnje še velika vročina", *Večer* 14. 8. 2003, No. 187, p. 13.

¹⁷⁷ Ivan Gerenčer, "Cena letošnje suše bo strahotno visoka", *Delo*, 20. 8. 1992, No. 191, p. 1; Rok Kajzer, "Milijoni tolarjev škode", *Večer*, 22. 8. 1992, No. 193, p. 9; Ivan Gerenčer in drugi, "Škoda zaradi suše bo še večja", *Delo*, 25. 8. 1992, No. 195, p. 3; Tatjana Šeneker, "Ruške travnike prizadele tudi koblice", *Večer*, 14. 8. 2003, No. 187, p. 18; Milan Glavonjič, "Suša slabi vitalnost drevja", *Večer*, 16. 8. 2003, No. 188, p. 12; Franc Kramer, "Vročina razmnožila lubadarja", *Večer*, 21. 8. 2003, No. 192, p. 14; Marjeta Šoštarčič, "Suša in lubadar pospešeno žagata drevje", *Delo*, 25. 8. 2003, No. 195, p. 3.

¹⁷⁸ "Kmetje in komunalci te dni v hudih skrbah", *Delo*, 31. 7. 1992, No. 175, p. 2; fg, "Ogrožena letina", *Večer*, 4. 8. 1992, No. 178, p. 7; Jože Splichal, "Na prodnatih tleh bo uničenih več poljščin", *Delo*, 12. 8. 1992, No. 185, p. 3; Gordana Pipan, "Pripeka pobira davek", *Delo*, 18. 8. 1992, No. 189, p. 1; Zlatka Rashid, "Za praznimi njivami še prazni hlevi in shrambe", *Večer*, 19. 8. 1992, No. 190, p. 8.

¹⁷⁹ Kmetje in komunalci te dni v hudih skrbah", *Delo*, 31. 7. 1992, No. 175, p. 2; Ivan Gerenčer in drugi, "Škoda zaradi suše bo še večja", *Delo*, 25. 8. 1992, No. 195, p. 3.

¹⁸⁰ "Posledice suše", *Slovenec*, 30. 7. 1921, No. 171, p. 3; "Posledice suše na Štajerskem", *Slovenski narod*, 6. 8. 1921, No. 174, p. 3; "Neprijetne posledice suše in vročine", *Slovenec*, 21. 7. 1939, No. 164a, p. 7.

In some areas irrigation systems were already being introduced by 1962, which provided a means of mitigating the consequences of drought.¹⁸¹ Regardless of their positive effect in dry years, some twenty years later such systems were evidently still rare in Yugoslavia. In 1983 a journalist in *Večer* argued that the Yugoslav state would cope more easily with the consequences of drought if it promoted such systems, noting that only two per cent of arable land in the country was irrigated, whereas the share was much higher in neighbouring states.¹⁸² Calls to expand irrigation infrastructure were frequent during the 1992 and 2003 droughts. The state, it was argued, should take responsibility for this, including financially, since the full costs of such investments were too high for individual farmers. These demands were voiced by several farmers whose views were published in the newspapers under review, and particularly by the KGZS in 2003, which also proposed a series of other measures to counter the effects of drought that will be discussed below. By 2003 a national irrigation programme formally existed, but its implementation was lagging. At that time the president of the KGZS stated that, among European countries, only Albania had a worse regulated irrigation system than the Republic of Slovenia. This was most likely an exaggeration, yet the comparison with a considerably less economically developed country was telling for Slovenian media audiences. The usefulness of irrigation was underpinned by data comparing yield losses on irrigated and non-irrigated land. Thus, for example, in 1992 hop yield losses in the Lower Savinja Valley were estimated at 18–30 per cent on irrigated fields, compared to 60–80 per cent on those without irrigation.¹⁸³ The Vogršček irrigation system in the Vipava Valley, built between 1985 and 1989, was repeatedly cited as an example of good practice.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ jp, "Hude posledice suše na Goriškem", *Delo*, 10. 8. 1962, No. 218, p. 4; jp, "Vse senožeti so pokosili", *Delo*, 14. 8. 1962, No. 222, p. 4.

¹⁸² Mirko Munda, "Celo dve žetvi na naši žitnici", *Večer*, 2. 8. 1983, No. 176, p. 4.

¹⁸³ Jože Pobjbič, "Pomurje se še naprej zvija v krču pripeke", *Delo*, 6. 8. 1992, No. 180, p. 1; Tatjana Vrbnjak, "Namakanje rešilo letino", *Večer*, 13. 8. 1992, No. 186, p. 10; fg, "Nad sušo z namakanjem", *Večer*, 19. 8. 1992, No. 190, p. 11; Marjeta Šoštarič, "udarec po narodovem žepu", *Delo*, 20. 8. 1992, No. 191, p. 1; Ivan Gerenčer in drugi, "Pojdi nam, pojdi, dežek, na eto našo suho zemlo", *Delo*, 20. 8. 1992, No. 191, p. 3; tv, "Hitijo s spravilom hmelja", *Večer*, 20. 8. 1992, No. 191, p. 10; Ivica Burnik, "Suša pomaga obirati hmelj", *Delo*, 24. 8. 1992, No. 194, p. 1; Franc Milošič, "Načrtovalcem namakalnih naprav so se prej smejali", *Delo*, 25. 8. 1992, No. 195, p. 3; Slavica Crnica, "Vipavska: namakanje že lajša sušo", *Delo*, 31. 8. 1992, No. 200, p. 2; dr, "Bodo v Pomurju letos sploh želi?", *Večer*, 12. 6. 2003, No. 134, p. 1; Marjeta Šoštarič, "Vrisk kliče na pomoč državo", *Delo*, 27. 6. 2003, No. 146, p. 3; Martina Budal, "Suše, kakršne še ni bilo", *Večer*, 27. 6. 2003, No. 197, p. 3; Jutka M. Kiraly, "Katastrofalna žetev v Prekmurju", *Delo*, 3. 7. 2003, No. 151, p. 3; "Meseci brez milosti za žejno naravo", *Delo*, 24. 7. 2003, No. 169, p. 5; Slavica Crnica, "Črnoglede napovedi", *Delo*, 1. 8. 2003, No. 176, p. 5; Branko Žunec, "Suša ima razsežnost gospodarske katastrofe", *Večer*, 13. 8. 2003, No. 186, p. 2; Matej Košir, "Posledice suše kot toče", *Delo*, 20. 8. 2003, No. 191, p. 3; Slavica Crnica, "Namakanje dolgoročna naložba v kmetijstvo", *Delo*, 20. 8. 2003, No. 191, p. 6.

¹⁸⁴ More on the Vogršček irrigation system see: Matjaž Tratnik et al., "Sistem Vogršček – izivi nove ureditve", in: *Mišičev vodarski dan 2011: zbornik referatov* (Maribor, 2011), pp. 148–154.

For individual farmers, investing in irrigation systems represented a major financial burden. It was reported that in 2003 many farmers on the Ptuj Plain had calculated that such an investment would not pay off. The market price of wheat and maize would not cover irrigation costs, whereas the sale of vegetables and sugar beet would. On the other hand, in many cases farming in that area was a secondary activity, which was another reason why people were reluctant to invest, since it did not represent their primary source of income. In some areas, however, the drought in 2003 was so severe that yields were affected even on irrigated land.¹⁸⁵

Droughts also influenced other economic activities. The 1939 drought, for example, negatively affected beekeeping along the river Mura from the Apače Plain to Medimurje.¹⁸⁶ By contrast, in most drought years the vine generally did well.¹⁸⁷ This cannot be said for 1992 and 2003, when younger vineyards dried out because of the prevailing weather conditions. If heavy rain had fallen, this would have had additional negative effects on yields, as grape berries would have started to burst and rot. Although in 1992 the newspapers wrote that the quality of the wine would also be poor.¹⁸⁸ In addition to the harvest, it later turned out that at least in the Podravje wine-growing region this was not the case, as "winegrowers produced wonderful, unforgettable wine" ("*vinogradniki pridelali krasno, nepozabno vino*").¹⁸⁹

Beyond reduced crop yields, summer droughts had a significant impact on the quantity of grass obtained from the second and third cuts, which in turn affected livestock farming. For the more recent droughts under review, the loss of fodder is supported by concrete figures; for example, in 1952 hay yields on

¹⁸⁵ Jože Rakuša, "Namakanje za prvih 232 hektarjev zemljišč", *Večer*, 2. 7. 2003, No. 150, p. 16; Darja Lukman Žunec, "Pšenico bi lahko namakali, a je to predrago", *Večer*, 4. 7. 2003, No. 152, p. 16; "Kako učinkovito je namakanje?", *Večer: Sobotna priloga*, 5. 7. 2003, No. 153, p. 40; Zoran Potič, "Samo namakalni sistem ne zadošča", *Večer: Sobotna priloga*, 5. 7. 2003, No. 153, p. 40; "Meseci brez milosti za žejno naravo", *Delo*, 24. 7. 2003, No. 169, p. 5; Vili Einspieler, "Po letih suše prava suša", *Delo*, 24. 7. 2003, No. 169, p. 7; Darja Lukman Žunec, "Namakanje je rešitev, a je zelo drago", *Večer*, 23. 8. 2003, No. 194, p. 16.

¹⁸⁶ Janko Belec, "Neugodno leto za čebelarje", *Jutro*, 30. 7. 1939, No. 175, p. 8.

¹⁸⁷ "Posledice suše na Štajerskem", *Slovenski narod*, 6. 8. 1921, No. 174, p. 3; "Izgledi za letošnji izvoz sadja", *Jutro*, 22. 7. 1939, No. 168, p. 5; "Letina v šmarnskem okraju", *Slovenec*, 13. 8. 1939, No. 184a, p. 8; "Črnomelj", *Delo*, 21. 8. 1962, No. 229, p. 5.

¹⁸⁸ "Tegobe pasje vročine", *Delo*, 5. 8. 1992, No. 179, p. 1; Franci Golob, "Suša pobira letino", *Večer*, 11. 8. 1992, No. 184, p. 15; Gordana Pipan, "Pripeka pobira davek", *Delo*, 18. 8. 1992, No. 189, p. 1; Kornelija Golob, "Premalo, da bi si rastline opomogle!", *Večer*, 24. 8. 1992, No. 194, p. 24; Ivan Gerenčer in drugi, "Škoda zaradi suše bo še večja", *Delo*, 25. 8. 1992, No. 195, p. 3; Branko Vodušek, "Letina je izgubljena, s solzami v očeh ugotavljajo vinogradniki", *Delo*, 1. 9. 1992, No. 201, p. 3; Nace Novak, "Oljkam odpadajo cvetovi", *Delo*, 5. 7. 2003, No. 153, p. 3; "Mesec brez milosti za žejno naravo", *Delo*, 24. 7. 2003, No. 169, p. 5.

¹⁸⁹ Tatjana Šenekar, "Letos manj vina, a boljše kakovosti", *Večer*, 22. 8. 2003, No. 193, p. 14.



Irrigation of hop plantations in the Savinja Valley (Tatjana Vrbnjak, "Namakanje rešilo letino", *Večer*, 13. 8. 1992, No. 186, p. 10)

the Karst amounted to only 40–50 per cent of the annual average.¹⁹⁰ Because of the shortage of fodder, the supply of livestock on the market increased, which led to a fall in livestock prices, while milk prices rose. Newspapers also reported on yield losses in fields and gardens.¹⁹¹ Such reports can be found for all the droughts examined here, with the exception of 1983. In 1952, *Ljudska pravica* advised livestock farmers to feed their animals with grape marc, acorns, horse chestnuts, and weeds as emergency fodder.¹⁹² In 2003, in parts of Posavje, branches from oak trees were given to livestock, and farmers showed increased interest in obtaining spent grains from the Laško brewery because of the short-

¹⁹⁰ "Glavna zadružna zveza je organizirala pomoč po suši prizadetim živinorejcev", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 12. 8. 1952, No. 189, p. 4.

¹⁹¹ "Vročina in suša", *Slovenski narod*, 3. 8. 1921, No. 171, p. 3; "Živinski semenj v Mariboru", *Slovenec*, 12. 8. 1921, No. 182, p. 3; "Suša in njene posledice za živinorejo", *Slovenec*, 13. 8. 1921, No. 183, p. 4; "Štajerske novice", *Slovenec*, 20. 9. 1921, No. 213, p. 2; "Novice z Ruš", *Jutro*, 21. 7. 1939, No. 167, p. 5; "Krme ne bo", *Jutro*, 4. 8. 1939, No. 179, p. 4; "Letina v šmarnskem okraju", *Slovenec*, 13. 8. 1939, No. 184a, p. 8; "Kako bomo rešili živino pred posledicami suše", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 20. 8. 1952, No. 196, p. 1; "Pomagati prizadetim po suši je dolžnost vseh nas", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 24. 8. 1952, No. 200, p. 1.

¹⁹² "Proti posledicam suše", *Ljudska pravica*, 6. 9. 1952, No. 36, p. 6.

age of their own fodder and the limited supply on the market.¹⁹³ For the most recent droughts of 1992 and 2003, *Delo* and *Večer* also published articles on how to restore damaged grassland. To secure at least enough feed for their animals, farmers were advised to ensile maize.¹⁹⁴

In 1952, *Slovenski poročevalec* and *Ljudska pravica* carried appeals for solidarity between those not affected by drought and those who were. The former were urged to use less fodder and sell any surplus to local cooperatives, which could then supply the affected farmers.¹⁹⁵ At the same time, there were warnings against buying fodder from middlemen at high prices.¹⁹⁶ One of the commentators saw drought as an opportunity to remove "unproductive and barren" livestock ("*neproduktivna in jalova živina*") from the barns.¹⁹⁷ In 1992 the Red Cross of Slovenia likewise appealed for solidarity when it collected money to help people affected by drought, and it earmarked at least two million tolar for those in Pomurje.¹⁹⁸

5.4 Impacts of Drought on Water Resources

In addition to the lack of water for food production, drought also led to shortages of drinking water for the population. Newspaper reports frequently mention wells and springs running dry and a lack of potable water in villages,¹⁹⁹ which made it necessary to supply water by tanker from elsewhere; in some places (for example on the Karst in 1939) people reportedly walked for several hours to fetch it.²⁰⁰ Because of water shortages, *Slovenec* in the same year carried an appeal for the construction of a water supply system in Kurja vas near Lju-

¹⁹³ sta, "Govedu pokladajo hrastove veje", *Večer*, 20. 8. 2003, No. 191, p. 2; Mojca Marot, "Povpraševanje presega ponudbo", *Večer*, 22. 8. 2023, No. 193, p. 13.

¹⁹⁴ "Kaj svetujejo strokovnjaki", *Večer*, 6. 8. 1992, No. 180, p. 15; zr, "S silažo nad koruzo", *Večer*, 19. 8. 1992, No. 190, p. 1; Ivan Gerenčer in drugi, "Pojdi nam, pojdi, dežek, na eto našo suho zemlo", *Delo*, 20. 8. 1992, No. 191, p. 3; Zlatka Rashid, "Še se da pomagati", *Večer*, 25. 8. 1992, No. 196, p. 9; Darja Lukman Žunec, "Samo do 20. julija za štiri milijarde škode", *Večer*, 21. 8. 2003, No. 192, p. 16.

¹⁹⁵ M. P., "Organizacija pomoči prizadetim po suši", *Ljudska pravica*, 23. 8. 1952, No. 34, pp. 1–2; "Pomagati prizadetim po suši je dolžnost vseh nas", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 24. 8. 1952, No. 200, p. 1; *Slovenski poročevalec*, 26. 8. 1952, No. 201, p. 3; *Slovenski poročevalec*, 29. 8. 1952, No. 204, p. 2.

¹⁹⁶ *Slovenski poročevalec*, 31. 8. 1952, No. 206, p. 4.

¹⁹⁷ M. Pavšič, "Letošnja suša ne sme prizadeti zdravja živali v ogroženih predelih", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 19. 8. 1952, No. 195, p. 3.

¹⁹⁸ "Pomoč ob suši", *Večer*, 20. 8. 1992, No. 191, p. 3.

¹⁹⁹ "Dovoz vode na polja in vrtove", *Slovenski narod*, 26. 7. 1921, No. 164, p. 3; "Nemška vas pri Ribnici", *Slovenec*, 31. 7. 1921, No. 172, p. 3; "Trst, 30. julija", *Slovenski narod*, 31. 7. 1921, No. 169, p. 4; "Vročina in suša", *Slovenski narod*, 3. 8. 1921, No. 171, p. 3; "Konec zimske suše", *Jutro*, 28. 3. 1939, No. 73, p. 3; "Suša in gosence so uničile pridelek okoli vas Gorjansko", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 24. 8. 1952, No. 200, p. 3.

²⁰⁰ "Po velikih povodnjih suša", *Slovenec*, 23. 7. 1939, No. 166a, p. 6.

bljana, which was expected to ease the lives of local residents.²⁰¹ However, this would not necessarily have guaranteed a reliable drinking water supply during drought, as is evident from Maribor in 1939, where water was also lacking in the municipal network.²⁰² In 1983, 1992, and 2003, when the water supply network in the territory of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, and later the Republic of Slovenia, was already quite extensive, drinking water still had to be delivered to certain areas because of low groundwater levels. At the same time, various restrictions were introduced, such as bans on watering gardens or washing cars with water from public water systems (similar measures had already been introduced in some places in 1962), although residents in affected areas often ignored them.²⁰³ In 1992, the municipality of Duplek near Maribor introduced a rule that households could use 120 litres of water per person per day and 70 litres per head of cattle.²⁰⁴ In 2003, already in mid-June, the Ministry of the Environment, Spatial Planning and Energy called on all citizens of the Republic of Slovenia to limit their water use.²⁰⁵ It should be added that the transport of water by tanker was not free of charge, although in many cases part of the cost was covered by municipalities.²⁰⁶ Problems in supplying water to households connected to water mains were caused not only by shortages in the catchments but also by damaged pipes, some of which failed as a result of high temperatu-

²⁰¹ "Vodovod v Kurjo vas!", *Slovenec*, 3. 8. 1921, No. 174, p. 3.

²⁰² "Posledice suše na Štajerskem", *Slovenski narod*, 6. 8. 1921, No. 174, p. 3; "Pomanjkanje vode na Štajerskem", *Slovenski narod*, 15. 9. 1921, No. 206, p. 3.

²⁰³ jp, "Hude posledice suše na Goriškem", *Delo*, 10. 8. 1962, No. 218, p. 4; "Vodovodne cevi ponekod že na pol izpraznjene", *Delo*, 9. 7. 1983, No. 157, p. 1; "Pitna voda po kapljicah", *Delo*, 19. 7. 1983, No. 165, p. 1; "Izsušena zemlja na Obali", *Delo*, 27. 7. 1983, No. 171, p. 1; "Zaradi vročine in suše vse več škode", *Delo*, 28. 7. 1983, No. 172, p. 6; jr, "Vode pa ni", *Večer*, 29. 7. 1983, No. 173, p. 9; "Kmetje in komunalci te dni v hudih skrbeh", *Delo*, 31. 7. 1992, No. 175, p. 2; "Tegobe pasje vročine", *Delo*, 5. 8. 1992, No. 179, p. 1; Nataša Jenuš, "Pomoč v milijonih litrih vode", *Večer*, 7. 8. 1992, No. 181, p. 8; tv, "Tudi vodarji se že ozirajo v nebo", *Večer*, 20. 8. 1992, No. 191, p. 10; Marjana Hanc, "Prepoved zalivanja vrtov", *Delo*, 13. 6. 2003, No. 135, p. 7; Ana Iršič, "V Zrečah omejitev porabe vode", *Večer*, 13. 6. 2003, No. 135, p. 15; Ana Iršič, "V Zrečah omejitev porabe vode", *Večer*, 13. 6. 2003, No. 135, p. 15; ob, "Prepovedali so zalivati vrtove, pravi avtomobile...", *Večer*, 13. 6. 2003, No. 135, p. 17; Borut Tavčar, "Omejitev porabe vode tudi v Ljubljani", *Delo*, 21. 6. 2003, No. 142, p. 7; Brane Piano, "Strele, požari in že prva žeja", *Delo*, 27. 6. 2003, No. 146, p. 19; "Meseci brez milosti za žejno naravo", *Delo*, 24. 7. 2003, No. 169, p. 5; Oste Bakal, "Gasilci dovažajo vodo v polovici občin", *Večer*, 31. 7. 2003, No. 175, p. 15; Oste Bakal, "Omejitev porabe vode po vsem Pomurju", *Večer*, 13. 8. 2003, No. 186, p. 16.

²⁰⁴ Marjeta Šoštarič, "Blažev žegen' za pridelke", *Delo*, 24. 8. 1992, No. 194, p. 1.

²⁰⁵ Borut Tavčar, "Pretoki tako nizki, kot bi bil že avgust", *Delo*, 14. 6. 2003, No. 136, p. 3; "Ministrstvo za okolje poziva k omejitvi porabe vode", *Večer*, 14. 6. 2003, No. 136, p. 13.

²⁰⁶ ps, Suša vzela strniščne posevke, *Večer*, 26. 8. 1992, No. 196, p. 10; fg, Kdaj pomoč države?, *Večer*, 26. 8. 1992, No. 196, p. 11; Naja Nabernik, Suša je še izrazitejša v hribovitih predelih, *Večer*, 26. 7. 2003, No. 171, p. 15.

res.²⁰⁷ In some areas, water utilities opened the mains only at certain times of day so that some water could accumulate while they were closed. In certain localities, residents tried to circumvent these restrictions by opening valves on the mains themselves, or by taking water before it passed through the meter and using it to irrigate agricultural land.²⁰⁸

Drought also resulted in low river and stream levels (some smaller streams dried up completely; in 2003 unfounded rumours even circulated that the Rinka waterfall had dried up),²⁰⁹ which affected several economic activities. Because of the spring drought in 1939, rafters from Dravograd were able to float timber down the Drava only as far as Maribor, and the ferry between Melje and Pobrežje could not operate because the water level was too low.²¹⁰ At the same time, some mills and sawmills on smaller streams ceased operations or functioned only on a reduced scale; a number of sawmills were electrified, which meant higher operating costs.²¹¹ In 1992 and 2003 low river discharge reduced electricity generation in hydropower plants: in 2003 plants on the Drava produced 35 per cent fewer gigawatt-hours than planned, those on the Sava 45 per cent less, and those on the Soča 58 per cent less. The Krško nuclear power plant also operated at reduced output, as it is not permitted to use more than one quarter of the Sava's flow for cooling. At the same time, the cooling water must not raise the river temperature above 28 °C or by more than three degrees Celsius above the existing river temperature. Because of all this, the Šoštanj thermal power plant had to provide a larger share of electricity than usual, yet in both 1992 and 2003 its summer operations were also limited because the plant was undergoing overhaul on both occasions. As a result, concerns were repeatedly voiced that restrictions on electricity consumption or even partial blackouts might be introduced,²¹² although according to the newspaper material examined this ultimately did not occur. Low water levels also affected fish

²⁰⁷ Marko Jakopec in drugi, "Suša je dodobra izpraznila vodna zajetja skoraj v vsej Sloveniji", *Delo*, 21. 8. 1992, No. 192, p. 3; Gabrijel Toplak, "Določene omejitve le za Duplek", *Večer*, 23. 7. 2003, No. 173, p. 23; Gabrijel Toplak, "Izgube vode so bistveno prevelike", *Večer*, 24. 7. 2003, No. 144, p. 16; Simona Fajfar, "Suša na Kočevskem je osušila tudi vodna zajetja", *Delo*, 26. 7. 2003, No. 171, p. 5.

²⁰⁸ tv, "V nižinah še dovolj vode", *Večer*, 4. 8. 1992, No. 178, p. 7; Jože Rakuša, "Včeraj zajezili reko Pesnico", *Večer*, 5. 8. 1992, No. 179, p. 15; mp, "Varčevanje in disciplina", *Večer*, 12. 8. 1992, No. 185, p. 10; Ivica Burnik in drugi, "Mnogim vasem vodo dovažajo cisterne", *Delo*, 1. 9. 1992, No. 201, p. 3.

²⁰⁹ mp, "Voda še vedno zadovoljivo curlja", *Večer*, 13. 8. 2003, No. 186, p. 16.

²¹⁰ "Maribor", *Slovenec*, 28. 3. 1939, No. 72a, p. 7.

²¹¹ "Posledice suše na Gorenjskem", *Jutro*, 28. 3. 1939, No. 73, p. 3.

²¹² Gordana Pipan, "Brez vode pač ni elektrike", *Delo*, 22. 8. 1992, No. 193, p. 1; Jaroslav Jankovič, "Stebala nizka, zrna žalostno drobna", *Delo: Sobotna priloga*, 28. 6. 2003, No. 147, p. 10; Matej Košir, "Vroče je tudi nuklearkam", *Delo*, 12. 8. 2003, No. 185, p. 1; Brane Piano, "Šoštanj hladi Slovenijo", *Delo*, 14. 8. 2003, No. 187, p. 3.



Dry streambed of the Porčič stream (Marjan Toš, "Potoki kot makadamske ceste", *Večer*, 14. 8. 2003, No. 187, p. 3)

farming, and fish kills were frequent.²¹³ Rivers, on the other hand, provided an opportunity for people to cool down, which in turn led to accidents;²¹⁴ in 1939, for example, newspapers reported several cases of drowning.²¹⁵ While river

²¹³"Posledice suše na Gorenjskem", *Jutro*, 28. 3. 1939, No. 73, p. 3; J. V., "Pogin rib v Savinji", *Večer*, 3. 8. 1983, No. 177, p. 16; Primož Cirman, "Prve žrtve ribe in potočni raki", *Delo*, 17. 6. 2003, No. 138, p. 7; "Meseci brez milosti za žejno naravo", *Delo*, 24. 7. 2003, No. 169, p. 5; Marjan Toš, "Poginile vse ribe in školjke", *Večer*, 29. 7. 2003, No. 173, p. 13; Marjan Toš, "Za pogin kriva čistilna naprava?", *Večer*, 31. 7. 2003, No. 175, p. 16; Simona Fajfar, "Jezero je izginilo", *Delo*, 1. 8. 2003, No. 176, p. 5; Robert Galun, "Bodo ribe izumrle?", *Delo*, 21. 8. 2003, No. 192, p. 3.

²¹⁴Vročina pasjih dni!", *Slovenski narod*, 21. 7. 1921, No. 160, p. 4; "Celje", *Slovenec*, 30. 7. 1921, No. 171, p. 3; "Živahna kopalna sezona v Kamniku", *Jutro*, 4. 8. 1939, No. 179, p. 4.

²¹⁵"Tragična smrt Silva Mehore", *Jutro*, 19. 7. 1939, No. 165, p. 3; "Prva letošnja žrtev Save", *Slovenec*, 19. 7. 1939, No. 164a, p. 6; "Novice z Ruš", *Jutro*, 21. 7. 1939, No. 167, p. 5; "Tretja žrtev Drave", *Jutro*, 23. 7. 1939, No. 169, p. 4.

bathing had been an everyday activity before the Second World War, it was later discouraged because of increasing river pollution, as in 1962 when people were advised against swimming in the Drava in the vicinity of Maribor.²¹⁶

5.5 The Role of State Authorities in Addressing the Consequences of Drought, Especially in Agriculture

In 1921 and 1939 there is no clear evidence in the newspaper material of specific government measures addressing the problems of livestock production during drought. For 1950 the press record is similarly sparse with regard to livestock-related interventions, although, as noted above, the Yugoslav authorities did request emergency assistance from the United States.²¹⁷ In 1952, however, the authorities established a Republican Headquarters for Assistance to Those Affected by Drought and, at the local level, district headquarters for assistance and education. Their task was to recommend to farmers the optimal use of fodder and to instruct them in the use of lower quality feed. Similar educational activities were carried out by cooperatives and municipalities.²¹⁸ *Ljudska pravica* reported shortly after the introduction of these measures that they were not being implemented satisfactorily everywhere.²¹⁹ The republican authorities also allocated financial assistance to those who had suffered losses. The Executive Council of the PRS earmarked 30 million dinars in interest-free loans for six months,²²⁰ and at the federal level the Economic Council of the Federal Executive Council banned the export of wheat, rye, barley, oats, maize, and fodder.²²¹

The state also intervened during the droughts of 1992 and 2003. Even before concrete measures were adopted, several political parties represented in the Slovenian parliament, municipalities, farmers, and in 2003 also the KGZS issued public appeals for action. In 1992 the Slovene Peasant Union (Slovenska kmečka zveza, SKZ), which operated within the Slovene People's Party,

²¹⁶ "Kopanje v Dravi nevarno", *Večer*, 24. 7. 1962, No. 171, p. 4.

²¹⁷ Čelig and Friš, "Med pragmatizmom in grožnjami", pp: 182–191.

²¹⁸ "Glavna zadružna zveza je organizirala pomoč po suši prizadetim živinorejcev", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 12. 8. 1952, p. 4; M. P., "Organizacija pomoči prizadetim po suši", *Ljudska pravica*, 23. 8. 1952, No. 34, pp. 1–2.

²¹⁹ "Protí posledicam suše", *Ljudska pravica*, 6. 9. 1952, No. 36, p. 6. V *Slovenskem poročevalcu* najdemo tudi mnenje, da je k problematiki pomanjkanja krme prispevalo dejstvo, da so v letih pred sušo preorali nemalo travnikov, s čimer so se priložnosti za pridobivanje travinja zmanjšale. M. Pavšič, "Letošnja suša ne sme prizadeti zdravja živali v ogroženih predelih", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 19. 8. 1952, No. 195, p. 3.

²²⁰ "Pomoč po suši prizadetim živinorejcev", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 15. 8. 1952, No. 192, p. 3.

²²¹ "Prepoved izvoza nekaterih kmetijskih pridelkov in drugih proizvodov", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 20. 8. 1952, No. 196, p. 1.



The Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Food while surveying the impacts of the drought (Damijan Toplak, "Zaradi suše kmetom zavrela kri", *Večer*, 5. 7. 2003, No. 153, p. 1; photo: Boris Vugrinec)

proposed that the Slovenian government should provide funds for farmers to purchase fodder on the market, since this was the only way to preserve a substantial part of the livestock. Many breeders were prepared to sell their animals even below cost. For this reason, the SKZ argued that the state should arrange emergency purchasing of slaughter cattle, and that farmers should be enabled to buy seed and fertiliser for autumn sowing at lower prices, have the repayment of investment loans deferred, and obtain relief from certain tax burdens and social contributions.²²² Similar demands were put forward by farmers in Pomurje when representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Food, and of the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Spatial Planning visited them on 12 August. The representatives agreed with these proposals, and the

²²² Darja Kocbek in drugi, "Suša bo pobrala znaten del letošnjega pridelka", *Delo*, 11. 8. 1992, No. 184, p. 1; "Potreben bo rešilni poseg države", *Večer*, 11. 8. 1992, No. 184, p. 3.

Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Food, which was also to look for alternative sources of feed such as brewery by-products and sugar beet pulp, reportedly planned to submit similar proposals to the Slovenian government.²²³

On 20 August the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Food prepared a package of measures aimed at the most urgent protection of domestic production and submitted it to the government. The package included a ban on the import of livestock and meat, duty-free import of fodder (it was estimated that fodder imported from Austria would be 23 per cent cheaper), temporary remission of import duties on feed for those affected by drought, tax relief on seed and fertiliser for stubble crops, deferral of taxes based on cadastral income, and relief from contributions for disability, pension, and social insurance. In addition, the municipalities of Lendava and Murska Sobota were to receive advances to finance emergency assistance to farmers.²²⁴ The government adopted most of these measures a few days later and additionally promised to distribute 10,000 tonnes of maize from state reserves to the livestock farmers most seriously affected and to organise the emergency import of 100,000 tonnes of maize or other feed substitutes without import duties and at favourable prices for farmers.²²⁵ Maize from state reserves was distributed by municipalities, which also supported affected farmers from their own budgetary reserves. The municipality of Slovenska Bistrica, for example, decided to subsidise 50 per cent of the cost of seed for fodder crops.²²⁶ Beyond these emergency measures, state authorities used reports from municipal commissions on drought damage – data collection ended around 20 August – to decide on the allocation of funds to municipalities from a so-called solidarity fund, created from one day's wages of all employees in the Republic of Slovenia. Assistance was granted to municipalities whose damage exceeded 10 per cent of their social product, of which there were seven.²²⁷ Despite these measures, not all farmers were satisfied. At a public forum in Metlika on 9 September they asked whether anyone would help them. The response of the politician Ivan Oman, a member of the

²²³ Jože Pojbič, "Pomurju bo zaradi suše morala pomagati vlada", *Delo*, 13. 8. 1992, No. 186, p. 2; Branko Žunec, "Po vsej Sloveniji pač ni vročinskih udarov!", *Večer*, 13. 8. 1992, No. 186, p. 11.

²²⁴ Marjeta Šoštarčič, "Izredna seja o suši", *Delo*, 21. 8. 1992, No. 192, p. 3.

²²⁵ Branko Žunec, "Koruza in odpis davkov", *Večer*, 27. 8. 1992, No. 197, p. 2.

²²⁶ ps, "Občinsko regresiranje semen", *Večer*, 29. 8. 1992, No. 199, p. 11; Iztok Utenkar, "Pomoč šmarskim kmetom v koruzi in ječmenu", *Delo*, 31. 8. 1992, No. 200, p. 2; Ivan Gerenčer, "Vlada je vedno pripravljena na reševanje kmetijskih problemov", *Delo*, 3. 9. 1992, No. 203, p. 2; Slavica Pičenko, "Koruza za molznice in telice", *Večer*, 8. 9. 1992, No. 207, p. 11.

²²⁷ Katarina Šulek, "220 milijonov tolarjev škode", *Večer*, 10. 8. 1992, No. 183, p. 24; Franci Golob, "Suša pobira letino", *Večer*, 11. 8. 1992, No. 184, p. 15; Gordana Pipan, "Pripeka pobira davek", *Delo*, 18. 8. 1992, No. 189, p. 1; Ivan Gerenčer, "Vlada je vedno pripravljena na reševanje kmetijskih problemov", *Delo*, 3. 9. 1992, No. 203, p. 2; Gordana Pipan, "Pomoč prizadetim občinam", *Delo*, 3. 9. 1992, No. 203, p. 3; Ivan Gerenčer, "Pojasnen nesorazum o škodi", *Delo*, 5. 9. 1992, No. 205, p. 3.

opposition Slovene Christian Democrats, was anything but optimistic; he stated that the drought had affected him as well "and that he would simply have to endure it on his own. Therefore, the inhabitants of Bela krajina should not count on help from others" ("*.../ in da bo moral pač to preboleti sam. Zato naj tudi Belokranjci ne računajo na pomoč drugih*").²²⁸

Calls for swift assistance, especially for livestock farmers so that they would not be forced to sell too many animals, were again frequent in 2003. The KGZS called on the state to adopt an emergency law to remedy the consequences of natural disasters in that year, following the model of other years in which such disasters had occurred in the Republic of Slovenia. In addition to drought, farmers in 2003 were affected by fire blight, hailstorms, and spring frost. Although the then Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Food agreed with the idea of an emergency law, and although two opposition parties submitted a corresponding draft law to parliament in early July, the government chose a different course and adopted a systemic Law on the Remediating of the Consequences of Natural Disasters, which was approved by the National Assembly on 16 July. Before its adoption, the law had been heavily criticised by the opposition, which tabled more than forty amendments, all but one of which failed. The law regulated, among other things, financial resources for state aid in remediating the consequences of natural disasters, the manner in which funds would be provided, and the conditions for receiving assistance. Individuals who had insured their property in advance were entitled to higher levels of support.²²⁹

Despite the adoption of the law, it did not provide immediate assistance to affected farmers, which prompted further proposals that the government should adopt in order to mitigate the consequences of drought. These included, for example, emergency state purchasing of fattening cattle weighing no more than 450 kg or, alternatively, the use of export incentives to encourage the sale of livestock abroad. The state was also urged to enable the purchase of seed for sowing and to provide assistance with fodder purchases, to buy fodder on the world market, to release maize and feed grain from state reserves immediately

²²⁸ Milovan Dimitrič, "Metličani bi predvsem radi preproste volitve", *Delo*, 10. 9. 1992, No. 209, p. 7.

²²⁹ Marjeta Šoštarič, "Vrisk kliče na pomoč državo", *Delo*, 27. 6. 2003, No. 146, p. 3; Martina Budal, "Suša, kakršne še ni bilo", *Večer*, 27. 6. 2003, No. 146, p. 3; Jutka M. Kiraly, "Katastrofalna žetev v Prekmurju", *Delo*, 3. 7. 2003, No. 151, p. 3; Nataša Gider, "Ena največjih naravnih nesreč", *Večer*, 3. 7. 2003, No. 151, p. 3; Damijan Toplak, "Kmetom zaradi suše zavrela kri", *Večer*, 5. 7. 2003, No. 153, p. 2; Marko Osolnik, "Škodo naravnih nesreč čim prej omiliti", *Delo*, 9. 7. 2003, No. 156, p. 3; C. R., "Vlada sprejela zakon o poplačilu škode v kmetijstvu", *Delo*, 10. 7. 2003, No. 157, p. 3; Zoran Potič, "Kmetijska škoda je razlog za hitenje", *Večer*, 10. 7. 2003, No. 157, p. 3; Marjeta Šoštarič, "Prava poplava dopolnil k zakonu", *Delo*, 16. 7. 2003, No. 162, p. 3; Matjaž Albreht in Marko Jakopec, "Nad naravne nesreče s sistemskim zakonom", *Delo*, 17. 7. 2003, No. 163, p. 1; Zoran Potič, "Čas bo pokazal, ali je zakon skrpucalo", *Večer*, 17. 7. 2003, No. 163, p. 2. The text of the Act was published in: "Zakon o odpravi posledic naravnih nesreč (ZOPNN)", *Uradni list Republike Slovenije*, 1. 8. 2003, No. 75 (2003), pp. 11333–11348.



Damaged corn fields in Prekmurje (Nataša Gider, "Ena največjih naravnih nesreč", *Večer*, 3. 7. 2003, No. 151, p. 3, photo: foto Janko Rath)

at favourable prices for farmers, to speed up the payment of subsidies, and to reduce cadastral tax and compulsory pension and health insurance contributions.²³⁰ Some of these proposals closely resembled those that the Slovenian government was called upon to adopt in 1992.

The severity of the situation in livestock farming in at least some parts of the Republic of Slovenia is illustrated by comments made by the then mayor of the municipality of Štore near Celje. In view of the fodder shortage and the ban on slaughtering cattle at home, which was unrelated to the drought, he asked whether anyone had considered the possibility of animal cruelty. The representative of the farmers' union for Carinthia called on farmers, in extreme situations, to "forget about state laws and follow natural laws" ("*./.../ v skrajni sili pozabijo na državne zakone in upoštevajo naravne zakone*"), referring to slaughter

²³⁰ Vili Einspieler, "Po letih suše prava suša", *Delo*, 25. 7. 2003, No. 170, p. 7; zp, "Nizke cene govedine", *Večer*, 25. 7. 2003, No. 170, p. 4; Marko Osolnik, "Ogrožena koruza in osnovni stalež živali", *Delo*, 26. 7. 2003, No. 171, p. 3; Zoran Potič, "Kmetom je treba takoj pomagati", *Večer*, 26. 7. 2003, No. 171, p. 2; Milovan Dimitrič, "Dovoliti občinam, da smejo pomagati kmetom", *Delo*, 1. 8. 2003, No. 176, p. 5; Brane Piano, "Zaradi suše bodo morali klati", *Delo*, 5. 8. 2003, No. 179, p. 2; Slavica Crnica, "Seznam zahtev", *Delo*, 8. 8. 2003, No. 182, p. 3.

for their own consumption.²³¹ An example of good practice in increasing the purchase of livestock for slaughter was provided by the Carinthian agricultural and forestry cooperative, which, from 8 August onwards, collected orders for beef from Friday to Tuesday in certain cooperative shops; customers could then collect the meat on Saturdays at favourable prices.²³²

In mid-August the government adopted several measures. It endorsed export incentives for live cattle and released 20,000 tonnes of maize from state reserves for farmers affected by drought, with distribution beginning in mid-September. Entitlement to this maize was limited to those who owned at least two heads of cattle. The maize was not free of charge, but it was sold at a more favourable price. Farmers first had to fill in the appropriate forms in order to receive it and submit them to the Agency for Agricultural Markets and Rural Development by a specified deadline. The agency processed applications in the order in which they were received. The maize was then distributed by authorised cooperatives. Upon collection, farmers paid a smaller part of the price, and the remainder was deducted from the compensation they later received under the Law on the Remediating of the Consequences of Natural Disasters.²³³ One of the farmers criticised this arrangement, arguing that maize from state reserves was too expensive because the price did not include the costs of transport and weighing. In his view it would have been possible to obtain imported wheat at lower cost or to buy maize from growers whose crops had not been severely damaged.²³⁴ As in 1992, farmers were able to report drought damage in 2003. Municipal commissions assessed the damage in each municipality and forwarded the completed forms to regional commissions, which then submitted them to the state commission.²³⁵ Some municipalities also provided direct assistance to farmers. In certain places, for example, municipal councillors renounced their session fees and redirected these funds to those affected by drought.²³⁶

²³¹ Violeta Vatovec Einspieler, "Bodo kmalu krave na ulici?", *Večer*, 25. 7. 2003, No. 170, p. 13; Naja Nabernik, "Suša je še izrazitejša v hribovitih predelih", *Večer*, 26. 7. 2003, No. 171, p. 15.

²³² jd, "Govedina v paketih-tudi pomoč kmetom", *Večer*, 20. 8. 2003, No. 191, p. 2; Ivan Praprotnik, "Poceni koroško meso", *Delo*, 23. 8. 2003, No. 194, p. 5.

²³³ "Vladna pomoč kmetom", *Delo*, 13. 8. 1992, No. 186, p. 1; zp, "Namesto dežja izvozne spodbude", *Večer*, 13. 8. 2003, No. 186, p. 1; "Zelena luč za koruzo iz blagovnih rezerv", *Večer*, 16. 8. 2003, No. 188, p. 3; Marjeta Šoštarič, "Koruzo tistim, ki jo potrebujejo", *Delo*, 19. 8. 2003, No. 190, p. 3; Marjeta Šoštarič, "Kmetom koruzo in akontacije subvencij", *Delo*, 21. 8. 2003, No. 191, p. 1; Zoran Potič, Jelka Zupančič, "Kako bodo kmetje prišli do koruze", *Večer*, 21. 8. 2003, No. 191, p. 2.

²³⁴ Branko Žunec, "Koruzo iz državnih rezerv je za živinorejce predraga", *Večer*, 22. 8. 2003, No. 193, p. 3.

²³⁵ Oste Bakal, "Škoda v Pomurju je zelo velika, in to v vseh 26 občinah", *Večer*, 1. 8. 2003, No. 176, p. 16.

²³⁶ mp, "Podčetrtek: Za odpravo posledic suše 3,5 milijona tolarjev", *Večer*, 2. 8. 2003, No. 177, p. 15; dlž, "Pet milijonov za nadomestitev škode", *Večer*, 2. 8. 2003, No. 177, p. 16; Mojca Marot, "Ne bomo čakali na državo, pomagali bomo sami, kolikor zmoremo", *Večer*, 13. 8. 2003, No. 186, p. 16; Franc Kramer, "Pomoč kmetom namesto kakšnega kilometra asfalta?", *Večer*, 19. 8. 2003, No. 190, p. 3; Mojca Marot, "Izredne razmere med šentjurskimi govedorejci", *Večer*, 20. 8. 2003, No. 191, p. 15.

5.6 Other Consequences of Heat and Drought for Everyday Life and the Exploitation of Drought for Political and Ideological Purposes

Among the consequences of drought, fires are mentioned repeatedly,²³⁷ while in periods when major roads were still unpaved and not yet asphalted or cobbled, road dust posed a serious nuisance for the population, as it billowed up from the surfaces during dry spells.²³⁸ To alleviate this to some extent, roads were watered and sprayed,²³⁹ a practice that was also employed in Maribor in 1983, even though the road surfaces were already asphalted by then.²⁴⁰

The newspapers also provide examples of drought being exploited for political and ideological purposes. In 1921 an author signing only with initials used the conservative daily *Slovenec*, the organ of the Catholic national camp, to attack Franjo Kavčič, the head of the municipal administration in Polje near Ljubljana, who belonged to the liberal camp, accusing him of insufficiently representing the interests of the rural population. The author proposed tax relief for farmers but expressed little confidence that such measures would be adopted.²⁴¹ In the same newspaper, also in 1921, another author pointed out that farmers were experiencing hard times because of drought and blamed the political authorities, criticising in particular the work of Ivan Pucelj, then the Yugoslav Minister of Agriculture and a representative of the liberal camp.²⁴² This kind of political "score-settling" formed part of the ongoing rivalry between the liberal and Catholic-national camps, which surfaced in public discourse almost daily.²⁴³

In 1952 *Slovenski poročevalec* carried a report based on rumours said to be circulating in Haloze, parts of Slovenske gorice, and the Drava Plain, according to which these areas had been struck by drought because the church on Ptujška Gora was closed. The journalist commented that those who believed that various religious processions would bring rain were naive,²⁴⁴ although such proces-

²³⁷ "Nevaren požar", *Jutro*, 22. 7. 1939, No. 168, p. 7; "Požar na Opčinah", *Jutro*, 23. 7. 1939, No. 169, p. 8; "Požrtvovalni gasilci in malomarni gledalci", *Jutro*, 2. 8. 1939, No. 177, p. 5; "Katastrofalen požar", *Slovenec*, 2. 8. 1939, No. 174a, p. 6; "Dva velika gozdna požara", *Slovenec*, 11. 8. 1939, No. 182a, p. 7; I. U. in R. K., "Ognjeni zublji požirajo Kras", *Delo*, 31. 7. 2003, No. 175, p. 7.

²³⁸ "Gospodarski položaj vsled suše", *Slovenec*, 11. 8. 1921, No. 181, p. 3; "Iz Novega mesta", *Jutro*, 15. 7. 1939, No. 162, p. 7.

²³⁹ "Ceste popravljajo", *Jutro*, 20. 7. 1939, No. 166, p. 4; "Gaberje in Sp. Hudinja v oblakih prahu", *Jutro*, 2. 8. 1939, No. 177, p. 5; "Tri vagone soli so potrosili", *Slovenec*, 1. 8. 1939, No. 173a, p. 7.

²⁴⁰ M. Kolar, "Hlad za vroč asfalt", *Večer*, 29. 7. 1983, No. 173, p. 8.

²⁴¹ J. K., "Iz D. M. v Polju", *Slovenec*, 10. 8. 1921, No. 180, p. 3.

²⁴² "S Posavja pri Ljubljani", *Slovenec*, 11. 9. 1921, No. 206, p. 3.

²⁴³ See for example Ervin Dolenc, *Kulturni boj: slovenska kulturna politika v Kraljevini SHS 1918-1929* (Ljubljana, 1996); Jurij Perovšek, "Kulturnobojni značaj Slovenskega naroda v letih 1918–1929 – kritični premisleki", *Studia Historica Slovenica* 24, No. 1 (2024), pp. 41–92.

²⁴⁴ Pa je vendarle deževalo...", *Slovenski poročevalec*, 28. 8. 1952, No. 203, p. 4.

sions for rain were occasionally organised in individual parishes, as for example in the church of St James in Ljubljana in 1921.²⁴⁵

Newspapers also offered advice to help people cope with heat. In 1939 *Slovenec* advised readers to open windows early in the morning, and then close and darken them. Flies and other insects were said to be repelled by tomato plants, which were therefore recommended for windowsills. The newspaper warned against sitting in draughts, which were believed to cause rheumatism in old age and colds,²⁴⁶ and it advised against eating only meat products on hot days, as these were said to cause "intense thirst" ("*budo žejo*").²⁴⁷ This thirst, it suggested, was best relieved by water in which wormwood had been steeped. The same newspaper gave advice on how to cool the bed and care for infants,²⁴⁸ while *Jutro* discussed whether sunbathing was healthy²⁴⁹ and offered tips for humidifying indoor spaces.²⁵⁰ In 1992 *Večer* recommended staying in cool rooms, airing dwellings only early in the morning and late in the evening, and drinking cold, unsweetened beverages (preferably lukewarm unsweetened tea). People were advised to drink no more than half a litre of milk per day but at least two litres of fluid in total, to eat plenty of fruit and vegetables, and to avoid fatty and heavy food. The paper also suggested eating slightly saltier food to replace salt lost through sweating, wrapping oneself in wet sheets, and using a low pillow or none at all during sleep.²⁵¹ In the same year *Delo* wrote about proper sunbathing and the dangers of skin cancer as a possible consequence of excessive exposure to sunlight.²⁵² In 2003, among other things, warnings appeared about the effects of high temperatures on the health of people with chronic illnesses and older individuals, as well as about the dangers posed by ticks and the possibility of vaccination against tick-borne encephalitis.²⁵³ The health risks of prolonged periods of high temperatures for certain groups had already been discussed by *Delo* in 1983, which advised that people with asthma

²⁴⁵ "Procesija za dež", *Slovenski narod*, 4. 8. 1921, No. 172, p. 4.

²⁴⁶ "Boj proti vročini na višku", *Slovenec*, 21. 7. 1939, No. 164a, p. 4.

²⁴⁷ "Prehrana", *Slovenec*, 23. 7. 1939, No. 166a, p. 7.

²⁴⁸ "Boj proti vročini na višku", *Slovenec*, 21. 7. 1939, p. 5; "Naši najmlajši in vročina", *Slovenec*, 30. 7. 1939, No. 172a, p. 10.

²⁴⁹ "Ali je sončenje res zdravo", *Jutro*, 14. 7. 1939, No. 161, p. 5.

²⁵⁰ "Za vroče dni", *Jutro*, 29. 7. 1939, No. 174, p. 6.

²⁵¹ ns, "Rešitev – hladen prostor", *Večer*, 6. 8. 1992, No. 180, p. 8.

²⁵² Bogi Pretnar, "Nikamor brez poštenega klobuka", *Delo*, 22. 7. 1992, No. 167, p. 9.

²⁵³ Tatjana Šeneker in Tanja Milakovič, "Vročina slabo vpliva na psihofizične sposobnosti", *Večer*, 11. 6. 2003, No. 133, p. 13; Simona Bandur, "Najbolj naj se pazijo bolniki", *Delo*, 7. 8. 2003, No. 181, p. 3; Dragica Bošnjak, "Senca in plavanje blagodejna", *Delo*, 13. 8. 2003, No. 186, p. 3; Miša Vugrinec, "Dovzretnejši za bolezn", *Večer*, 14. 8. 2003, No. 187, p. 3.

and those with heart problems should avoid exposure to heat.²⁵⁴ Air conditioning helped many to cope more easily with high temperatures, and sales of such units increased markedly in 2003, although hospitals, for example, reportedly suffered from a shortage.²⁵⁵ It is also worth noting that in the same year some primary and secondary schools in parts of Istria belonging to the Republic of Slovenia shortened lessons by one or two class periods because of the heat.²⁵⁶

6. Conclusion

This article has examined how major droughts that affected the Slovenian ethnic territory in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries were reported in major Slovenian newspapers. By combining close reading with corpus-based analysis of eight selected drought years (1921, 1939, 1950, 1952, 1962, 1983, 1992, and 2003), it has shown that press coverage did not simply register meteorological anomalies. Rather than treating drought as a timeless natural hazard, newspapers reported on it within the constraints and opportunities created by changing political regimes and media systems, and in line with contemporary expectations about what the state should do in response, while giving voice to different social actors and repeatedly situating contemporary events in relation to real or remembered past extremes.

With regard to the description and explanation of meteorological conditions in the given time frame, newspapers paid considerable attention to heat, sometimes more than to lack of precipitation. In the interwar years, reports relied mainly on qualitative descriptions and on comparisons between regions, with only occasional numerical data. From the 1950s onwards, and especially in the independent Republic of Slovenia, journalists made more frequent use of temperature records, monthly precipitation sums, and long-term averages. The 1992 and 2003 droughts were repeatedly characterised through references to "records" and "extremes."

The analysis of impacts confirms that agriculture remained the central lens through which drought was reported. In all periods newspapers documented damage to field crops, vegetable gardens, orchards, hop plantations, and grass-

²⁵⁴ Reke skoraj že usihajo, v polnilnici Radenske pa so podaljšali delavnik", *Delo*, 29. 7. 1983, No. 173, p. 10.

²⁵⁵ bs, "Kot v krušni peči", *Večer*, 29. 7. 1983, No. 173, p. 8; Nataša Jenuš, "Še Hipokrat bi se oznojil", *Večer*, 29. 7. 1992, No. 173, p. 9; Simona Bandur in Mateja Gruden, "Poletni vročini še ni videti konca", *Delo*, 6. 8. 2003, No. 180, p. 5; Miša Vugrinec, "Pasja vročina in pregreti zidovi", *Večer*, 7. 8. 2003, No. 181, p. 15; Simona Bandur, "Klime praviloma ne škodijo", *Delo*, 12. 8. 2003, No. 185, p. 3; zku, "Vedno večje zanimanje za klimatske naprave", *Večer*, 13. 8. 2003, No. 186, p. 4.

²⁵⁶ Boris Šuligoj, "Vročina spreminja življenjski ritem", *Delo*, 12. 6. 2003, No. 134, p. 3.

lands, and linked the loss of fodder to distress in livestock farming. In the interwar period coverage also drew attention to price increases for vegetables and other produce in urban markets. After the Second World War, in a socialist and later post-socialist context, price information became less prominent, while questions of fodder supply, state intervention and the stability of the agricultural system moved to the foreground. Drought impacts on water resources likewise became more visible over time. Early reports focused on dry wells and springs, while later coverage emphasised the vulnerability of public water supply systems, the constraints on hydropower production, and the knock-on effects for energy security.

The lexical and metaphorical repertoire used to describe heat and drought changed in ways that reflect both media conventions and broader political contexts. Interwar newspapers used a rich set of labels: *severe heat*, *great heat*; for drought: *severe drought*, *unbearable drought*, *intense heat*, *intense drought*, *great drought*, *enormous drought*, *critical drought*, *devastating drought*, plus *tropical heat* and *dog-day heat / dog days*. Under socialist Yugoslavia the range of labels narrowed and tended to be more restrained, with greater emphasis on duration (*long*, *prolonged*) and on functional descriptions of damage. After independence, elements of interwar expressiveness returned, alongside terms such as catastrophic drought, *natural disaster*, and *economic catastrophe*. Journalists frequently used comparisons with earlier events and with the experience of "the oldest inhabitants" to underline exceptionality. In 1992 and 2003 this rhetoric of extremity was combined with a denser use of quantitative information, which strengthened the impression of unprecedented severity.

Press coverage also reveals how the actions and responsibilities of state authorities, expert institutions, and local communities were framed. In the interwar period, the state largely appeared at the margins of drought reporting. Articles focused on local conditions and on the hardship of farmers, and state actors were more likely to be invoked polemically, for example when drought was used to criticise liberal politicians or to demand tax relief. In 1952, by contrast, the creation of republican and district headquarters, the organisation of education on fodder use and the provision of credit and grain from reserves were among the central narrative elements. Newspapers presented the state as a coordinating authority that mobilised cooperatives and local committees and called for solidarity between more and less affected regions. In 1992 and 2003, coverage again stressed state responsibility but was more openly critical, especially when the timing, scope, or design of interventions were perceived as inadequate. Debates about emergency legislation, compensation procedures and the release of grain from reserves were reported in detail, and farmers' dissatisfaction received prominent space.

In 1921, the newspapers under review did not substantially criticise the Yugoslav authorities for the way they dealt with the drought. Open criticism appeared only in the "oppositional" *Slovenec*, which disagreed with certain measures adopted by representatives of the politically opposed liberal bloc in those parts of Slovenia where the latter controlled key levers of power. This criticism formed part of the everyday media polemics between the liberal and the Catholic-national bloc rather than a systematic challenge to drought policy. During the period of royal dictatorship (1939) and in socialist Yugoslavia (1950, 1952, 1962, and 1983), the newspapers examined did not comment on how the authorities approached measures to mitigate the consequences of drought. The main exception is 1952, when federal and republican measures were explicitly welcomed. Media control exercised by the authorities most likely contributed to the absence of more critical reporting. The situation was different in 1992 and 2003, when the pluralisation and greater openness of the media landscape coincided with considerable criticism of the (in)action of Slovenian authorities, particularly with regard to the position of affected farmers.

Finally, the analysis sheds light on the relationship between drought reporting and broader understandings of climate variability and climate change. In the early 1950s, at least one journalist engaged directly with the question of whether a cluster of dry years signalled a change in climate, only to reject that interpretation and to present such sequences as "normal" fluctuations within a long observational period. This position is consistent with the international state of knowledge at the time, even though scientific work was already beginning to explore anthropogenic influences. It was only in 2003 that the newspapers examined here clearly linked more frequent and intense droughts to climate change, warned that extreme weather events would become more common in Slovenia and suggested that agriculture would need to adapt through changes in crop choice and farming practices.

Taken together, these findings show that Slovenian newspapers acted both as mirrors and as agents of socio-environmental change. They recorded the physical manifestations of drought and its impacts on agriculture, water, and everyday life, but they also shaped how these events were perceived, remembered and politicised. The article thus confirms the value of newspapers as historical sources for drought research while also demonstrating the need for careful attention to their narrative conventions and ideological positions.

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**PREMIKI IN SENZACIONALIZEM V ČASNIŠKEM POROČANJU
O SUŠAH NA SLOVENSKEM (1921–2003)**

POVZETEK

V članku obravnavamo, kako so osrednji slovenski časniki v dvajsetem in na začetku enaindvajsetega stoletja poročali o večjih sušah, ki so prizadele celotno slovensko etnično ozemlje ali le del njega. Namen prispevka je dvojen: po eni strani opozarja na vpliv suše kot enega najpomembnejših podnebno pogojenih tveganj za kmetijstvo, vodne vire in vsakdanje življenje, po drugi strani pa na specifično vlogo časopisja kot zgodovinskega vira, ki ne beleži le vremenskih razmer, temveč jih tudi interpretira v skladu z medijskimi praksami in političnimi režimi, zanemariti pa ne smemo niti intimne presoje piscev člankov. S člankom tako prispevamo k historični obravnavi suš na Slovenskem, ki razen redkih izjem niso doživele temeljite obravnave, obenem pa dopolnjuje dosedanja dela, ki so suše obravnavala z geografskega, hidrološkega, klimatološkega in drugega vidika.

V raziskavi se osredotočamo na tri politična obdobja, v katerih je bila večina slovenskega etničnega ozemlja vključena v različne državne ureditve: najprej na Kraljevino Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev oziroma po letu 1929 Kraljevino Jugoslavijo (1918–1941), nato na Federativno ljudsko republiko Jugoslavijo in od leta 1963 dalje na Socialistično federativno republiko Jugoslavijo (1945–1991) ter nazadnje na samostojno in neodvisno Republiko Slovenijo po letu 1991. V teh okvirih v članku analiziramo časniško poročanje o osmih izrazito sušnih letih: 1921, 1939, 1950, 1952, 1962, 1983, 1992 in 2003.

Empirična osnova obsega poročanje osrednjih slovenskih dnevnikov, ki so v posameznih obdobjih predstavljali ključne nosilce javnega diskurza: *Slovenec*, *Slovenski narod*, *Jutro*, *Slovenski poročevalec*, *Ljudska pravica*, *Delo* in *Večer*. V analizi združujemo podrobno kvalitativno branje z osnovnimi korpusnimi pristopi. Avtorji smo sledili pojavnosti izbranih ključnih besed in zvez (npr. "huda vročina", "huda suša", "katastrofalna suša", "pasja vročina"), analizirali metafore in primerjave, ki so opisovale vročino in sušo, ter preučili, kako so časniki opisovali vplive na kmetijstvo in vodne vire ter kako so predstavljali ukrepe državnih oblasti in drugih institucionalnih akterjev.

Besedišče in metaforika, ki ju časniki uporabljajo pri opisu vročine in suše, sta se skozi čas spreminjala. V medvojnem obdobju je bil besedni zaklad izrazito raznolik in pogosto dramatičen, z izraznimi zvezami, kot so "neznosna vročina", "velikanska suša" ali opisi sonca, ki "žge kot z iglami". V času socialistične

Jugoslavije se je nabor pridevnikov zožil, pogostejši so bili pojmi, ki poudarjajo trajanje suše ("dolga", "dolgotrajna suša") in njene funkcionalne posledice, retorika pa je bila bolj zadržana. V samostojni Sloveniji se je del medvojnega izrazja vrnil, ob njem pa so se uveljavili novi, pri čemer prednjači "katastrofalna suša", obenem se pridevnik "katastrofalen" pojavi ob opisovanju drugih posledic suš. Velja še dodati, da lahko v vseh primerih preberemo zapise o tem, kako "najstarejši prebivalci ne pomnijo" takih suš, s čimer so časniki dodatno poudarjali izjemnost posameznih sušnih epizod.

Analiza časniškega poročanja potrjuje, da je bil vpliv suše na kmetijstvo v središču poročanja o suši v obravnavanem času. Časniki so redno beležili škodo na poljščinah (zlasti na krompirju, koruzi, fižolu, sladkorni pesi), na zelenjadnicah, sadnem drevju, hmelju in travinju ter izpostavljali posledice pomanjkanja krme za živinorejo. V medvojnem času je poročanje poudarjalo tudi dvig cen zelenjave in drugih živil na urbanih trgih. Po drugi svetovni vojni prevladajo teme oskrbe s krmo, stabilnosti živinorejskih obratov in vloge države pri zmanjševanju škode, medtem ko se neposredne navedbe cen pojavljajo redkeje. V poročanju o mlajših sušah so pogoste ocene izgub v odstotkih, kar omogoča spremljanje, kako se z daljšanjem trajanja suše povečuje obseg škode.

Vplivi na vodne vire so v časopisju sprva prikazani predvsem kot pomanjkanje vode na lokalni ravni, usihanje vodnjakov in studencev ter težave z oskrbo v vaseh. Kasneje, s širjenjem javnega vodovodnega omrežja, se pozornost premakne k ranljivosti javnih vodovodov, prevažanju vode s cisternami na območja, kjer je bilo njeno pomanjkanje, omejitvam njene porabe ter posledicam nizkih pretokov za proizvodnjo električne energije v hidroelektrarnah in delovanje Jedske elektrarne Krško.

V članku namenjamo pozornost tudi vlogi državnih oblasti pri soočanju s posledicami suše in načinu, kako je bilo to predstavljeno v časnikih. V letu 1921 je državna oblast v časnikih bolj obrobno prisotna; neposredna kritika se pojavi v opozicijskem *Slovincu* in je bila v veliki meri del širšega ideološkega obračunavanja med liberalnim in katoliško narodnjaškim taborom. V obdobju kraljeve diktature in v času socialistične Jugoslavije (1939, 1950, 1952, 1962, 1983) obravnavani časniki niso problematizirali razmerja med sušo in državnimi ukrepi z izjemo leta 1952, ko so pozdravljali ustanovitev republiškega in okrajnih štabov, organizacijo izobraževanj in finančno pomoč kmetom, torej prikimavanje odzivom oblasti. Nadzor nad mediji in pričakovana lojalnost režimu sta najverjetneje prispevala k odsotnosti morebitne kritike. V letih 1992 in 2003 se iz poročanja jasno vidi pričakovanje aktivne vloge države in odkrita kritika njenega (ne)ukrepanja. Članki so podrobno spremljali razprave o sprejemu ukrepov, s katerimi bi tisti, ki jih je prizadela suša – zlasti kmetovalci – ublažili posledice suše, kot npr. sproščanje žita in koruze iz blagovnih rezerv ter s postopki ocenjevanja in izplačevanja škode. Obenem so pogosto pozivali

k ureditvi namakanja kmetijskih površin, pri čemer so dobile glas tudi različne interesne skupine, zlasti kmetje in njihove organizacije. Časopisje ni beležilo zgolj odločitev oblasti, temveč je posredovalo in soustvarjalo javno razpravo o tem, kakšna naj bi bila odgovornost države v razmerah ponavljajočih se suš.

Končno nas je v članku zanimalo še, ali je iz časniškega poročanja razvidna morebitna korelacija med pogostejšimi in intenzivnejšimi sušami ter podnebnimi spremembami. Na začetku petdesetih let si je v enem izmed prispevkov avtor sicer zastavil vprašanje, ali takratno zaporedje sušnih let nakazuje spremembo podnebja, a je to razlago zavrnil in suše interpretiral kot del "normalnih" dolgoročnih nihanj. Med obravnavanimi sušami je šele pri tisti iz leta 2003 moč razbrati izrecno povezavo med tem naravnim pojavom in podnebnimi spremembami. Avtorji so opozarjali na pričakovano porast vremenskih ekstremov v Sloveniji ter na potrebo po prilagoditvi kmetijstva z vpeljavo drugačnih kultur in praks.

V članku tako pokažemo, da so slovenski časniki delovali hkrati kot zrcalo in akter družbeno-okoljskih sprememb. Beležili so fizične razsežnosti suš in njihove posledice za kmetijstvo, vodne vire in vsakdanje življenje, obenem pa so soustvarjali razumevanje teh dogodkov v družbi. Članek s tem potrjuje vrednost časopisja kot zgodovinskega vira pri proučevanju suš in podnebnih tveganj ter opozarja, da je treba pri uporabi tega vira nujno upoštevati njegovo narativno konvencijo, ideološke okvire in institucionalni kontekst.

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