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*Slovenski in italijanski socialisti na Primorskem 1900-1918. Socialisti sloveni e italiani nel Litorale.*  
Ljubljana-Trieste, 1979.

For the Second International, founded in 1889, socialist internationalism would be an illusive force. There were ominous signs even before 1914. Among Europe's Social Democratic parties, quarrels, betraying "nationalistic" leanings, crowded debates of the International's conferences. And there were growing rifts throughout socialism's ranks over the doctrine of historical materialism, for by 1900 the forces of Revision (à la Bernstein) had mobilized against orthodox Marxism. These issues preoccupied the Yugoslav Social Democratic Party (Jugoslovska socialnodemokratska stranka, hereafter JSDS), as they did all Socialists in the Habsburg Empire. Henrik Tuma, who joined the JSDS in 1908 and is the central figure of this collection of essays, addressed these issues. Like Jean Jaurès, the French Socialist--also a late convert from the bourgeois camp--Tuma remained confident in the lure of internationalism. For, among other things, internationalism within Austria-Hungary meant preserving the empire as a multinational and large territorial unit. This seemed to make good economic sense. Jaurès' vision would be shattered when German Socialists in the Reichstag voted war credits on August 4, 1914, thereby backing up Imperial Germany's declaration of war against France. Jaurès, mercifully, did not live to know of these developments; he had been shot by a fanatic French patriot a few days before. Tuma, on the other hand would witness the piecemeal wartime dismemberment of his dream.

Tuma believed in progress. It was related to modern economic development whose dynamics were chiefly observable in towns and cities where there was commerce and industry. If Slovenes were to advance, the logical place was Trieste. The population of that city was well over

200,000 at the turn of the century. Its Slovenes, who were primarily wage earners, numbered about 70,000, a figure appreciably larger than Ljubljana's total population of nearly 42,000 in 1910. A mere town, Ljubljana was, for Tuma, regrettably also dominated by conservative, that is, anti-progressive, elements. At first Tuma invested his trust in bourgeois liberalism. He hoped it might even attract the Slovene peasantry. But by 1908 Tuma concluded that the Clericals had firmly secured the peasants' mandate. Liberal capitalism was for him founded upon international principles, in other words, on universal economic laws. That Tuma espoused socialist internationalism after 1908 is not, therefore, a philosophical contradiction. Simply, it meant that workers rather than the middle class were to be the agents of general social and economic betterment. Progress, one way or the other remained on the horizon.

Given the options of the pre-1914 world in which he lived, Tuma's vision--of an Italian-Yugoslav (i.e. largely Slovene) Trieste as the economic hub of a multi-national Austrian state and a bulwark against German imperialism--was not a frivolous one. It was wartime developments, as the writers of this volume document, that rendered the dream obsolete. The war radically changed the world and it limited the political choices available. As the Entente powers became more hostile the likelihood of Austria's survival became more remote. After Italy was lured into the Western camp non-irredentist Italians, who had hoped for an "Austrian" solution to the Italian national question, drew nearer and nearer Italy; and the JSDS became increasingly nationalistic. In the end prospects for Italian-Slovene cooperation in an "Austrian" Trieste all but vanished.

This book's introductory remarks invoke Italian-Slovene friendship and encourage scholars to set an example by "cracking the tough nuts," that is, approaching problems of ethnic and cultural conflict objectively. The former is evident in the bi-national sponsorship of and the variety of contributions to the 1977 conference held in Trieste which resulted in the publication of this work. Each piece is printed in both Slovene and Italian, including the comments--or rather elaborations, for the most part, on the book's major themes. So, too, is the selection of documents of Tuma-Pittoni and Tuma-Puecher correspondence

assembled by Elio Apih. Perhaps because of the introduction's entreaty, the papers deal with Tuma dispassionately but also with a certain nostalgia. Three of the six essays are of exceptional quality: that of Pleterski in which the role of Trieste in pre-1914 Slovene political thought is reviewed; that of Pirjevec, where Tuma and his socialism receive meticulous scholarly appraisal and are presented with sensitivity, even affection; and that of Kacin-Wohinz, who discusses Tuma within the context of Trieste's Slovene Socialist milieu in 1918, reminding the reader that Tuma to the end stood by his internationalist convictions, holding that in mixed ethnic areas only the higher economic principle must govern (109). In all, this book is a compelling one, particularly for the student of societies where both national and social consciousnesses appear almost simultaneously.

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