



IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW STATES IN EAST- CENTRAL EUROPE: THE CASE OF THE SLOVENIANS IN NORTH AMERICA

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The aim of this article is to survey the activities of Slovenian emigrants for the establishment of the Yugoslav state in the period before, during, and after World War I. It also describes how the Slovenians were organised in that period, and compares their activities with those undertaken by people of Slovenian descent during the struggle for the independence of Slovenia in 1991 and their efforts for international recognition of its' independence in 1991 and 1992.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this contribution is to survey the activities of Slovenians who emigrated to North America in relation to the establishment of the Yugoslav state in the period before, during, and after World War I. I will also describe how the Slovenians were organized in that period, and I will compare their activities with those undertaken by Slovenian emigrants during the war for the independence of Slovenia in 1991 as well as in the Slovenian striving for recognition of their independence in 1991 and 1992.

As this is the first survey of these activities and as these phenomena are complex it is far from complete. I intentionally left out some periods when no fundamental changes in relations and views of the Slovenian emigrant community towards the statehood of the old homeland took place.

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Slovenians today live all over the world. They emigrated from their homeland for a variety of reasons during periods of crisis over the last 150 years and built communities wherever they went. As with immigrants of other nationalities, we have to differentiate among Slovenian emigrants who left the country before World War I, those who left between the wars, and those who left after World War II. For the Slovenians, we can also differentiate between those who left after the end of World War II until the opening of the borders of Yugoslavia in the 1960s, and emigrants who left Slovenia after this time.

Most of the Slovenians who emigrated before World War I went to the United States, with smaller groups emigrating to Germany or South America. After World War I, especially after the United States closed its doors in 1924, Slovenians emigrated to Canada, South America, and Europe - particularly to Westphalia in Germany and the mining areas of France, Belgium, and the Netherlands.

After World War II, a wave of political refugees fled Slovenia and, after spending some years in displaced persons camps in Austria and Italy, embarked on ships for Canada, South America, Australia and, to a lesser extent, to the United States. This wave of political émigrés was followed by the spouses and children once Yugoslavia opened its borders for this group at the end of the 1940s.

In the 1950s another wave of emigrants left Slovenia in search of a better life. They could not be characterized as political émigrés, even though - just like the former - they migrated illegally.

From the 1960s onward Yugoslavia was the only country with a Socialist or Communist political system that opened its borders and allowed its citizens to migrate legally. This policy enabled citizens to join their friends and relatives wherever they lived, providing the receiving countries would allow them in. This open border policy also created new types of migrants - those who retained the citizenship of their mother country and who were considered by the host countries as temporary migrants or, "guest workers". As a result, new Slovenian ethnic communities were established in Austria and Germany, France, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, and other western European countries.

Yugoslav citizens who migrated to Australia in the 1960s and 1970s were also considered to be guest workers by Yugoslav authorities - i.e., the mother country expected them to retain their Yugoslav passports and to be loyal Yugoslav citizens. It is interesting to note that this was also the policy of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy for the immigrants who came to the United States before World War I. They were

considered birds of passage, working for a few years in the United States and then returning to their homeland.¹

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SLOVENIAN EMIGRANTS TO THE USA IN CONNECTION WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE YUGOSLAV STATE DURING AND AFTER WORLD WAR I

Since most of the Slovenian emigrants outside their homeland lived in the United States in 1914 this was the only country where Slovenians could freely express their opinions for or against the further life of the Slovenians in the Empire. and to organize themselves in support of the people in their homeland. When the Habsburg Empire went to war, the circumstances in the country did not allow for freedom of expression, particularly anti-monarchist ideas.

The Austrian diplomats were trying to create a pro-monarchist atmosphere among the immigrants from the Habsburg Empire. They also wanted to draft the immigrants into the Austrian army which aroused strong opposition. According to Slovenian - American ethnic newspapers, the Austrian diplomats were very actively involved in pressing the immigrant communities to do favors for Austria/Hungary during World War I.² For example *Clevelandska Amerika*, which was a Slovenian - American newspaper published in Cleveland, Ohio criticized the activities of Austria's diplomatic representatives throughout the First World War. The Austrian Consul in Cleveland, a man named Ludwig, made every effort to get Slovenians and others of his country's former subjects to return to fight for Austria. (During the First World War, Cleveland was home not only to Slovenians, but also to Czechs, Poles, Croats, Serbians, Slovaks, and Hungarians whose countrymen were still under the Habsburg Empire.) According to a report in *Clevelandska Amerika*, the first two volunteers from Cleveland to enlist in the Austrian army were Croats, followed by Poles sympathetic to Austria.³

The second major objective of Austrian diplomats in the United States was to incite as many as possible of their former subjects to strike, particularly those who worked in the weapons industry. The editors of *Clevelandska Amerika* alleged that a large number of Austrian secret agents were present in Cleveland and other cities, where former citizens of the Habsburg empire lived as immigrants, at the time, working to persuade citizens of Austria-Hungary to go on strike. The trade unions opposed all such attempts and called upon workers to remain at their jobs.⁴ The American government is also alleged to have authorized its agents to counteract the Austrians' operations.⁵

American Slovenians pursued two kinds of political activities during World War I. One had to do with the activities of the United States The other took place within Slovenian-

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American institutions, and these tried to influence events in the homeland. This latter can be divided into those who favored a continuation of the Hapsburg monarchy, those who supported the extension of the Kingdom of Serbia to Croatian and Slovenian ethnic territories into a unitaristic Yugoslavia, and those who advocated Yugoslavia as a Federal Republic.

Prior to the entrance of the United States into the war in 1917, many American Slovenians openly sided with the Habsburg Monarchy. Some continued to support it even later, though secretly. At the outbreak of World War I, pro - Austrian feeling was widespread among American Slovenians and was promulgated primarily by diplomatic representatives and some Catholic clergy. These Slovenians did not establish an organization, but were active in part of the Slovenian ethnic press.⁶

The second group of activists was originally based in the Slovenian League (Slovenska liga), which was founded in 1915 and later the Slovenian National Union (Slovenska narodna zveza), which was founded in 1917. Both of these organizations worked in cooperation with and on the initiative of the Yugoslav Committee in London. They acted very carefully on the question of how to formulate the future Yugoslav state. These activists can nevertheless be characterized as favoring the expansion of the Serbian - dominated Kingdom of Yugoslavia to include Slovenian ethnic territories.

The third group worked through the Slovenian Republican Alliance (founded in 1917), which after its association with like-minded Croats, was renamed the Yugoslav Republican Alliance in 1917.

These activists worked to establish the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in which Slovenia would be an autonomous republic.⁷

After the United States declared war on Austria, however, anti-Austrian sentiments among the American Slovenians reached a flash point.

Slovenian, Croatian, and Serbian politicians who had managed to escape from Austria before World War I established the Yugoslav Committee in London. These politicians wanted to join with Serbia and Montenegro to form a Yugoslav kingdom.⁸ They believed that it was the best solution for the Habsburg South Slavs to unite into one state with Serbia and Montenegro. They were afraid of the pressure of Germanization from the north as well as of the pressure of Italy from the west. This Committee sought the cooperation of Slovenian, Croatian, and Serbian immigrants living in the United States. To this end, the Committee called upon leading South Slavs to fight with them to found a Yugoslav state.

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Early in the First World War, Slovenian, Croatian, and Serbian volunteers from all over the United States, particularly Cleveland were recruited by the Serbian royal government and the Yugoslav Committee in London to fight at the front in Saloniki.⁹ In July, 1917, the first unit of Slovenian, Croatian, and Serbian Clevelanders left for the front at Saloniki. It included 26 Slovenians. It was a historic occasion. For the first time in American history, South Slavs living in the United States left for battlefields in Europe. Thousands gathered in the Slovenian and Croatian settlements of Cleveland/then the largest Slovenian settlement in the world/to give the soldiers a heartbreaking farewell. The volunteers marched along St. Clair Avenue to East 62nd Street, then on Glass Avenue towards the Sokol Gardens, where they had their photos taken. In Grdina Hall, they were given a farewell luncheon after which the company commanders, Stjepan Popovič and Stjepan Mance, marched them to the railway station. The railway cars for the troops were decorated with banners declaring them to be the "first group to go with the glorious flag for free Yugoslavia!"¹⁰ In July, 1918, another group of Slovenian, Croatian, and Serbian volunteers left Cleveland for Saloniki. Again the community gathered in their honor at Grdina Hall with speeches by Dr. Ljubo Leontič, a prominent Serbian immigrant; Don Niko Gerskovič, a parson of the Croatian Church of St. Paul on St. Clair Avenue; and Dr. Drago Marušič, the Slovenian representative of the Yugoslav Committee in Washington, D.C.¹¹

The Slovenian communities in the United States, particularly in Cleveland, also supported the draft of their fellow citizens into the U.S. Army. In September, 1917, the community hosted a farewell dinner in Grdina Hall in honor of Slovenian soldiers who had been drafted into the 23rd U.S. Army Corps. The Bureau of Military Affairs for Cleveland, and the wholesale grocers in the 23rd ward, financed the dinner. Snacks, drinks, cigars, and cigarettes were free of charge, and guests were entertained by some of Cleveland's best theater personalities.¹² That same year approximately 200 Slovenians from Chicago were sent for a year's training at the army base in Chillicothe, near Cleveland, after which they went to the battlefields of Europe. Bidding farewell in their speeches to the new recruits were, among others, Louis Pirc; councilman of the 23rd Ward, Adam Damm; and mayoral candidate Edvard Haserodt.¹³ 5,000 Slovenian Americans enlisted in the U.S. Army from across the country. Debates between *Clevelandska Amerika* and U.S. government staff over the size of the Slovenian contingent in the U.S. Army are interesting in that they reflect the pride that Ame-

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rican Slovenians felt about serving in the military. The debates also demonstrated how difficult it was for American authorities to determine who the Slovenians were. In 1918, R. H. Miller sent a bulletin to the U.S. Army's Intelligence Bureau, in which he reported that at Camp Sherman 85 recruits had declared themselves as Slovenians, 798 as Austrians, and 437 as Slavs. One could also say that this shows the level of nationalism (or lack of it) among Slovenian Americans. On the other hand one could explain this through the ignorance of the enumerators who did not differentiate between ethnicity and citizenship of the parents of the soldiers. *Clevelandska Amerika* maintained that these numbers merely proved that Miller's statistics were inaccurate. The criticism prompted Miller to return to Camp Sherman a second time to obtain a more precise count of Slovenians among the troops.¹⁴

The fact that the Slovenians and Croats fought in the allied armies during World War I was important, since during the post World War I Yugoslav period (1918 - 1991) politicians and historians often discussed who founded Yugoslavia and who made a notable contribution to its establishment - whether it was exclusively the Kingdom of Serbia, or whether the Slovenians and Croats took part in it as well. The above mentioned fact served as a proof for the correctness of the latter theory as well as the right of the Slovenians and Croats in Yugoslavia to obtain their "national rights".

In January, 1919, the first wounded Slovenian soldiers returned to Cleveland.¹⁵ Among the 718 soldiers from that city who had died in the war, 14 were Slovenians.¹⁶ It was an enormous burden for the Slovenian-American community, since it had to take care of widows of the fallen soldiers as well as to help the relatives of the wounded soldiers to help them lead normal lives. No comments, however, were made in the Slovenian-American press on this subject, although it does mention the community's efforts to raise funds for soldiers' families. The Slovenian-American community also made an attempt to establish an orphanage for children left without a parent by the war, but was unsuccessful.

American Slovenians were also active in various civilian committees that provided aid to the United States' war effort. American- Slovenian fraternal benefit societies invested thousands of dollars in American military bonds sold by the United States to purchase arms and material for its army. Individual American Slovenian fraternal benefit societies and their lodges in the Slovenian settlements all over the United States competed with each other over which had bought the greatest number of Federal War Bonds.¹⁷

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Slovenian American students also helped register and recruit servicemen. Immediately after the United States entered World War I, Slovenians in Cleveland sent President Woodrow Wilson a pledge of support. That letter was sent from a meeting of 2,500 Slovenians in the Slovenian Political Club. The letter emphasized their loyalty towards the United States and their readiness to fight Austria. The statement shows not only the fervent American patriotism among the Slovenian ethnic community, but also a deep hope that President Wilson would take the small European nations, including Slovenians, under his protection.¹⁸

Clevelandska Amerika proposed the following three-point program in its effort to support the Yugoslav Committee:

1. *Form a committee to represent Slovenians at the eventual peace conference, where they could put forward their demands.*

2. *Cooperate with other Slavic nations (the Croats, Czechs, and Poles), since it would be better to unite with one's Slavic brothers in planning the postwar era.*

3. *Keep the Slovenian League intact and independent from similar leagues.*

Clevelandska Amerika, however, was clear about the limits of cooperation:

"Were we to unite with the Czechs and the Croats, who have already founded their own leagues, then let our actions be unanimously agreed upon so that they might be more successful and effective. But by no means shall we unite into one conglomerate league with these other nations. There shall still exist three separate leagues: the Slovenian, the Croat and the Czech leagues, which shall each be engaged in activities for the good of its own nation."¹⁹

Those who founded the Slovenian League did not intend to promote Yugoslavia as a centralized state once the war ended. When the Slovenian League was formed in February 1915, the organization had no clear idea about how Slovenians might unite with other Slavic nations. *Clevelandska Amerika* identified only the American Czechs and Croats as allies in the battle for the rights of the Slovenian nation.²⁰

Representatives of 27 branches of the Slovenian League met in Chicago on March 9, 1915 and passed a resolution in favor of a Yugoslav federation in which all Slovenians would be united. Frank Sakser, a banker from New York, was elected president of the League; Edvard Kalish of Cleveland was elected secretary; and John Jager of Minneapolis became treasurer.

On March 10, 1915, representatives of the Yugoslav emigrants (Serbs, Croats and Slovenians) met in Chicago and passed a resolution declaring that Croats, Slovenians, and

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Serbs would henceforth be regarded as one nation, with one and the same language, and whose common name would be Yugoslav. This effectively renounced the Slovenian nation's right of sovereignty.²¹

During the first half of 1915, the Slovenian League and its leaders organized successful rallies and widely disseminated the League's rules.²² In February, 1915, an enthusiastic crowd of 2,000 agreed to establish a branch of the Slovenian League in Cleveland, which at the time of the rally had over 200 members. The president of the Hrvatski Savez (Croatian Union), Don Niko Gerskovič, spoke at the rally, comparing Austria to a mother with six children who cares for two and neglects the other four. "Such a mother," he said, "is like the cuckoo that doesn't raise its own young." This, "Gerskovič went on to argue, "was the case with Austria, where only Germans and Hungarians have human rights, and the rights of the Slavs are trampled underfoot." He concluded by calling for an end to the injustice and for making that the goal of the Slovenian League. He also urged all nationality-conscious Slovenians to join the organization, for only in this way could the League's objective be attained.²³

Louis J. Pirc, owner of *Ameriška domovina*, became president of the Cleveland branch of the League. Edvard Kalish and Ivan Breskvar were secretary and treasurer, respectively. From among the League's members, two delegates were elected to a convention of Yugoslav immigrant groups held on March 10, 1915 in Chicago.²⁴

In December, 1915, the Cleveland branch of the Slovenian League organized a large gathering where Dr. Milan Marjanovič, a former captive held in the castle of Ljubljana, spoke of conditions in the Habsburg monarchy. Representatives of the Croatian and Serbian societies were also present. American newspapers featured reports on the rally that suggested that Americans were interested in this event. Fr. Niko Gerskovič and others from New York and the old country also spoke at the rally.²⁵

On April 28, 1916, people gathered in Grdina Hall in Cleveland to hear an address by Dr. Niko Zupanič, a Slovenian politician and envoy of the Yugoslav Committee. Zupanič was also the first Slovenian to come to America during the war.²⁶

On August 18, 1916, the Slovenian League called a protest rally against Italy's occupation of Slovenian Coastland. The list of speakers included Dr. Niko Zupanič; a Serb, Milan Marjanovič; and the Croat Niko Gerskovič. Slovenians in Cleveland and across the United States collected a petition to provide evidence that the Slovenians were not about to give in to Italian desires on their land. Twenty thousand signa-

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tures were required to submit the petition to the allied governments.²⁷

Within the framework of the Slovenian League the opposition against the activities of the Yugoslav Committee in London arouse, suggesting that its aim was to create Yugoslavia only as an enlarged Serbia and not as a union of equal peoples. On the second convention of the Slovenian League held on July 25, and July 26, 1916 in Chicago Math Kebe was elected president..

Its representatives also took part in the second Yugoslav meeting in Pittsburgh in November 1918. The latter supported the unification of the Yugoslav nations under Karađorđević dynasty but the delegates of the League did not have the support of the majority of the Slovenians from the USA. This can also be seen from the letter of Ante Biankini., the president of the Yugoslav National Council, an organization of the pro-unitarian and pro-Yugoslav oriented immigrants in the USA, to Dr. Ante Trumbić, the president of the Yugoslav Committee, stating that "Two third of the Slovenians were against us."²⁸

After the Slovenian League folded in 1917 due to lack of direction and disagreements among its leaders, (Edvard Kalish, Louis J. Pirc, Frank Sakser etc.). American Slovenians who supported the activities of the Yugoslav Committee in London founded the Slovenska Narodna Zveza (Slovenian National Union). This union organized a public meeting in Grdina Hall on October 14, 1917, where the most prominent speaker was the Slovenian envoy of the Yugoslav Committee, Dr. Drago Marušič.²⁹

On January 9, 1918, another public meeting took place. The main speaker at the meeting, organized by the monarchist Slovenian National Union, was a captain of the Serbian army, Vekoslav Fon. Captain Fon gave a first-hand report of the battles on the Austro-Russian front, where he had fought prior to fighting for Serbia.³⁰

The pro-monarchist Slovenian National Union convention met on April 14 to 16, 1918. This convention's most important outcome was the Declaration of Slovenian Americans, also called the Cleveland Declaration (in direct contrast to the Chicago Declaration - see the next page). The Cleveland Declaration stated that:

1. *Slovenians, Croats, and Serbs were one nation.*
2. *Slovenians could not exist alone; the only hope of the Slovenians lay in a political union with the Croats and Serbs and the founding of a free and independent country.*
3. *All three parts of the Yugoslav nation should enjoy complete equality, and this equality must be guaranteed by the country's constitution.*³¹

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Anti-monarchist American Slovenians were also organizing. They had passed the Chicago Declaration in March 1917, which demanded that a Yugoslav Federal Republic be founded that included the Slovenian nation. The initiative for this declaration was from liberal and socialist-oriented American Slovenians.³² This document, written by the leaders of the Yugoslav Socialist Federation, demanded the unification of the Slovenians with the rest of the southern Slav "tribes" into a Yugoslav Federal Republic where all tribes would be equal. The Chicago Declaration also initiated the founding of the Yugoslav Republican Alliance, an organization of American Slovenians, Croats, and Serbs that strove to establish a Yugoslav Federative Republic. The Socialists demanded the unification of all the Yugoslav nations and the Bulgarians into a Yugoslav Federal Republic. When the republic did not materialize and Yugoslavia became a monarchy under Serbian domination, the Slovenian Socialists in the United States criticized the situation, yet tried to cooperate with the Yugoslav regime.

All the organizations of American immigrants from the separate Yugoslav nations functioned autonomously, but were not hostile to the idea of communicating on equal terms with other communities. The Yugoslav Socialist Federation functioned on such principles, for it consisted of three sections Slovenian, Croatian, and Serb, each of which had its own property, periodical and leaders.³³

At the end of February, 1919, approximately 50 representatives met in Cleveland for an emergency meeting of the anti-monarchist Yugoslav Republican Alliance. The representatives passed the following resolution:

1. *The Slovenian Republican Alliance should embark upon an anti-Italian propaganda campaign, since Italians had benefited most from disunity among the Yugoslavs.*

2. *Slovenian Republican Alliance should establish close and confidential ties with the United States government and endorse a continuation of the process of Americanization.*

3. *A representative of the Slovenian Republican Alliance should be elected to the Yugoslav government in Zagreb and Ljubljana.*

4. *Aid and relief should be sent to the homeland, even though the Alliance had received criticism for sending aid to the old country during the Austrian occupation.*

5. *A deputation should be sent to Slovenia from America to help American Slovenians who wanted to travel to their homeland and to regulate everything affecting the bonds between America and Yugoslavia.*³⁴

As we have seen, during the First World War and immediately following, southern Slavs strove in vain for a Yugoslav republic even as it became a centralized monarchy.³⁵ At that time neither the Slovenian emigrants nor the Slove-

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nians living in the homeland dreamt of the possibility of establishing an independent Slovenian state. The fight for the Slovenian individuality was simultaneous with the efforts to gain autonomy within the framework of Yugoslavia or to gain the federal form of the state.

In 1921 Etbin Kristan, the leader of the movement for Yugoslavia to become a federal republic during World War I, became an official of the king's regime and returned to the United States as the Yugoslav commissioner of immigration to the United States. He served in that office until the end of the 1920s, then settled in Grand Haven, Michigan, where he became a restaurant owner.

In the period from the mid-1920s to the end of World War II, points of view of the Slovenian emigrant community on Yugoslavia were not fundamentally changed. Only the old demands for the federal organization of the Yugoslav state and for the unification of the entire Slovenian ethnic territory in Slovenia were repeated. The latter demand referred to the Primorska - Coastland region (Western part of the Slovenian ethnic territory i.e. the regions surrounding Trieste/Trst and Gorizia/Gorica) in particular.³⁶

POLITICAL THOUGHT AMONG SLOVENIAN POLITICAL ÉMIGRÉ COMMUNITIES IN THE USA CONCERNING AN INDEPENDENT SLOVENIAN STATE AFTER WORLD WAR II

Soon after the occupation and the division of Slovenian territory among Hungarians, Italians and Germans in 1941, Dr. Lambert Ehrlich, a Slovenian Catholic priest and one of the leaders of anti-communist Slovenians during World War II, wrote *Slovenski program* (Slovenian program), in which he demanded an independent Slovenian state that would unite the Slovenian ethnic territory. Based on this work Dr. Ciril Žebot prepared an essay entitled *Narod sredi Evrope* (A nation in the middle of Europe), in which he justified the right of the Slovenian nation to have an independent state. This essay represents the fundamental document for the later activities of this part of the Slovenian political emigration after World War II.³⁷

Dr. Žebot moved from Slovenia to Rome after the Italians capitulated in 1943. After the liberation of Rome in 1944, Dr. Miha Krek, the vice president of the Yugoslav government in exile, came to Rome, too, but in the autumn 1944 he was relieved of his office. From that time on Žebot and Krek sent several memoranda to the Western Allies in which they proposed the occupation of the entire territory of Slovenia by them, thus enabling the establishment of Slovenia as a democratic country and rescuing it from the dangers of communism.

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As early as the end of 1945 the Slovenian political émigré community began to differ over questions concerning the demands for the future of the Slovenian nation. In October, 1945, Dr. Miha Krek was elected president of the National Committee for Slovenia. He supported the establishment of the federal democratic Kingdom of Yugoslavia, whereas Dr. žebot established the Action Committee for the United and Sovereign Slovenian State (hereafter called the Action Committee). In 1946 and 1947 the latter sent several memoranda to the Western Allies, demanding the establishment of a Slovenian state that should encompass the entire Slovenian ethnic territory. Besides memoranda, the Action Committee began to publish *Znamenja ob poti* (Signs along the path) and at the beginning of May 1946 *Slovenska država* (Slovenian state) that was supposed to appear as a gazette of the Action Committee.

In December 1949 the first issue of *Slovenska Pravica* (Slovenian Right) appeared in Barberton, Ohio. It was published by the parish priest Anton Merkun and edited by Mirko Geratič.

Father Kazimir Zakrajšek initiated the publishing of the first issue of *Slovenska država* in Chicago, which appeared on July 25, 1950, and in 1954 it moved to Toronto, Canada, where it was edited by Dr. Rudolf šuješ until 1961, Vladimir Mauko between 1961 and 1987, and Luka Jamnik after 1987.

At that time Dr. Ciril žebot as well as Dr. štefan Faleš, Dušan Humer, Dr. Ludvik Leskovar, and Slavko Novak moved to the USA. Faleš, Humer and Father Kalist Langerholz, who was the chaplain when Zakrajšek was the parish priest in Ljubljana in the late 1920' s, prepared the *Slovenska izjava* (Slovenian statement), pledging support for an independent Slovenian state and expressing a wish for its realization with the help of the National Committee for Free Europe in the USA. More than 300 signatures were collected for the above-mentioned statement until 1953.³⁸

Within the framework of the activities of the Slovenian political émigré communities the publishing of the *Slovenska država* newspaper and the signing of the *Slovenska izjava* statement provoked harsh criticism by the leading members of the Slovenian People's Party and Dr. Miha Krek in particular. In September, 1950, the latter criticized the Statement saying that it meant the destruction of the unity of the Slovenian political émigré communities. Dr. Krek wrote that it was important to destroy Communism in the old homeland first, and then the "nation itself would decide upon its fate in freedom".³⁹ Dr. Krek published his criticism of this movement in *Klic Triglava* (The Cry of Triglav), an organ of young liberals from London.⁴⁰

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From 1951 to 1953 the Slovenian National Union was established in Chicago. It was planned to be a mass organization that would support the Action Committee for the United and Sovereign Slovenian State, especially among Slovenian immigrants to the USA. In the 1950s the Slovenian National Union and the Action Committee prepared numerous memoranda in connection with the "Trieste question". After the final division of the Free Territory of Trieste in 1954, the movement for the establishment of Slovenia as an independent country was begun in place of the Action Committee. It was led by Dr. Mate Roesemann and its main aim was to spread ideas about the Slovenian state. In this connection Žebot's work should be emphasized above all.⁴¹

The Slovenian political émigré communities were divided on the possibilities for establishing the independent Slovenian state. In 1954 the Slovenian People's Party published its program. Article 1 (entitled "Slovenski narod in slovenska država" - The Slovenian Nation and the Slovenian State), Article 7, and Article 8 are particularly important. Among other things they state:

Article 1:

... by natural law the Slovenian nation has the right to its own state, to organize its life in its own way, to enter state associations and to cooperate in the family of free nations. The Slovenian People's Party tries to help the Slovenian nation to achieve this right and to unite in the Slovenian state ...

Article 7:

The Slovenians made a free decision to enter the state union with the Croats and Serbs as well as other South Slavic nations (May declaration). Geographical, geopolitical and economic circumstances, the related blood and language as well as the needs to defend the territory show and substantiate the fatal life connections of the Slovenian nation with other South Slavic nations. The precondition of their future happiness is, however, liberty.

Article 8:

The state connections and European conditions demand a closer connection among the nations and states for the mutual defense of peace, for stimulating cultural growth and for the development of the economy. The Slovenian People's Party thinks that the free connection among the nations in the Slavic south is the most natural and the best, and the nation itself decides on the question whether Slovenia should enter any association of countries by means of general equal and secret ballot. The party greets and supports the establishment and organization of a United States of Europe.⁴²

In his commentary on the above-mentioned program, Dr. Miha Krek writes that usually the party's programs did not mention the actual forms of the state, "but due to our

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transitional circumstances it was necessary to state the party's principle about a nation state as the most complete expression of the nation's individuality and in this connection the standpoint of the Slovenians concerning Yugoslavia. The above-mentioned expression arises from the belief that finally wisdom and understanding will win a victory in time throughout our south, since according to what we see and what we can foresee they dictate all nations in this part of Europe to work in their own as well as in mutual interest towards a fair brotherly agreement, for freedom, peaceful connection of national forces and means, which should be joined to retain independence of all the people and of everyone ..."⁴³ After 1954 both movements began to draw closer together until the idea of the independent Slovenian state became established in independent Slovenia.

After 1954 direct political activities for the establishment of the independent Slovenian state were replaced by the efforts of Slovenian intellectuals in the USA to acquaint foreign countries with Slovenian history and Slovenian problems. They also strove to establish connections with older Slovenian emigrants of the second and third generations. The activities of Dr. Ludvik Leskovar and Slavko Novak are important, as both of them acquainted the Slovenians in the vicinity of Chicago with the problems of Slovenia on the radio program. Dr. Ludvik Leskovar and his wife Corinne established a radio club that organized different annual events and dances. We should also mention numerous initiatives and activities for acquainting the English - speaking scholarly audience with Slovenian problems,⁴⁴ as well as the building of the Slovenian chapel in Washington that was initiated by dr. Cyril Žebot.⁴⁵

The activity of Slovenian immigrants to the USA for independent Slovenia

With the exception of the above-mentioned Slovenian political émigrés no one in Slovenia or abroad thought about the possibilities of Slovenian independence until the mid-1980s. After Tito's death in 1980, the relationship between immigrants from Yugoslavia and the old homeland changed. Before that time, Slovenian Americans and the other Yugoslavs in America were divided according to their political orientations into "progressive"⁴⁶ and "conservative" circles. Slovenian - American progressives cooperated with Serbian and Croatian progressive Americans and were sometimes even stronger supporters of Yugoslav internal and external policies than the citizens of that country. The circles from each émigré community criticized Yugoslav politics as well as the policy of its "own" republic.

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The situation shifted at the end of the 1980s with the changes in the Yugoslav political scene. There was a homogenization among immigrants such that progressive Slovenian organizations began to cooperate with conservative political émigrés of the Slovenian communities in order to support the democratization process in Slovenia.⁴⁷

At the beginning of 1990, before there were no serious attempts made to achieve independence for Slovenia, most of the Slovenian Americans still agreed with the idea of Slovenia within Yugoslavia and supported the democratic elections and the process of democratization in Slovenia.⁴⁸ They formed a Union of Slovenian Americans to inform their countrymen of how they could influence American policy on Yugoslavia so that it would be in accordance with the interests of the Slovenian nation. At the end of March, 1990, the Union established its headquarters in Euclid, Ohio,⁴⁹ and supported the democratization of Slovenia irrespective of political parties that appeared at that time.

At the same time, some right-wing Slovenian - Americans organized the American - Slovenian Council, which was led by Dr. Mate Roesemann. Its aim was to support (especially financially) two out of five political parties composing DEMOS (Democratic Opposition of Slovenia), namely the Slovenian Peasants' Party and the Slovenian Christian Democratic Party. The members of the Council raised about \$ 100,000 USD for this purpose. On the initiative of Jože Bernik, a lawyer from Chicago and later president of the Slovenian World Congress, and James Debevec, publisher and owner of *Ameriška domovina* (American Home) in Cleveland, the American- Slovenian Council gave financial support to the Slovenian Democratic Association, which represented a liberal part of DEMOS.⁵⁰ The Union of the Slovenian Americans did not oppose the activities of the American- Slovenian Council, as it did not consider it important which of the Slovenian democratic parties would get the majority of votes in the first democratic multiparty elections in Slovenia in April 1990.

When Slovenian politicians in 1990 and 1991 attempted to achieve independence through a plebiscite, the majority of leading members of the Slovenian government visited almost all important centers of the Slovenian immigrant community. Their aim was to prepare the immigrants for political actions which would follow the Slovenian Declaration of Independence. All leading politicians took part in these activities, from Milan Kučan, the president of the Republic of Slovenia, to Lojze Peterle, the Prime Minister, Dr. France Bučar, the President of the Slovenian Parliament, Dr. Dimitrij Rupel, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Ludvik Toplak, the

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President of the Socio-Political Chamber of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia and, Janez Janša, the Defense Minister.

Prior to the plebiscite, the leaders of Slovenians from Cleveland and from other American towns took part in Congressional hearings concerning Yugoslavia. At a hearing on February 14, 1990, the editor of *Ameriška domovina*, Dr. Rudolph M. Susel, emphasized the wish of the Slovenian people for a separate state as well as their desire to live in a free enterprise and multiparty system. The Slovenian emigrants strongly supported the independence efforts of Slovenia, which is also evident from more than 6,000 written statements of support sent to the Slovenian Parliament. Soon after the Slovenian plebiscite, on December 23, 1990, when more than 90% of the voters voted for a free and independent state, the then member of the Slovenian Government and Minister responsible for Slovenian Emigrants and national minorities, Janez Dular, asked the Slovenian immigrant communities throughout the world and the Slovenian minorities in Austria, Italy and Hungary to morally support the movement for Slovenian independence.⁵¹

As early as January, 1991 Slovenians from Cleveland, reacted to this statement. In a letter they expressed their support for Slovenian independence to the - then president of the Slovenian Government, Lojze Peterle.⁵² The movement for independence was also supported by statements before the European subcommittee of the Committee for foreign affairs of the US Senate concerning the civil war in Yugoslavia. Dr. Karl Bonutti, a Professor at Cleveland State University also appeared before the Committee, demanding complete support of the USA for the efforts of Slovenia to gain independence.⁵³

Two U.S. Congressmen of Slovenian descent (Dennis Eckart from Cleveland and James Oberstar from Minnesota) did their best to resolve the Slovenian and the entire Yugoslav question. Congressmen of Slovenian descent organized a joint resolution in the U.S. Congress on the situation in Yugoslavia that twelve members of Congress signed on May 20, 1991. The resolution, in the form of a letter, was sent to James Baker, the Secretary of State. The Congressmen expressed their concern about the situation in Yugoslavia and emphasized their support for peaceful democratic reforms and a market economy in Yugoslavia:

"On May 15, 1991, the annual transfer of the presidency in Yugoslavia was expected to occur, rotating from the Serbs to the Croats. However, this transfer was prevented by the Serbs. Tensions had been building in Yugoslavia for months.

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As Congressman Dennis Eckart said, "The impediment to a peaceful and democratic government transition caused further anxiety and several outbreaks of violence. As we again witness the forces of democracy struggling to survive, it is our hope that the United States will do everything possible to encourage a peaceful transition in Yugoslavia in its transformation to a more democratic society."⁵⁴

The United States Secretary of State did not agree. When he visited Yugoslavia in June 1991, he pleaded for a united and democratic Yugoslavia.⁵⁵ Immigrant newspapers (specially *Ameriška domovina*) reacted sharply to Baker's visit to Belgrade just prior to Slovenia's declaration of independence. By supporting a united and democratic Yugoslavia, Baker offered a free hand to the Serb - dominated Yugoslav People's Army to attack Slovenia. Baker's visit was condemned in *Ameriška domovina* and in *Prosveta*, the organ of the largest Slovenian fraternal organization in the United States, the Slovenian National Benefit Society.⁵⁶

When Slovenian independence was declared on June 25, 1991 and when the Yugoslav People's Army attacked Slovenia, several Slovenian politicians asked Slovenians living abroad for help. In one of his letters, Dr. Janez Dular expressed gratitude for numerous cablegrams of support and wrote:

"At this moment we would primarily like that the Slovenians living throughout the world would turn to the public in huge numbers, actively and in an organized way. They should particularly influence foreign governments and international organizations so that they would help Slovenia in the following ways:

They should demand the cessation of the attacks of the Yugoslav army on Slovenia and the return (a controlled one) of their units to the barracks (for this purpose we agreed the day before yesterday to establish a mixed committee but Yugoslav prime minister Ante Markovič has not yet named or confirmed the members authorized by the Yugoslav government); They should immediately send their monitors (military as well) to Slovenia; They should activate suitable protective mechanisms of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the European Economic Community; They should recognize the Republic of Slovenia as an independent state. Write to the presidents, prime ministers and party leaders as well as other officials and media not to wait as they waited (for too long) in the case of the Kurds. Organize committees, collect signatures, appear in public, raise financial contributions.

Mediate this message to others.

For our common homeland! ⁵⁷

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The Slovenian Minister of Information Jelko Kacin called upon the editors of the newspapers in Slovenia and all the Slovenians in the homeland who had contacts with friends and acquaintances abroad to inform them about the events in Slovenia.⁵⁸ Slovenska izseljenska matica (The Slovenian Emigrant Society) and Svetovni slovenski kongres (The Slovenian World Congress) reacted to this plea.

Dr. Mirko Jurak,⁵⁹ president of the Slovenian Emigrant Society, Spomenka Hribar, the president of the Conference for Slovenia of the Slovenian World Congress, and Bojan Brezigar, the president of the Slovenian World Congress, also called upon Slovenians throughout the world to support the efforts for preserving the independent Republic of Slovenia and to gain its international recognition.

After the independence of the Republic of Slovenia was declared and, when the Yugoslav army attacked Slovenia, the Slovenian World Congress held its meeting in Ljubljana. It was attended by, among others, some leaders of the post-war political emigration who on their return to their new homelands activated the Slovenian communities in the struggle for the recognition of the independence of Slovenia.

Slovenians throughout the world reacted to the aggression of the Yugoslav army by means of protests addressed to the governments of their states. The manifestation of the solidarity among the American Slovenians during the aggression of the Yugoslav army against Slovenia was complete. The dismay and personal impatience towards the events in Slovenia on the part of the American Slovenians was also shown in their numerous phone calls to their friends in Slovenia.

Some American cities and their councils recognized the independence of Slovenia as early as June 1991. Cleveland's mayor, Michael E. White, issued a Proclamation on June 26, 1991, designating Slovenian Independence Day.⁶⁰

As early as June 27, 1991, Denis Eckart, Congressman of Slovenian descent, drew the attention of the US Congress to the problem of the attack of the Yugoslav army on Slovenia. He demanded the support of the State Department, and the US President to support democracy and economic reforms in Slovenia. He also called for action to prevent violence in this republic which is "the homeland of his parents and grandfathers".⁶¹

American Slovenians reacted as during the two World Wars and undertook to raise funds. Their activities were carried out by Slovenian fraternal benefit organizations, such as the Slovenian National Benefit Society⁶² and the Grand American Slovenian Catholic Union. Money raised by selling Slovenian flags was intended to cover the costs of political

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activities and to repay the damage caused by the actions of the Yugoslav army in Slovenia. In this way more than \$ 2,000,000 was raised in 1991 and 1992. The Slovenian-American newspapers paid a great deal of attention to the events in Slovenia in the period between June 25, 1991 (the beginning of the ten-day war for Slovenia) and the so-called "Brioni Agreement", which was signed on July 8, 1991.⁶³ After the Brioni Agreement the military actions against Slovenia were stopped and at least outwardly "Slovenia ceased further realization of its independence" for three months.⁶⁴

Since the above-mentioned events took place less than five years ago, the entire historical evaluation of the events in connection with the events among the American Slovenians is a difficult task. It will not be possible before the complete material has been collected; this applies to the material referring to the Slovenians in Cleveland as well as to Slovenians in New York, Chicago, San Francisco and other settlements in the USA. The same is also true of the historical evaluation of the events among the Slovenian immigrant communities in other parts of the world.

Some facts, however, are already known. It is particularly important that this time no split took place in the Slovenian community in the USA, or anywhere else in the world. This time they acted uniformly until the recognition of Slovenian independence was achieved. In this case the American Slovenians really reacted quickly and demanded from the US government the recognition of Slovenia as a sovereign and democratic state.

Slovenian National Council called a press conference already on June 28, 1991. This organization sent personalized letters to President George Bush, Secretary of State James Baker U.S. senators and Members of Congress. It also distributed over 1000 leaflets.

Matjaž Jančar, who used to be the Yugoslav Consul General in Cleveland until the beginning of the ten-day war for Slovenia, and who then resigned his post and became a representative of the Republic of Slovenia in Cleveland a few days later, made an appeal to all organizations of American Slovenians to support Slovenia in its fight for independence and international recognition.⁶⁵

On Sunday, June 30, 1991, when the aggression of the Yugoslav army against the Slovenians reached its peak, representatives of the leaders of the Slovenian fraternal organizations, Slovenian parishes of Cleveland of the USA met in the Slovenian National Home in Cleveland.⁶⁶ This can be compared with the meeting of the representatives of the same organizations of the Slovenian-American National

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Congress on December 5 and 6, 1942.⁶⁷ During World War II they founded the Slovenian-American National Council, whereas in 1991 the representatives of the above-mentioned organizations established the organization called United Americans for Slovenia. The activities of this organization were intensive for nine months and its committee held a meeting almost every week. Its only aim was to exert pressure on the government of the USA so that the USA would recognize Slovenian independence.

Edmund J. Turk, the former president of the Cleveland City Council and a former district judge, was elected president of the United Americans for Slovenia. As many as 659 different societies and organizations of American Slovenians joined this organization by the end of the year. An important achievement of the representatives of the American Slovenians was that non-Slovenian organizations, i.e. the media and the American Red Cross, began to be interested in Slovenia. Organizations, such as the Slovenian National Benefit Society, the American-Slovenian Catholic Union, the American Mutual Life Association, the Progressive Slovenian Women of America and the Slovenian Women's Union supported the activities of the United Americans for Slovenia by publishing numerous articles about their activities in their newspapers: *Prosveta* (the organ of the Slovenian National Benefit Society), *Glas* (the organ of the American-Slovenian Mutual Life Association), *Amerikanski Slovenianc* (the organ of the American Slovenian Catholic Union) and *Zarja* (the organ of the Slovenian Women's Union).

From all Slovenian settlements in the USA, as well as from individuals from all US states, Americans of Slovenian descent and their numerous non-Slovenian friends sent thousands of petitions and demands for the recognition of Slovenian independence. They also used a special telephone line and on October 8, 1991 they made thousands of phone calls to the White House. Besides the opinions of Americans regarding the hearings of Clarence Thomas, the then candidate for the USA Supreme Court, the agenda of the phone calls to the White House consisted only of the demand for the recognition of the independence of Slovenia on that day.⁶⁸

As early as July 4, 1991 numerous volunteers gathered in the rooms of the American Mutual Life Association to plan sending hundreds of letters to American State Senators, members of the US Congress and to the President of the United States. All these letters included demands for the recognition of the Republic of Slovenia.⁶⁹ This was followed by attempts to persuade high officials of the US Congress

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and the US Administration. To satisfy their demands the Slovenian Americans also used the connections of Dennis Eckart from Cleveland and James Oberstar from northern Minnesota, then members of the US Congress, who were of Slovenian descent. Senator John Glenn from Ohio and Congressman Dennis Eckart from Cleveland sent a joint resolution to President George Bush expressing their request that Slovenia be recognized. On that occasion John Glenn said to Jim Debevec, the editor and publisher of *Ameriška domovina*, that he was deeply disappointed by the fact that the USA carried on its misleading policy of non-recognition of Slovenia as an independent state. As early as June 28, 1991 George Voinovich, the Governor of Ohio, whose mother was a Slovenian American, asked President George Bush in his letter to intercede in connection with the activity of the Yugoslav army in Slovenia; in his letter of July 3, Voinovich reminded the President that during his presidential campaign in 1988 Bush had talked about the problem of the oppressed nations, of the Lithuanians in particular, and that people asked themselves why he did not react in the case of Yugoslavia in the same way as he had in Iraq. Representatives of the fraternal benefit organizations sent numerous protest letters with the demand for the recognition of Slovenian independence to President Bush and to Senators of those US states where these organizations were headquartered.⁷⁰

During the June, 1991 war for Slovenia and especially during the war in Croatia, American Slovenians and the American Croats and their organizations organized numerous demonstrations in order to support Slovenian and Croatian independence. Demonstrations took place in many cities from the Atlantic to the Pacific, as well as in front of the buildings of the US Congress and the United Nations. The demonstrations of the Slovenians and Croats were organized in Cleveland, as well.⁷¹

Interestingly, Slovenians on the West coast of the USA also organized a special committee for the recognition of Slovenia as an independent state. It was led by Mark Ryavec and Frank Videgar, the vice-president of the Slovenian National Benefit Society. Together with the Croats, they organized highly successful demonstrations in front of the Los Angeles City Hall in July, 1991. The city councils of those American cities where the Slovenian and Croatian emigrants and their children had some influence issued resolutions in which they recognized the independence of Slovenia and Croatia.⁷² The first resolution adopted by the Los Angeles City Council on July 3, 1991 which was introduced on June 28, 1991 recognized the new Republics of Slovenia and

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Croatia was the first formal recognition by a government entity of Slovenia in the world.

This resolution was written and lobbied to passage by Mark Ryavec and it set the tone for other resolutions adopted by other cities in the United States supporting Slovenia's independence. This resolution stated among other things:

"WHEREAS, in 1900 four of the six republics in Yugoslavia elected non-communist, democratic governments: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia; and

WHEREAS, the vote for democratic governance in Croatia and Slovenia was over the 90 % of the electorate in free, open elections; and

WHEREAS, there are thousands of Croatian-Americans and Slovenian-Americans residing in the City of Los Angeles; and

WHEREAS, the Yugoslav army has killed and injured scores of Slovene citizens, and new military actions by the Yugoslav army against the Slovene people are being executed as this resolution is introduced; and

WHEREAS, the lives of family members of Los Angeles citizens are at risk in Slovenia and Croatia due to these military actions of the communist-controlled Yugoslav army in its efforts to suppress democracy and self-determination in those countries, to the end of restoring communist domination; and ... /.../...

... /.../ ... NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, BY ADOPTION OF THIS RESOLUTION, the City Council of the City of Los Angeles, on behalf all the people of the City, recognizes the new nations of Croatia and Slovenia, their sovereignty and right to exist free from external threat or force of arms; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the City Council of the City of Los Angeles, BY ADOPTION OF THIS RESOLUTION, calls upon President George Bush and the Congress of these United States to immediately recognize the nations of Croatia and Slovenia and to use all diplomatic means possible to forestall further military actions against these two nations.....⁷³

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SLOVENIAN EMIGRANTS IN CANADA FOR THE INDEPENDENT SLOVENIA

In Canada the idea of an independent Slovenia began to spread more quickly after June, 1948 The key personalities were Dr. Janko Pajk and Dr. Rudolf šuješ. The Slovenian National Union was organized in Canada, as well, and as has already been mentioned, it published the *Slovenska država*

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(the Slovenian State) newspaper in Toronto from 1954 on. After 1954 the political activities of the members of the Slovenian political emigration began to slowly die out in the USA as well as in Argentina and Canada or else they continued their work in a different way. Among the Slovenian emigrants there were no new initiatives or views concerning further development of Slovenia as a state up to the end of the 1980s.⁷⁴

Not before the death of Josip Broz Tito in 1980, and particularly not before the great political changes in the countries of the east-central Europe and the former Soviet Union at the turn of the 1980s did more radical changes in the political activities among the Slovenian emigrants take place. The Slovenian emigrants from all over the world (except from the USA), especially those from Canada, Australia and western European countries were organized into the World Slovenian Congress in 1991, an organization modelled on the Jewish World Congress as the institution of civil society with the aim of uniting the Slovenian organizations throughout the world irrespective of their political beliefs. In individual European countries where the Slovenians live as autochthonous minorities (Austria, Hungary and Italy) or as guest workers special conferences of this Congress were organized. The World Slovenian Congress had its own special committee that was led by Bojan Brezigar from Trieste during the war for Slovenia in 1991. The neutral political ideological orientation of the Congress was particularly important at that time. One of the most important actions in that period was the campaign for the recognition of the independence of Slovenia that was organized by the Congress, or more precisely by its conferences, in all the countries, except in the USA, in the period between June 26 and October 8, 1991, and January 15, 1992.

The Conference of the Slovenian Congress for Canada grew out of the committee to help the victims of floods in Slovenia. The majority of the Canadian- Slovenian organizations took part in it. Within the framework of this conference the Slovenians alone, or together with the Croatian emigrants, organized several meetings in support of Slovenian independence in the summer and autumn of 1991. In June, 1991 a meeting was organized in Toronto in front of the Ontario Provincial Parliament that was attended by about 3,000 people. A month after the declaration of Slovenian independence on July 24, 1991, the Slovenians gathered in the center of Toronto again, in front of the City Hall where the Slovenian youth organized a peaceful meeting. Here the memory of the victims of Yugoslav aggression on Slovenia was honored by speeches, singing and prayers.

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In July a special mass for the homeland was celebrated in Toronto by Dr. Alojzij Ambrožič, the Archbishop of Toronto, who is of Slovenian descent. It was attended by about 2,000 Slovenians and Croats. In his speech the Archbishop pointed out that the world should support the independent countries of Slovenia and Croatia and said "that when such nations decide that they will be the masters in their own house and show the capabilities of political sovereignty, their decisions should be accepted and honored".⁷⁵

A similar statement in support of independent Slovenia was made by Archbishop Ambrožič in the newspaper *Toronto Star*, where he said, among other things: "The Slovenians do no harm to anybody if they want to be not only autonomous but also independent. I believe that the limitation of personal freedom due to the fear that there could be ethnic outbreaks is counter-productive. Ethnic homogeneity of Slovenia is a guarantee that there will be no clashes between the minority and majority in independent Slovenia." Slovenian priests headed by the Archbishop of Toronto also sent a written protest to the Canadian government and called upon Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the Secretary of State for External Affairs Barbara McDougall to officially recognize the sovereign Republic of Slovenia. Thousands of Slovenian emigrants also sent similar letters of protest to the Canadian government. Some governmental representatives stood up for the solution of the Slovenian crisis as well.⁷⁶

The war in Slovenia caught the Slovenians in Canada unprepared for these events, since they had no means of communication at their disposal with the help of which they could inform the Canadian public about true events in Slovenia. Besides that the majority of members of the Pan-Slovenian committee that took care of the coordination among the societies in south Ontario were in Slovenia at that time. Thus, the major part of the organizational burden fell on Jože Slobodnik, the president of the Canadian - Slovenian Chamber of Commerce, who made it possible for the Slovenians in southern Ontario to organize as quickly as possible. Slovenian priests from Toronto and Hamilton who were the initiators of the establishment of the "Fund for the help to Slovenia" and various other activities, played an important role in informing and organizing the Canadian Slovenians to help their homeland. The Church offered its own rooms where the Slovenian information center, which was organized as the subcommittee of the Pan-slovenian committee, operated since June 2. The Slovenian entrepreneurs furnished the office with a telephone, telefax, and computer, and a group of volunteers took care of the current everyday activities. Leander škof took over the leadership of the information center,

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whereas Dorothy Lenarčič was in charge of informing the Canadian mass media.⁷⁷

With regard to the material damage inflicted on Slovenia in the first days of July, the Canadian Slovenians realized that only material support for the homeland was not sufficient. Thus, as early as July 2 they established a special committee within the Pan- slovenian committee that was in charge of raising financial support for the homeland. The entrepreneur Viktor Zenkovič took over the leadership of this committee, and a number of fellow countrymen and various Slovenian societies and organizations from the whole of Canada helped him. Until the end of July about \$ 300,000 were raised. Such a great reaction to help the homeland is proof that the Slovenian emigrants who lived in Canada were ready to make many sacrifices for a free and independent Slovenia.⁷⁸

In connection with the demands of Slovenians that Canada should recognize the independence of Slovenia, Stane Kranyc, the president of the Canadian conference of the World Slovenian Congress, should also be mentioned. He wrote a lot of letters to Barbara McDougall, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, and Brian Mulroney, the Canadian Prime Minister, in which he acquainted them with the situation in Slovenia and demanded that Canada recognize the independence of Slovenia. The correspondence between them lasted from June, 1991, to January 15, 1992, i.e. to the Canadian recognition of Slovenia as an independent state. When reading these letters, it can be established that high Canadian officials, including minister McDougall, took them seriously, possibly even more seriously than their American colleagues, since their answers showed a great interest in the events in Slovenia. Not least, this is also evident from the fact that Canada recognized Slovenia together with the countries of the European Union as early as January 15, 1992.⁷⁹

CONCLUSION

Therefore, it should be clear that Slovenian emigrants demonstrated a strong interest in events in their old homeland during World War I as well as in the 1990's. When different crises (political, economic, war) broke out in their old homelands, the Slovenians, as other European nations, proved that these were the moments of the renaissance of their national consciousness and that these events moved them,⁸⁰ which was also shown in the Slovenian emigrant community throughout the world when the decisive historical moments took place in Slovenia.

Interestingly enough, Slovenian emigrants throughout the world reacted to the events in Slovenia between 1990 and 1992; this even holds true of the countries where they lived

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in relatively small numbers, such as the Republic of South Africa or New Zealand. The reactions of the Slovenian emigrants in the countries where there were relatively many groups which had been politically highly differentiated in relation to their old homeland up to the mid-1980s, showed a high level of unity in the propaganda campaigns for the recognition of Slovenian independence on the part of their new homelands (the USA, Canada, Australia, etc.). Particularly in the overseas countries mentioned before, a large number of Slovenians were involved either in demonstrations organized by the Slovenian emigrant community together with the Croatian one, or in phone calls or the mass signing and sending off of petitions with the demands for an independent Slovenia. This all confirms the statement of the American historian John Higham "... that whenever the old homelands are in crisis, the cohesiveness and unity in the immigrant communities reaches the highest level."⁸¹ This fact, however, will help these communities to survive slightly longer in America's melting-pot. Analogously, this fact holds true of other countries of immigration.

Finally, it should be emphasized that this contribution presents only a small part of the efforts of the Slovenian diaspora on the North American continent. Much more research is needed to complete the picture of these activities.

NOTES

¹ Matjaž Klemenčič, *Slovenes of Cleveland The Creation of a New Nation and a New World Community Slovenia and the Slovenes of Cleveland, Ohio* (Novo Mesto: Dolenjska založba, 1995), pp. 48-81.

² Matjaž Klemenčič, *Ameriški Slovenci in NOB v Jugoslaviji: Naseljevanje, zemljepisna razprostranjenost in odnos ameriških Slovencev do stare domovine od sredine 19. stoletja do konca druge svetovne vojne* (Maribor: Založba obzorja, 1987), pp. 89-90.

³ "200.000 "Avstrijcev", *Clevelandska Amerika*, 7 (60): 1, (July 28, 1914).

⁴ "Mestne novice", *Clevelandska Amerika*, 8 (75): 1, (September 17, 1915).

⁵ "Avstrijski zarotniki so v Clevelandu", *Clevelandska Amerika*, 10 (135): 1, (November 19, 1917).

⁶ Klemenčič, *Ameriški Slovenci in NOB v Jugoslaviji ...*, 87.

⁷ On these issues see Klemenčič, *Ameriški Slovenci in NOB v Jugoslaviji ...*, 85-128.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 85-87.

⁹ Ivan Čizmić, *Jugoslovenski iseljenički pokret u SAD i stvaranje jugoslovenske države*. (Zagreb: Institut za hrvatsku povijest, 1974), p. 317.

¹⁰ "Odhod jugoslovenskih prostovoljev v nedeljo popoldne se je odpeljala prva četa Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov iz Clevelanda na Solunsko bojišče. Ljudstvo je priredilo sijajno odhodnico prostovoljem. V kratkem odide še druga četa prostovoljev na bojišče". *Clevelandska Amerika*, 10 (82): 1, (July 11, 1917).

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¹¹ "Narodni shod v četrtek, slovenski in hrvatski prostovoljci iz Clevelanda odidejo na bojišče in narod je vabljen, da pride po slovo od mož in fantov, ki odhajajo na fronto, shod se vrši v četrtek 12. julija ob 8. zvečer v Grdinovi dvorani. Fini govorniki na programu," *Clevelandska Amerika*, 10 (82): 1, (July 11, 1917).

¹² "Nocoj je poslovilni večer slovenskim vojakom v Grdinovi dvorani," *Clevelandska Amerika*, 10 (108): 1, (September 17, 1917).

¹³ "200 Slovencev gre danes iz mesta. Slovenska naselbina je priredila na predvečer odhoda slovenskih vojaških novincev zabaven večer, vojakom 23. varde je bila podarjena krasna ameriška zastava. Slovenci so najboljši vojaki," *Clevelandska Amerika*, 10 (109): 1, (September 19, 1917).

¹⁴ "Koliko je slovenskih vojakov v Chillicothe", *Clevelandska Amerika*, 11 (22): 1, (February 25, 1918); "V nedeljo je vseameriški dan na vojni razstavi", *Clevelandska Amerika*, 11 (137): 1, (November 22, 1918).

¹⁵ "Spomin padlim slovenskim vojakom", *Clevelandska Amerika*, 11 (77): 1, (July 2, 1918).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 86.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 86.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 94.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 98.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 98.

²² *Ibid.*, 98.

²³ "Narodno zborovanje", *Clevelandska Amerika*, 8 (16): 1, (February 23, 1915).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

²⁵ "Mestne novice", *Clevelandska Amerika*, 8 (103): 1, (December 24, 1915).

²⁶ "Ljudski shod v petek v Grdinovi dvorani, Dr. Zupanič govori. Dr. Niko Zupanič iz Londona je dospel v Cleveland." *Clevelandska Amerika*, 9 (49): 1, (April 26, 1916).

²⁷ "Poziv Slovincem za domovino! V petek 18. avgusta se vrši v Grdinovi dvorani Slovenske lige splošen ljudski shod kot v protest laške okupacije slovenskega ozemlja. Dolžnost vsakega Slovenca je, da se udeleži tega zborovanja. Kujte železo dokler je vroče." *Clevelandska Amerika*, 9 (97): 1, (August 16, 1916).

²⁸ Klemenčič, *Ameriški Slovenci in NOB v Jugoslaviji ...*, 99.

²⁹ "Ljudski shod v nedeljo popoldan. Dr. Drago Marušič iz Washingtona govori," *Clevelandska Amerika*, 10 (119): 1, (October 12, 1917).

³⁰ "Javni ljudski shod v sredo 9. januarja. Na shodu govori gospod stotnik Vekoslav Fon," *Clevelandska Amerika*, 11 (2): 1, (January 7, 1918).

³¹ Klemenčič, *Ameriški Slovenci in NOB v Jugoslaviji ...*, 103.

³² Klemenčič, *Ameriški Slovenci in NOB v Jugoslaviji ...*, 106-116.

³³ *Ibid.*, 81-83.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 102-105.

³⁵ *Ibid.* , 101-105.

³⁶ On these issues see *Ibid.* , 143-281.

³⁷ Bogdan Novak: "Geneza slovenske državne ideje med emigracijo," *Slovinci in država - Zbornik prispevkov z znanstvenega posveta na SAZU (November 9 - 11, 1994)*. (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1995), p. 300.

³⁸ Novak: *Geneza slovenske države ...* , 295-305.

³⁹ Dr. Miha Krek: "Izjava in prošnja Slovincem," *Ameriška domovina*, 52 (188): 1, (September 26, 1950).

⁴⁰ Novak: *Geneza slovenske države ...* , 301.

⁴¹ Ciril Žebot, *Slovenija včeraj, danes in jutri I. in II. del.* (Celovec: Mohorjeva družba, 1967 in 1969); Ciril Žebot, *Neminljiva Slovenija - spomini in spoznanja iz razdobja 70-ih let od Majniške deklaracije*. (Celovec: Mohorjeva družba, 1988).

⁴² "Program Slovenske ljudske stranke," *Slovenija*, 5 (8), 1-3, - priloga *Ameriške domovine*, 54 (179), (September 20, 1954).

⁴³ Miha Krek, "Slovenski programi," *Slovenija* 5 (8): 1, - priloga *Ameriške domovine*, 54 (179), (September 20, 1954).

⁴⁴ These organizations published numerous scientific works on Slovenia and the Slovenians. The Society for Slovene Studies, "Studia Slovenica" and the Slovenian Research Center of America are worth mentioning. From the very beginning the Society for Slovenian Studies, in particular, enabled cooperation with scientists from Slovenia, and in 1991 it established a special organization called American Scholars for Independent Slovenia that acquainted the American and the world scientific public with the problems of Slovenia in the years 1991 and 1992. I wrote about this in "Reactions of Slovenian and Croatian Immigrants: the American Press and Scientists about the Events in Slovenia and Croatia prior to their Recognition". *Kleine Nationen und ethnische Minderheiten im Umbruch Europas*, edited by Silvo Devetak, Sergej Flere, Gerhard Seewann. (München: Slavica Verlag, 1993), pp. 333-338.

⁴⁵ Letter from Leopoldina Plut Pregel to Matjaž Klemenčič July 16, 1997 in author's private archive.

⁴⁶ Successors of the traditions of the "political left" among Slovenian Americans. Only a small part of them were members of the Socialist Party. I described the political left among Slovenian Americans in "American Slovenians and the Leftist Movements in the United States in the First Half of the Twentieth Century." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 15 (3): 22-43, (Spring 1996).

⁴⁷ Klemenčič Matjaž, "Izseljenci iz vrst jugoslovanskih narodov v ZDA in njihove reakcije na človekove pravice in narodnostna vprašanja v Jugoslaviji v osemdesetih letih." *Pravo, Teorija, Praksa*. (Silvo Devetak, Ed.), (Novi Sad: Društvo pravnika Vojvodine, 1991), pp. 205-209.

⁴⁸ Klemenčič, "Reactions of Slovenian and Croatian immigrants ...", 337; Klemenčič, "Izseljenci iz vrst jugoslovanskih narodov v ZDA ...", 205-209.

⁴⁹ Klemenčič, "Reactions of Slovenian and Croatian immigrants ...", 333.

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⁵⁰ Dimitrij Rupel, *Skrivnost države - spomini na domače in zunanje zadeve 1989 - 1992*. (Ljubljana: Založba Delo-Novice, 1992), p. 43.

⁵¹ "Ameriški Slovenci moralno podprli Slovenijo ob plebiscitu," *Ameriška domovina*, 93 (4): 9-10, (January 24, 1991).; Janez Dular, "Zahvala za sodelovanje pri podpisni akciji ob slovenskem plebiscitu," *Svobodna Slovenija*, 44 (2): 1, (January 10, 1991).

⁵² *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵³ "Prof. Bonutti before Senate committee," *Ameriška domovina*, 93 (8): 1, (February 21, 1991).

⁵⁴ Letter of Dennis Eckart et al. to James Baker III, May 20, 1991, *Ameriška domovina*, 93 (27): 2, (July 1, 1991).

⁵⁵ Warren Zimmermann, "The last Ambassador, A Memoir of the Collapse of Yugoslavia", *Foreign Affairs*, 74 (2): 2-20, (March-April 1995); on the standpoints of the United States there are many sources available; worth mentioning is also the one of Collin Powell, then Chairman of joint chiefs of staff, *My American Journey*. New York 1995. (with Joseph E. Persico), who considered the recognition of Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia as to early).

⁵⁶ "Ob Bakerjevem obisku Jugoslavije," *Ameriška domovina*, 93 (25): 1, (June 20, 1991).; Podporni sklad SNPJ v pomoč Sloveniji. *Prosveta*, 83(44): 4, (October 30, 1991).; Podpiramo neodvisnost naše Slovenije, *Prosveta*, 83 (40): 4, (October 2 1991).; Thousands petition Bush. *Prosveta* 83(40): 1, (October 2, 1991); Slovenia Relief Found grows to \$ 27,941. *Prosveta* 83 (41): 1, (October 9, 1991).; SNPJ's Slovenia Relief Found. *Prosveta*, 83 (36): 4, (September 4, 1991).; Support for Slovenia continues. *Prosveta*, 83 (37): 3, (September 11, 1991).

⁵⁷ Stanka Gregorič (Ed.): *Naša bitka za Slovenijo - Avstralija*. (Melbourne: Avstralska konferenca Svetovnega Slovenskega Kongresa, 1995), p. 34.

⁵⁸ Jelko Kacin glavnemu uredniku. Fax which was sent July 7, 1991. Archive of Slovenska izseljenska matica - file: Borba za priznanje ne-odvisnosti Slovenije - (from now on *Arhiv SIM*).

⁵⁹ Letter from Mirko Jurak "Vsem Slovincem po svetu", June 30, 1991 and July 10, 1991; Mirko Jurak, "To all Slovenians", June 30, 1991. *Arhiv SIM*.

⁶⁰ "Proclamation: Slovenian Independence Day," *Ameriška domovina*, 93 (26): 6, (June 27, 1991).

⁶¹ Dennis Eckart, "Support democracy and market reform for all peoples". *Congressional Record*, 137 (101). (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Congress, June 27, 1991).

⁶² "Podporni sklad SNPJ v pomoč Sloveniji," *Prosveta*, 83 (44): 4, (October 30, 1991).; "Podpiramo neodvisnost naše Slovenije," *Prosveta*, 83 (40): 4, (October 2, 1991).; "Thousands petition Bush," *Prosveta*, 83 (40): 1, (October 2, 1991).; "Slovenian Relief Found grows to \$ 27,941", *Prosveta*, 83 (41): 1, (October 9, 1991).; "SNPJ's Slovenia Relief Found", *Prosveta*, 83 (36): 4, (September 4, 1991).; "Support for Slovenia continues", *Prosveta*, 83 (37): 3, (September 11, 1991).

⁶³ "United Americans for Slovenia make a difference," *Ameriška domovina*, 94 - *Special edition*. (Autumn 1992), p. 1.

⁶⁴ Matjaž Klemenčič, "Slovenia at the crossroad of the nineties - From the first multiparty elections and the declaration of indepen-

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dence to membership in the Council of Europe", *Slovenian Studies*, 14 (1), (Edmonton: Society for Slovene Studies, 1992 - published March 1994), pp. 9-25.; Jože Pirjevec: *Jugoslavija 1918 - 1992*. (Koper: Založba Lipa, 1995), pp. 419-433.

⁶⁵ Poziv Matjaža Jančarja vsem slovenskim ameriškim organizacijam in vsem Američanom slovenskega porekla, fax sent, July 5, 1991, (*Arhiv SIM*).; Tažo Jančar, "Dediščina iz stare domovine (in three parts)", *Delo*, 33 (193-195): 5, 9, 11, (Ljubljana, August 19-21, 1991).

⁶⁶ Minutes from General Meeting, Slovenian National Home - St. Clair Avenue / East 65th Street, June 30, 1991. Folder with minute book of United Americans for Slovenia, originals in possession of Betty Rotar.

⁶⁷ Klemenčič, *Ameriški Slovenci in NOB v Jugoslaviji ...*, 103

⁶⁸ "Call President Is Big Success", *Ameriška domovina*, 93 (44): 1, (October 31, 1991).

⁶⁹ Drago Ocvirk, "Mobilizacija ameriških Slovencev," *Slovenec*, 75 (24): 4, (July 24, 1991).; Joseph C. Evanish, "Ways to support Slovenia," *Prosveta*, 83 (30): 1, (July 24, 1991).; "Do osamosvojitve moramo delati usklajeno, samo skupno jo lahko dosežemo", *Ameriška domovina*, 93 (32): 2, (August 8, 1991).; Joseph C. Evanish, "Podprimo neodvisnost naše Slovenije," *Prosveta*, 83 (30): 14, (July 24, 1991).

⁷⁰ Letter from George V. Voinovich to U.S. President George Bush, June 28, 1991.; Letter from George V. Voinovich to U.S. President George Bush, July 3, 1991. (*Arhiv SIM*).

⁷¹ American Mutual Life Association to U.S. senator John H. Glenn, June 28, 1991. (*Arhiv SIM*).

⁷² Klemenčič, *Reactions of Slovenian and Croatian Immigrants ...*, 335.; Interview with Frank Vidregar in November 1992.

⁷³ City of Los Angeles Resolution: *Resolution in support of Croatia and Slovenia*. To Clerk for placement on next regular Council agenda to be posted #64. (Los Angeles, July 2, 1991), resolution was adopted on July 3, 1991, letter from Ernst A. Ryavec to Matjaž Klemenčič, August 1, 1991, Author's private Archive.

⁷⁴ Novak, *Geneza slovenske državne ideje ...*, 302.

⁷⁵ "Manifestacija v Kanadi," *Svobodna Slovenija*, 44 (31): 2, (August 15, 1991).; "Množične demonstracije zdomskih Slovencev", *Slovenska država*, 42 (6-7): 4, (June-July 1991).

⁷⁶ "Kanadski Slovenci pomagajo domovini," *Nedeljski dnevnik*, no. 223. (August 8, 1991), p. 7.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Stan Kranyc to Brian Mulroney, September 3, 1991.; Stan Kranyc to Barbara McDougall, November 18, 1991.; Stan Kranyc to Barbara McDougall, December 9, 1991.; Barbara McDougall to Stan Kranyc, May 20, 1992.; Leander V. Skof to Barbara McDougall, July 3, 1991.; "Mc Dougall Underlines Support for CSCE Position on Yugoslavia", Press Release Secretary of State for External Affairs No. 155.; Barbara McDougall to Leander V. Skof, August 20, 1991.; Leander V. Skof to Barbara McDougall, October 19, 1991.; Leander V. Skof to Barbara McDougall, October 4, 1991.; Leander V. Skof to Barbara McDougall,

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September 27, 1991.; Leander v Skof to Barbara McDougall, September 3, 1991.; Leander V. Skof to Brian Mulroney, September 21, 1991.; Leander V. Skof to Brian Mulroney, July 3, 1991.; William S. Pavlich to Barbara McDougall, December 4, 1991.; Stephen S. Pavlich and William S. Pavlich to Yves Fortier, Amb. Permanent Mission of Canada to the UN in New York City; William S. Pavlich and Stephan S. Pavlich to Roland Fournes, Consul-General of Germany in Toronto, January 20, 1992.; Archive of the Canadian Slovenian Congress, Copies in author's possession.

⁸⁰ Erich J. Hobsbawm, *Nationen und Nationalismus - Mythos und Realität seit 1780*. (München: DTV, 1996), p. 182.

⁸¹ John Higham, Introduction: *The Forms of Ethnic Leadership. Ethnic Leadership in America*. (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1978), p. 4.

Iseljeničke zajednice i stvaranje novih država u srednjoistočnoj Europi: Slučaj Slovenaca u Sjevernoj Americi

Matjaž KLEMENČIČ
Sveučilište u Mariboru, Maribor

Cilj ovoga članka je dati pregled djelovanja slovenskih iseljenika u stvaranju jugoslavenske države u razdoblju prije, za vrijeme i nakon Prvoga svjetskog rata. On također opisuje kako su Slovenci u tom razdoblju bili organizirani i uspoređuje njihovo djelovanje s onim koje su poduzimali ljudi slovenskoga podrijetla za vrijeme borbe za nezavisnost Slovenije 1991. te njihove napore za njezinim međunarodnim priznavanjem 1991. i 1992. godine.

Auswanderergruppen und die Entstehung neuer Staaten in Mitteleuropa: Slowenen in Nordamerika

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Dieser Artikel möchte eine Übersicht geben über die Tätigkeit slowenischer Auswanderer bei der Entstehung des jugoslawischen Staates in der Zeit des Ersten Weltkriegs sowie unmittelbar davor und danach. Der Artikel beschreibt außerdem die Art und Weise, in der die slowenischen Einwanderer organisiert waren, und vergleicht dies mit der Tätigkeit slowenischstämmiger US-Bürger in den Jahren 1991 und 1992, als Slowenien um seine Unabhängigkeit und internationale Anerkennung kämpfte.