

Peter Vodopivec. *Od Pohlinove slovnice do samostojne države: slovenska zgodovina od konca 18. stoletja do konca 20. stoletja.* Ljubljana: Modrijan, 2006. 630 pp., €37.50 (\$55.13) (hardcover). ISBN: 961-241-130-1.

This book's cover portrait of Marko Pohlin, Slovene coat-of-arms, and title immediately attract the reader's attention, inviting him or her on a 630-page journey through the last two centuries of Slovene history. The back cover advises that the book provides an "overview of two hundred years of Slovene cultural, social, economic, and political development, from the beginnings of the national movement to independence." Very modest facts about the author are also found on the back cover.

Thirty-nine chapters comprise the study. Some of the chapters are subdivided—for instance, "Slovenci zunaj jugoslovanskih meja" (Slovenes beyond the Yugoslav borders) (238–63) has sections on Slovenes in Italy and in the first Austrian Republic, Hungary, Western Europe, and America. The chapter divisions enable quick orientation in the history. It might have been helpful to group the chapters. I would suggest five general periods: until the end of the Habsburg monarchy (1–161), the first Yugoslavia (162–263), World War II (264–307), postwar Yugoslavia (308–489), and independent Slovenia (490–602).

Let us take parts of two of the general periods I suggest in order to examine the exposition: the early Habsburg period and end of World War II. In the initial chapters, Vodopivec traces the gradual development of Slovenedom—if I may use the term—from Pohlin's original call to the decisive year of 1848. Slovenes, sharing a common language, were before 1848 usually considered Carniolans, Carinthians, and so forth, according to their administrative location within the empire in which they lived for centuries, except for the brief Illyrian periods (1797, 1805, 1809–13). Ideas about ethno-national unity that spread slowly to most parts of Europe found expression in educated individuals' programs, legal proposals, forms of communication, and attitudes towards relatively smaller ethnic groups. These ideas and their realizations convinced Slovene speakers that they were also tied by a common culture, customs, and traditional rights—the same as other ethnic groups.

Vodopivec's overview of conceptual and practical issues is evenhanded and flows well. For example, after noting Anton Tomaž Linhart's concept of one people between the Drava and Adriatic, united by language (20), Vodopivec observes that Slovene (not yet so called) and German cultural endeavors were not opposed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He then describes the effects of the Napoleonic period (22–29) and deftly reviews which laws and policies continued after the restoration and which were deemed threats to Habsburg rule (30–33). A

recounting of economic growth, with special attention to transport, immediately follows (33–39).

Vodopivec gives a clear picture of events in this first period of national awakening. The formation of a literary language was one of the main conditions for attaining national goals. The first written call for a national formation was published by Marko Pohlin in 1768 in his *Kraynska grammatika*. Pohlin advocated greater use of Slovene and Slovene consciousness. Vodopivec explains that this marks the first, early period of the national movement. However, only a few heeded published urgings to use Slovene in public interaction—those who understood the importance of recording the linguistic cultural heritage. Such work was eventually done, and Vodopivec interestingly points to the role of town dwellers, miners, craftsmen, and others in promoting Slovene language use. For instance, there was the weekly *Kmetijske in rokodelske novize*, aimed at peasants and craftsmen, which quickly became a general educational publication in the 1840s. (Further on Vodopivec explains, however, that this periodical flourished only by observing the censor's stricture to adhere to an educational, economic program [48].) While directing attention to the importance of language matters, Vodopivec notes the state of other fields in parallel—scholarship, the arts, and the natural sciences in the same period, for example (41–45). Vodopivec's recounting of trends before 1848 shows progressive worsening of Slovene-German ethnic relations and only partial preparation on the part of Slovene cultural leaders for the 1848 upheaval (55). Slovene speakers in Klagenfurt, Graz, and Vienna were better prepared for and reacted more strongly to events in the spring of 1848 than traditionally minded Ljubljana.

Ethnic relations in Slovene territory are a subject that Vodopivec returns to throughout the history, especially at times of conflict. He cites, for instance, the exclusion of German and Hungarian teachers in Maribor starting in early 1919, after demonstrations in favor of maintaining the city's German character (201). In the two months after World War II ended, a much more violent time, Vodopivec observes that non-political Italian prisoners were among those executed by the new Yugoslav regime (309). Slovene relations with other peoples in the first Yugoslavia and the use of the language in this state are naturally a central focus of interest as well.

Slovene-Slovene relations have, of course, been a more controversial historical topic. Vodopivec provides a balanced summary of the civil strife during and immediately after World War II. His statistics of the number of persons executed following the war by the Yugoslav authorities and their local agents are based on recent research at his home Institute of Contemporary History. As he does throughout the book,

Vodopivec draws original conclusions here, from the material on World War II. We meet the paradox that

In spite of the violence and growing ideological rigidity of the post-war Yugoslav and Slovene authorities, a large part of the population continued to view the future optimistically and proudly cooperated in reconstruction. The people, especially the young, took part in political rallies and mass worker demonstrations organized by the regime on the Soviet model not only because of political pressure but also out of a sincere conviction that they were helping to build a better, more just world. (327)

In the years 1945–47 Vodopivec locates the origins of the “cult of partisan resistance,” the “cult of revolution,” and other aspects of Yugoslav communist mythology.

Earlier he matter-of-factly traces the failures of the communist Liberation Front and its opponents in Slovene lands to reconcile their differences, despite encouragement from political leaders in London (289). And he perceptively considers events in Slovene lands on the background of what was transpiring elsewhere, such as Italy’s capitulation in September 1943.

Slovene-Slovene political conflicts, especially between federalists and centralists, repeatedly surface in this history. It is, after all, the corollary of the movement to national unity that this history narrates and a fact of political life today. At times regional differences complicate more easily accessible political oppositions. The chapter on the 1930s (“Trideseta leta”) discusses the many political divisions that splintered the Slovene urban parties, though there were no “official” parties other than a Yugoslav-approved one. Catholic and liberal political groupings splintered badly during the decade. Thus, in concluding the chapter on the 1930s (236), Vodopivec explains that in the context of less tolerant political positions, the liberal, Catholic, and socialist camps into which Slovenes had grouped themselves since the nineteenth century were subsumed into two opposed blocs, one honing to a pan-European bloc of anti-communist traditionalists (including Slovene liberal and Catholic groups), the other to a bloc Vodopivec calls a “national defense movement” (*narodnoobrambno gibanje*). Vodopivec describes the latter as a bloc that “despite its differences in views and ideologies strove to unite various anti-fascist and nationalist inclined groups” (236). The two largest urban Carniolan groups declined to cooperate with the national defense movement bloc before World War II. The term “national defense movement,” to the best of my knowledge, did not exist at the time for the collage of forces Vodopivec is describing in historical perspective. While explained very clearly, it is nonetheless a challenging political struggle with regional nuances to cover

in less than two pages. Further, the term “national defense movement,” to the best of my knowledge, did not exist at the time for the collage of forces Vodopivec is describing in historical perspective.

Five thematic maps (603–07) by Matej Rihtaršič, graphics by Edi Berk, aid the reader’s understanding of specific periods—for example, “STO [Slovensko tržaško ozemlje –M.M.] in razmejitve z Italijo po drugi svetovni vojni” (STO [Slovene Trieste Territory] and the partition with Italy after World War II) (607). Sources are listed on pp. 608–16 and a proper name index is found on pp. 617–30; unfortunately, there is no subject index. The list of sources consulted is made up almost entirely of Slovene publications. Given the author’s formidable command of the literature, demonstrated in this historical tour-de-force, the list probably should have been entitled “selected.”

Vodopivec’s most recent book is thus the painstaking work of a historian striving to convey as lucidly as possible the Slovenes’ path over the past two centuries. Since “this work in a single book” (630 pages) “encompasses the main directions and currents of modern Slovene history,” translations into major world languages would contribute a great deal to understanding one of the newest EU member’s historical challenges and numerous accomplishments.

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