

BOOK REVIEWS

Walter Lukan and Andreas Moritsch, eds. *Geschichte der Kärntner Slowenen von 1918 bis zur Gegenwart unter Berücksichtigung der gesamtslowenischen Geschichte*. Vorbereitet von einer Historikerkommission unter dem Vorsitz von Valentin Inzko. Mitarbeiter: Cäcilia Broman, Hanns Haas, Valentin Inzko, Josef Lukan, Walter Lukan, Andreas Moritsch, Stefan Pinter, Jože Pirjevec, Karl Stuhlpfarrer, Heimo Titz, Reginald Vospersnik, Anton Wutte, Johann Zerzer. Klagenfurt/Celovec: Hermagoras Verlag/Mohorjeva založba, 1988. 226 pp., photographs, illustrations, maps. ISBN 3-85013-0908.

The Austrian Slovenes, who have been inhabiting their autochthonous area of settlement for more than 1400 years, belong to those European national minorities which, especially in the current century, are to be considered as history's losers. As compared to minorities in other European countries—for example, the Catalans, Basques and Gallegos in Spain; the Sorbs and Danes in Germany; the Germans and French in Italy; the Swedes in Finland; or the Italians and Hungarians in the Slovene Republic—they are granted fewer minority rights by the Austrian Republic and also by Province of Carinthia. Even those rights which are guaranteed to them on paper by the Austrian State Treaty of 1955 (which still enjoys constitutional status in Austria) are provided to them in practice hardly at all. Thus, in contrast to the regulations of the state treaty—which as an internationally binding peace treaty brought to an end the occupation of Austria by the U.S.A., Great Britain, France and the U.S.S.R. that had been imposed as a consequence of World War II—there are in Southern Carinthia, with few exceptions, no bilingual place-name signs; the Slovene language is not acknowledged as an equally qualified language at law; a satisfactory settlement of the administrative language problem is yet to be made; and the bilingual school system, which was made generally binding during the British occupation, has been abolished. Rather, on the part of the Carinthian provincial government, and also on the part of German-nationalist circles, everything is undertaken that will further assimilate the Austrian Slovenes, curtail what remains of bilingual schooling, finally eliminate the Slovene language from public life, and allow the Slovenes at most the right to exist on the level of folklore. The phrase recently repeated by a high-ranking German-Carinthian politician, "Carinthia will only be free and undivided when it is inhabited by a single people," explains the circumstances in which the Slovenes are forced to live in Carinthia just as clearly as statistics: in 1910 about 30% of the Carinthian population was still Slovene; in 1981 the figure was between three and five percent.

Against the background of the above briefly-sketched conditions a book is to be reviewed that fills a significant gap with its informative overview of the history of the Slovenes in Carinthia. There are indeed numerous specialized investigations of partial aspects of the history of the Slovenes in Carinthia; but the comprehensive German-language survey that is now available is something absolutely new and very welcome. Also a first, with respect to this book, is the fact that it is published as a school text for 18-year-old students in their last year of high-school before transfer to post-secondary education.

The introductory chapter, of about 30 pages, treats the history of the Slovenes in Carinthia before 1918, something not expressed in the book's title. One section of this chapter is devoted to the Slavic settlement in Carinthia in the second half of the 6th century,

and another to the independent ancestral dukedom of the Carantanians. The time of the Middle Ages, the peasant revolts in the 15th and 16th centuries, and the Reformation are also covered. This last signified an especially positive turning-point in Slovene history, promoting as it did the creation of the Standard Slovene language with the first printed Slovene book, Primož Trubar's *Catechismus* of 1550, and Jurij Dalmatin's translation of the Bible in 1584. As representatives of Carinthia, the Slovenes Janž Fašank and Bernhard Steiner contributed to the revision of this translation. A subsequent section is devoted to the national awakening starting at the end of the 18th century. Until 1858 this phase of the national awakening had the character above all of a cultural movement for the Slovenes: Ožbalt Gutschmann published a Slovene grammar in Celovec in 1777, and in 1789 a German-Slovene dictionary. The conclusion of this chapter depicts the history of the Carinthian Slovenes through the collapse of the Danube Monarchy. The middle of the 19th century sees the beginning of an increase in national and assimilatory pressure on the Slovenes by the Germans in Carinthia, and a continual decline of the number of Slovenes (which since the 15th century had remained unchanged). This process is not only underpinned by statistics but represented on several maps. The chapter is richly illustrated in other respects too; mention may be made of the excerpts from the Freising Fragments and the *Celovški rokopis*, the title page of Dalmatin's Bible, and a diagram of the electoral distribution of 1907 which shows how the German middle class manipulated the distribution of electoral districts to produce a majority over the Slovenes.

The second chapter is devoted to the period from the end of the Danube Monarchy to the Carinthian plebiscite of 1920. In it are depicted the politics of Austro-Hungary toward the Southern Slavs, and the origins of Yugoslavia and—in especial detail—of the First Austrian Republic. At the heart of this chapter is a section about the situation of the Carinthian Slovenes in 1918-1920. The territorial claims of the Yugoslav State and the frontier battles of 1918-19 are made clear, as also the 1920 plebiscite in the disputed area. The result of this plebiscite is analyzed in detail. This chapter, too, is illustrated with maps (e.g., of the plebiscite area), photographs of important Slovene politicians, and pictures of plebiscite posters and pamphlets. It is important to note that in this chapter, too, documents of the period are reproduced, for instance a resolution of the provisional Carinthian Provincial Assembly of September 28, 1920, which stated, e.g., that "... the Carinthian Slovene will therefore also find within his hitherto existing homeland of Carinthia security for the continuance of his national life and his economic and cultural prosperity." A few weeks after the plebiscite, in which 60% of the electorate voted for Southern Carinthia to remain in Austria (although in this area in the 1910 census 70% had declared Slovene to be their everyday language), it became already apparent that the Slovenes had been following pied pipers who had nothing to offer other than empty promises which were never kept. Recourse to empty promises became a permanent feature of Austrian and Carinthian policy toward the Carinthian Slovenes and has remained thus to this day.

This political constant is elucidated in the third chapter, which deals with the Carinthian Slovenes in the First Republic. The numerous documents reproduced here speak eloquently. Immediately after the plebiscite nearly all the teachers and almost half of the Slovene priests were removed from the bilingual area, suspended from service, or obstructed in the execution of their duties. Many of them were forced to emigrate to Yugoslavia. It was however not enough for the German-nationalist circles to expel the Slovene intelligentsia. After 1920 most of the bilingual place-name signs were removed, Standard German became the exclusive language of administration, and the Slovene scholarly institutions

then in existence were forced to close. At the same time organizations inimicable to the minority, such as the "Kärntner Heimatdienst/Kärntner Heimatbund," were formed. Also, German-national circles tried to split the minority by creating a new people, namely the "Windische." According to the German Carinthian historian Martin Wutte the "Windische" were those Slovenes who had voted for Austria in 1920, and who in language and ethnic origin constituted a separate group of the Carinthian population, whose preordained fate was to be submerged in the "German cultural zone." In spite of all the unfavorable circumstances the Carinthian Slovenes managed however to revive their political, economic and cultural life, as a special section in this chapter demonstrates. They also founded their own weekly, the *Koroški Slovenec*. Still, it is indicative of the fact that the circumstances were hostile to the minority that this newspaper had to be printed in Vienna, because no Carinthian printing press would accept the order. The only institution that defended Slovene interests in the interwar period was the Catholic Church. Its clerics initiated various cultural activities, which were of particular importance inasmuch as the discussions between 1925 and 1930 about the granting of cultural autonomy for the Carinthian Slovenes came to nought. The conclusion of this chapter, which is (like the following ones) richly illustrated, is a section about the Carinthian Slovenes during the period of the authoritarian Austrian corporate state (1934-38).

The fourth chapter relates the darkest period in the history of the Carinthian Slovenes during this century, the time of National Socialist rule. Soon after the Anschluss acts of repression of unprecedented severity against the Slovenes were initiated. The utraquistic schools were dismantled, kindergartens for Germanization were set up, and German speakers from South Tyrol were settled in Carinthia. The political and spiritual leaders of the Slovenes were arrested and expelled from the province or died as the result of their arrest, as for example former provincial assembly deputy Vinko Poljanec. After the invasion by Hitler's Germany of Yugoslavia in 1941 the National Socialists finally renounced all consideration for Slovenes, and all cultural organizations were closed and the use of the Slovene language in public was finally forbidden. From April 1942 about 200 Slovene families were resettled and taken to camps in Germany. The National Socialist terror measures against the civilian population led also to the conviction and execution of 13 Carinthian Slovenes who had been accused of terrorism, and numerous Slovenes were removed to Nazi concentration camps. In these circumstances, the first resistance groups against the Nazi régime were formed, who took up the armed struggle against Hitler's troops, and who at times numbered as many as 15,000. The Carinthian Slovenes alone made an active and above all efficient contribution to the liberation of Austria from within, for other resistance groups never attained the same importance.

The aim of the book is to present the history of the Carinthian Slovenes with reference to the history of all the Slovenes. For this reason the fifth chapter treats the history of the Slovenes in Yugoslavia in the interwar period, and the sixth treats the Slovenes in Yugoslavia under German and Italian occupation between 1941 and 1945. Chapter seven makes a brief investigation into the history of the Slovene Republic since 1945, and chapter eight is devoted to the Slovene minority in Italy between 1918 and 1945. The ninth chapter, finally, covers the post-1945 history of the Slovene minority in Italy; for, although the Italian-Yugoslav border was redrawn at the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty in favor of Slovenia and Croatia, Italy did not lose not all its Slovene-inhabited areas; rather, there are about 120,000 Slovenes living in the Provinces of Trst/Trieste, Gorica/Gorizia and Videm/Udine, and their situation, which varies from province to province, is gone into in detail.

In the last, tenth chapter (which, with almost 70 pages, is the most extensive) the scene

returns to Austria; this chapter treats the history of the Carinthian Slovenes in the Second Republic. In May 1945 Carinthia was liberated by Yugoslav and British troops. The Allies' post-war plans did not allow for the occupation of Austria by Yugoslavia, however, and the latter's units had to withdraw. Influenced by the contribution of the Carinthian Slovenes to the liberation of Austria, the Carinthian provincial assembly originally behaved in a manner that was thoroughly well-disposed to the minority. The exemplary school language regulation of the Fall of 1945 introduced equality of German and Slovene language rights into public schooling: in the whole of Southern Carinthia instruction of all children was obligatorily bilingual. Influenced by the Yugoslav territorial demands against Austria, however, renewed anti-Slovene sentiments among the German-speaking majority soon came to the fore. Indeed Yugoslavia was unable to further its territorial claims, not least because of the break between Tito and Stalin; nevertheless, in Article 7 of the State Treaty (Peace Treaty) of 1955 comprehensive regulations were adopted to defend the Slovene and Croatian minorities in Austria. Most of these protective regulations have still today not been actualized. On the contrary, three years after the withdrawal of the British, in 1958, the school regulations of 1945 were repealed under pressure from German-national circles in Carinthia. In 1972 the Austrian National Assembly determined on the setting up of bilingual place-name signs in the whole of Southern Carinthia, in fulfilment of Article Seven of the State Treaty. Shortly after they were put up, these signs were however demolished by German nationalists and sympathizers of the "Kärntner Heimatdienst" in the so-called *Ortstafelsturm*. Granted, the Austrian National Assembly attempted to ameliorate the situation of the minorities in Austria with the *Volksgruppengesetz* of 1976; but general German national sentiment in Carinthia, and also the permanent pressure of public opinion, had however renewed negative effect on this law. The law is less well-disposed towards minorities, and was directed against the clearly-formulated proposals made by the representatives of the Slovenes. Prospects for the continued maintenance of the Slovene minority in Carinthia are thus to be assessed as extremely pessimistic, although the minority is very active culturally and economically, as is demonstrated by the last section in the book.

It was made clear above that this book was written as a school text. It was written because the Slovenes occupy but a marginal place in the historiography of Austria and of Carinthia, although they composed one-third of the Carinthian population in the middle of the 19th century and although Austrian politicians referred to the Carinthian Slovenes' opposition to the Nazi state during the negotiations for the State Treaty. The book is however more than a history text: it is comprehensively informative about the history of the Carinthian Slovenes, it is outstandingly illustrated and furnished with good maps and a superlatively well-chosen collection of citations from original sources. Also, the authors often address painful questions that have been ignored in Slovene historiography, for example the problem of the *domobranci*. By virtue of its involvement the book is not just historical, it is also political. Because of its great informativeness a translation into English would be extremely welcome. The only real disadvantage of the book is that it has no reference to further literature concerning the individual subjects that it treats.

The situation of the Carinthian Slovenes is well illustrated by the reactions that this book evoked. It originally appeared in 1985 in Slovene.¹ Probably for this reason it was ignored by German-language research in Carinthia. Only the German version resulted in a polemic and not very scientific review by the director of the Carinthian provincial archives,² in which he frontally and quite unjustifiably attacks the authors and advocates a view of history which consciously aims at preventing a political confrontation with German nation-

alism. The history of the Carinthian Slovenes in the 20th century is nevertheless the history of a small minority trying to confront a German nationalism that is all-powerful and aggressive. Hitherto, official Carinthian provincial historiography has come to grief in this respect, being quite unwilling to write an objective history of Carinthia in the 20th century in which the viewpoint of the Carinthian Slovenes might be sufficiently appreciated. The very presumptuousness of Ogris's criticism underscores the worth of the book under review; for it is the first description in which the minority has had its say. This informative and involved book deserves a wide reception in the international world of scholarship.

Friedrich Edelmayer, Institut für Geschichte, Universität Wien
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NOTES

1. Valentin Inzko et al., eds., *Zgodovina koroških Slovencev od leta 1918 do danes z upoštevanjem vseslovenske zgodovine*. Celovec/Klagenfurt: Mohorjeva založba/St.-Hermagoras-Bruderschaft, 1985.
2. Alfred Ogris, "Die Kärntner Landesgeschichte ist unteilbar! Kritische Anmerkungen zu einem Lehrbuch über eine 'Geschichte der Kärntner Slowenen' von 1918 bis zur Gegenwart," *Carinthia I. Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Landeskunde von Kärnten* (Klagenfurt) 178 (1988) 353-63.

Jože Pirejvec, *Tito, Stalin in zahod*. Ljubljana: Delavska enotnost, 1987. 251 pp..

"Tito, in comparison with the hero of Orwell's novel [1984]," writes Jože Pirejvec, "did not allow himself to be crushed by the destructive mechanism, but rather persevered staunchly in his resistance." With these words the author concludes this work on the Tito-Stalin rupture of 1948. His interesting and well-documented account is a survey of the first three years of post-war Yugoslav foreign policy.

Pirejvec, a Slovene living in Italy, has crafted the events of the period into a readable and colorful narrative. The translation of the work into Slovene from Italian is intended to fill a gap in the recent Slovene historiography on this theme. Certainly it succeeds in making available an expansive recounting of the Cominform split.

Pirejvec's fine book is praiseworthy on account of its scope, scholarliness, and readability. It covers quite a broad range of material on all facets of Yugoslav international relations. Included are descriptions of the disputes over Trst/Trieste and Carinthia, American military overflights, the Greek civil war, and the Truman doctrine. The now-familiar terrain of the growth of the Soviet-Yugoslav dispute is covered in some detail: Soviet intelligence activity in Yugoslavia, the demise of plans for Balkan and Danubian federations, and the actions taken against the high government officials Jovanović, Hebrang, and Žujović.

Pirejvec pinpoints the spark that send the dispute into full flames as Soviet irritation at Yugoslavia's close cooperation with Albania. He then moves to a discussion of the two sets of inner tensions in Yugoslav policy: whether or not to distinguish between relations with foreign Communist parties and their governments, and whether to give precedence to Yugoslavia's continued diplomatic activity with the East or to its new, Western-oriented commercial policies. Implicit in this new priority given to economic matters is the future importance of relations with the developing countries. Perhaps one may date the birth of