



»MI VSI ŽIVETI ŠČEMO«

PREKMURJE 1919: OKOLIŠČINE, DOGAJANJE, POSLEDICE

Povzetki

»WE ALL WANT TO LIVE«

PREKMURJE 1919: CIRCUMSTANCES, EVENTS, CONSEQUENCES

Summaries



PREKMURJE
V SRCU

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Med starim in novim redom (Slovenci, Evropa in svet po prvi svetovni vojni)

Božo Repe

Povzetek

Kdo je kriv za vojno? To je prvo vprašanje, ki se zastavi po koncu tako velike katastrofe. Poglavitni delež krivde za prvo svetovno vojno so zmagovalne sile pripisale Nemčiji, a so vzroki mnogo bolj kompleksni. Politika uravnovešenja moči, ki je v Evropi urejala razmerja med velikimi silami vse od srednjega veka dalje, je s prvo svetovno vojno izgubila smisel in moč. Spremenila jo je vojna. Čeprav je vojna ostala pretežno pozicijska, v njej nihče več ni bil nedotakljiv. Nobenega ozemlja ni bilo več mogoče v celoti ubraniti – to spremembo so prinesla nova orožja, zlasti letala. V opravičevanje strahot vojne se je razvila propaganda o ubranitvi naše, »višje« civilizacije, pred »njihovo«, ki je, seveda, »barbarska«.

Tudi po vojni sta politika in diplomacija ostali odtujeni od realnosti, živeli sta v svojem zaprtem svetu in v svojih predstavah. Obračun vojne je bil tragičen: več kot deset milijonov žrtev na frontah, dvajset milijonov ranjenih, deset milijonov mrtvih zaradi posledic vojne, bolezni in pomanjkanja, nekaj milijonov invalidov, še več psihično prizadetih. Gmotna škoda je šla v milijarde dolarjev, vojna je v naravi pustila neizbrisne sledi, ki se niso zacelile desetletja. Zato je t.i. versajski mir v veliki meri temeljil na maščevanju.

Iz razočaranja nad politično, socialno in mednacionalno ureditvijo so zrastle predstave o drugačni ureditvi odnosov med narodi in državami (Wilsonovih štirinajst točk), ki pa se niso uresničile, in o drugačnem, bolj pravičnem političnem in socialnem sistemu, do katerega naj bi pripeljala revolucija. Ta je uspela le v eni državi – Rusiji, toda tudi tu je prinesla strahotno razočaranje: socialistični sistem, ki je zrasel iz revolucije, je po nasilju celo prekašal carističnega, tako v odnosu do posameznikov kot do narodov. Vojna je tudi sicer zamajala parlamentarni koncept ureditve. V nekaterih državah so kmalu prišle na oblast totalitarne sile in uvedle fašistične sisteme. Njihova skupna lastnost so bili nacionalizem, šovinizem, revizionizem ali sla po tujih ozemljih in agresivnost, zanikanje libertarnih vrednot in korporativna družbena ureditev.

Med vojno in ob koncu vojne so razpadli trije največji imperiji v Evropi: avstro-ogrski, ki je izgubil idealno lego, ki jo je imel v Srednji Evropi, ruski, ki se je nato povezal nazaj v Zvezo sovjetskih socialističnih republik, in turški, ki je povezoval velikanska azijska, severnoafriška in evropska ozemlja. V novonastalih državah je ostalo več milijonov ljudi drugih narodnosti. Mnogi narodi, tudi slovenski, so bili razdeljeni med več držav. Čeprav so bile manjšine večinoma formalno zaščitene z mednarodnimi dogovori, je ves čas po vojni prihajalo do velikih migracij. Narode in ljudi so izganjali. Najprej so bežali pred drugo nacionalno oblastjo, potem pa tudi pred avtoritarnimi in diktatorskimi režimi.

Na povojnih mirovnih konferencah so ukrojili novo podobo sveta, ki se je začel tudi institucionalno povezovati (Društvo narodov), čeprav so nasprotja, razlike in tekmovanje ostali. Že med vojno se je začela doba t. i. globalne civilizacije (vstop ZDA v vojno, ki je dal do tedaj pretežno evropski vojni svetovne razsežnosti) pa tudi ideološka delitev sveta, ki pa je svoj višek dosegla šele po drugi svetovni vojni. S prvo svetovno vojno je Evropa izgubila primat, ki ga je z raziskovanjem, kolonialnimi osvajanji, misijonarstvom, vojnami in trgovino potrpežljivo gradila skozi stoletja. Ker so se ZDA potegnile v izolacionizem, čeprav so postale vodilna sila, sta dotedanji – z vojno sicer oslabljeni – dominantni imperialni sili, Velika Britanija in Francija, diplomacijo vrnila k ustaljenim

vzorcem obnašanja, skušali sta uresničiti tajni londonski pakt in si razdeliti kolonije poražen. Sovjetska zveza je začela postopoma vstopati v čevlje svoje predhodnice – carske Rusije.

Začel se je nov protisloven svet med vojnama, razpet med revščino in bogastvom, med novim poneumljenjem, ki je vodilo v katastrofo, in vrhunskimi dosežki človeškega razuma.

Prva svetovna vojna je odprla vrata protikolonializmu in različnim civilnodružbenim in mirovnim gibanjem. Tudi ženski emancipaciji, ki pa je danes precej romantizirana. Ustvarjena je na podobi osvobojene zahodne ženske srednjih in višjih slojev, ki jo simbolizirata svoboda oblačenja in obnašanja, novi glasbeni in plesni stili, navidezno podrte pregraje med socialnimi sloji. V resnici so ženske le v malo državah dosegle volilno in druge pravice. Morda je v ustvarjeni romantični podobi o prvi svetovni vojni kot emancipacijskem prelomu samotolažba, da je vojna z emancipacijo in razvojem znanosti in tehnologije ter morda s še kakšno posledico vendarle za sabo pustila nekaj dobrega. Je pa v tej podobi precej cinizima, saj vse vojne najbolj prizadenejo ženske in otroke.

S skokovitim razvojem so znanosti in tehnologije v marsičem daleč prehiteli obstoječe družbene razmere, a hkrati znova stopile v službo vojnih ciljev. Tehnološki napredek je pospešil razmah proizvodnje in povezovanje gospodarstev v velike sisteme (koncerne, truste, multinacionalne družbe), koncentracijo in centralizacijo kapitala, monopolizem. Potovanja so postala globalizirana ter z razvojem letalstva in avtomobilizma hitrejša.

Vojne grozote so v ljudeh zbudile težnjo po sprostitvi. Hlastanje za vsem dosegljivim in nedosegljivim – preživetjem, hitrim zaslužkom, povrnitvijo izgubljenega, znanjem, užitkom, predvsem pa zabavo – je dalo pečat kratkima dvema desetletjema miru.

Slovence je prva vojna prizadela kot posameznike in kot narod. Množično so umirali na frontah, pa tudi zaledju, v izgnanstvu in internaciji. Čez del slovenskega ozemlja je potekala fronta, ki je za sabo pustila opustošenje. Pomanjkanje, lakota, nalezljive bolezni, mobilizacijski pozivi in obvestila o smrti so bili vojni del vsakdanjika. Deset tisoči prebivalcev z obeh strani soške fronte so bili razseljeni v razna taborišča po Italiji, Avstriji in Ogrski. Nekaj deset tisoč slovenskih vojakov je padlo za državo, ki jim je bila slaba mačeha, vendar so jo branili, ker so – vsaj na soški fronti – s tem branili tudi slovensko ozemlje. Nacionalno zavedne Slovence so avstrijske oblasti zapirale, pošiljale v konfinacijo in ječe, nekaj deset je bilo tudi obsojenih na smrt in ustreljenih.

Ko niso uspeli diplomatski in politični poskusi, da bi rešili Habsburško monarhijo, so se Slovenci v zmedenih in protislovnih razmerah ter mešanici jugoslovanskih čustev in poskusa obvarovanja ozemlja odločili za jugoslovansko državo. Mednarodne okoliščine niso nudile kaj dosti drugih možnosti. Idealistične točke ameriškega predsednika Wilsona iz januarja 1918, ki so avstroogrskim narodom obljubljale pravico do avtonomnega razvoja, so treščile ob apetite drugih zmagovalnih držav, pa tudi same ZDA se svojih načel niso držale. Velike države, ki so posredno ali neposredno odločale o usodi Slovencev, o njih niso vedele kaj dosti. Ocena vseh pa je bila podobna: majhen, »nezgodovinski«, v odnosu do sosedov kulturno, ekonomsko in politično podrejen narod, ki se ni zmožen postaviti zase.

Tako je bila slovenska usoda po prvi svetovni vojni odločena v kontekstu (tajnih) mednarodnih dogovorov, različnih kupčevanj na pariški mirovni konferenci, dvomov v slovensko nacionalno vitalnost in predsodkov do Slovencev. Posledica je bila razdelitev med štiri države, od katerih so se Slovenci nacionalno uspeli okrepiti le v novi jugoslovanski državi. Neugodne zunanjepolitične razmere, nemoč in nespretnost slovenskih politikov in nezainteresiranost novih jugoslovanskih oblasti oz. postavljanje drugih državnih prioritet v ospredje, so imele za posledico, da je Italija dobila zahodni del slovenskega ozemlja, to je Primorsko, severni del, Koroška, pa je bil zaradi slabe propagande in drugih razlogov izgubljen na plebiscitu. Slovenci so bili postavljeni pred novo

stvarnost: živeli so v štirih državah z različnimi političnimi sistemi, vsi pa so imeli v osnovi avtoritarno izhodišče in so bili v nacionalnem smislu Slovincem nenaklonjeni. Več kot tretjina Slovencev je ostala izven matičnega ozemlja, Slovenija pa je ostala brez Trsta, sicer večinsko italijanskega mesta s slovenskim zaledjem, v katerem je živelo 57.000 Slovencev, s tem pa tudi brez najmočnejšega intelektualnega središča, ki mu je moč dajala večkulturnost, obenem pa tudi brez pravega industrijskega centra in brez izhoda na morje. Z nacionalnega stališča je bila edina svetla točka priključitev Prekmurja, ki pa je bilo še najmanj v zavesti kot ozemlje s slovenskim prebivalstvom.

From the Old to the New Order (Slovenes, Europe, and the World after World War I)

Božo Repe

Summary

Who is to blame for the war? This is the first question that is raised after the end of such calamity. The victorious forces ascribed a large portion of the blame to Germany; however, the reasons behind the war are much more complex. The balance-of-power politics that regulated relations among the Great Powers in Europe from the Middle Ages onwards lost its meaning and power with World War I. It was transformed by the war. Although the war remained predominately positional, nobody within it was deemed untouchable. No territory could be defended in its entirety – this was altered by new types of weapons, particularly aircrafts. To justify war atrocities, propaganda was developed which referred to the defence of our, “higher” civilization from “theirs”, which was, naturally, “the barbaric one”.

After the war politics and diplomacy remained detached from the reality, living in their closed world and their conceptions. The outcome of the war was tragic: upwards of 10 million victims on the fronts, 20 million people wounded, 10 million people dead due to the consequences of the war, sickness, shortages, a few million people were disabled, even more were affected psychologically. The material damage amounted to billions of dollars, and the war left traces in the landscape, which took decades to vanish. Consequently, for the most part the Treaty of Versailles was based on retaliation.

Notions about a different regulation of relations between nations and states (Wilson’s Fourteen Points), which grew out of the disappointment over the political, social, and transnational order, failed to materialize, as did ideas about a more just political and social system that would be brought about by a revolution. Revolution was successful in only one country, in Russia; however, it turned out to be a tremendous disappointment because the socialist system emerging from it surpassed the tsarist regime in terms of violence against individuals and nations. The war rocked the parliamentary system of government as well. Some countries saw totalitarian forces rise to power and introduced fascist regimes. Their common features included nationalism, chauvinism, revisionism, lust for foreign territories and aggression, denial of libertarian values, and a corporative social order.

Three largest European empires disintegrated during the war and after it: the Austro-Hungarian Empire lost its ideal position in Central Europe, the Russian Empire, which later on reconnected in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Ottoman Empire, which connected extensive Asian, north African, and European territories. Millions of people of other nationalities ended up living in newly formed states, many of whom — including Slovenes — were divided among several states. Even though minorities were formally protected by international agreements, extensive migrations took place throughout the post-war period. Nations and people were expelled. Initially, they fled from authorities whose nationality differed from their own, and, subsequently, from authoritarian and dictatorial regimes.

A new image of the world was devised at post-war peace conferences; the world began to form institutional connections (the League of Nations), even though antagonism, differences, and competition were not done away with. The era of the so-called global civilization (the USA entered into the war, which gave the war global dimensions, before that it was predominately European)

began during the war, as did the ideological division of the world that reached its peak only after World War II. With World War I Europe lost its primacy, which she had built patiently over the centuries by means of exploration, colonial conquests, missionary work, wars, and trade. Despite having become a leading power, the USA retreated into isolationism; Great Britain and France, up to that point dominant imperial forces — although weakened by the war, returned to a well-established behavioural pattern, seeking to realize the secret London Pact and split defeated countries' colonies among themselves. The Soviet Union gradually began to follow its forerunner's footsteps, namely those of tsarist Russia.

The interwar period saw a new, contradictory world emerge, which was torn between poverty and wealth, between the new stultification, which led to a disaster, and outstanding achievements of the human mind.

World War I opened the door to anticolonialism and different civil and pacifist movements, as well as to women's emancipation, which is nowadays quite romanticized. It is based on a depiction of a liberated, western middle- or high-class woman, who is symbolized by freedom of dressing and behaviour, new music genres and dances, and seemingly lifted barriers between different social strata. As a matter of fact, women were granted the right to vote and other rights only in a handful of states. This romanticized image of World War I as an emancipatory watershed moment might be regarded as a form of self-solace, hinting that through emancipation and development of science and technology, and perhaps an additional consequence or two, the war did bring some good. However, this solace is imbued with cynicism because women and children are most severely affected by all wars.

A rapid development of sciences and technology surpassed the existing social conditions in many respects; nevertheless, sciences and technology were in the service of military goals once again. Technological progress expedited the full swing of production and integration of economies in large systems (corporations, trusts, multinational companies), the concentration and centralization of capital, and monopolism. Travelling became globalized and, with the development of aviation and car industry, faster.

War atrocities evoked the desire for relaxation. Two short decades of peace were characterized by people's hunger for what could and could not be obtained: survival, making a quick profit, recovering what was lost, knowledge, pleasure, and, most of all, fun.

Slovenes were affected by the war as individuals and as a nation. A large number of them were killed on the fronts, but also behind them, in internment and in exile. Taking place over a part of the Slovene territory, the front brought devastation. Shortages, hunger, contagious diseases, conscription, and notices of death were part of the wartime daily routine. Tens of thousands of people on both sides of the Isonzo/Soča Front were dislocated to camps in Italy, Austria, and Hungary. A few tens of thousands of Slovene soldiers died for the state that was anything but kind to them; however, they — on the Isonzo/Soča Front, at least — defended it and thus also the Slovene territory. The Austrian authorities arrested nationally conscious Slovenes, sending them to confinement and prisons, several dozen Slovenes were sentenced to death and executed.

When diplomatic and political attempts to save the Habsburg Monarchy failed, Slovenes — faced with confusing and contradictory conditions, a mixture of Yugoslav sentiments and an attempt to defend their territory — opted for the Yugoslav state. The international situation did not offer many other possibilities. President Wilson's idealistic points from January 1918, which promised Austro-Hungarian nations the right for autonomous development, clashed with other victorious states' appetites and even the USA failed to comply with their own principles. Great countries that, either

directly or indirectly, decided the fate of Slovenes, were not particularly familiar with them. However, their assessments were similar. Slovenes were deemed a small, “non-historical” nation that was culturally, economically, and politically subjugated to its neighbours and incapable of standing up for themselves.

The fate of Slovenes after World War I was thus decided in the context of (secret) international agreements, bargains at the Paris Peace Conference, doubts of their national vitality, and prejudice. Consequently, Slovenes were divided among four states, only one of which allowed for their national growth, namely the Yugoslav state. Unfavourable foreign-policy conditions, the Slovene politicians’ helplessness and lack of skills, along with lack of interest of the new Yugoslav authorities, which put other state priorities to the forefront, resulted in Italy’s acquisition of the western part of the Slovene territory, i.e. the Littoral, while its northern part, i.e. Carinthia, was lost in the plebiscite due to bad propaganda and other reasons. Slovenes were faced with a new reality; they lived in four states with different political systems, all of which were based on authoritarian underpinnings and were in the national sense unfavourably disposed towards Slovenes. More than a third of Slovenes remained outside the parent state; Trieste, a city with an Italian majority and a Slovene hinterland populated by 57,000 Slovenes, did not become a part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Slovenian part of this Kingdom thus lost its strongest intellectual centre, which was powered by multiculturalism, and ended up without a proper industrial centre and access to the sea. From the national point of view, the integration of Prekmurje is seen as a silver lining, although Prekmurje was not perceived as a Slovene-populated territory to the same extent as others.

Z obrobja na mednarodno prizorišče

Metka Fujs

Povzetek

Območje današnjega Prekmurja je bilo v Avstro-Ogrski monarhiji sestavni del Kraljevine Ogrske, razdeljeno med Zalsko in Železno županijo in med tri okraje z okrajnimi središči v Dolnji Lendavi, Murski Soboti in v Monoštru. K Dolnji Lendavi je spadalo območje Dolinskega z majhnim delom Goričkega, k Murski Soboti območje Ravenskega in velik del Goričkega, k Monoštru pa nekaj krajev severnega Goričkega.

Po ljudskem štetju leta 1890 je v krajih, ki danes spadajo v Prekmurje, živelo 81.816 ljudi, od tega 78 % Slovencev (Vendov), 18 % Madžarov in 4 % ostalih, pretežno Nemcev. Po veroizpovedi je bilo 68 % katoličanov, 30 % luteranov, ostali so bili Judje in kalvinci. V naslednjih dveh štetjih (1900 in 1910) so bili Slovenci zajeti v rubriki »ostali«, je pa v statistiki pri krajih s slovensko večino označeno, da gre za Vende. Po štetju iz leta 1910 je na območju današnjega Prekmurja živelo 90.513 ljudi, od tega 75 % »ostalih«, 22 % Madžarov in 3 % drugih. Na 71 % je narasla zastopanost katoličanov, delež luteranov je padel na 27 %, ostali so bili Judje in kalvinci. Približno polovica prebivalcev se je izjasnila, da znajo madžarsko. O številu Romov v tedanjih štetjih ni podatkov.

Ob koncu 19. stoletja so pretežni del prekmurskega prebivalstva tvorili majhni kmetje, katerih edino premoženje so bile blatne ali lesene hiške in komaj kaj zemlje, ter bajtarji. Njihov zaslužek je bil v veliki meri naraven – v obliki zrnja – in sicer od sezonskih del na veleposestvih bivših fevdalcev ter od drugih oblik najemnega in hlapčevskega dela. Le redke zidane podeželske hiše iz tega časa kažejo na nekaj višji standard posameznikov.

Med letoma 1870 in 1910 se je iz pokrajine samo v ZDA izselilo ok. 8 % prebivalcev, največ Slovencev, kar se odraža tudi v statistiki. Delež prebivalcev, ki so se leta 1910 med vsem prebivalstvom opredelili za Madžare, je od leta 1890 porasel za 4 %, medtem ko je število Slovencev v vsem prebivalstvu upadlo za 3 %. Porast števila katoličanov je posledica dejstva, da so imeli ti več otrok, in tega, da so se ljudje v glavnem izseljevali iz goričkih vasi z luteranskim prebivalstvom. Številke pa so tudi rezultat narodnostne politike kraljevine Ogrske in delno priseljevanja izobražencev, uradnikov in nosilcev raznih dejavnosti iz notranjosti države v okrajna in večja občinska središča, zaradi funkcij, ki so jih ta centralna naselja prevzemala, in gospodarskih priložnosti, ki so jih ponujala. Med leti 1914 in 1918 je v veliki vojni življenje izgubilo 3,3 % prebivalcev današnjega Prekmurja.

Okraji, ki so jih vodili višji stolni sodniki, so od leta 1871 delovali kot podaljšana roka županij. Na območju okrajev so delovale velike in male občine, od katerih so imele prve svoje notarje, druge pa so se povezovale v notariate. Dolnja Lendava je imela od 1891 status velike občine s samostojnim notarjem in notariat okoliških občin, Murska Sobota pa, kljub večjemu številu prebivalcev in izpolnjenim pogojem, zanj ni nikoli zaprosila. Status okrajnih središč in poznejša navezava na madžarsko železniško omrežje – Dolnje Lendave leta 1890 preko Čakovca ter Murske Sobote leta 1907 preko Hodoša in Körmenda – sta na prelomu stoletja sprožila viden gospodarski, urban in družbeno-kulturni razvoj. Največji razvoj je v tem času sicer doživel Monošter, ki pa ni del današnjega Prekmurja.

Okrajni središči sta šele tedaj dejansko začeli spreminjati svojo dotedanjo podeželsko podobo. Med letoma 1880 in 1914 sta dobili svoji okrajni in sodni stavbi, poleg osnovnih še prve meščanske in

obrtne šole, vrtce, lekarne, Murska Sobota leta 1893 tudi bolnišnico. Za gospodarstvo, ki so ga do tedaj tvorili večje rodbinske posesti, neznatne kmetije, tradicionalno rokodelstvo in obrti ter sejmi, je bil pomemben razvoj bank in hranilnic. Poleg trgovin in obrtnih delavnic, so začeli nastajati manjši industrijski obrati – od parnih mlinov in žag, opekarn, tiskarn, do lendavske tovarne dežnikov, ki je začela kot delniška družba obratovati leta 1904. Poleg plemičev, ki so imeli v svojih rokah še vedno največji del zemlje, kapitala in političnih funkcij, ter duhovnikov se je ob učiteljih pojavila skupina novih laičnih nosilcev funkcij in poklicev: notarjev, odvetnikov, zdravnikov, živinozdravnikov, inženirjev, bankirjev – novih meščanov. V tem okolju so nastala prva gasilska, učiteljska, čitalniška društva, Kazina s knjižnico v Murski Soboti, prvi nogometni klub v Dolnji Lendavi, cerkvena ženska društva in društva, katerih primarno poslanstvo je bilo obujanje in ohranjanje madžarske narodne zavesti. Izhajati sta začela tednika *Muraszombat és Vidéke* v Murski Soboti leta 1886 in *Alsólendvai Híradó* v Dolnji Lendavi leta 1889. Društev in organizacij, ki bi delovali v prekmurskem (slovenskem) jeziku, ni bilo.

To je čas, ko je po eni strani potekala tudi načrtna madžarizacija krajevnih ter osebnih imen in priimkov. Po drugi strani lahko že od marčne revolucije sledimo zanimanju narodno dejavnih štajerskih Slovencev za življenje Slovencev na Ogrskem, kar je našlo odziv v slovenskih časopisih in Božidar Raič je leta 1862 prvi zapisal ime *Prekmurje*. V pokrajino so pošiljali Mohorjeve knjige, ki so imele vedno več naročnikov. Medtem ko se je na eni strani krepila madžarizacija, so na drugi strani rasle zahteve po ohranjanju prekmurskega jezika v cerkvah in šolah. Da bi ustavile dotok slovenskih knjig, so madžarske oblasti leta 1904 dovolile izdajo katoliških tiskov v prekmurskem jeziku, najprej koledarja, nato mesečnika *Marijin list* in leta 1913 še tednika *Novine*. Vse tri je v Črenšovcih urejal upokojeni župnik Jožef Klekl st., ki je postal najpomembnejša prekmurska politična osebnost t.i. prevratne dobe. Na probleme narodnostne in socialne politike v državi je v svojih političnih člankih opozarjal predvsem Franc Ivanoci, ki velja za enega najbolj izobraženih prekmurskih Slovencev tistega časa.

Razpad monarhije in nakopičeno narodno in socialno nezadovoljstvo sta privedla k iskanju novih, avtonomnih rešitev za pokrajino znotraj Madžarske na eni strani in do zahtev po priključitvi k novi državi na drugi. Na koncu je o mejah odločila mirovna konferenca. Zaradi stikov, ki sta jih imela s slovenskimi katoliškimi duhovniki v Prekmurju, sta člana jugoslovanske delegacije Franc Kovačič in Matija Slavič razmere v pokrajini zelo dobro poznala, rezultat pa je Slavičevo temeljito in strokovno tehtno gradivo o Prekmurju, pripravljeno za konferenco.

Kadar proučujemo prekmursko zgodovino, smo vedno znova presenečeni, koliko pomembnih državnih in cerkvenih funkcij, večkratnih odlikovanj za hrabrost, drznih dejanj, plemiških nazivov ali znanstvenih pozicij, inovacij ali umetniških in športnih presežkov so nabrali posamezniki, ki so bili rojeni ali so živeli v tem obmejnem prostoru. Zelo malo tega pa se je skozi zgodovino dejansko prelilo v splošen kvalitetnejši razvoj pokrajine, v to, da bi lahko, namesto na obrobju, pogosteje nastopala kot dejavnik na prizorišču nacionalnih, kaj šele mednarodnih odločitev.

From the Margins to the International Scene

Metka Fujs

Summary

Modern-day Prekmurje was in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy a constituent part of the Kingdom of Hungary; it was part of the counties Zala and Vas and of three districts with centres in Dolnja Lendava, Murska Sobota, and Szentgotthárd/Monošter. The area of Dolinsko, with a small part of Goričko, also belonged to the district of Dolnja Lendava, the district of Murska Sobota included Ravensko and a large part of Goričko, and a few settlements in northern Goričko were under Szentgotthárd/Monošter.

According to the 1890 population census, settlements located in modern-day Pomurje were populated by 81,816 people, 78% of whom were Slovenes (Vends), 18% were Hungarians, and 4% of whom were of other nationalities, mostly German. 68% of the population were Catholics, 30% Lutherans and the rest were Jews or Calvinists. In the following population censuses (1900 and 1910) Slovenes fell under the category “others”; but the data pertaining to the settlements where Slovenes were in majority make clear that “Vends” lived there. According to the 1910 population census, the area of modern-day Prekmurje was populated by 90,513 people, 75% of whom were “others”, 22% were Hungarian, and 3% of other nationalities. The percentage of Catholics increased to 71%, the percentage of Lutherans decreased to 27%, others were Jews and Calvinists. Approximately half of the population stated that they had a command of Hungarian. There are no data on the number of Romanies in these censuses.

A large part of the Prekmurje population consisted of small peasants, whose only belongings were small wooden or mud huts, and cottagers. Peasants had hardly any land. Their livelihood depended largely on seasonal work on large estates owned by former feudal lords or they worked as hirelings and farmhands. Work was often paid in kind, in grain. A few masonry houses indicate that the standard of their owners was somewhat higher.

Between 1870 and 1910 about 8% of the population emigrated to the USA, most of whom were Slovenes. The percentage of people who identified as Hungarians in the 1910 population census increased by 4% as compared to 1890; the number of Slovenes decreased by 3%. An increase in the number of Catholics stems from the fact that Catholics had more children and that villages in Goričko, whose population was Lutheran, were faced with strongest emigration. These numbers are also a consequence of the Kingdom of Hungary’s ethnic policy and, in part, of the fact that educated people, officials, and holders of various activities relocated from the state’s interior to district and municipal centres in order to take up the posts in developing central settlements and take advantage of the economic opportunities available there. Between 1914 and 1918 3.3% of the population of modern-day Prekmurje died during the Great War.

From 1871 onwards districts, which were helmed by noble judges, acted as the county’s arm. Small and large municipalities operated in districts; the former had their own notaries and the latter were connected into notariates. From 1891 onwards Dolnja Lendava held the status of a large municipality, with an independent notary and a notariate of the surrounding municipalities, while Murska Sobota, which had a larger population and met the necessary requirements, never applied for it. The late 19th century and the turn of the century saw a considerable economic, urban, social, and cultural development of the area, which was a consequence of the settlements’ status as district

centres and of the subsequent connection to the Hungarian railway system: Dolnja Lendava via Čakovec in 1890 and Murska Sobota via Hodoš and Körmend in 1907. Szentgotthárd/Monošter, which is not part of modern-day Prekmurje, experienced the most intense development in this period.

The two district centres' rural character began its transformation in this period. Between 1880 and 1914 these centres got their district and judicial buildings, primary schools, burgher and trade schools, kindergartens, pharmacies; a hospital was built in Murska Sobota in 1893. The development of banks and savings banks was of great importance for the economy, which up to then consisted of large family estates, small farms, traditional handicrafts, trades, and fairs. Small industrial plants, ranging from steam-powered mills and sawmills, to brickyards and print shops, emerged alongside shops and workshops; the Lendava umbrella factory started its operation as a joint-stock company in 1904. The bulk of the land, capital, political functions and the clergy was still in the hands of nobility. Clergy and teachers were also very important, and a new group of lay office-holders and professions emerged, namely notaries, lawyers, physicians, veterinarians, engineers, bankers, i.e. new burghers. The first fire brigades, teachers' associations, and reading societies were established; a community centre with a library was built in Murska Sobota, the first football club was founded in Dolnja Lendava. The area saw the establishment of women's church societies and of societies whose main objective was to preserve the Hungarian national consciousness. The weekly *Muraszombat és Vidéke* was first published in Murska Sobota in 1886 and *Alsólendvai Híradó* in Dolnja Lendava in 1889. Societies or organizations operating in the Prekmurje (Slovene) language did not exist.

On the one hand, the period saw a deliberate Hungarization of toponyms, names and surnames. On the other hand, from the March Revolution onwards we can trace the interest of nationally active Slovenes in Styria for Slovenes in Hungary, which resonated in Slovene-language periodicals and Božidar Raič was the first to write down the toponym *Prekmurje* in 1862. Slovene Books published by Družba sv. Mohorja (Hermagoras Society) were sent to the region and the circle of their subscribers increased; the more intense Hungarization became, the louder were demands for the preservation of the Prekmurje language in schools and churches. To prevent the inflow of books in the standardized Slovene literary language, the Hungarian authorities permitted the publication of Prekmurje-language Catholic periodicals, starting with a calendar, which was followed by the monthly *Marijin list*, and in 1913 the weekly *Novine*. They were edited by the retired priest Jožef Klekl Sr., who became the most important political figure of this watershed period. In his political articles Franc Ivanoci, who was at the time considered to be one of the most educated Prekmurje Slovenes, drew attention to problems associated with national and social policy in the state.

On the one hand the dissolution of the monarchy, along with the accumulated national and social dissatisfaction, resulted in the search of new, autonomous solutions for the region within Hungary, and in demands for the region's integration in the new state on the other. Eventually, the border was decided upon at the Peace Conference. Franc Kovačič and Matija Slavič, members of the Yugoslav delegation, were very familiar with the conditions in the region due to their contacts with Slovene Catholic priests in Prekmurje, which resulted in Slavič's thorough and well-founded materials on Prekmurje that he prepared for the conference.

When researching Prekmurje's history, we are repeatedly surprised by the sheer quantity of state or ecclesiastical functions occupied by individuals who were born or lived in this border area, as well as the number of medals for bravery bestowed upon them, their daring actions, noble titles or scientific positions, innovations, and artistic or athletic achievements. However, not much of this

was transformed in the region's development throughout the history, which would make it more present in the arena of national or even international decisions instead of its margins.

Arhivsko gradivo o priključitvi Prekmurja 1918–1924 v slovenskih in madžarskih arhivih

Gordana Šovegeš Lipovšek

Povzetek

O dogodkih, ki so se odvijali neposredno in posredno pred priključitvijo Prekmurja in po njej, je bilo napisanih veliko knjig, razprav in znanstvenih člankov, ki temeljijo na velikem številu zgodovinskih virov in spominov posameznikov – prič oziroma akterjev teh dogodkov. Vire lahko najdemo v različnih arhivih, knjižnicah in muzejih v Sloveniji in na Madžarskem ter tudi v drugih državah, vendar pa do sedaj, razen nekaterih dokumentov, niso bili natančneje pregledani in raziskani.

V Pokrajinskem arhivu Maribor se največ gradiva nahaja v zbirki *SI_PAM/1691 Prevratni dogodki na slovenskem Štajerskem in v Prekmurju*, ki jo je zasnoval že Rudolf Maister, ko je v želji, da napiše zgodovino prevratnih dogodkov, razposlal anketo vsem udeležencem le-teh. Gradivo tako vsebuje odgovore na anketo, ki jih je prejel Maister, ter nekatere druge dokumente v zvezi s prevratnimi dogodki, npr. različne letake, plakate, lepake ipd. Zanimive fotografije, letaki, okrožnice in razglasi se najdejo tudi v osebni fondu *SI_PAM/1524 Gašper Lipovšek*. Lipovšek je bil maja 1920 imenovan za tretjega civilnega komisarja za Prekmurje, kasneje pa je postal okrajni glavar in sreski načelnik, hkrati je tudi zbiral in odkupoval gradivo, ki je zdaj ohranjeno v omenjenem fondu.

Arhiv Republike Slovenije hrani fond *SI AS 60 Pokrajinska uprava za Slovenijo*, znotraj katerega sta dve arhivski škatli gradiva, ki se nanašata samo na Prekmurje. Gradivo je iz obdobja 1919–1922. Dopisi predsedništva deželne vlade, posameznih poverjeništev, komande Dravske divizijske oblasti, civilnih komisarjev idr. pričajo o takratnih razmerah v Prekmurju ter o soočanju novih oblastnikov in prebivalstva s stanjem v novi državi. V dokumentih so zastopane naslednje vsebine: organiziranje narodnih straž, Murska republika, madžarska propaganda, zasedba Prekmurja, pomanjkanje soli, petroleja, bencina, sladkorja in tobaka, tihotapstvo, napadi oboroženih tolpa na demarkacijski črti, cestne in železniške povezave, agrarna reforma, cerkvena in upravna ureditev, pregoni posameznikov, ureditev državne meje, kolkovanje kronskih bankovcev, protidržavne demonstracije in aretacije, sezname politično sumljivih in državi nevarnih oseb ... Drobce gradiva najdemo še v osebnih fondih *SI AS 1193 Lojze Ude*, *SI AS 1004 Matija Slavič*, *SI AS 1655 Gregor Žerjav*.

Veliko več ohranjenega arhivskega gradiva je v madžarskih arhivih. Madžarski nacionalni arhiv – Državni arhiv v Budimpešti hrani več fondov in podfondov centralne pisarne, odbora in madžarske delegacije za določitev meje:

- *K 40 Minister brez listnice, pooblaščen za pripravo pravic do samoodločbe narodov, ki živijo na Madžarskem 1918–1919* (Magyarország élő nemzetek önrendelkezési joga előkészítésével megbízott tárca nélküli miniszter),
- *K 444 Odbor za pripravo oz. določitev državne meje 1922–1942* (Az országhatár kijelölésének előkészítésére kiküldött bizottság),
- *K 477 Centralna pisarna za določitev meje, rezervni spisi 1921–1925* (Határmegállapító központi iroda, rezervált iratok),
- *K 478 Centralna pisarna za določitev meje, splošni spisi 1921–1925* (Határmegállapító központi iroda, általános iratok),

- *K 479 Spisi Centralne pisarne za določitev meje, prevzeti od predsedstva vlade 1920–1942* (Határmegállapító központi iroda által a miniszterelnökségtől átvett miniszterelnökségi iratok),
- *K 52 Madžarska delegacija madžarsko-jugoslovanskega odbora za določitev meje 1921–1925* (Magyar-Jugoszláv határmegállapító bizottság magyar delegációja).

Prav tako sta v Madžarskem vojnogodovinskem arhivu v Budimpešti ohranjena dva fonda, in sicer *I. 48. Spisi vojaškega pooblaščenca komisije za določitev meje 1921–1925* (Határmegállapító Központ katonai meghatalmazottjának iratai) in *I. 52. Madžarsko-kraljevi mejni komisar na meji Kraljevine SHS 1921–1924* (Magyar-királyi határmegállapító biztos az S. H. S. határán).

Dokumenti v madžarskih arhivih so zanimivi predvsem s stališča določanja meje, saj je tega gradiva tudi največ. Gre za različna poročila in zaupna poročila polkovnika Károlya Vassla, madžarskega delegata pri razmejitveni komisiji, ohranjenih je veliko zemljevidov z vrisanimi novimi mejami in predlogi mej, navodil za delovanje madžarskega delegata v mednarodni komisiji, več poročil Sándorja Mikole, ki je bil svetovalec madžarski delegaciji na mirovni konferenci, ohranjena so poročila o prekoračitvah demarkacijske črte, zapisi o razmerah/incidentih v posameznih krajih, zapisniki komisije ipd.

Omeniti velja tudi županijska arhiva v Sombotelu in Zalaegerszegu, ki hranita gradivo na lokalni oz. regionalni ravni, to je gradivo *velikega župana in podžupana Železne in Zalske županije, okrajnega glavarstva Murska Sobota, vladnega komisarja in Jožefa Klekla*, prav tako Nadškofijski arhiv Sombotel, ki hrani gradivo takratnega škofa *Jánosa Mikesa, okrožnice in spise nadškofijske pisarne*. Gradivo tega arhiva je zanimivo, ker je Prekmurje vse do 1. decembra 1923 uradno spadalo k škofiji Sombotel. Uradno so postali prekmurški kraji del lavantinske škofije šele 9. junija 1964; prej je bilo Prekmurje samo apostolska administratura lavantinske škofije.

Zaradi slabe raziskanosti vloge oz. odnosa prekmurških evangeličanov in evangeličanske cerkve do priključitve Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS bi veljalo v prihodnosti pregledati še fonda *Evangelíčanska dekanija Železne županije* (Vasi Közép Egyházmegye iratai) in *Evangelíčanska škofija Prekodonavja* (Dunantúli Egyházkerület iratai), ki ju hrani Madžarski evangeličanski arhiv v Budimpešti, in evangeličansko revijo *Harangszó*, ki je pričela izhajati 31. oktobra 1910.

Za celovit vpogled v dogajanje v Prekmurju po letu 1918 pa velja omeniti še manj znane fonde/dokumente v Nadškofijskem arhivu Maribor (npr. spomini duhovnika Januša Golca), arhivsko gradivo v Madžarski državni knjižnici Széchenyi (hranijo nekaj letakov), Pokrajinski in študijski knjižnici Murska Sobota ter v Pomurskem muzeju Murska Sobota. Ob dodatnem raziskovanju pa bi tovrstno gradivo verjetno našli še kje.

Archival Sources on the Incorporation of Prekmurje into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918–1924) Kept in Slovenian and Hungarian Archives

Gordana Šovegeš Lipovšek

Summary

Events unfolding before the integration of Prekmurje and after it were discussed in many books, treatises, and articles, which are based on abundant historical sources and recollections of people who either witnessed them or participated in them. Sources can be found in different archives, libraries, museums in Slovenia or Hungary and elsewhere; however, barring a few documents, they are yet to be examined in detail.

The bulk of the materials kept in the Regional Archives Maribor is part of the collection *SI_PAM/1691 Prevratni dogodki na slovenskem Štajerskem in v Prekmurju*, which was originated by Rudolf Maister. Motivated by his desire to write a history of these far-reaching events, he sent out a questionnaire to everybody involved in them. Therefore, the material includes answers given in his survey, along with other documents pertaining to these events, e.g. different flyers, posters, placards, etc. Interesting photographs, flyers, circulars, and announcements can be found also in the personal fonds *SI_PAM/1524 Gašper Lipovšek*. In May 1920 Lipovšek was appointed third Civil Commissioner for Prekmurje and, subsequently, became district governor and helmed the *srez*. He also collected and purchased materials, which are now kept in the above-mentioned fonds.

The fonds *SI AS 60 Pokrajinska uprava za Slovenijo* is kept in the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia and contains two boxes of materials from 1919 to 1922 pertaining exclusively to Prekmurje. Correspondence produced by the presidency of the provincial government, individual commissions, the headquarters of the Drava Division, civil commissioners, etc. bear witness to the situation in Prekmurje at the time and how the new authorities and the population tackled conditions in the newly formed state. Documents refer to the following subjects: organization of national guards, the Republic of Prekmurje, the Hungarian propaganda, the occupation of Prekmurje, shortages of salt, petroleum, petrol, sugar and tobacco, smuggling, attacks carried out by armed gangs along the demarcation line, road and railway connections, the agrarian reform, the ecclesiastical and administrative organization, prosecutions, the regulation of the state border, stamping of crown notes, demonstrations against the state, arrests, lists of people who were suspicious or posed a threat to the state, etc. Fragments of material can be found also in the personal fonds *SI AS 1193 Lojze Ude*, *SI AS 1004 Matija Slavič*, *SI AS 1655 Gregor Žerjav*.

The extent of materials kept in Hungarian archives is considerably larger. The Hungarian National Archives – The National Archives of Hungary (in Budapest), keeps several fonds and sub-fonds of the central office, the commission, and the Hungarian delegation for the delimitation:

- *K 40 Minister without Portfolio, Responsible for the Preparation of Rights to Self-Determination of Nations Living in Hungary 1918–1919* (Magyarországon élő nemzetek önrendelkezési joga előkészítésével megbízott tárca nélküli miniszter),
- *K 444 Commission for the Preparation or Delimitation of the State Border 1922–1942* (Az országhatár kijelölésének előkészítésére kiküldött bizottság),
- *K 477 Central Delimitation Office, Classified Documents 1921–1925* (Határmegállapító központi iroda, rezervált iratok),

- *K 478 Central Delimitation Office, General Documents 1921–1925* (Határmegállapító központi iroda, általános iratok),
- *K 479 Documents of the Central Delimitation Office, Taken over from the Presidency of the Government 1920–1942* (Határmegállapító központi iroda által a miniszterelnökségtől átvett miniszterelnökségi iratok),
- *K 52 The Hungarian Delegation of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Delimitation Committee 1921–1925* (Magyar-Jugoszláv határmegállapító bizottság magyar delegációja).

The Military History Archives in Budapest keep two fonds, namely *I. 48. Records of the Military Attaché of the Delimitation Committee 1921–1925* (Határmegállapító Központ katonai meghatalmazottjának iratai) and *I. 52. The Hungarian Royal Border Commissioner on the Border of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes 1921–1924* (Magyar-királyi határmegállapító biztos az S. H. S. határán).

Documents kept in Hungarian archives are interesting particularly from the point of view of delimitation; such documents prevail there. These include reports and classified reports produced by Colonel Károly Vassel, the Hungarian delegate in the Delimitation Commission, as well as many maps with new borders and proposals for borders, instructions for the Hungarian delegate in the international commission, several reports produced by Sándor Mikola, adviser of the Hungarian delegation at the Peace Conference. Reports on crossing the demarcation line, records pertaining to the local conditions/incidents, minutes of the commission, etc. are preserved as well.

County archives in Szombathely and Zalaegerszeg, which keep materials on the local or regional level are also worth mentioning. These include materials pertaining to *the main county head and deputy county head of Vas County and Zala County, the district governor's office in Murska Sobota, the government commissioner, and Jožef Klekl*. The Archives of the Diocese of Szombathely keeps materials of the then Bishop *János Mikes*, as well as *memorandums and records of the archiepiscopal office*. The material is interesting because Prekmurje was officially part of the Bishopric of Szombathely up to 1 December 1923. Officially, Prekmurje did not become part of the Bishopric of Lavant until 9 June 1964; before that Prekmurje was merely its Apostolic administration.

The role or the attitude of the Prekmurje Evangelicals and the Evangelical Church towards Prekmurje's integration into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes has been poorly researched; consequently, fonds of the *Evangelical Deanery of Vas County* (Vasi Közép Egyházmegye iratai) and the *Evangelical Bishopric of Transdanubia* (Dunantúli Egyházkerület iratai), which are kept in the Evangelical National Archives in Budapest, as well as the Evangelical periodical *Harangszó*, which was first published on 31 October 1910, ought to be examined as well.

For a comprehensive insight into events occurring in Prekmurje after 1918 we should mention less known fonds or documents kept in the Archdiocesan Archives Maribor (e.g. recollections of the priest Januš Golec), archival materials in the National Széchényi Library (a few flyers), in the Regional and Study Library Murska Sobota, and in the Pomurje Museum Murska Sobota. Further research would reveal additional materials of this type elsewhere as well.

Srbska/jugoslovanska vojska in Prekmurje, 1918–1924

Aleksandar Životić

Povzetek

V času razpada Avstro-Ogrske, ko se je soočal z notranjo nestabilnostjo in prodorom italijanske vojske, je Narodni svet Države Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov v Beograd poslal delegacijo z zahtevo, naslovljeno na srbsko vlado, da naj začne z vojaškim prodorom proti Zagrebu, Reki, Bački, Banatu in Slavoniji. Srbska vojska je nato v skladu z direktivo regenta Aleksandra začela z vojaško akcijo na zahodu in severu. Glede na to, da je manjši del srbske vojske v duhu nekdanjega poveljnika Francheta d'Espereya že osvojil določene dele ozemlja nekdanjega avstro-ogrškega cesarstva, je bila ofenziva usmerjena proti Sremu in Slavoniji. V dneh, ki so sledili, je prišlo do spremembe in prodor so usmerili proti zahodu, da bi zaščili Zagreb in nato Reko. Ljubljana je zaprosila za manjšo vojsko, da bi zaščili mejo bodoče države z Avstrijo.

Splošna zmeda, ki je zaradi vojaškega poraza prizadela različne dele avstro-ogrške vojske, se je hitro širila po slovenskem ozemlju. Razpad avstro-ogrskih enot na Slovenskem se je začel v prvih dneh oktobra in dosegel vrhunec pred koncem meseca. Ob novici, da v Zagrebu pripravljajo razglasitev Države Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov, se je predsedstvo Narodnega sveta odločilo, da se bo pridružilo odločitvi hrvaškega sabora. 29. oktobra 1918 se je na narodni manifestaciji na Kongresnem trgu zbrala množica vojaškega osebja in civilistov, ki so odločno zahtevali prekinitev državnopravnih vezi z Avstrijo in priključitev k novi jugoslovanski državi. Prve slovenske enote so bile ustanovljene naslednjega dne in začela se je razorožitev preostanka avstro-ogrške vojske na Slovenskem. Šibka vojska ni mogla zaščititi slovenskega ozemlja ter ga braniti pred Italijo in njenimi teritorialnimi težnjami, zato so jo v prihodnjih dneh okrepili srbski vojaki, nekdanji avstro-ogrski vojni ujetniki. Ustanovljen je bil poseben odred, sestavljen iz nekdanjih srbskih vojnih ujetnikov in slovenskih vojakov, ki je ustavil italijanski prodor proti slovenski prestolnici. Razglasitev Republike Avstrije in želja Slovencev po priključitvi k bodoči jugoslovanski državi sta trčili na območju Maribora, Koroške in Štajerske. Šlo je za narodnostno mešano območje, kjer so bili v mestih, kot so Maribor, Ptuj in Celje, Nemci v večini. Slovenski Narodni svet za Štajersko, ki je bil ustanovljen konec septembra 1918, je hotel mariborskemu Mestnemu svetu, ki je 30. oktober določil za dan priključitve k Avstriji, vsiliti svojo voljo. Odločitev ni veljala za preostanek Spodnje Štajerske. Naslednji dan je major Rudolf Maister v mariborski vojašnici zbral vojake slovenske narodnosti in začel borbo za priključitev Maribora k novi južnoslovanski državi. Ni se hotel podrediti odločitvi avstrijskega ministrstva za obrambo in 1. novembra je Maribor razglasil za jugoslovansko posest ter oznanil ustanovitev vojaške oblasti za Spodnjo Štajersko. Tamkajšnje oblasti so hitro odgovorile na Maistrovo akcijo in ustanovile posebne enote, *Schutzwehr*, ki so bile zadolžene za obrambo križišč in ohranitev javnega reda. Maistrove maloštevilne enote se niso mogle zoperstaviti avstrijski vojski. Maister se je napotil v Ljubljano, kjer je dobil soglasje za začetek mobilizacije 9. novembra. Čeprav je mariborski Mestni svet potrdil svojo obstoječo odločitev, je Maistru, njegovim borcem in prostovoljcem uspelo prevzeti mesto. Začela se je okupacija Koroške in Spodnje Štajerske, čemur je sledil odpor tamkajšnjega nemškega prebivalstva in avstrijskih oblasti. Srbska vojska je masovno sodelovala v vojaških akcijah skoraj do podpisa mirovne pogodbe z Avstrijo in do dokončne določitve meje med državama. Akcija v Medžimurju se je začela pred božičem 1918. Njen namen je bil predvsem obvarovati tamkajšnje prebivalstvo pred

nasiljem, zaustaviti širitev boljševizma in preprečiti Madžarski, da bi obdržala te kraje. Istočasno je general Maister načrtoval premik proti Prekmurju, a ker je začasna demarkacijska črta potekala po Muri, je zadeva ostala v pristojnosti mirovne konference. Po odločitvi, sprejeti na konferenci petih velesil, je jugoslovanska vojska 12. avgusta 1919 prodrla v Prekmurje. Večjih bitk pri tem ni bilo, le manjši boji. Vojska je skrbela za mir na območju in varovala mejo do leta 1924, ko je bila meja dokončno določena.

Serbian/Yugoslav Army and Prekmurje 1918–1924

Aleksandar Životić

Summary

In the moments of the collapse of Austria-Hungary, faced with internal instability and an Italian military advancement, the National Council of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs sent a delegation to Belgrade to demand from the Serbian government to begin its military advancement to Zagreb, Rijeka, Bačka, Banat and Slavonia. Afterwards, according to the directive of regent Aleksandar, the Serbian army started its operations in the west and north. Since smaller parts of the Serbian army, in the spirit of the earlier command of Franchet d'Esperey, already occupied certain points on the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, the offensive was directed towards Srem and Slavonia, but it was changed in the following days and directed further westward movement in order to secure Zagreb, and then Rijeka. Ljubljana asked for smaller forces to secure the border of the future state towards Austria.

The general havoc that affected the various parts of the Austro-Hungarian army due to military defeat spread rapidly throughout Slovenian territories. The disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian units that were located in Slovenian territories began in early October and reached its climax by the end of the month. On the news that a declaration of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs was being prepared in Zagreb, the Presidency of the National Council decided to join this decision of the Croatian Parliament. On October 29 1918, a large number of military personnel and civilians gathered on the Congress Square who clearly demonstrated the determination of the citizens to break up state-legal relations with Austria and enter the new Yugoslav state. On the following day, the first few Slovenian units were formed, which began with the disarming of the remaining Austro-Hungarian forces in Slovenian territories. As the weak military forces were insufficient to protect the Slovenian national territory and defended it from Italy and its territorial aspirations, they were reinforced in the coming days by Serbian soldiers, former Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war. A special detachment from the former Serbian prisoners of war and Slovenian soldiers was created, which halted the Italian advancement towards the Slovenian capital. The proclamation of the Austrian Republic and the desire of the Slovenes to join the future Yugoslav state clashed in the territories of Maribor, Carinthia and Styria, since this was the nationally mixed area where the Germans represented an ethnic majority in cities such as Maribor, Ptuj and Celje. The Slovene National Council for Styria, formed at the end of September 1918, tried to impose its will on the City Council of Maribor, which decided on October 30 to become part of German Austria. The decision did not apply to the rest of Lower Styria. Reacting to the decision of the Maribor City Council, Major Rudolf Maister gathered the next day the officers of the Slovenian nationality in the Maribor garrison and started the combat for the attachment of Maribor to the new South Slav state. Refusing to comply with the decisions of the Austrian Ministry of Defense, Maister proclaimed Maribor to be a Yugoslav possession on November 1 and announced the formation of a military administration for the Lower Styria. Local authorities responded quickly to the Maister's act by forming special units – a "schutzwehr" with the task of securing traffic junctions and preserving public order. The few Maister troops were unable to resist the Austrian forces, and the Maister went to Ljubljana where he was granted the consent to begin mobilization on November 9. Although the city council of Maribor confirmed its earlier decision, Maister managed to take over the city with

his fighters and the incoming volunteers and began occupying the area of Carinthia and Lower Styria, followed by the resistance of the local German population and Austrian authorities. Military actions continued with the mass participation of Serbian Army units almost until the signing of a peace treaty with Austria and the final definition of the border between the two states. Operation in Medjimurje began before Christmas in 1918. The action was primarily aimed at protecting the local population from violence, the Hungarian attempt to keep those parts of the territory and stop the spread of Bolshevism. At the same time, General Maister planned to move towards Prekmurje, but due to the determination of the temporary demarcation line at the Mura, this issue remained within the competence of the Peace Conference. After the positive decision of the Conference of the Five, a Yugoslav army started on August 12, 1919 with the entrance to the territory of Prekmurje. In addition to smaller combats, there were no major military battles. Until the definitive determination of the border in 1924, the army was pacifying the area and secured the border line.

Međimurje 1918.–1919. i akcija Erminija Jurišića u Prekmurju

Vladimir Kalšan

Sažetak

Kada je Hrvatski sabor 29. listopada 1918. godine u agoniji stare Monarhije raskinuo sve državnopravne odnose s Austro-Ugarskom, te je oformljena Država Slovenaca Hrvata i Srba, Međimurje koje nije bilo sastavni dio Trojednice, ostalo je izvan te nove države. Taj izuzetno nezgodan položaj Međimurja samo je uvećala vojna konvencija koju su 13. studenoga 1918. godine u Beogradu potpisali Bela Linden u ime mađarske vlade i general Henri u ime zapovjedništva savezničkih antantinih armija na Istoku. Konvencija je odredila rijeku Dravu, a ne Muru i Dravu, kao demarkacijsku liniju. Međimurje je ostalo u Mađarskoj. Dakle, taj hrvatski kraj koji je stoljećima imao mađarsku administraciju i koji se obranio od mađarizacije, prepušten je Mađarima. Zbog pobune koja je zahvatila čitavo Međimurje veliki župan Zaladske županije Bosnyák Géza proglasio je 6. studenoga 1918. godine prijeki sud – "Štatarium". Mađarska vojska koja se vraćala s ratišta i žandarmerija, kao i plaćene skupine mađarskog Narodnog vijeća u Čakovcu (tzv. Narodna garda), poput kaznenih ekspedicija ušle su u pobunjena međimurska sela, čak i prije proglašenja «Štatariuma». Što vješanjem, što strijeljanjem i drugim oblicima odmazde, pobili su preko stotinu ljudi. Mnogi su Međimurci pre represijom spas našli bježeći preko Drave u Hrvatsku.

Nakon neuspješnog zauzimanja Međimurja 13. studenoga 1918. Narodno vijeće Države SHS u Zagrebu zatražilo je od Vrhovne komande u Beogradu da Međimurje zauzmu srpske ili savezničke trupe, ali je dobilo odgovor da je srpska vojska vezana vojnom konvencijom s Mađarima te da su se za pomoć obratili savezničkom zapovjedništvu u Solunu. Tražili su da Međimurje zaposjednu francuske postrojbe. Međutim, svima su bile vezane ruke konvencijom Linden - Henry. Narodno vijeće Države SHS bilo je prisiljeno snaći se samo. Potpukovnik Dragutin Perko dobio je od Narodnog vijeća u Zagrebu nalog da u Varaždinu, gdje je 6. prosinca imenovan zapovjednikom mjesta, pripravi sve što je potrebno za oslobođenje Međimurja. Izrađen je vojni plan i ostvarene ostale pretpostavke za uspjeh vojne akcije u Međimurju. U međuvremenu je oformljeno i Narodno vijeće za Međimurje na čelu s dr. Ivanom Novakom. Operativni plan pohoda na Međimurje dopunio je i potvrdio generalštabni potpukovnik Slavko Kvaternik. On je preuzeo zapovjedništvo i 24. prosinca 1918. godine odredio kao dan vojnog pohoda. Hrvatska vojska prikupljena u Varaždinu bila je snage jedne brigade od gotovo sedam bataljuna (bojni), jednog konjičkog divizionu, četiri baterije topništva, te pomoćnih postrojbi. Činile su postrojbe iz različitih krajeva. Bili su tu akademičari i pitomci kadetske škole, dobrovoljačka sokolska legija i mornari, međimurski dobrovoljci pod zapovjedništvom poručnika Franje Glogovca iz Macinca, Karlovački pješački puk, Varaždinski bataljun, Sisački bataljun, konjica bivše X. husarske pukovnije te dvije satnije Slovenaca, iz sastava Mariborskog pješačkog puka generala Maistera, stacionirane na širem sektoru Razkrižja i Mote. Toj snazi trebale su se suprotstaviti mnogo slabije mađarske trupe pod zapovjedništvom potpukovnika Kühna smještene uglavnom u Čakovcu.

Plan pohoda imao je dva pravca nastupanja, odnosno dvije fronte. Prva je bila južna ili glavna fronta, a nastupalo se preko Drave. Druga je bila zapadna fronta gdje se nastupalo iz Štajerske. Na južnoj fronti gdje je bilo angažirano pet bojni postojala su dva pravca napada. Glavnu kolonu preko varaždinskog mosta, pravcem bana Jelačića, prema Čakovcu vodio je potpukovnik Dragutin Perko. Desnu kolonu koja se čamcima i splavima preko Drave prebacila kod Preloga, vodio je major

Pogledić.

Zapadna fronta također je imala dvije kolone. Jednom je zapovijedao major Ivo Henneberg. Ona je krenula iz Ormoža i preko Središća ob Dravi stigla u Šenkovec i Mihovljan i tu se spojila s glavninom potpukovnika Perka. Sjeverno od kolone majora Henneberga kretala se kolona satnika Erminija Jurišića kroz Štrigovu i štrigovski kraj. Njezin je cilj bio zaposjednuti desnu obalu Mure, oba mosta kod Murskog Središća, te sve prijelaze, splavi i skele na Muri do Križovca.

Već prije 11 sati do potpukovnika Perka kod Nedelišća dojahao je major Györy, pomoćnik potpukovnika Kühna i u njegovo ime potpisao predaju. Odmah potom kolona potpukovnika Perka ušla je u Čakovec, a mađarski kotarski predstojnik Gyömörei, uz protest, predao mu je civilnu vlast. Zauzeće Čakovca odmah je javljeno glavnom zapovjedniku potpukovniku Slavku Kvaterniku. Kvaternik je još prije podneva automobilom stigao u Čakovec i preuzeo vlast nad čitavim Međimurjem. Hrvatska je vojska oslobodila Međimurje, a mađarsku vladu i saveznike stavila pred gotov čin. Međimurci su je oduševljeno dočekali.

Potom je skupina satnika Erminija Jurišića prešla Muru kod Murskog Središća i Lendave i ušla u Prekmurje. Jurišićevoj akciji oslobođenja Prekmurja pridružio se i Jožef Godina. Razoružali su veliki broj Mađara i zaplijenili 2 tisuće pušaka, jedan top i više strojnih pušaka. Međutim, nije potrajalo dugo i Mađari su prešli u napad u Murskoj Soboti i raspršili ih. Tu je u okršaju teško ranjen satnik Jurišić. Njega i Jožefa Godinu Mađari su zarobili.

Pokret protiv Mađarske u Prekmurju započeo je protestnim povcima Slovenaca na mađarskom zborovanju u Murskoj Soboti 20. listopada 1918. godine, a zatim i s brojnim sudjelovanjem prekmurskih Slovenaca na zborovanju u Ljutomeru 3. studenoga 1918. za ujedinjenje Slovenaca u novoj jugoslavenskoj državi. Gotovo 3.000 prekmurskih Slovenaca sudjelovalo je na manifestaciji za Jugoslaviju 26. prosinca 1918. u Radgoni, te na velikom, od mađarskih vlasti zabranjenom, zborovanju u Beltincima 17. siječnja 1919. godine. To se zborovanje u Belticima dogodilo nakon nesretne vojne akcije kapetana Erminija Jurišića koja je kao nastavak akcije vojske zagrebačkog Narodnog vijeća za oslobođenje Međimurja trebala zaposjesti i Prekmurje. Ta Jurišićeva akcija i spontana akcija prekmurskog Slovenca, tada gimnazijalca Jožefa Godine s dobrovoljcima u božićno vrijeme 1918. bila je jedina vojnička akcija za oslobođenje Prekmurja od Mađara.

Međimurje in 1918/19 and Erminij Jurišić's Military Operation in Prekmurje

Vladimir Kalšan

Summary

On 29 October 1918, when the Croatian Parliament broke off constitutional relations with Austria-Hungary in the wake of the old Monarchy's agonies, and when the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs was formed, Međimurje was left outside the newly formed state. Međimurje's detrimental position was aggravated by the military convention signed by Bela Linden on behalf of the Hungarian government and General Henry on behalf of the Entente armed forces in the East in Belgrade on 13 November 1918. The convention defined the river Drava, and not Mura and Drava, as the demarcation line. Međimurje remained in Hungary; consequently, this ethnically Croatian area, which had for centuries been subject to Hungarian administration and resisted Hungarianisation, was left to Hungarians.

Owing to the rebellion that affected the whole of Međimurje, Bosnyák Géza, head of Zala County, proclaimed court martial, i.e. *Štatarium*, on 6 November 1918. Upon their return from the battlefields, the Hungarian army, alongside the gendarmerie forces and mercenaries of the Hungarian National Council in Čakovec (the so-called National Guard), entered the rebellious villages in Međimurje even before *Štatarium* was introduced. By hanging, shooting, and other forms of retaliation, more than one hundred people were killed. Many locals fled across the river Drava, to Croatia, to escape from repression.

Following an unsuccessful occupation of Međimurje on 13 November 1918, the National Council of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs in Zagreb demanded from the Supreme Command in Belgrade that Međimurje be occupied by the Serbian or the Allied armed forces, only to receive a reply that the Serbian army was bound by the military convention, whereupon the Council turned for help to the Allies in Salonika. They asked that Međimurje be occupied by the French troops; however, everyone's hands were tied by the Linden—Henry convention. The National Council of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs was left to their own devices. Lieutenant Colonel Dragutin Perko was tasked by the National Council in Zagreb to make the necessary preparations for the liberation of Međimurje in Varaždin, where he was appointed as the city's commanding officer. A military operation plan was drawn up and other presumptions were made in order to generate a favourable outcome of the operation in Međimurje. Meanwhile, helmed by Dr Ivan Novak, the Međimurje National Council was formed. Lieutenant Colonel Slavko Kvaternik, member of the General Staff, confirmed and supplemented the military operation plan of the Međimurje campaign. Having taken over the command, he pinpointed 24 December 1918 as the day of the military campaign. The Croatian army gathered in Varaždin consisted of a brigade made up of seven battalions, a cavalry squadron, four artillery batteries, and auxiliary formations coming from various areas. These included military school academics and cadets, a legion of Sokol volunteers and sailors, volunteers from Međimurje under the command of Lieutenant Franjo Glogovac from Macinec, the Karlovac Infantry Regiment, the Varaždin Battalion, the Sisak Battalion, the cavalry of the former 10th Hussar Regiment, and two Slovene companies of General Rudolf Maister's Maribor Infantry Regiment stationed in the broader area of Razkrižje and Mota. These forces were to be confronted by much weaker Hungarian troops under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Kühn, which were stationed mainly in Čakovec.

The operation plan envisaged two attack routes or fronts: the southern, or the main front crossing the river Drava, and the west front from Styria. Five battalions were engaged in the southern front, where there were two attack routes. The main line towards Čakovec, via the Varaždin bridge, was led by Lieutenant Colonel Dragutin Perko. Led by Major Pogledić, the right-hand line crossed the river Drava near Prelog using boats and rafts.

The western front also consisted of two lines, one of which was commanded by Major Ivo Henneberg. Starting from Ormož and advancing via Središče ob Dravi, Henneberg's army arrived at Šenkovec and Mihovljan, where it joined Lieutenant Colonel Perko's main line. Captain Erminij Jurišić's line advanced via Štrigova and its surroundings to the north of Major Henneberg's line. Its goal was to occupy the right bank of the river Mura, both bridges near Mursko Središće, along with all crossings, rafts, and ferries on the river Mura as far as Križovec.

It was before 11 o'clock that Major Györy, Lieutenant Colonel Kühn's assistant, rode to Lieutenant Colonel Perko near Nedelišće to sign the surrender on behalf of his superior officer. Immediately after that Lieutenant Colonel Perko's line advanced to Čakovec and the protesting head of *kotor* Gyömörei handed over the civilian authority. The chief commander Lieutenant Colonel Slavko Kvaternik was instantly notified of the conquest of Čakovec. Kvaternik arrived in Čakovec by car before noon, seizing power over entire Međimurje. Welcomed by the jubilant local population, the Croatian army liberated Međimurje, facing the Hungarian government and the Allies with an accomplished fact.

Having crossed the river Mura near Mursko Središće and Lendava, captain Erminij Jurišić's group entered Prekmurje. Jožef Godina got involved in Jurišić's campaign to liberate Prekmurje. Many Hungarians were disarmed; 2,000 guns, 1 cannon, and machine guns were confiscated. However, it was not before long that they were attacked and dispersed by Hungarians in Murska Sobota. Captain Jurišić was badly injured in this attack and captured along with Jožef Godina.

The anti-Hungarian movement in Prekmurje started out with Slovenes' shouts of protest during a Hungarian assembly held in Murska Sobota on 20 October 1918. This was followed by an assembly in support of the unification of Slovenes in the new Yugoslav state in Ljutomer on 3 November 1918, which was attended by a large number of Slovenes from Prekmurje. Almost 3,000 Slovenes from Prekmurje participated in a public meeting in support of Yugoslavia on 26 December 1918 in Radgona, and in the large-scale assembly held in Beltinci on 17 January 1919, which was banned by the Hungarian authorities. The assembly in Beltinci took place after Captain Erminij Jurišić's failed campaign. This was a continuation of the military campaign run by the Zagreb-based National Council for the liberation of Međimurje and aimed to occupy Prekmurje. Jurišić's campaign and a spontaneous act performed by Jožef Godina, a Slovene secondary-school student from Prekmurje, and his volunteers at Christmastime 1918 was the only military campaign aimed at the liberation of Prekmurje from the Hungarian rule.

**»Radüjte se, Slovenci na Vogrskem, rešenje je tü!«
Slovenska in madžarska propaganda v Prekmurju 1918–1929**

Gordana Šövegeš Lipovšek

Povzetek

Slovenska propaganda

Novembra 1918 je Rudolf Maister s svojo vojsko zaplenil nekaj letal, 25. novembra pa je Emil Grizold postal poveljnik prve letalske stotnije v Mariboru. Letala so opravljala polete nad Koroško in Štajersko. 15. marca 1919 sta letalca Grizold in Ludvik Jureš prvič poletela nad Prekmurje v okolico Murske Söbote. Letala so odmetavala v Mariboru natisnjene propagandne letake o priključitvi Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS. Bojno niso delovala, saj je beograjsko premirje, sklenjeno 13. novembra 1918, prepovedalo bojne akcije. Prvi polet v Prekmurje se je končal skoraj tragično: letalo je pred letališčem strmoglavilo z višine 50 m, pilota Grizold in Jureš sta bila poškodovana.

Eden izmed letakov, ki so ga spomladi 1919 odvrгла letala mariborske letalske stotnije, je bil tudi letak »*Ogrskim Slovencem*«. Avtor v tem letaku svari pred Madžari, njihovimi obljubami in grožnjami ter jih ima poleg Nemcev za največje vojne krivce.

Letak vlade Kraljevine SHS prekmurskim Slovencem z dne 11. marca 1919 je nastal po obisku prekmurske delegacije pri ministrskem predsedniku Stojanu Protiću v Beogradu, ki so ga prosili za dovoljenje, da izdajo letak s podpisom osrednje vlade, s katerim bi ljudem razložili položaj Madžarske na mirovnih pogajanjih v Parizu. Vlada našteva vse dobre stvari, ki jih bodo deležni Prekmurci v novi državi: razdelitev vse zemlje, avtonomija okrožij, slovenski duhovniki in učitelji, gradnja novih mostov in železnice, enakopravnost vseh veroizpovedi in jezikov.

Avtor plakata »*Norčarija vogrskij Židovov nad Vogrskimi Slovenci*«, podpisan z inicialko S., svari pred madžarskimi praznimi obljubami, opisuje norčevanje Madžarov iz slovenskega oz. prekmurskega jezika, iz krajev ipd. Pomembnost priključitve Prekmurja poudari tudi s tem, da je dobil ameriški predsednik Wilson idejo o osvoboditvi vseh narodov predvsem zaradi Prekmurcev; o težkem življenju Prekmurcev pod ogrskim jarmom so ga namreč seznanili prekmurski izseljenci v Ameriki. Kar nekaj časa je prevladovalo mnenje, da je avtor tega plakata Matija Slavič. Leta 1937 je v publikaciji »*Kronika slovenskih mest*« to mišljenje ovrgel v članku »*Prekmurski letaki leta 1919*«, v katerem piše, da je bil v času, ko je nastal plakat (marec 1919), že na mirovni konferenci v Parizu.

Matija Slavič oz. Matjaž Küzma, kot se je velikokrat podpisoval, je avtor letakov, v katerih Prekmurce poziva k združitvi z Jugoslavijo, v kateri bodo tudi drugi južni Slovani – Štajerci, Kranjci, Hrvati, Dalmatinci, Bošnjaki in Srbi. V veliki državi, ki bo segala od Celovca in Soče do Egejskega morja, bodo Prekmurci imeli slovenske šole, slovenski jezik v vsakdanjem življenju, v upravi in v sodstvu.

Madžarska propaganda

Poleg slovenskih plakatov so Prekmurje preplavili tudi madžarski propagandni plakati in letaki. Namestnik vladnega komisarja Gusztáv Karner nagovarja Prekmurce, naj dajo svoj glas za Madžarsko. Poziva jih, naj se na mirovni konferenci ne boje Jugoslovanov in naj pogumno povedo, v kateri državi bi živeli. Sviri tudi pred nemiri med posameznimi jugoslovanskimi narodi in za primer navede Hrvate in Srbe, naroda, ki se »*tako ljubita, da bi drug drugega utopila v kaplji*

vode.«

Letak »Vogrski domovinski Slovenci« obtožuje laganja vse tiste, ki pravijo, da Slovenci v Prekmurju ne morejo uporabljati svojega jezika v cerkvi, šolah, pri notarju, na sodišču. Avtor letaka je prepričan, da če bi bilo to res, v Prekmurju, ki je bilo tedaj že tisoč let del Ogrske, ne bi bilo več nobenega Slovenca. Zanima tudi, da bi Prekmurci bili Slovenci, ker ne razumejo Ilirov (Hrvatov), Srbov in Bošnjakov, in trdi, da se bo potrebno v novi državi učiti tudi njihovega jezika.

V 19. stoletju se je na Madžarskem izoblikovala teorija o prekmurskih in porabskih Slovencih, ki je dokazovala, da Prekmurci niso Slovenci, ampak posebna narodnostna skupina, ki ni slovanska. To teorijo so zagovarjali tudi na mirovni konferenci v Parizu. Po tej teoriji naj bi bili Prekmurci in Porabci Vendi, potomci Keltov, Vendi pa so potemtakem bili slovanizirani Madžari. Velik zagovornik te teorije je bil Mikola Sándor oz. Aleksander Mikola, rojen leta 1871 v Gornjih Petrovcih. Bil je profesor fizike in matematike. Madžarska vlada ga je želela imenovati za člana madžarske delegacije na mirovni konferenci, vendar te vloge ni želel sprejeti, sprejel pa je vlogo svetovalca oz. izvedenca za Prekmurje. Kot odgovor na Slavičevo študijo o Prekmurju je leta 1919 skupaj z univerzitetnim profesorjem Jánosom Melichom napisal brošuro »*Quelques remarques sur la brochure intitulée par M. Slavič*« (Nekaj pripomb k brošuri: Vprašanje Prekmurja ...). V brošuri »*Vend honfitársaink!*« (Madžarski rodoljubi!), ki je izšla istega leta, je svoje trditve ponovil.

Poleti 1920 so v Prekmurje pretihotapili približno 70 spisov in propagandnih letakov Lige za obrambo integritete Madžarske (*Magyarország Területi Épségének Védelmi Ligája*), in sicer vzorec društvenih pravil, izjavo za vstop v društvo, seznam obstoječih okrožnih društev in njihovih predsednikov ter dopis oz. prošnjo, naj občinska poglavarstva izvedejo potrebne korake za ustanovitev krajevnih skupin društva. Društvo je bilo ustanovljeno novembra 1918 in je delovalo do sredine leta 1920, ko je postalo del Madžarske nacionalne zveze (*Magyar Nemzeti Szövetség*). Društvo so ustanovili s pomočjo vlade Mihályja Karolyija, propagiralo je ohranitev zgodovinske Madžarske. Njegovo neuradno geslo v zvezi s trianonsko mirovno pogodbo, ki je postalo znano po vsej državi, je bilo: »*Ne! Ne! Nikdar!*« (*Nem! Nem! Soha!*).

“Rejoice, Slovenes in Hungary, We Have the Solution!”
Slovenian and Hungarian Propaganda in Prekmurje 1918–1929

Gordana Šovegeš Lipovšek

Summary

The Slovenian Propaganda

In November 1918 Rudolf Maister and his army confiscated a few aeroplanes, and on 25 November Emil Grizold became the leader of the first air squadron in Maribor. The planes flew over Carinthia and Styria. On 15 March 1919 Grizold and Ludvik Jureš flew for the first time over Prekmurje, i.e. the surroundings of Murska Sobota, dropping pamphlets addressing Prekmurje's integration into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which were printed in Maribor. They did not engage in combat because the armistice signed in Belgrade on 13 November 1918 prohibited any military action. The first flight to Prekmurje almost ended tragically; the aeroplane crashed from a height of 50 m, and the pilots Grizold and Jureš sustained injuries.

One of the pamphlets dropped from planes belonging to the Maribor squadron in the spring of 1919 was the pamphlet *“To Hungarian Slovenes”*. Its author warns them of Hungarians, their promises and threats, holding them responsible for the war alongside Germans.

A flyer addressed to the Prekmurje Slovenes was issued by the government of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes on 11 March 1919. It was produced after a delegation from Prekmurje visited Prime Minister Stojan Protić in Belgrade; they asked him for a permission to publish a flyer signed by the central government, by means of which they would explain Hungary's position in the Paris Peace Conference. The government listed advantages that the population of Prekmurje would enjoy in the new state: all the land would be divided, districts would be autonomous, the clergy and teachers would be Slovenes, new bridges and railway lines would be built, all religions and languages would be equal.

The author of a poster entitled *“Hungarian Jews Mocking Hungarian Slovenes”*, which was signed with S., alerted people of Hungarians' empty promises and describes Hungarians poked fun at the Slovene or Prekmurje language, parts, etc. He accentuated the significance of Prekmurje's integration by saying that President Wilson got the idea of liberating all peoples mainly due to the population of Prekmurje; the Prekmurje expatriates living in America informed him of the difficult life in Prekmurje under the Hungarian yoke. Matija Slavič was believed to have been the author of this poster for quite some time. However, in an article entitled *“Prekmurski letaki leta 1919”* published in *“Kronika slovenskih mest”* he refuted this claim, maintaining that in the period when this poster was produced (March 1919) he was already at the Paris Peace Conference.

Matija Slavič, who often signed his name as Matjaž Küzma, is the author of flyers urging the population of Prekmurje to support Prekmurje's integration into Yugoslavia, a state which would include other south Slavs, i.e. Styrians, Carniolans, Croats, Dalmatians, Bosnians, and Serbs, as well. In this large state, extending from Klagenfurt to Soča/Isonzo and the Aegean, the Prekmurje people would have Slovene-language schools, Slovene would be the language of everyday life, of administration, and of the judicature.

The Hungarian Propaganda

Along with Slovene posters, Prekmurje was flooded also by Hungarian propaganda posters and

flyers. Deputy Government Commissioner Gusztáv Karner urged the Prekmurje population to voice their support of Hungary. He appeals to them not to be afraid of Yugoslavs at the Paris Peace Conference and state bravely in which state they want to live. He warns them of unrest among the Yugoslav peoples, exemplifying his opinion by referring to Croats and Serbs, nations “*who love each other so much that they could drown one another in a drop of water.*”

The flyer entitled “*Hungarian patriotic Slovenes*” accuses those saying that Slovenes in Prekmurje may not use their language in the Church, in schools, in notary’s offices, and in the court of law. He was convinced that if that were the case, there would not be a single Slovene person in Prekmurje, which had been part of Hungary for a thousand years. He stated that people living in Prekmurje are not Slovenes because they do not understand Illyrians (Croats), Serbs, and Bosnians, maintaining that in the new state they would have to learn their language.

In the 19th century a theory about the Prekmurje and the Rába region Slovenes emerged in Hungary, which argued that people living in Prekmurje are not Slovenes, but a separate, a non-Slavic ethnic group. This theory was defended at the Paris Peace Conference as well. According to this theory, the Prekmurje and the Rába region Slovenes were Vends, descendants of Celts, and thus Slavified Hungarians. Mikola Sándor, or Aleksander Mikola, who was born in Gornji Petrovci in 1871, was a fervent proponent of this theory. He taught physics and mathematics. The Hungarian government wanted to appoint him a member of the Hungarian delegation at the Peace Conference; however, he did not want to take on this role, although he did accept the post of an adviser or expert for Prekmurje. Responding to Slavič’s study on Prekmurje, he penned the brochure “*Quelques remarques sur la brochure intitulée par M. Slavič*” together with Professor János Melich in 1919. He repeated his stance in the publication “*Vend honfitársaink!*” (Hungarian patriots!), which was published that same year.

About 70 essays and propaganda leaflets produced by the Hungarian Territorial Integrity League (*Magyarország Területi Épségének Védelmi Ligája*) were smuggled to Prekmurje in the summer of 1920, including a sample of the society’s rules, the membership form, a list of active district societies and their presidents, and a document asking the municipal administration to take necessary steps for the formation of local society groups. The society was established in November 1918 and operated until mid-1920, when it became part of the Hungarian National Association (*Magyar Nemzeti Szövetség*). The society was established with the help of Mihály Karolyi’s government and promoted the preservation of historical Hungary. Its unofficial slogan associated with the Treaty of Trianon, namely “*No! No! Never!*” (*Nem! Nem! Soha!*), became famous throughout the country.

Ameriška diplomacija in vprašanje Prekmurja na mirovni konferenci v Parizu leta 1919

Uroš Lipušček

Povzetek

Združene države Amerike so bistveno vplivale ne samo na razpad Avstro-Ogrske monarhije ampak tudi na potek pariške mirovne konference 1919, posebej na določanje slovenskih mej. V ameriški delegaciji sta že kmalu po začetku mirovne konference nastali dve skupini, ki sta imeli zelo različen pogled na urejanje meja držav, ki so nastale na pogorišču Avstro-Ogrske. V prvi skupini, ki je trdila, da so Italijani in Nemci (malo manj pa Ogrji) na bistveno višji kulturni stopnji kot Slovani, zato jim niso bili naklonjeni, sta bila, kar zadeva Slovence, najvplivnejša harvardski profesor Archibald Coolidge, ki je na Dunaju vodil ameriško opazovalno misijo, in polkovnik Milles, ki je vodil opazovalno misijo na Koroškem. Jugoslovanom oziroma Slovencem sta bila relativno najbolj naklonjena Douglas W. Johnson, profesor geografije iz univerze Columbia v New Yorku, ki je bil med vojno v činu majorja glavni kartograf predsednika Wilsona, ter ekspert Robert J. Kerner iz univerze Berkeley, ki je bil češkega porekla in je govoril tudi slovensko. Predsednikov največji zaupnik polkovnik Edward M. House, znan je bil po vzdevku polkovnik House, pa je imel, kar zadeva Slovence, ambivalentno stališče. Takoj po razpadu Avstro-Ogrske je na primer italijanski vojski brez dogovora z Wilsonom dovolil zasedbo celo več ozemlja kot ga je Italija dobila v tajnem londonskem paktu iz 1915. leta, v reševanju koroškega vprašanja pa je bil Slovencem bolj naklonjen. Takratnih slovenskih politikov ni uspel prepričati, da bi zmanjšali plebiscitno ozemlje na okraje, kjer so bili Slovenci v večini, s čimer bi izgubili manj ozemlja. Predsednik Wilson, ki je članom delegacije med plovbo na parniku George Washington na poti na pariško mirovno konferenco decembra 1918 dejal: »Povejte mi, kaj je prav, in jaz se bom za to boril,« je med konferenco podlegel različnim pritiskom tako imenovane stare diplomacije, v prvi vrsti italijanskemu izsiljevanju. V težnji, da bi mirovna konferenca uresničila 14. točko njegovega mirovnega programa, to je ustanovitev Lige narodov oziroma Društva narodov, je na koncu odstopil od stališča, da (imperialistični) tajni sporazumi, ki so jih med vojno sklepale med seboj antantne države, po vojni ne bodo več veljali. To je med drugim zelo prizadelo tudi Slovence. Delitev ameriških ekspertov na dve nasprotujoči si skupini je bistveno vplivala na določanje naših mej. Vprašanje Prekmurja je prišlo na mirovni konferenci na vrsto šele potem, ko je bilo odločeno, da bo južni del Štajerske pripadel Jugoslaviji oziroma h Kraljevini SHS. Prekmurje, ki je bilo del Ogrskega dela monarhije, v zavesti slovenskih politikov takrat skorajda ni bilo navzoče. Brez zaslug skupine zavednih katoliških duhovnikov – dr. Matije Slaviča, dr. Franca Kovačiča, dr. Lamberta Ehrlicha, Ivana Jeriča, Jožefa Klekla st. in drugih, ki so pripravili gradiva za konferenco in agitirali za priključitev k Jugoslaviji, prvi trije pa so bili na konferenci tudi v vlogi ekspertov – bi Prekmurje verjetno ostalo razdeljeno ali pa bi ostalo v okviru Madžarske. V prvem predlogu so ameriški eksperti namreč mejo Prekmurja potegnili po razvodju Mure in Rabe. Za omenjeno črto se je posebej zavzemal profesor Coolidge, ki je na konferenci dosledno branil madžarske interese. Veljal je celo za neuradnega madžarskega delegata na konferenci, saj so madžarsko delegacijo povabili na konferenco šele decembra 1919. leta. Wilsonov kartograf Johnson, ki je uvidel, da se, potem ko so Italijani zasedli velik del zahodnega slovenskega ozemlja in ko je nad Slovenci visel Damoklejev meč plebiscita na Koroškem, Slovencem slabo piše tudi na Štajerskem in v Prekmurju, je na teritorialni komisiji uspel v drugem poskusu prepričati delegate, da so potrdili njegov predlog,

da bo meja z Madžarsko potekala severno od reke Mure. Porabja pa predvsem zaradi gospodarskih dejavnikov tudi Johnson ni bil pripravljen priključiti h Kraljevini SHS. Tako francoski general Foch kot Johnson, sta kasneje našim delegatom dala vedeti, da je na končne sklepe konference zelo vplivala zasedba določenega ozemlja. Jugoslovanska vojska Prekmurja po razpadu Avstro-Ogrske ni zasedla, ker so v ločenem sporazumu o premirju, ki sta ga sklenila poveljnik balkanske fronte francoski general D'esperey in predsednik madžarske vlade Károly ob soglasju srbske vlade novembra 1918 v Beogradu, sklenili, da bo Hrvaško Medžimurje in Slovensko Prekmurje ostalo pod madžarsko upravo in vojaško zasedbo. Narodna vlada v Ljubljani ni načrtovala zasedbe Prekmurja, Hrvati pa so v drugem poskusu brez odobritve Beograda osvobodili Medžimurje. Vojska Kraljevine SHS je 12. avgusta 1919 zasedla Prekmurje – z dovoljenjem Vrhovnega sveta mirovne konference. K temu sklepu je v veliki meri prispevala tudi bojazen Vrhovnega sveta, da se utegne »virus« boljševiske madžarske republike razširiti izven meja države. Madžarski politiki in javnost so s težkim srcem in velikim odporom v Trianonu junija 1920 podpisali tako imenovano trianonsko mirovno pogodbo, s katero je Madžarska izgubila dve tretjini ozemlja in prebivalstva. Podobna usoda je takrat doletela tudi Slovence. Obdobje med obema vojnama je bilo na Madžarskem zaznamovano z zahtevami po reviziji trianonske pogodbe, ki jo nekateri še danes uvrščajo med največje tragedije v madžarski zgodovini. Prvič so madžarski politiki poskušali revidirati trianonsko pogodbo v času, ko je mednarodna zavezniška komisija po vojni na terenu določala nove meje. Ker ZDA niso podpisale mirovnih sporazumov iz Versaillesa, so madžarski politiki menili, da utegnejo z naklonjenostjo Washingtona pogodbo sčasoma razveljaviti. Ameriška diplomacija je bila na pariški mirovni konferenci namreč poleg Italijanov in Angležev dokaj prizanesljiva do Madžarov, vendar predvsem zaradi francoskega nasprotovanja in odpora novih držav ameriški predlogi niso bili sprejeti. S podobnimi željami so se madžarski politiki ozirali tudi proti Londonu. V ZDA so na pobudo madžarskih aktivistov v ta namen 1920 leta ustanovili Ameriško zvezo Vendov, v katero so bili vključeni Prekmurci oziroma »Vendi«, posebej iz območja Betlehema v Pensilvaniji. Ameriškim oblastem so poslali celo sporočilo, da želijo biti ameriški Vendi (tako so Prekmurce imenovali Madžari in prekmurski Madžaroni) še naprej zvesti Madžarski. Potem, ko je bila septembra 1922 Madžarska sprejeta v Društvo narodov, so Madžari poskušali doseči revizijo trianonske pogodbe tudi preko te organizacije. 19. člen statuta Društva narodov je namreč določal, »da lahko skupščina od časa do časa na predlog članic prouči pogodbe, ki so neizvedljive, in mednarodni položaj, katerega nadaljevanje bi lahko ogrozilo mir.« Britanski ekonomist Keynes je v zvezi s tem opozoril, da revizija mirovnih sporazumov, ki jih je ostro kritiziral, preprosto ni mogoča, ker je 5. člen statuta določal, »da morajo biti vsi sklepi na katerem koli zasedanju skupščine ali sveta potrjeni soglasno s strani vseh navzočih članic.« Madžarska zato ni imela nobene možnosti za revizijo mirovne pogodbe, saj so bile vse članice male antante odločno proti kakšni koli reviziji. Da Društva narodov ni bilo naklonjeno reviziji mirovnih sporazumov, je potrdilo tudi s tem, ko je zavrnilo peticijo, v kateri so Madžari zahtevali, da bi na osnovi pravice do samoodločbe izvedli plebiscit v Transilvaniji. Francoski diplomat in tesni sodelavec predsednika vlade Clemenceauja Paul Mantoux, ki je bil takrat šef političnega oddelka Društva narodov, jim je sporočil, da lahko Društvo narodov o tem razpravlja, samo če bo to predlagala komisija za razmejitev na predlog enega od prizadetih članov komisije, in še to pod pogojem, da se bo s tem strinjala Romunija. Tudi v tem primeru bi Društvo narodov lahko sprejelo samo priporočilo. Celoten sitem je bil očitno zasnovan tako, da revizije mirovnih sporazumov niso bile mogoče. Ena sama revizija bi namreč povzročila plaz, ki bi Evropo lahko pahnil v novo vojno. ZDA tudi po vzpostavitvi diplomatskih odnosov z Madžarsko leta 1922 niso bile pripravljene na revizijo trianonske pogodbe. Madžarski

politiki so poskušali srečo tudi z nacisti, ki so v večji meri ustregli njihovim ozemeljskim zahtevam, vendar je pariška mirovna pogodba po koncu druge svetovne vojne 1947 leta potrdila predvojne meje Madžarske. 1975 leta je Madžarska podpisala helsinško listino o varnosti in sodelovanju v Evropi, ki določa da je meje v Evropi mogoče spreminjati samo s pogajanjem. Revizija trianonske pogodbe, ki je še vedno v glavah nekaterih skrajnih nacionalistov, bi bila mogoča samo v primeru nove splošne vojne v Evropi.

American Diplomacy and the Question of Prekmurje at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919

Uroš Lipušček

Summary

The United States of America had a significant impact on the disintegration of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, but also on the course of the Paris Peace Conference 1919 and, particularly, on the delimitation of Slovene borders. Soon after the beginning of the Peace Conference two groups were formed within the American delegation; they had very different views of the regulation of borders emerging in the former Austria-Hungary. The first group, which argued that Italians and Germans (Hungarians somewhat less so) were at a considerably higher cultural level than Slavs, wherefore they were unfavourably disposed towards them, was dominated by Archibald Coolidge, a Harvard professor and head of the American mission in Vienna, and by Colonel Milles, head of the observation mission in Carinthia. Douglas W. Johnson, a geography professor at Columbia University in New York, who was President Wilson's main cartographer and held the rank of a major during the war, was relatively favourably disposed towards Yugoslavs or Slovenes, as was Robert J. Kerner of Berkeley University, who was of Bohemian origin and had a command of the Slovene language. Colonel Edward M. House, President Wilson's main confidant, who was known by his moniker Colonel House, had an ambivalent attitude towards Slovenes. Without having consulted Wilson, he allowed the Italian army to occupy more territory immediately after the disintegration of Austria-Hungary than Italy had obtained in the secret London Pact in 1915. His attitude towards Slovenes was more favourable as far as the question of Carinthia was concerned. He failed to convince Slovene politicians to reduce the territory included in the plebiscite to areas where Slovenes were in majority, whereby Slovenes would lose less territory. President Wilson, who said to members of the delegation "tell me what is right and I will fight for it" during his journey on the steamboat George Washington to the Paris Peace Conference in 1918, succumbed to different pressures of the so-called old diplomacy, and first and foremost, to Italy's extortion. In his aspiration for the Peace Conference to materialize the 14th point of his programme, i.e. the establishment of the League of Nations, he eventually abandoned his stance that the (imperialist) secret agreements concluded by the Entente Powers among themselves during the war would not be in force after the war. This caused a great deal of pain to Slovenes. That American experts were divided into two opposing groups had a significant impact on the delimitation of our borders. The question of Prekmurje was addressed at the Peace Conference only after it had been decided that southern Styria would be integrated into Yugoslavia or the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Prekmurje, which was part of the Hungarian part of the monarchy, was almost not present in the minds of Slovene politicians at the time. If it had not been for a group of nationally conscious Catholic priests, including Dr. Matija Slavič, Dr. Franc Kovačič, Dr. Lambert Ehrlich, Ivan Jerič, and Jožef Klekl Sr. and others who prepared materials and agitated for its integration into Yugoslavia — Slavič, Kovačič, and Erlich attended the conference as experts — Prekmurje would have probably remained divided or within Hungary. In the first proposal the American experts drew Prekmurje's border in the watershed of the rivers Mura and Rába. Professor Coolidge, who consistently defended Hungarian interests at the conference, advocated for this line. He was even regarded as Hungary's unofficial delegate at the conference, seeing that the Hungarian delegation was not invited to the conference until December 1919. Wilson's cartographer Johnson, who

realized that after Italy's occupation of a large part of western Slovene territory and the sword of Damocles hanging over Carinthia things did not look good for Slovenes in Styria and Prekmurje, succeeded in convincing delegates to confirm his proposal in his second attempt, according to which the border with Hungary would run to the north of the river Mura. However, even Johnson was not willing to include the Rába region in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, mostly for economic reasons. At a later point, both the French General Foch and Johnson let Slovene delegates know that the occupation of specific territories impacted the final decisions reached at the conference. The Yugoslav army did not occupy Prekmurje after the disintegration of Austria-Hungary because it was decided in an agreement signed by the French General D'Esperey, commander of the Balkan Front, and the Hungarian Prime Minister Károlyi in Belgrade in November 1918, with the consent of the Serbian government, that Croatian Međimurje and Slovene Prekmurje would remain under the Hungarian administration and military occupation. The National Government in Ljubljana did not devise a plan for the occupation of Prekmurje whereas Croats liberated Međimurje in their second attempt without Belgrade's approval. The army of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes occupied Prekmurje with the permission of the Supreme Council of the Paris Peace Conference on 12 August 1919. The Supreme Council's decision was strongly motivated by the fear that the "virus" of the bolshevik Hungarian republic would spread outside the country's border. With a heavy heart and vigorous resistance, the Hungarian politicians signed the Treaty of Trianon in June 1920, according to which Hungary lost two-thirds of its territory and population. Slovenes suffered a similar fate. The interwar period in Hungary was marked by demands for revisions of the Treaty of Trianon, which is to this day regarded by some people as one of the greatest tragedies in the history of Hungary. Hungarian politicians attempted to revise the Treaty of Trianon for the first time in the period after the war, when the international commission was determining new borders on ground. Since the USA did not sign the Versailles peace agreements, Hungarian politicians believed that — with Washington's support — they might succeed in annulling the treaty in time. Namely, the American diplomacy was quite lenient towards Hungarians at the Paris Peace Conference, as were Italians and the English; however, American proposals were not accepted due to the resistance of the new states and France's opposition. Hungarian politicians turned to London with similar wishes. Initiated by the Hungarian activists, the American Association of Vends was established in 1920; its membership included people from Prekmurje or "Vends", particularly from the area of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. They even sent a message to the American authorities that American Vends (as Slovenes were referred to by Hungarians and their sympathizers in Prekmurje) wish to continue to be loyal to Hungary. After Hungary had become a member of the League of Nations in September 1922, Hungarians attempted to achieve a revision of the Treaty of Trianon also through this organization. Namely, Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations stipulated that "the Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." The British economist Keynes maintained that revision of treaties, which he criticized severely, was simply not possible because Article 5 of the Covenant stipulated that "decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting." Therefore, Hungary had no chance of achieving a revision of the treaty because all Members of the Little Entente were firmly against any revision. That the League of Nation regarded revisions with aversion was confirmed also by the fact that they rejected the petition, with which Hungarians demanded a plebiscite in Transylvania on the basis of the right for

self-determination. Paul Mantoux, a French diplomat and close associate of the Prime Minister Clemenceau, who was at the time head of the League of Nations's Political Section, informed them that the League of Nations can discuss the matter only if the proposal came from the Delimitation Committee and was requested by an affected member of the Commission, provided that Romania agreed with this. Even if that were the case, the League of Nations could issue merely a recommendation. The system was obviously devised in a manner which rendered revisions of treaties impossible. Namely, a single revision could cause an avalanche that could push Europe into a new war. After having established diplomatic relations with Hungary in 1922, the USA were still not ready for a revision of the Treaty of Trianon. Hungarian politicians tried their luck with the Nazis as well, who better complied with their territorial demands; however, Hungary's pre-war borders were confirmed at the Paris Peace Conference after the end of World War II, in 1947. In 1975 Hungary signed the Helsinki Declaration on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which stipulates that borders in Europe can only be altered through talks. A revision of the Treaty of Trianon, which is still on the agenda of some extreme nationalists, would be possible only in the event of a new all-out war in Europe.

Heisuke Yanagawa in japonski prispevek k določitvi jugoslovansko-madžarske meje

Boštjan Bertalanič

Povzetek

Japonski strokovnjaki v zadnjih letih ponovno odkrivajo prvo svetovno vojno kot dogodek, ki je pomembno oblikoval japonsko mednarodno identiteto v prejšnjem stoletju. Raziskave o japonski diplomaciji med prvo svetovno vojno, še posebej v primerjavi z njeno vlogo med drugo svetovno vojno, predstavljajo pomembno področje, ki je pripomoglo k promociji bolj zmerne in morda tudi bolj proaktivne podobe japonske vloge na mednarodnem prizorišču med obema vojnoma. Kljub večjemu interesu raziskovalcev je vloga Japonske med prvo svetovno vojno ostala v glavnem napačno razumljena in podcenjena, predvsem pri povojni teritorialni ureditvi v Evropi po Pariški mirovni konferenci leta 1919.

Kljub zelo jasnim diplomatskim ciljem so japonski delegati v Parizu pogosto delovali nerazumljivo, celo skrivnostno. Zelo malo ljudi je jasno razumelo njihovo pogajalsko strategijo in ker Japonska ni bila aktivna udeleženka na evropskih bojiščih, so imeli mediji pogosto pomisleke glede njene upravičenosti do statusa velesile med mirovnimi pogajanj. Ne nazadnje je bila Japonska večji del vojne "tiha partnerica", ki je opazovala vojno z obrobja oziroma z velike razdalje. To mnenje je pogosto temeljilo na spomilih, ki pravijo, da so japonski delegati selektivno posegali v razprave in še to samo, ko je šlo za njihove nacionalne interese. Nedvomno je bila najpomembnejša točka na dnevnem redu japonskih delegatov zagotovitev in utrditev mednarodnega priznanja njihovih posebnih pravic in statusa na Kitajskem. Japonski delegati so goreče zagovarjali tudi predlog za rasno enakopravnost, toda to je samo delček večje zgodbe. Japonska vpletenost v evropska mirovna pogajanja se ni končala z zaključkom mirovne konference.

Nasprotno, kot ena glavnih podpisnic mirovnih pogodb, nastalih kot posledica mirovnih pogajanj, je Japonska aktivno sodelovala pri uresničitvi sklepov, sprejetih med mirovno konferenco. Mirovne pogodbe so med drugim določale nove meje in na novo definirale ozemlja novih in starih držav. Ustanovljene so bile posebne mejne komisije, katerih naloga je bila določev mej na terenu. Japonska je bila aktivno vključena v omenjene komisije in japonski predstavniki so sodelovali pri terenskem razmejevanju.

Poročnik Yanagawa Heisuke (柳川 平助) je bil eden od japonskih predstavnikov, ki so sodelovali pri razmejevanju. Deloval je v komisiji za določitev meje med Madžarsko in Kraljevino Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev, ustanovljeni v skladu s Trianonsko pogodbo (1920). Zaradi sodelovanja pri procesu določanja te meje si zasluži omembo v zgodovini Prekmurja. V tem smislu želim v prispevku predvsem predstaviti in opisati poročnika Yanagawo, še posebej njegovo ozadje, vojaško kariero in vlogo pri določitvi jugoslovansko-madžarske meje.

Heisuke Yanagawa and the Japanese Contribution to the Delimitation of the Yugoslav-Hungarian Border

Boštjan Bertalanč

Summary

In recent years Japanese scholars have been rediscovering World War I as a major formative event for Japan's international identity throughout the past century. Research on Japanese diplomacy during World War I, especially when contrasted with its role during World War II, represents a significant area that has assisted with the promotion of a more moderate and maybe even a more proactive image of Japan's international role during the interwar period. However, despite this heightened interest among researchers, the role of Japan during World War I has remained largely misunderstood and underestimated, especially when it comes to the postwar territorial settlements in Europe following the 1919 Paris Peace Conference.

Despite very clear diplomatic goals, in Paris the Japanese delegates often appeared unintelligible, even mysterious. Very few people had a clear grasp of their negotiation strategy and since Japan was not an active participant in the European war theaters, the media often questioned the legitimacy behind the elevated great power status of Japan during the peace talks. After all, for most part of the war, Japan was the “silent partner” who stood at the edge and from far away observed the unfolding of the conflict. This view has been often based on the recollections that Japanese diplomats intervened in the peace discussions selectively and only when their national interests were at stake. There is no doubt that the centerpiece of the Japanese agenda at the peace conference was the necessity to secure and solidify the international recognition of its special rights and status in China. The Racial Equality Proposal was another important matter that Japanese delegates defended arduously. This is, however, only one part of a much larger story. Japan's involvement with the European peace settlements did not end with the conclusion of the peace conference.

Quite contrary, as a major signing party to the peace treaties resulting from the peace talks Japan remained actively engaged in the realization of the postwar solutions that were defined in the peace covenants. Peace treaties prescribed, inter alia, new frontiers and redefined territories of the old and new states. They also established special border commissions that were mandated to trace the frontiers on the ground. Japan was actively involved in these commissions and Japanese representatives participated in the tracing of treaty borders on site.

Lieutenant Yanagawa Heisuke (柳川 平助) was one of these Japanese frontier makers. He was the Japanese representative in the Yugoslav-Hungarian Border Commission, which was established by the Treaty of Trianon (1920). Yanagawa participated in the process of fixing the border between Hungary and the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; in that capacity he deserves to be mentioned and remembered in the history of Prekmurje. In this sense my contribution aims primarily at introducing and describing Lieutenant Yanagawa, especially his background, his military career and his role in the delimitation of the Yugoslav-Hungarian border.

Neizogibne izbire – Madžarska zunanja politika 1919–1920

Balázs Ablonczy

Povzetek

Pri analizi izbir in omejitev madžarske zunanje politike v tem burnem obdobju moramo upoštevati nekaj osnovnih dejstev. Po petih desetletjih politične stabilnosti in ekonomskega razvoja so se madžarske vlade soočale z izjemno obsežnimi strukturnimi reformami v notranji politiki: zemljiška reforma, volilna reforma, demobilizacija vojakov, ponovna vzpostavitev javnega reda, preskrba s hrano in premogom. V obdobju osemnajstih mesecev je prišlo do vsaj štirih menjav vlade in režima, izmenjali so se demokratični režim, Károlyijev režim pod vodstvom neodvisne stranke, Madžarska sovjetska republika pod vodstvom komunistov, protirevolucijska desna vlada (neupoštevajoč državni prevrat rojalistov in kratkotrajne lokalne državne tvorbe). Hitre spremembe v notranji politiki so se odražale tudi v zunanji politiki. Vse madžarske vlade med 1918 in 1920 so se soočale z enakimi težavami in ponujene rešitve so si bile – ne presenetljivo – zelo podobne. Njihovi izzivi so vključevali:

1. priznavanje vladine legitimnosti s strani zavezniških sil,
2. vzpostavitev primernih zunanjepolitičnih služb (ter diplomatskih misij in stikov v tujini),
3. doseči vabilo na Pariško mirovno konferenco,
4. uveljavitev demarkacijske črte, določene z Beograjsko konvencijo (13. novembra 1918),
5. dovoljenje za uvoz premoga in hrane.

Vse naštetu je vplivalo na oblikovanje zunanje politike v tem obdobju.

S pomočjo arhivskega gradiva in novejših znanstvenih monografij bom skušal pokazati posebnosti madžarske situacije v splošnem, še posebej pa obdelati madžarsko politiko do nove jugoslovanske države, da bi dodelal nekaj trditev in zgodovinskih stališč glede madžarske zunanje politike v omenjenem obdobju.

Inevitable choices – Hungarian Foreign Policy in 1919–1920

Balázs Ablonczy

Summary

In order to analyze the choices made by and the constraints faced by the Hungarian foreign policy of this turbulent period, we have to consider some basic facts. After five decades of political stability and steady economic development, the successive Hungarian governments had to face a tremendous volume of structural reforms in home politics: land reform, electoral reform, demobilization of soldiers, re-establishment of public order, maintaining the food and the coal supply in the country. At least four governments and changes of regime happened in a period of 18 months, from a democratic, independence party-led Károlyi-regime through the Communist-led Republic of Councils to counterrevolutionary, right-wing government (not counting royalist coup d'Etats, counter-governments and local ephemeral state creations). Such a quick alteration of state policies interfered with foreign policy issues as well. Every Hungarian government between 1918 and 1920 faced the same problems and the answers given were – rather unsurprisingly – quite similar. These challenges were

1. being recognized by the Allies as a legitimate government of the country,
2. establishing a proper service to handle foreign matters (and having diplomatic missions and contacts abroad),
3. getting invited to the Paris Peace Conference,
4. enforce the demarcation lines established by the Belgrade convention (13 November 1918),
5. permitting coal and food import.

These measures were the frames for all external action in the period.

In the presentation, through archival material and with the help of recent scientific monographs, I will try to show the particularities of the Hungarian situation in general, and particularly the policies toward the new Yugoslav state, in order to refine some statements and historical positions about the Hungarian foreign policy of the period.

Vloga Cerkve pri priključitvi Prekmurja: razlike in podobnosti v delovanju evangeličanov in katolikov

Klaudija Sedar

Povzetek

Skozi zgodovino je imela Cerkev na ozemlju današnjega Prekmurja zelo pomembno vlogo, njen vpliv pa se je močno odražal tako v cerkvenem kot v gospodarskem, političnem in kulturnem življenju. Vse od prihoda reformacije v 16. stoletju sta bili skozi nadaljnja stoletja specifičnega zgodovinskega razvoja Prekmurja, ki je do leta 1919 pripadalo k Ogrski, najbolj razširjeni rimskokatoliška in evangeličanska vera, čeprav se je verska podoba ob nastopih verskih in političnih gibanj spreminjala. Do leta 1919 je bilo tako na ozemlju današnjega Prekmurja ustanovljenih deset evangeličanskih cerkvenih občin in osemnajst katoliških župnij. Poleg teh so bile ustanovljene še tri judovske verske občine.

Prekmurski evangeličani so bili do nastanka Kraljevine SHS vključeni v evangeličansko cerkev na Madžarskem, samostojni prekmurski seniorat ali »Prekmurska evangeličanska šinjorija« je bil ustanovljen šele leta 1922, torej že v času nove državne ureditve. Prekmurske katoliške župnije pa so bile od 11. stoletja naprej razdeljene med győrsko in zagrebško škofijo, leta 1777 pa priključene k škofiji v Szombathelyju, ko so bili prekmurski katoliki naposled združeni v eni, sicer madžarski, škofiji. Ta ureditev je veljala do leta 1923, ko so prekmurske katoliške župnije pripadle k lavantinski škofiji. Prvi popis v Kraljevini SHS leta 1921 je v Prekmurju zabeležil 92.416 prebivalcev, od katerih je bilo pripadnikov katoliške vere 66.414, evangeličanske veroizpovedi 24.754, preostalih 1.248 prebivalcev je pripadalo drugim verskim skupnostim.

Prekmurska protestantska cerkev je bila ves čas svojega obstoja vezana na Kraljevino Ogrsko, stikov z ostalim slovenskim prostorom v avstrijskem delu monarhije praktično ni bilo. Nasprotno so več stikov imeli takratni prekmurski katoliški duhovniki, preko katerih so že v drugi polovici 19. stoletja med ljudstvo začele prihajati knjige Družbe sv. Mohorja, ki so krepile in ohranjale slovensko narodno identiteto in narodno zavest Prekmurcev. Prav tako so se vse bolj začeli povezovati s svojimi rojaki na drugi strani Mure, se udeleževali različnih nacionalnih manifestacij in drugih kulturnopolitičnih dogodkov.

Evangeličani so bili zaradi ogrskih vezi – nenazadnje so se v ogrskih šolah tudi izobraževali – in madžarizacije, ki je bila najbolj intenzivna konec 19. stoletja, bolj zadržani in negotovi do nove Kraljevine SHS, poleg tega so se med ljudstvom širile vesti, da jim bo ob vključitvi odvzeta njihova vera oziroma, še več, da bodo primorani pristopiti k pravoslavni veri. So pa bili izredno vztrajni glede rabe prekmurščine, ki je bila njihov ponos in del njihove identitete. Kot svoj največji zaklad so jo negovali in ohranjali s prevodi verskih in posvetnih besedil ter v cerkvi pri oznanjanju Božje besede, kar tudi govori v prid tezi, da je prekmurščina jezik prekmurskih protestantov. Tudi in predvsem zato so imeli pri oblikovanju prekmurskega človeka, posledično seveda tudi pri oblikovanju njegove politične kulture, pomembno vlogo. Pri ohranjanju in zapisovanju prekmurske besede so jim sledili tudi katoliki, ki so bili predvsem v začetku 20. stoletja nadvse dejavni pri izdajanju periodike v prekmurskem jeziku. Ta je zaobjela zelo širok krog bralcev, zanimanje pa je vzbudila tudi pri intelektualcih na ostalem slovenskem prostoru. Govorjena in zapisana beseda v prekmurskem slovenskem jeziku, ki se je po znanih pisnih tiskanih virih neprekinjeno ohranjala od začetka 18. stoletja, je bila tako najmočnejši pokazatelj narodnosti in identitete kot tudi eden izmed

ključnih dejavnikov pri določanju novih mej. Pri katoliških duhovnikih pa izstopa še velika angažiranost t. i. narodnih buditeljev, ki so gradili narodno zavest in čut pripadnosti slovenskemu narodu.

Tako prekmurski evangeličani kot katoliki so imeli pomembno vlogo pri priključitvi Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS, le da so nastopali eni bolj, drugi manj vidno in vsak s svojim »orožjem«, seveda tistim, ki je bil v njihovih »rokah« v tistih prelomnih trenutkih najmočnejši.

The Role of the Church in Prekmurje's Integration into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes: Similarities and Dissimilarities in Evangelicals' and Catholics' Activities

Klaudija Sedar

Summary

The Church played a very important role in the territory of modern-day Prekmurje, its impact was reflected in various realms, including religion, economy, politics, and culture. From the arrival of the Reformation in the 16th century onwards the Roman Catholicism and the Evangelical Church were most widely spread in Prekmurje, which was part of Hungary up to 1919, although the religious landscape was subject to change due to religious and political movements. Up to 1919 modern-day Prekmurje saw 10 Evangelical congregations and 18 Catholic parishes being established. Additionally, 3 Jewish congregations were established as well.

The Prekmurje Evangelicals were included in the Evangelical Church in Hungary up to the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; an independent *seniorat* was not established until 1922, i.e. in the period of the new organization of the state. The Prekmurje Catholic parishes were from the 11th century onwards divided between the Diocese of Győr and that of Zagreb; in 1777 they were integrated into the Diocese of Szombathely, and the Prekmurje Catholics were finally united in a single, Hungarian bishopric. This arrangement was in place until 1923, when the Prekmurje Catholic parishes became part of the Diocese of Lavant. In the 1921 population census, the first census in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, there were 92,416 people recorded living in Prekmurje, 66,414 of whom were Catholics, 24,754 were Evangelicals, and the remaining part, i.e. 1,248 people were members of other religious communities.

The Prekmurje Protestant Church was tied to the Kingdom of Hungary throughout its existence, there were almost no contacts with the Slovene space in the Austrian part of the monarchy. The Prekmurje Catholic priests had more contacts with their counterparts there. They introduced books published by Družba sv. Mohorja (Hermagoras Society) to the area in the second half of the 19th century, which strengthened and preserved Slovenes' national identity and national consciousness in Prekmurje. They also began to seek connections with their compatriots across the river Mura, partake in different national, cultural and political events.

The Evangelicals had stronger reservations about the new state due to their ties with Hungary — nevertheless, they were educated in Hungarian schools — and Hungarization, which was most intensive at the end of the 19th century. Additionally, news that their religion would be taken away from them after the integration to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes or that they would be forced to join the Orthodox Church spread among the people. However, they were very persistent in their use of the Prekmurje language, which was their pride and a constituent part of their identity. They regarded it as their greatest treasure, preserving it by means of translations of religious and secular texts, by spreading the Word of God in it during religious ceremonies, which speaks in favour of the hypothesis that the Prekmurje language is the language of the Prekmurje Protestants. They thus played an important role in the formation of the Prekmurje people and, consequently, in the formation of their political culture. Catholics followed suit; they published periodicals in the Prekmurje language in the early 20th century and were actively involved in the preservation and writing down of the Prekmurje word. These periodicals reached a large circle of readers and evoked

interest also among Slovene intellectuals elsewhere. According to the available printed sources, the spoken and written Prekmurje Slovene language was preserved without interruption from the beginning of the 18th century onwards and was the most powerful indicator of nationality and identity, as well as one of key factors in the delimitation of new borders. The activity of the Catholic priests as so called national awakeners, who built the Slovene national consciousness and the sense of belonging to the nation, was characterized by their great efforts.

Both Evangelicals and Catholics played an important role in the integration of Prekmurje into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; however, their respective actions were at times visible to a greater or a lesser degree. They used their own “weapons”, taking advantage of devices that proved most useful in their hands in that watershed period.

Komunizem (?) v Prekmurju – Vpliv Madžarske sovjetske republike na to ozemlje

Viktor Szabó

Povzetek

20. marca 1919 je madžarski predsednik Mihály Károlyi oznanil odstop koalicijske vlade. Károlyi je 21. marca obvestil ministrski svet, da novo vlado lahko oblikujejo samo socialni demokrati, stranka z najvišjo podporo javnosti v večjih mestih, še posebej v Budimpešti. Z namenom oblikovanja vladne koalicije so socialni demokrati začeli s tajnimi pogajanja s takrat še zaprtimi vodji komunistov. Odločili so se za združitev obeh strank in novo stranko poimenovali Madžarska socialistična stranka. Predsednik Károlyi ni bil obveščen o združitvi komunistične stranke in stranke socialnih demokratov. Misleč, da je imenoval socialnodemokratsko vlado, ga je doletela vlada, v kateri so prevladovali komunisti. 21. marca je Mihály Károlyi odstopil s položaja in nova, združena stranka je ustanovila vlado, imenovano Revolucionarni vladni svet, ki je razglasila Madžarsko sovjetsko republiko.

Vlado je formalno vodil socialni demokrat Sándor Garbai, dejansko pa komunist Béla Kun, komisar za zunanje zadeve, ki je edini poznal Lenina in z njim prijateljeval. Nova vlada, ki je v celoti sprejela program komunistov, je sprejela odlok o ukinitvi plemiških naslovov in privilegijev, ločila državo od cerkve, kodificirala svobodo govora in zbiranja, izvajala brezplačno šolanje ter zagotovila jezikovne in kulturne pravice manjšin.

Prevrat je občutno vplival tudi na življenje v Prekmurju. Toda prišlo je do nenavadne situacije in tisti ljudje v Prekmurju, ki so pred tem podpirali idejo o Madžarski demokratični republiki, so se zdaj zavzemali za komunistične ideje. Njihovo delovanje je pozneje to območje potisnilo v kaotično situacijo.

Zakaj so ti ljudje sodelovali v Madžarski sovjetski republiki? Kaj jih je motiviralo, da so aktivno promovirali komuno? So bili res predani komunistom ali so jih vodili popolnoma drugačni cilji? Lahko ta sistem označimo za komunizem? V prispevku iščemo odgovore na zastavljena vprašanja.

Communism(?) in Prekmurje– The Influence of the Hungarian Soviet Republic on This Area

Viktor Szabó

Summary

On 20 March 1919, the Hungarian president Mihály Károlyi announced that the coalition government would resign. On 21 March, Károlyi informed the Council of Ministers that only Social Democrats could form a new government, as they were the party with the highest public support in the largest cities, particularly in Budapest. In order to form a governing coalition, Social Democrats started secret negotiations with the Communist leaders – who were still imprisoned – and decided to merge their two parties under the name of Hungarian Socialist Party. President Károlyi was not informed about the fusion of the Communist and Social Democrat parties. Thus, while believing to have appointed a Social Democratic government, he found himself faced with one dominated by Communists. Mihály Károlyi resigned on 21 March and the newly united Socialist Party created a government called the Revolutionary Governing Council, which proclaimed the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

The government was formally led by the social democrat Sándor Garbai, but as the Commissar of Foreign Affairs the communist Béla Kun held the real power because only Kun had the acquaintance and friendship with Lenin. Having adopted the Communist program in full, the new government decreed the abolition of aristocratic titles and privileges, the separation of church and state, codified freedom of speech and assembly, and implemented free education, as well as language and cultural rights to minorities.

This turn also brought a significant change in Prekmurje's life. However, the strange situation arose that the same people, who in Prekmurje previously supported the ideas of the Hungarian Democratic Republic, now promoted Communist ideas. Their activity later pushed this area into chaos.

But why did these people participate in the Hungarian Soviet Republic? What motivated them to actively promote the commune? Were they really committed to Communists or were they led by completely different goals? Can this system be referred to as Communism? In the presentation we will seek to provide answers to these questions.

**Slovensko-madžarska jezikovna meja in trianonska meja:
Oblikovanje slovensko-madžarske jezikovno-etnične meje od druge polovice 18. do začetka
20. stoletja**

Attila Kovács

Povzetek

Referat s pomočjo opisne statistike in popisov prebivalstva predstavlja oblikovanje slovensko-madžarske jezikovno-etnične meje od druge polovice 18. do začetka 20. stoletja. V izhodišču predstavlja slovensko-madžarsko jezikovno mejo, izrisano na podlagi popisa iz leta 1773, sestavljenega po naročilu madžarskega kraljevega dvornega kanclerstva. V popisu so pri opisu naselij med drugim navedli, »kateri jezik je vladajoči jezik v določenem kraju«. Popisu sledi predstavitev dveh opisnih statistik iz prve polovice 19. stoletja, in sicer Eleka Fényesa iz leta 1836 in Petra Kozlerja iz leta 1849. Obe opisni statistiki pri prikazu jezikovnih razmer po naseljih navajata le jezik, ki je prevladoval v komuniciranju med prebivalstvom.

Prvi zanesljivi podatki o jezikovno-etnični podobi prebivalstva so bili zbrani v drugi polovici 19. stoletja. Pri popisih prebivalstva v organizaciji samostojnega ogrskega statističnega urada so po maternem jeziku spraševali šele od vključno leta 1880. Po tem popisu so v ogrskem delu monarhije izvedli še tri popise (1890, 1900, 1910). Zadnji popis prebivalstva, ki ga obravnava pričujoči referat, je jugoslovanski popis iz leta 1921, ki pa je bil izveden že po podpisu trianonske mirovne pogodbe. Iz popisnih podatkov je razvidno, da se je v obravnavanem obdobju, se pravi od druge polovice 18. stoletja do leta 1921, slovensko-madžarska jezikovno-etnična meja le v manjši meri pomaknila v prid Madžarom. Do stalnega premika je prišlo na osrednjem delu slovensko-madžarske jezikovne meje, kjer je velika večina prebivalcev naselja Pordašinci slovenski jezik zamenjala z madžarskim, ter na južnem delu jezikovne meje, kjer sta se naselji Kot in Kapca pomadžarili.

Kljub dejstvu, da je po prvi svetovni vojni politična meja med Kraljevino SHS in Kraljevino Madžarsko na območju Prekmurja dokaj tesno sledila slovensko-madžarski jezikovno-etnični meji, je del slovenskega oz. madžarskega prebivalstva tudi na tem območju prišel pod oblast druge države.

Po trianonski mirovni pogodbi so Slovenci v okolici Monoštra še naprej ostali v okviru Madžarske (porabski Slovenci), del madžarskega prebivalstva iz okolice Dolnje Lendave (Županija Zala) in pokrajine Őrség (Železna županija) pa je pripadel južnoslovanski državi.

**The Slovenian-Hungarian Linguistic Border and the Treaty of Trianon:
Formation of the Slovenian-Hungarian Linguistic-Ethnic Border from the Second Half of the
18th to the Early 20th Century**

Attila Kovács

Summary

By means of descriptive statistics and population censuses the paper presents the formation of the Slovenian-Hungarian ethnic and linguistic border from the second half of the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century. Initially, the paper presents the Slovenian-Hungarian linguistic border, which was drawn on the basis of the 1773 census that was produced at the behest of the Hungarian Royal Chancellery. When recording settlements, the census takers identified, *inter alia*, “the prevailing language in the settlements at hand”. This is followed by a presentation of descriptive statistics from the first half of the 19th century produced by Elek Fényes in 1836 and Peter Kozler in 1849, both of which identify solely the predominant language of communication in each settlement.

The first reliable data on the linguistic and ethnic structure of the population were gathered in the second half of the 19th century. It was only since 1880 that people were asked to identify their mother tongue in the censuses organized by the independent Hungarian statistical office. After the 1880 census three other population censuses were carried out in the Hungarian part of the monarchy, namely in 1890, 1900, and 1910. The last population census, which is dealt with in this paper, is the 1921 Yugoslav population census, which was conducted after the Treaty of Trianon had been signed. It can be gathered from the data that in the period in question, i.e. from the second half of the 18th century to 1921, the Slovenian-Hungarian linguistic and ethnic border was shifted only slightly to the benefit of Hungarians. A permanent shift took place in the central part of the Slovenian-Hungarian linguistic border, where the bulk of the population of Pordašinci/Kisfalu replaced the Slovene language with Hungarian, as well as in the southern part of the linguistic border, where the settlements of Kot/Kót and Kapca were Hungarianized.

Despite the fact that after World War I the political border between the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Kingdom of Hungary in Prekmurje followed rather closely the Slovenian-Hungarian linguistic and ethnic border, a part of the Slovene and Hungarian population came under the authority of the other state.

According to the Treaty of Trianon, Slovenes in the surroundings of Szentgotthárd/Monošter remained in Hungary (Slovenes in the Rába region), while a part of the Hungarian population from the surroundings of Dolnja Lendava (Zala County) and the region of Órség (Vas County) ended up living in the south-Slavic state.

Odziv prebivalstva na odločitev mirovne konference o novi državni meji ter delo jugoslovansko-madžarske razmejitvene komisije na območju Prekmurja

László Göncz

Povzetek

Prekmurje je bila tista pokrajina madžarskega dela Avstro-Ogrske, o katerem se je od območij, ki so pristali v novonastali južnoslovanski državi, odločalo najpozneje. Demarkacijska črta med Madžarsko in Državo SHS na reki Dravi, določena z beograjsko konvencijo dne 13. novembra 1918, je bila približno dva meseca pozneje (januarja 1919) v okviru neposrednih pogovorov med omenjenima stranema pomaknjena na reko Muro in je veljala za razmejitveno črto med Madžarsko in Kraljevino SHS do 12. avgusta 1919. V mesecih med koncem prve svetovne vojne in zasedbo območja s strani jugoslovanske vojske po odločitvi mirovne konference avgusta 1919 so prebivalci Prekmurja, še kot madžarski državljani, doživljali usodo različnih političnih, vojaških, socialnih in drugih neprijetnih dogodivščin, ki jih ni manjkalo v težkem in nestabilnem obdobju. Tedanje vzdušje je v veliki meri vplivalo na tamkajšnje prebivalce, ne glede na narodno, versko in ideološko pripadnost, in se je odrazilo tudi na poznejše dogodke, kot je bilo vprašanje sprejemanja nove mejne črte ter poznejše konkretno razmejevanje območja med državama, kar je potekalo pod taktirko madžarsko-jugoslovanske razmejitvene komisije.

Začasna državna meja, določena na pariški mirovni konferenci 9. julija 1919 brez sodelovanja in prisotnosti predstavnikov madžarske države (ki – ker je bila poraženka – v začetni fazi na zasedanje ni bila povabljen, po nastanku t.i. Madžarske države sovjetov 21. marca 1919 pa je bila še bolj odrinjena od poteka dogodkov v Parizu), je v Kraljevini SHS pustila okoli 20.000 Madžarov iz Železne (Vas) in Zalske županije, na madžarski strani pa nekaj tisoč Slovencev v Porabju. Madžarska narodna skupnost v okoli 28 naseljih neposredno ob novonastali mejni črti, ki je iz »večine postala manjšina«, je zelo težko sprejela odločitve mirovne konference, ki je »brez nje« odločala o njeni usodi. Zaradi tega so v nekaterih naseljih ostro protestirali, oblikovali so peticije zoper odločitve in jih praviloma poslali organom matične države, v nekateri primerih pa tudi pristojnim predstavnikom jugoslovanske države. V zadnjih mesecih leta 1919 so se prebivalci nekaterih naselij tudi pridružili neformalno organiziranim skupinam iz Madžarske, ki so – v nasprotju z določbami mirovne konference, naivno in brez možnosti za spremembe – prekoračili začasno mejno črto, da bi »osvobodili zasedeno ozemlje izpod jugoslovanske oblasti«. V svojem referatu bom povzel najbolj odmevne tovrstne primere na osnovi informacij, ki sem jih v preteklih letih zbral v arhivih, v tedanjih (lokalnih, regionalnih oz. županijskih in »državnih«) časopisih in v manjši meri tudi s pomočjo pričevanj udeležencev dogodkov ali njihovih potomcev. Tudi organi prizadetih madžarskih županij so zelo čustveno in odklonilno reagirali na odločitve, ki so bile z madžarskega zornega kota »tragične«. Tudi o tem želim na kratko spregovoriti v okviru svojega prispevka.

Čeprav je organiziranje dela, sama izvedba aktivnosti in prikaz odločitve Razmejitvene »jugoslovansko-madžarske« komisije, ki jo je vodil Anglež Cree, samo po sebi ogromna materija, bom v drugem delu svojega referata poskušal povzeti glavne karakteristike dela mednarodne komisije, ki je bila izredno pomembna za določitev končne mejne črte med Jugoslavijo in Madžarsko (poleg omenjenega predsednika Creeja so v njej sodelovali še predstavniki Francije, Italije, Japonske ter »zainteresiranih« držav; Čolak Antić kot predstavnik Jugoslavije in Madžar

Vassel). Osredotočil se bom predvsem na dejavnosti in dogajanja, ki so bili povezani s konkretno razmejitvijo glede Prekmurja.

Delo razmejitvene komisije je prav tako potekalo v napetem vzdušju, predvsem na prekmurski oz. jugoslovanski strani, ker so – tudi zaradi obojestranske agitacije – predstavniki obmejnih naselij na zborovanjih ter na druge načine izražali svoje nestrinjanje, ki so ga čutili zaradi prizadetosti, ki jo je povzročila po njihovem mnenju nepravilna odločitev najvišjih organov mirovne konference. Bilo je tudi nekaj incidentov; o nekaterih bom v okviru predavanja spregovoril.

Predstavil bom tudi dokaj specifičen predlog omenjene komisije, ki je – ne glede na njegovo poznejšo usodo – nakazala na mnenje svojih članov glede upoštevanja načela pravičnosti s strani odločevalcev na mirovni konferenci. Gre za predlog, s katerim je Razmejitvena komisija s petimi glasovi »za« (zgolj jugoslovanski član je bil drugačnega mnenja, kar pa je glede na njegovo poslanstvo razumljivo) predlagala Društvu narodov v ponovno odločanje vrnitev 26 naselij, tik ob jugoslovansko-madžarski meji v Prekmurju, Madžarski. »Lepotna napaka« predloga – ki zaradi nasprotovanja vodstva Kraljevine SHS ter tudi nekaterih drugih pomembnih oseb (npr. Beneš, tedaj zunanji minister Češkoslovaške) sicer ni bil sprejet na zasedanju veleposlanikov držav članic Društva narodov – je bila, da so severozahodno od naselja Hodoš predlagali za »vrnitev Madžarski« tudi tri do štiri pretežno slovenska naselja, medtem pa so »spregledali« vasi z večinskim madžarskim življenjem na desni strani reke Ledave v dolnjelendavskem okraju, ker so za spremenjeno državno mejo na tistem odseku predlagali omenjeno reko.

The Population's Response to the Decision of the Peace Conference Regarding the New State Border and the Operation of the Yugoslav-Hungarian Delimitation Committee in Prekmurje

László Göncz

Summary

Out of all areas of the Hungarian part of the Dual Monarchy that ended up being part of the newly established Yugoslav state the fate of Prekmurje was the last to be decided. The demarcation line between Hungary and the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs on the river Drava, which was agreed upon at the Belgrade Convention on 13 November 1918, was about two months later, in January 1919, as a result of direct talks between the aforementioned sides transferred to the river Mura, which was regarded as the delimitation line between Hungary and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes up to 12 August 1919. In the months leading up to the end of World War I and the Yugoslav army's occupation according to the decision made at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, the population of Prekmurje — at the time still as Hungarian citizens — experienced a series of political, military, social and other unpleasant events, which were plentiful in this difficult and unstable period. The local population was greatly affected by this atmosphere regardless of their nationality, religion or ideology. This was reflected in subsequent events, such as the question of acceptance of the new border and, later on, the actual delimitation orchestrated by the Hungarian-Yugoslav Delimitation Committee.

The temporary state border, which was decided upon at the Paris Peace Conference on 9 July 1919 without the participation and presence of representatives of the Hungarian state (having been defeated in the war, it was not invited to the conference and was further ousted from it after the formation of the so-called the Hungarian Soviet Republic on 21 March 1919), saw approximately 20,000 Hungarians from the counties of Vas and Zala living in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and a few thousand Slovenes in the Rába region, on the Hungarian side of the border. Populating about 28 settlements located immediately next to the newly established demarcation line, the Hungarian national community — “a majority that became a minority” — could not come to terms with the decision of the Peace Conference, where its fate was decided upon “without it”. Consequently, protests were made in some settlements, petitions were drawn up and, as a rule, sent to bodies of the parent state, in some instances also to representatives of the Yugoslav state. In the last months of 1919 the population of several settlements joined informally organized groups from Hungary that — not complying to the decisions of the Peace Conference, naively and without any chance of achieving changes — crossed the temporary border in order to “liberate the territory occupied by the Yugoslav authorities.” Based on data gathered in archives, in (local, regional, county, and state) periodicals, and, to a lesser extent, by means of testimonies provided by people involved in these events or their descendants, I will summarize the most known cases. Bodies of the affected Hungarian counties reacted emotionally, refusing to be involved in what is from the Hungarian point of view regarded as a tragic decision. This will also be briefly addressed in my paper.

Even though the organization of work, its activities, and the depiction of the Yugoslav-Hungarian Delimitation Committee, which was led by the Englishman Cree, is an extensive subject matter, I will attempt to summarize the main characteristics of the work conducted by the Delimitation Committee, which was extremely important for Yugoslavia and Hungary. Alongside the already

mentioned President Cree, the Committee included also representatives of France, Italy, Japan, and “interested” states: Čolak Antić was the representative of Yugoslavia and Vassel of Hungary. I will focus mainly on activities and events associated with the concrete delimitation in Prekmurje.

The operation of the Delimitation Committee took place in a strained atmosphere, particularly on the Prekmurje or Yugoslav side, because — also due to agitation on both sides — representatives of settlements located on the border organized assemblies to express their disapproval and pain caused by what they believed was an unjust decision of the highest bodies of the Peace Conference. Locals expressed their disagreement also in other ways. A few incidents occurred and will be addressed in my paper.

I will also present a rather specific proposal of the aforementioned commission, which was — regardless of its fate — indicative of its members’ opinion concerning the principle of fairness on the part of the decision makers at the conference. The Delimitation Commission put forward a proposal with five votes for (only the Yugoslav member was against it, which is understandable with respect to his mission) to the League of Nations to revisit their decision regarding 26 settlements located immediately next to the Yugoslav-Hungarian border in Prekmurje and return them to Hungary. The proposal — which was due to opposition of the leadership of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and other prominent figures, e.g. the Czechoslovakian Minister of Foreign Affairs Beneš, not accepted at the meeting of ambassadors of members of the League of Nations — had one blemish; namely, they proposed that 3 to 4 settlements situated to the north-west of Hodoš, which were populated mostly by Slovenes, be “returned to Hungary.” On the other hand, they “overlooked” villages located to the right-hand side of the river Ledava, in the Dolnja Lendava district, which were populated mostly by Hungarians, because they proposed that the aforementioned river be the border in the area in question.

Demografski razvoj v Prekmurju 1919–2019: Depopulacija ter modernizacija razvoja prebivalstva in družbe

Povzetek

Janez Malačič

Prekmurska regija je bila geografsko dobro definirana v obdobju po prvi svetovni vojni in po določitvi meje med Jugoslavijo, Madžarsko ter Avstrijo. Kljub madžarski okupaciji med drugo svetovno vojno in dejstvu, da je bila regija v zadnjih sto letih vključena v tri različne države, jo lahko preučujemo v mejah, določenih pred enim stoletjem. Pri nekaterih drugih elementih, nujno potrebnih za dobro demografsko analizo, nimamo toliko sreče, kar še posebej velja za statistične in demografske podatke. S tega stališča sta zelo pomembna dva problema. Prvi je splošni razvoj demografskih in statističnih zbirk podatkov v zadnjem stoletju. Za obdobje med obema vojnama in za obdobje 5 do 10 let po drugi svetovni vojni imamo na voljo zelo skope demografske podatke, medtem ko za obdobje od 1941 do 1945 teh skoraj ni. Drugi problem predstavljajo pogoste spremembe definicij osnovnih demografskih kategorij. Za primer vzemimo definicijo prebivalstva, ki se je v popisih, demografskih statistikah ter registru prebivalstva spremenila vsaj štirikrat v zadnjih stotih letih. Prisotno prebivalstvo iz popisa leta 1921 in 1931 je v drugi Jugoslaviji nadomestilo prebivalstvo s stalnim prebivališčem in v Sloveniji nato prebivalstvo z običajnim bivališčem. Zadnja kategorija je doživela dve spremembi, namreč leta 1995 in 2009. Posledično je od 2009 prebivalstvo Slovenije in Prekmurja definirano v skladu z mednarodno standardno definicijo. Omenjene spremembe pomembno vplivajo na primerljivost podatkov, analitično vrednost neobdelanih podatkov ter izračunane demografske kazalce. Poleg tega sta svetovni vojni imeli kompleksne in občasno zelo tragične posledice na demografsko situacijo regije, vsaj v prvi polovici stoletnega obdobja, obravnavanega v pričujoči analizi.

Popisi prebivalstva v času od Avstro-Ogrske do Slovenije in register prebivalstva za zadnje obdobje nam kaže podatke o prebivalstvu regije, velike 947 km². Izbrani so bili popisi prebivalstva iz let 1910, 1921, 1948, 1991 in podatki iz registra za sredino leta 2018. V omenjenih letih je v regiji živelo 90.513, 92.416, 94.914, 89.917 ter 77.286 prebivalcev in gostota prebivalstva na km² je v omenjenih letih znašala 95,6, 97,6, 100,2, 94,9 in 81,6. Upad prebivalstva je bil prevladujoč trend v regiji. Povprečna stopnja na leto je v obdobju od 1921 do 2018 znašala -0,18 %.

V obdobju med svetovnim vojnama je bil naravni prirast prebivalcev Prekmurja pozitiven, medtem ko je bil selitveni prirast negativen. Prekmurje je bilo v demografskem prehodu. Toda regija je bila slabo razvita in glavna panoga je bilo kmetijstvo. Leta 1931 je 87,5 % aktivnega prebivalstva delalo v kmetijstvu in gozdarstvu. Stopnja nepismenosti je bila še visoka, posebej med starejšimi in ženskami. Stopnja nepismenosti v starostni skupini 7+ v okrajih Murska Sobota in Dolnja Lendava je znašala 10,1 oziroma 8,7 %. Leta 1921 je povprečno gospodinjstvo štelo 5,0 oseb, leta 1931 4,8.

Po koncu 2. svetovne vojne je regija doživela veliko hitrejši družbenoekonomski razvoj in modernizacijo. Za to obdobje imamo na voljo veliko boljše statistične podatke, kljub dejstvu, da nekaterih pomembnih demografskih modelov (npr. tablice smrtnosti) ne moremo uporabiti na manjših, regijskih populacijah. Register prebivalstva je v uporabi od leta 1954 in je še posebej dobrodošel, saj nam prinaša natančne podatke o selitvah na regionalni ravni. Prekmursko regijo je v preteklosti zaznamoval odtok prebivalstva, zato je zelo pomembno, da imamo dobro statistiko selitev na regionalni, okrajni in občinski ravni.

Vse od leta 1949 se trendi prebivalstva v Prekmurju razlikujejo od trendov, zabeleženih za Slovenijo. Leta 2018 je relativni delež prebivalstva regije znašal samo 3,7 % prebivalstva Slovenije. Toda splošne demografske značilnosti in demografski režim regije in države sta si bila zelo podobna. Demografski prehod se je končal v drugi polovici 50. let 20. stoletja pri obeh. V obeh že okrog 60 let prevladuje moderni demografski režim.

Moderni demografski režim v regiji pomeni nizko stopnjo rodnosti in smrtnosti, nizke reproduktivne norme, visoko pričakovano življenjsko dobo ter staranje prebivalstva. Staranje prebivalstva je pospešil negativni selitveni prirast, še posebej v manj razvitih, ruralnih občinah v regiji. Posledično je rodnost padla na najnižjo-nizko stopnjo, kar pomeni manj kot 1,3 otroka na žensko. Vse komponente rasti prebivalstva v regiji kažejo, da se bo trend upadanja prebivalstva nadaljeval tudi v prihodnosti. Zato lahko ugotovimo, da je Prekmurje že dolgo v globoki demografski krizi. Poleg tega ni ne v regiji ne v Sloveniji kot celoti mogoče opaziti resnih ukrepov z jasnimi demografskimi cilji.

Demographic Development of the Prekmurje Region 1919–2019: Population Decline, Modernization of the Development of the Population and of the Society

Janez Malačič

Summary

Slovenian Prekmurje region is geographically well defined in the period after the end of World War I and the demarcation between the First Yugoslavia, Hungary and Austria. In spite of the Hungarian occupation during World War II, as well as the fact that the region has belonged to three different states in the last hundred years, the region can be explored in the boundaries which were defined a century ago. Some other elements necessary for a good demographic analysis are less fortunate in the region. This is especially the case with statistical and demographic data. Two problems are very important from this perspective. The first is the overall development of the demographic and statistical data collections in the past century. We have very scarce demographic data for the period between the two World Wars, as well as for 5 to 10 years after World War II, not to mention complete lack of any reliable data for the period 1941–1945. Secondly, frequent changes in the definitions of the basic demographic categories, e.g., the definition of population, is problematic as well. It has been changed at least four times in population censuses and in population register in the past hundred years. The present population in the censuses 1921 and 1931 was replaced with permanent (fixed) residential population in the period of the Second Yugoslavia and usual residential population in modern-day Slovenia. The last category was also changed twice, namely in 1995 and 2009. Consequently, the population of Slovenia and that of the Prekmurje region has been defined according to international standard definition since 2009. All these changes have influenced the comparability of the data and have had significant consequences for the analytical value of the raw data and calculated analytical demographic indicators. Additionally, two World Wars had very complex and sometimes very tragic consequences for the demographic situation in the region, at least in the first half of the century long period covered in this analysis.

Select population censuses from Austria-Hungary to modern-day Slovenia combined with population register data for the most recent period show the number of population in the region, covering an area of 947 km². We have selected the population censuses taken in 1910, 1921, 1948, and 1991, as well as the most recent available register data for mid-2018. In the years in question the region was populated by 90,513, 92,416, 94,914, 89,917 and 77,286 people, the population density per km² totalling 95.6, 97.6, 100.2, 94.9 and 81.6 respectively. The region was marked by population decline. The average rate per year for the period 1921–2018 was – 0.18%.

The population of Prekmurje had positive natural increase and negative net migrations in the period between the two World Wars. It was in course of demographic transition. However, the region was underdeveloped and dominated by agriculture. In 1931, 87.5% of all active persons worked in agriculture and forestry. Illiteracy rate was still high, particularly among the elderly and women. Illiteracy rate in the age group 7+ in the Murska Sobota and Dolnja Lendava districts totalled 10.1 and 8.7% respectively. In 1921 and 1931 a household consisted of 5.0 and 4.8 persons respectively. The region's social and economic development and modernization have become much faster since the end of World War II. There are also much better statistical data for this period available in spite of the fact that some important demographic models (e.g. life table) cannot be used for small regional populations. The use of population register in Slovenia since 1954 has been especially

welcome. It has provided detailed migration data on the regional level. Traditionally, the Prekmurje region faced an out-flow of people, wherefore, it is very important to have good migration statistics on regional, district and municipal levels.

The populations of Prekmurje and Slovenia have had diverged population trends ever since 1948. In 2018, the relative share of the region's population in the population of Slovenia was only 3.7%. However, general demographic characteristics and the demographic regime have been very similar in the region and the state. The demographic transition was finished in the second half of the 1950s in both populations. Therefore, both of them have seen an approximately 60-year-long period of prevailing of the modern demographic regime.

The modern demographic regime in the region implies low level of fertility and mortality, low reproductive norms, high level of life expectancy, as well as high population ageing. The population ageing has been accelerated by negative net migrations, especially in rural least developed municipalities in the region. Consequently, fertility has fallen at the level of the lowest-low fertility, i.e. below 1.3 children per woman on average. Recently, all components of the population growth in the region show that the declining population trend will continue in the future. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Prekmurje region has been in severe demographic crisis for quite some time. Additionally, neither in the region nor in Slovenia as a whole it is possible to see any serious population policy measures with explicit demographic goals.

Prekmurski narodno manjšinski *rebus* 1920–1941

Miran Komac

Povzetek

Četrtega avgusta 1919 je delegacija Kraljevine SHS prejela obvestilo, da lahko zasede Prekmurje do dogovorjene meje, do razvodnice med Muro in Rabo. Jugoslovanske čete so Prekmurje zasedle 12. avgusta 1919.

Prekmurje nam je v naročje padlo *po (ne)sreči*. Veliko narodni program Zedinjene Slovenije Prekmurja ni vključil v slovenski državni okvir. Ta *podatek* je viden še ob popisu prebivalstva Kraljevine SHS leta 1921, kjer se govori o *Sloveniji s Prekmurjem*. Prekmurje je bilo narodno pestro ozemlje. Skupaj s pripadniki večinskega Slovenskega naroda so v Prekmurju živeli še Madžari, Nemci, Cigani in Judi ter kopica drugih, številčno skromnih narodnih skupin. Omeniti velja še versko pestrost: katolike, protestante in kalvince. Prekmurje je predstavljalo pravi *narodno manjšinski in verski mini mundus*.

Kraljevina SHS je sodila v kategorijo novonastalih ali povečanih držav, ki so z združenimi silami *morale* skleniti posebne pogodbe, s katerimi so se zavezale k spoštovanju manjšinskih pravic.

Pogodba med glavnimi zavezniškimi in pridruženimi silami in državo Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev o zaščiti narodnih manjšin v Kraljevini Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev je temeljila na določenih 51. členu Senžermenske mirovne pogodbe (pogodba z Avstrijo) in 44. členu Trianonske mirovne pogodbe (pogodba z Madžarsko). Posebna pogodba je bila sklenjena 10. septembra 1919, v *Službenih novinah Kraljevstva Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* (133a/1920) je bila objavljena 19. junija 1920, v Sloveniji pa šele 29. 9. 1921.

Spisati zamisel o varstvu narodnih manjšin na papirju je relativno enostavno opravilo. Kako pravila postaviti v vsakdanje življenje pa je mnogo težje opravilo. Vonj po smodniku je še vedno visel v zraku, na novo zarisana državna meja proti Avstriji in Madžarski je na novo obračala in postavljala gospodarske, politične in kulturne tokove. Prišlo je do zamenjave nosilcev suverenosti – Madžare so zamenjali Slovenci. Slovenci so pridobili politično moč, gospodarska moč pa je večinoma ostala v rokah Madžarov, Nemcev in Judov. Nič kaj dobra popotnica za dobrohotno urejanje statusa in položaja narodnih manjšin.

Za odnos slovenske države do narodnih manjšin je pomemben še en proces, »*nastajanje slovenskega naroda*. Šele po koncu prve svetovne vojne je bil vzpostavljen okvir (meje, prostor, državni aparat), ki je z avtoriteto moči in različnimi mediji socializacije, v prvi vrsti s sistemom izobraževanja, *gnetel slovenski narod* iz množice regionalnih, lokalnih, kulturnih in jezikovnih različnosti, v strukturirano celoto. V tem procesu je moralo *odpasti vse*, kar je štrlelo iz zaukazanega vzorca slovenskega naroda. Frazo, ki jo je Massimo D’Azeglio uporabil za Italijane, ob združitvi Italije v 19. stoletju: “*Abbiamo fatta l’Italia, ora dobbiamo fare gli Italiani*”, bi lahko smiselno uporabili tudi v slovenskem primeru: *ustvarili smo Slovenijo, sedaj moramo ustvariti še Slovence*. To je še posebej veljalo za Prekmurce. Situacijo je slovenski učitelj, priseljen v Prekmurje, opisal z besedami, da se »*duša prekmurskega ljudstva še ni spojila z dušo domovine, da srce tamkajšnjega naroda še ne bije s srcem našim*« (Kokolj, Horvat, 1977, 307).

V procesu stapljanja slovenskega naroda so moteč element predstavljali *tujerodci*, pripadniki narodnih manjšin. Ni jih bilo enostavno *pretopiti* v Slovence. Etnične tenzije in konflikti so bili položeni v zibelko slovenske države.

Slovenska država je za pripadnike narodnih manjšin predstavljala tujino, zgodovinska stanja, ki so povzročila nastanek manjšin so krivična in jih je zato potrebno čim prej odpraviti. Status manjšinskosti je za pripadnike manjšin zgolj stanje začasnosti, obdobje, v katerem se je potrebno temeljito pripraviti na novo preurejanje državnih meja. Poleg tega gre omeniti še posebno stanje duha, ki se je razraščalo med pripadniki narodnih manjšin v Sloveniji v obdobju med obema vojnama: občutek frustriranosti, saj so se v položaj manjšin skorajda čez noč prelevili pripadniki do tedaj vladajočih narodov (Nemcev, Madžarov), kar je bilo možno omiliti le z *vitaliziranjem* ideje o začasnosti s Senžermensko in s Trianonsko mirovno pogodbo določenih državno-teritorialnih rešitev.

The *Rebus* of Ethnic Minorities in Prekmurje 1920–1941

Miran Komac

Summary

On 4 August 1919 the delegation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was informed that they may occupy Prekmurje as far as the agreed border, the divide between the Mura and the Rába river basins. The Yugoslav troops occupied Prekmurje on 12 August 1919.

Prekmurje fell into our hands by a (happy) coincidence. The programme *Zedinjena Slovenija* (United Slovenia) did not include it in the Slovene state framework. This is evident also in the 1921 population census, which was taken by the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and contains a reference to *Slovenia with Prekmurje*. Prekmurje was an ethnically diverse territory. The majority of its population was Slovene; however, it was populated also by Hungarians, Germans, Romanians, Jews, and a number of other small ethnic groups. Its religious diversity is also worth mentioning, as the area was populated by Catholics, Protestants, and Calvinists. In terms of ethnic minorities and religion, Prekmurje represented a veritable *mini mundus*.

The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes belonged to the category of newly established or expanded states which had to conclude special agreements with the Allies, committing themselves to respect rights of the minorities.

The agreement signed by the major Allied Powers, the associated powers and the state of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes pertaining to the protection of ethnic minorities in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was based on the provisions stipulated in Article 51 of the Treaty of Saint Germain (with Austria) and Article 44 of the Treaty of Trianon (with Hungary). The treaty was signed on 10 September 1919; it was published in *Službene novine Kraljevstva Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* (133a/1920) on 19 June 1920, and in Slovenia not until 29 September 1921.

Writing about the protection of ethnic minorities on paper is a fairly simple undertaking. Implementing these rules in everyday life is a more difficult task. With the smell of gunpowder still lingering in the air, the newly drawn border with Austria and Hungary transformed and established economic, political, and cultural currents anew. Hungarians were replaced by Slovenes as holders of sovereignty. Slovenes gained political power, while the economic power remained mostly at the hands of Hungarians, Germans, and Jews, which was not a promising prospect for a benevolent regulation of minorities' status and position.

In terms of the Slovene state's attitude towards ethnic minorities, another process, i.e. the Slovene nation building, is important. The framework (borders, area, state apparatus) that moulded the Slovene nation form a multitude of regional, local, cultural, and linguistic differences into a structured whole by means of the authority of power and different socialization media, primarily school system, was not established until the end of World War I. Everything standing out from the prescribed pattern of the Slovene nation had to fall away. The wording used by Massimo D'Azeglio when referring to Italians in the period of Italy's unification in the 19th century: "*Abbiamo fatta l'Italia, ora dobbiamo fare gli Italiani,*" could be applied also in the Slovene case: *We have created Slovenia, now we have to create Slovenes as well*. This holds particularly good for the Prekmurje Slovenes. A Slovene teacher who relocated to Prekmurje described the situation, saying that "*the soul of the Prekmurje people has not yet become one with the soul of the homeland, the heart of the local people has yet to beat with our heart*" (Kokolj, Horvat 1977, 307).

When amalgamating the Slovene nation, members of ethnic minorities represented a disruptive element; it was not easy to *melt* them into Slovenes. Ethnic tensions and conflicts were placed in the cradle of the Slovene state.

To members of ethnic minorities, the Slovene state signified a foreign country, and historical states that led to the emergence of minorities were considered to be unjust and should be done away with as soon as possible. To them, their status of a minority was a temporary one, a period which must be used for a thorough preparation of a re-regulation of state borders. Additionally, a specific state of mind that spread among members of ethnic minorities in Slovenia in the interwar period should be mentioned as well, namely their sense of frustration. Having formerly been members of ruling nations (Germans, Hungarians), they became a minority almost overnight, which could be alleviated solely by vitalizing the idea that the state and territorial solution defined by the Treaties of Saint Germain and Trianon was of a temporary nature.

Madžarski revizionizem in madžarsko-jugoslovanski diplomatski odnosi v drugi polovici tridesetih let 20. stoletja

Árpád Hornyák

Povzetek

Zgodovina revizionizma na Madžarskem sega v prve dneve miru. Krčevito so ga podpirali vsi sloji madžarske družbe in predstavljal je temeljni cilj madžarske zunanje politike. Vendar kljub vsesplošnemu strinjanju v družbi in med politiki ni bilo očitno, na katerem principu naj bo revizionizem zasnovan in na katero ozemlje naj se nanaša. Prisotni so bili vsaj trije različni tipi revizionizma: etničen, celovit ter »optimalen«. »Optimalni« revizionizem, kot si ga je želela uradna politika, je pričakoval, da bo Madžarska zahtevala večino ozemlja, ki je bilo na voljo v danih okoliščinah, in si postopoma povrnila izgubljena območja.

V primerjavi z ostalimi državami naslednicami so bile revizionistične zahteve do Jugoslavije najmanjše, kar lahko utemeljimo z dejstvom, da je južna sosedica pridobila najmanj ozemlja po prvi svetovni vojni, a zadeva je bolj zapletena. Budimpešta je od Jugoslavije zahtevala Bačko in Banat, baranjski trikotnik, Pomurje ter Prekmurje, medtem ko se je odpovedala hrvaško-slavonskemu ozemlju. Po mnenju madžarske zunanje politike je bila Jugoslavija edina država naslednica, s katero bi bilo mogoče doseči ločen sporazum, na podlagi katerega bi Budimpešta pridobila več svobode glede svoje politike (oz. svojih zahtev) do preostalih dveh držav Male antante. Ta miselnost je bila še posebej izrazita v drugi polovici tridesetih let 20. stoletja, ko se je revizionizem postopoma zdel mogoč zaradi hitro spreminjajočih se mednarodnih okoliščin in spremenjenega ravnovesja moči. Madžarsko-jugoslovanske diplomatske odnose v poznih tridesetih letih 20. stoletja je zaznamovala mednarodna situacija, ki je odločilno vplivala na jugoslovansko zunanjo politiko do Madžarske. Namreč, zaradi bolj kot ne skupnih namer velesil je moral Beograd opustiti svojo ravnodušno politiko do Madžarske, začeti s pogajanjem in v določeni meri morda upoštevati madžarske želje, še posebej glede na to, da so do 1940 madžarske zahteve do Jugoslavije postale zelo zmerne. Položaj Madžarske v soseščini Tretjega rajha je bil ogrožen, zato njene zahteve niso več vsebovale klavzul o ozemlju, kar je utiralo pot dvostranskemu sporazumu z Jugoslavijo.

Hungarian Revisionism and the Hungarian-Yugoslav Diplomatic Relations in the second half of the 1930s

Árpád Hornyák

Summary

The history of revisionism in Hungary goes back to the very first days of the peace. It was wholeheartedly supported in every layer of the Hungarian society and was the fundamental goal of the Hungarian foreign policy. However, despite of the general agreement in the society and politics it was not evident on what principle should the revisionism be based and which territories should be claimed. There were at least three different types of revisionism: ethnic, integral, and “optimal”. The “optimal” meant that Hungary should claim the most territories that the existing circumstances made available and step by step regain its lost territories, it was preferred in the official policy.

The revisionist claims towards Yugoslavia were the smallest among the successor states that can be justified simply by the fact that the southern neighbour gained the least territories after World War I. However, the matter is more complex. Budapest demanded from Yugoslavia Bačka and Banat, the Baranja triangle, the Mura region and Prekmurje while it gave up on the Croatian-Slavonian territories. In the Hungarian foreign political thought Yugoslavia was present as the only successor state that a separate agreement could be reached with and due to that agreement Budapest would get more freedom considering its policy (claims) against the other two Little Entente countries. This thought was especially present in the second half of the 1930s, when the rapidly changing international circumstances and the shift in the balance of power gradually brought revisionism towards the stage of possibility. The Hungarian-Yugoslav diplomatic relations in the late 1930s were determined by the international situation that had significant influence on the Yugoslav foreign policy with regard to Hungary. Namely, due to the more or less common intention of the Great Powers, Belgrade had to abandon its impassive policy towards Hungary and became ready to negotiate and possibly, to certain extent, heed the Hungarian wishes. It was possible all the more because these Hungarian claims against Yugoslavia actually became very moderate by 1940. Due to the endangered position of Hungary in the neighbourhood of the Third Reich, they did not contain territorial clauses any more, therefore the way towards a bilateral agreement with Yugoslavia was paved.

Porabski Slovenci 1919–1941

Katalin Munda Hirnök

Povzetek

Trianonska oz. pariška mirovna pogodba po prvi svetovni vojni je med drugim z mejo ločila porabske Slovence, ki so ostali v državi Madžarski, od prekmurskih Slovencev, ki so bili priključeni h Kraljevini SHS oz. k matičnemu slovenskemu narodu. Po razmejitvi je na Madžarskem ostalo devet slovenskih naselij. Osem vasi, ki ravno tako zgodovinsko spadajo med večinsko slovenske, pa je bilo dodeljenih Avstriji. S tem je bila enotnost Slovenske krajine razbita in začela se je ločena zgodovina Slovenskega Porabja.

Po razmejitvi so Slovence v okolici Monoštra v slovenskem tisku omenjali kot “rabske” Slovence, poimenovanje “porabski” Slovenci, “Porabje” pa je nastalo po drugi svetovni vojni. Z razmejitvijo se je preoblikovala tudi javna in cerkvena uprava. Monoštrski okraj je izgubil več kot polovico pripadajočih vasi in pridobil tri nove. Ravno tako se je preoblikoval gornjeseniški notariat. Gornjeseniška župnija je izgubila tri podružnice, Markovce, Trdkovo in Čepince, pridobila pa je Ritkarovce, ki so prej spadali pod župnijo Veliki Dolenci. Ljudem je pripadnost župniji veliko pomenila. V okviru župnije so ohranjali socialne stike in so v župnijski skupnosti imeli svoj statusni položaj. S prihodom v drugo župnijo so postali prišleki, ki so si morali zgraditi svoj novi družbeni položaj.

Trianonska meja je bila tradicionalna, “trda” meja z mejnimi prehodi in policijsko carinsko kontrolo. Z razmejitvijo so se načele že utrjene povezave s trgovskimi središči. Gospodarsko in prometno je bilo Porabje že od nekdaj bolj usmerjeno na jug in zahod, kakor pa na sever in vzhod.

Zaradi prenaseljenosti območja, slabo rodovitne zemlje, majhnih in razkosanih kmetij ter industrijske nerazvitosti območja so bili porabski Slovenci primorani iskati dodatne vire za socialno-ekonomsko preživetje. Pomemben način preživetja je predstavljalo množično sezonsko zaposlovanje, kakor tudi izseljevanje v ZDA in druge države. Po letu 1920, med obema vojnama, se je iz Porabja izselilo 6,2 % Slovencev, iz Prekmurja pa 1,5%. Med porabskimi Slovenci, zlasti na Gornjem Seniku, se je razširilo tihotapljenje blaga med sosednjimi državami, Avstrijo in Kraljevino SHS. Največ blaga se je pretihotapilo iz Avstrije na Madžarsko.

Oteženo upravno in gospodarsko življenje obmejnih regij so nekoliko olajšali maloobmejni sporazumi, ki jih je Madžarska sklenila s sosednjimi državami v drugi polovici dvajsetih let 20. stoletja. Ti sporazumi z Avstrijo in Kraljevino SHS so se nanašali na prehode meje in blagovno menjavo, predvsem na območju tromeje (Madžarska, Avstrija, Kraljevina SHS).

Pri ohranjanju jezika je v Porabju pomembno vlogo igrala Katoliška cerkev. Cerkevno obredje in cerkvena literatura je bila v slovenskem jeziku. Za to so najbolj zaslužni slovenski duhovniki v Porabju. Med porabskimi Slovenci je bila zelo priljubljena Mohorjeva družba, pri kateri so naročali knjige v slovenskem jeziku. V Porabju so imeli tudi slovensko katoliško publicistiko: koledar *Kalendár szrcá Jezusovoga*, mesečnik *Marijin list* in tednik *Novine*. Predvsem na Gornjem Seniku se je razvilo cerkveno petje v slovenskem jeziku. Jezikovne primerjave ob koncu tridesetih let 20. stoletja kažejo, da trianonska meja ni bistveno vplivala na porabsko različico prekmurskega narečja. Na področju narodnostnega izobraževanja po trianonski razmejitvi je imela pomembno vlogo ministrska odredba iz leta 1923. Odredba je vpeljala tri tipe narodnostnih šol. Tip A, enojezična šola, kjer je bil učni jezik, jezik manjšine. Tip B, šola z mešanim učnim jezikom, kjer sta bila učna jezika

madžarščina in jezik manjšine. In tip C z madžarskim učnim jezikom. V Porabju so prevladovale šole tipa B.

Prebivalci Porabja (in tudi Goriškega) so se na trianonsko mejo različno odzivali. Nekateri je niso upoštevali in so raje občasno plačevali kazni ali celo šli v zapor. Spet drugi so se prilagajali spremenjenim razmeram in iskali nove priložnosti v novem okolju.

Čeprav se življenje porabskih Slovencev v obravnavanem časovnem obdobju ni bistveno spremenilo, so ljudje ob meji zaznali, percipirali, da ni več tako, kot takrat, ko je bil to še "en prostor". Z ločenostjo od Prekmurja oz. matičnega naroda so se vzpostavile razmere, ki so omogočile kasnejše asimilacijske procese in so pustile sledove v življenju porabskih Slovencev, v njihovi kulturi, jeziku in narodni identiteti.

Slovenes in the Rába Region 1919–1941

Katalin Munda Hirnök

Summary

The Treaty of Trianon or the Paris Peace Conference separated Slovenes in the Rába region, who remained in the Hungarian state, by means of a border from the Prekmurje Slovenes, who were integrated into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes or their parent nation. Nine Slovene settlements remained part of Hungary after the delimitation. Eight villages, which — historically speaking — also had a Slovene majority, were allocated to Austria. In doing so, the unity of the *Slovenska krajina* (Slovene March) was shattered and the Slovene part of the Rába region saw the beginning of a separate history.

After the delimitation Slovenes in the surroundings of Szentgotthárd/Monošter were referred to as the Rába Slovenes (*rabski Slovenci*) by the press; the terms *Porabje*, or the Rába region, and *porabski Slovenci*, the present expression for the Rába region Slovenes, emerged after World War II. The delimitation brought about the transformation of the public and ecclesiastical administration as well. The Szentgotthárd/Monošter district lost more than half of its villages and acquired three new ones. The Felsőszölnök/Gornji Senik notariate was also transformed. The Felsőszölnök/Gornji Senik parish lost three succursal churches, namely Markovci, Trdkova, and Čepinci, and obtained Kétyölgy/Ritkarovci, formerly part of the Veliki Dolenci parish. The sense of belonging to their parish was important to people; in the scope of their parish they maintained their social contacts and enjoyed their status in the parish community. Having become part of a new parish, they became newcomers and had to establish their social standing anew.

The Trianon border was a traditional one, i.e. a hard border with border crossings controlled by the police and customs officers. The delimitation interfered with the already established connections with commercial centres. In terms of economy and traffic, the Rába region was historically oriented more towards the south and west than towards the north and east.

Due to overpopulation, poor soil fertility, small and fragmented farms, as well due to the fact that the area was industrially undeveloped, the Rába region Slovenes were forced to seek additional sources of income to facilitate their social and economic survival. Seasonal work represented an important source of income, as did emigration to the USA and elsewhere. After 1920, in the interwar period, 6.2% of Slovenes left the Rába region; to draw a comparison, 1.5% of Slovenes emigrated from Prekmurje. Smuggling wares between the neighbouring Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Austria spread among Slovenes in the Rába region, particularly in Gornji Senik. The bulk of wares were smuggled from Austria to Hungary.

Administrative and economic life was rendered difficult in the border areas; it was somewhat alleviated by agreements concluded by Hungary and its neighbouring countries in the second half of the 1920s. Signed also by Austria and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, these agreements regulated crossing the borders and trade in goods, first and foremost, in the tri-border area (Hungary, Austria, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes).

The Catholic Church played an important role in language preservation in the Rába region. Slovene clergy in the Rába region is credited with keeping liturgy and ecclesiastical literature in Slovene. Mohorjeva družba (Hermagoras Society) was very popular among the Rába region Slovenes; they

ordered Slovene-language books from this publishing company. Slovene-language Catholic periodicals — the calendar *Kalendár szrcá Jezusovoga*, the monthly *Marijin list*, and the weekly *Novine* — were published in the Rába region. Slovene-language church singing was present mostly in Gornji Senik. Linguistic comparisons at the end of the 1930s indicate that the Trianon border did not have a significant impact on the Rába variant of the Prekmurje dialect. A minister's decree issued in 1923 played an important role in the realm of ethnic education after the Trianon delimitation. The decree introduced three types of ethnic schools, namely type A, with the language of the minority as the medium of instruction; type B, mixed-language schools, where children were taught in Hungarian and in the language spoken by the minority; and type C, with Hungarian as the language of educational instruction. The bulk of schools in the Rába region belonged to type B.

The population of the Rába region (and Goričko) responded differently to the Trianon border. Some people refused to accept it and preferred paying fees or even going to prison, while others adjusted to the new conditions, seeking new opportunities in the new environment.

Although their lives did not change significantly in the period in question, Slovenes in the Rába region felt that the situation was different than in the past, when this was still a “single space”. Being separated from Prekmurje and their parent nation, the Rába region Slovenes were faced with conditions that allowed for subsequent assimilation processes and left a mark in their lives, culture, language, and national identity.

Oris gospodarskega razvoja Prekmurja od priključitve do danes

Aleksander Lorenčič

Povzetek

Prispevek obravnava gospodarski razvoj Prekmurja od priključitve k matičnemu narodu leta 1919 do današnjih dni. Osvetli prizadevanja po skladnejšem regionalnem razvoju, zaostajanje pomurske regije, osrednje značilnosti na gospodarskem področju med vojnama, po drugi svetovni vojni ter v obdobju po osamosvojitvi Slovenije. Dodana vrednost prispevka so različni statistični podatki, predstavitev obmejnega gospodarskega sodelovanja z Madžarsko in opis razvoja izbranih podjetij s tega področja (Nafta Lendava, Mura, Pomurski tisk, Pomurka Murska Sobota).

Že takoj po drugi svetovni vojni je bila predvidena ustanovitev posebne sklada za pospeševanje razvoja v nerazvitih okrajih, kar sicer ni bilo realizirano, kasneje so bili ob drugih ukrepih in zakonih na začetku sedemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja sprejeti Zakon o ukrepih za pospeševanje razvoja manj razvitih območij, decembra 1975 je republiška skupščina sprejela zakon o pospeševanju skladnejšega regionalnega razvoja v SR Sloveniji, konec leta 1990 je bil sprejet Zakon o spodbujanju razvoja demografsko ogroženih območij v Republiki Sloveniji, leta 1999 nov Zakon o spodbujanju skladnega regionalnega razvoja, leta 2001 je bila sprejeta Strategija regionalnega razvoja Slovenije ipd. Skupni imenovalec vseh ukrepov in zakonov, ki so težili k skladnejšemu razvoju, je, da zelenega cilja niso uresničili. Še zlasti je to veljalo za Pomursko regijo. Z namenom krepitve razvojne politike v Pomurski regiji ter usklajenega nastopa države in regije pri reševanju razvojnih problemov v regiji, je bil pripravljen Zakon o razvojni podpori Pomurski regiji, ki se je začel izvajati s 1. januarjem 2010. S sprejetjem Zakona je bil vzpostavljen institucionalni in finančni okvir za interventno ukrepanje na območju Pomurja, saj je med vsemi slovenskimi statističnimi regijami Pomurje že desetletja najbolj zaostajalo v razvoju. Z namenom zagotovitve realizacije se je vlada odločila izvajanje zakona podaljšati. Konec leta 2014 so namreč nerealizirana sredstva za izvajanje Programa znašala dobrih 14 milijonov evrov. Za ustvarjanje razmer in spodbuditev razvoja v Pomurski regiji, je bil med drugim pripravljen Program spodbujanja konkurenčnosti Pomurske regije 2010–2019 (POMURJE 2019), ki je bil pripravljen na podlagi Zakona o spremembah Zakona o razvojni podpori Pomurski regiji v obdobju 2010–2017.

Priključitev k matičnemu narodu je sicer pospešila razvoj Prekmurja, a je bil slednji precej počasnejši kot v ostalih državnih predelih. Prekmurje ni imelo primerne energetske povezave, v času prve Jugoslavije sta bili elektrificirani le Murska Sobota in Lendava. Gospodarski položaj ni omogočal podjetniških projektov in akumulacije kapitala, najpomembnejše prekmursko podjetje po prvi svetovni vojni, tovarna mesnih izdelkov v Murski Soboti v lasti Josipa Benka, je tako nastala na osnovi mesarske obrti Benkovega očeta. Prekmurje po letu 1919 ni imelo veliko industrije, težavo so predstavljali številni denarni zavodi, zlasti z vidika nacionalizacije. Poleg Benkove tovarne se je v Lendavi iz majhne pletilnice razvila industrija za različne pletenine, ki je zaposlovala do 170 delavcev, v Soboti je nastala Cvetičeva konfekcija perila (kasnejša tovarna Mura), leta 1932 je trgovec Šiftar ustanovil obrat s 40 zaposlenimi, ki je do začetka vojne zaposloval 150 ljudi, pri Lendavi je imela družba Našička žago in malo tovarno tanina, izpostaviti gre še bankirja Gezo Hartnerja. Zelo pomembne za razvoj so bile tudi prometne povezave, kar se je v Prekmurju zgodilo precej pozneje kot drugod. Murska Sobota je dobila železniško povezavo z Ljutomerom leta 1924, cestni most preko Mure pri Petanjcih leta 1940 (leto zatem že porušen), železniško povezavo z

Goričkim pa so leta 1963 ukinili. V času med obema svetovnjima vojnama je bilo slovensko ozemlje na poti od kmečke k industrijski družbi, Prekmurje pa je ostalo najbolj agraren del banovine. V kar 121 od 170 prekmurskih občin je bilo po podatkih iz popisa prebivalcev leta 1931 več kot 90 odstotkov kmečkega prebivalstva, v 55 od njih pa je bil ta odstotek celo večji od 95. Prekmurje je razvojno precej zaostajalo, k temu so pripomogli tudi nekateri državni ukrepi, med drugim tudi agrarni reformi po prvi in po drugi svetovni vojni nista prinesli želenih učinkov. Do šestdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja je iz Prekmurja hodilo na razna sezonska dela med 12.000 in 14.000 ljudi, v sedemdesetih letih pa naj bi bilo na sezonskem delu še okrog 4.000 ljudi. Po drugi svetovni vojni je Prekmurje vse do sedemdesetih let ostalo skoraj izven procesa industrializacije in urbanizacije, ki je takrat v večji ali manjši meri zajel že skoraj vsa območja Slovenije. Od sedemdesetih let se je pričel intenzivnejši proces industrializacije, delež kmečkega prebivalstva se je med letoma 1961 in 1971 znižal od 67,3 na 58,8 odstotka. Pomenljiv je tudi podatek, da je v občini Murska Sobota delež zaposlenih v industriji in rudarstvu v obdobju 1961–1971 zrasel s 5,5 na 10,9 odstotka. Delež zaposlenih v kmetijstvu se je sicer zmanjšal za 12,1 odstotka, vendar je še vedno prevladoval. Po drugi svetovni vojni je sicer začelo z delovanjem kar nekaj prepoznanih blagovnih znamk. Leta 1945 je z nacionalizacijo tovarn Janeza Cvetiča (1925) in Ludvika Šiftarja (1932) nastala Mura. 21. decembra 1945 je v okviru zagrebškega Kombinata za nafto in plin z imenom "Izvori nafte – Dolnja Lendava" s svojim delovanjem uradno začela Nafta Lendava. Leta 1955 je nastal Pomurski tisk, tedaj sta se namreč združili podjetji Naš tisk (1953), ki se je ukvarjal s časopisno, založniško in knjigotrško dejavnostjo, in Pomurska tiskarna (1954). Leta 1962 je bil ustanovljen Kmetijski kombinat Pomurka, pozneje ABC Pomurka. Od šestdesetih let 20. stoletja do leta 1991 je bila Pomurka eno največjih slovenskih podjetij kmetijske, živilskopredelovalne in gozdarske proizvodnje.

Različno prilagajanje tranzicijskim razmeram regij se je pretežno odražalo v finančnih izidih poslovanja gospodarstva, izgubah, izvozu in v deležu brezposelnih v delovno sposobnem prebivalstvu. Pomurska regija je spadala med slabše razvite regije, vendar s perspektivno gospodarsko strukturo. Kljub slabi razvitosti regije je njena gospodarska struktura, neobremenjena s starimi industrijskimi panogami, pripomogla k lažjemu prilagajanju v procesu tranzicije. Zanimiv je podatek, da je bila bruto dodana vrednost na prebivalca sicer med najnižjimi v Sloveniji, vendar pa se je v obdobju 1990–1993 v pomurski regiji najhitreje povečevala, hkrati je imela regija v obdobju 1990–1994 tudi podpovprečno rast števila brezposelnih. Razvojni zaostanek te regije je še danes precej viden, Pomurje je še namreč danes po večini kazalnikov ekonomskega in socialnega razvoja na dnu med slovenskimi regijami. Proletarsko-agrarna struktura prebivalstva, maloštevilna delovna mesta in v povprečju 20 odstotkov nižje plače od slovenskih so bile značilnosti te regije na prelomu tisočletja, sredi devetdesetih let minulega stoletja je že tako slabo stanje potenciralo še dejstvo, da je bilo kar 60,9 odstotka brezposelnih neizobraženih ali z nižjo izobrazbo. Veliko pove tudi podatek, da je BDP na prebivalca v osrednjeslovenski regiji leta 2003 znašal 17954 evrov, v pomurski pa le 8535. Kar zadeva ta kazalnik, je Pomurska regija še v letu 2016 dosegala manj kot 75 odstotkov slovenskega povprečja. Regija prav tako še izstopa po najvišji stopnji brezposelnosti. V 2015 je ta bila 12,5-odstotna, še višja je bila samo med ženskami, 13,9-odstotna. Povprečna mesečna neto plača v 2015 je bila v tej regiji tretja najnižja v Sloveniji in je znašala 923 EUR, kar 8 odstotkov gospodinjestev v tej regiji je tega leta prejelo materialno ali denarno pomoč. Glede na zaposlovanje so sicer danes glavne panoge v regiji predelovalna in kovinskopredelovalna industrija, gradbeništvo in gradbeni izdelki ter kmetijstvo in prehrana. V Prekmurju je v zadnjih letih vse bolj prisoten madžarski kapital, sicer pa je bila vrednost slovenske blagovne menjave z Madžarsko

vseskozi majhna.

An Outline of the Economic Development in Prekmurje from its Incorporation into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to the Present Day

Aleksander Lorenčič

Summary

The article deals with Prekmurje's economic development from the unification with the parent nation in 1919 to the present, highlighting the effort for a more balanced regional development, the Pomurje region's lagging behind, the main economic features in the interwar period, after World War II, and in the period after Slovenia's independence. Its added value is enhanced by different statistical data, a demonstration of the economic collaboration with Hungary, and an illustration of the development of select local companies (Nafta Lendava, Mura, Pomurski tisk, Pomurka Murska Sobota).

A fund for promoting development in undeveloped districts was planned shortly after World War II; however, it was never realized. The early 1970s saw, alongside other measures and acts, the introduction of the Act Regulating Measures Related to the Promotion of Development of Less Developed Areas. In December 1975 the Socialist Republic of Slovenia adopted the Balanced Regional Development Act. The Promotion of Demographically Endangered Areas Act was adopted by the Republic of Slovenia at the end of 1990. The new Promotion of Balanced Regional Development Act was introduced in 1999, and the Regional Development Strategy was adopted in 2001. All these measures and acts strove for a more balanced development; however, the intended objective was not materialized, which holds particularly true for the Pomurje region. In order to strengthen the Pomurje region's development policy and allow for a coordinated action of the state and the region when addressing the region's development problems, the Development Support of the Pomurje Region Act was implemented on 1 January 2010. The adoption of this act established an institutional and financial framework for an intervention in Pomurje because its development had lagged behind all other Slovene statistical regions for decades. To ensure its realization, the government decided to prolong its implementation. Namely, at the end of 2014 a good 14 million EUR remained unrealized. To establish conditions and promote development in the Pomurje region, the Programme for Supporting the Competitiveness of the Pomurje Region 2010–2019 (POMURJE 2019) was introduced; it was based on the Amending the Promotion of Balanced Regional Development Act in the Pomurje region in the period 2010–2017.

The unification with the parent nation expedited Prekmurje's development; nevertheless, it was still considerably slower than in other parts of the state. Prekmurje lacked suitable energetic connections; only Murska Sobota and Lendava were connected to the electricity grid in the period of the First Yugoslavia. The economic situation did not allow for entrepreneurial projects and capital accumulation. Consequently, Josip Benko's meat processing factory in Murska Sobota, Prekmurje's most important company after World War I, originated in his father's butchery trade. Industry was not plentiful in Prekmurje after 1919 and many financial institutions represented a problem, particularly in terms of nationalization. A knitwear industry employing up to 170 people had its origins in a small knitwear factory in Lendava. Cvetič's clothing manufacturing company (the future Mura) emerged in Sobota. In 1932 the merchant Šiftar established a factory with 40 employees; up to the beginning of the war their number grew to 150. Našička company had a sawmill near Lendava and a small tannin factory. The banker Geza Hartner is worth mentioning as

well. Traffic connections were also very important as regards the region's development; however, in Prekmurje they were established considerably later than elsewhere. Murska Sobota obtained a railway connection with Ljutomer in 1924, the road bridge across Mura near Petanjci in 1940 (demolished a year later), and the railway connection with Goričko was discontinued in 1963. In the interwar period, the transformation of the Slovene territory from a rural to an industrial society was under way, while Prekmurje remained the *banovina's* most agrarian part. According to the 1931 population census, in 121 out of a total of 170 municipalities the rural population totalled more than 90%, and in 55 municipalities even more than 95%. In terms of development, Prekmurje lagged behind also due to some state measures, including the agrarian reforms after World War I and II, which did not achieve the intended results. Between 12,000 and 14,000 people from Prekmurje did seasonal work up to the 1960s, another 4,000 people are believed to have followed suit in the 1970s. After World War II, up to the 1970s, Prekmurje was almost unaffected by industrialization and urbanization, which were present in various degrees more or less throughout Slovenia. A more intense process of industrialization began in the 1970s; the portion of the rural population decreased from 67.3% to 58.8% between 1961 and 1971. The fact that the percentage of people working in industry and mining industry increased from 5.5% to 10.9% in the municipality of Murska Sobota in the period from 1961 to 1971 is significant as well. The percentage of people working in agriculture decreased by 12.1%; however, it was still overwhelming. A few well-known brands were introduced after World War II. By nationalizing factories owned by Janez Cvetič (1925) and Ludvik Šiftar (1932), Mura came into being in 1945. Named Izvori nafte — Dolnja Lendava, Nafta Lendava's official operation began on 21 December 1945 in the scope of the Zagreb-based combine Kombinat za nafto i plin. Pomurski tisk was established in 1955 as a result of the merger of Naš tisk (1953), a publishing and bookselling company, and Pomurska tiskarna (1954). The agricultural combine Kmetijski kombinat Pomurka, the future ABC Pomurka, was founded in 1962; from the 1960s to 1991 Pomurka was one of Slovenia's largest agroindustry, food industry, and forestry companies.

The region's unequal adjustment to transition-related circumstances was very much reflected in the companies' cash flow statements, losses, export, and in the unemployment rate of the working-age population. Pomurje was one of the least developed regions; however, it had a promising economic structure. Unaffected by old industries, its economic structure allowed for an easier adjustment to the transition process. It is interesting to note that the region's gross value added per capita constituted one of the lowest GVA rates in Slovenia; nevertheless, in the period 1990–1993 Pomurje was the region with the fastest GVA growth, and, at the same time, the unemployment growth rate was below average in the period from 1990 to 1994. The region's deficient development is noticeable at the present as well; according to the majority of economic and social progress indicators, Pomurje is still one of Slovenia's least developed regions. The turn of the millennium was marked by the population's proletarian and agrarian structure, few jobs, and an average gross salary that is 20% below the Slovene average. This was aggravated by the fact that as many as 60.9% of the unemployed had no qualifications or low vocational education in the mid-1990s. The fact that in 2003 GDP per capita totalled 17,954 EUR in Central Slovenia and only 8,535 EUR in the Pomurje region is significant as well; in 2016 the region's GDP totalled less than 75% of the Slovene average. The region is also marked by the highest unemployment rate. Namely, in 2015 it was 12.5%; it was even higher in the female population, totalling 13.9%. In 2015 the average net salary in the region was the third lowest among Slovenia's regions, totalling 923 EUR, and 8% of region's households received practical or financial assistance. Nowadays, the bulk of the

population found employment in user industry, in metalworking, in construction, and in companies manufacturing construction products, in agriculture, and in food industry. The presence of Hungarian capital is increasing in Prekmurje, although trade with goods between Slovenia and Hungary remains low.

Kulturna integracija Prekmurja v jugoslovansko državo

Darja Kerec

Povzetek

Sredi avgusta 1919, nekaj dni po vzpostavitvi civilne oblasti v Prekmurju, so se v ljubljanskem časopisu *Domoljub* nadejali, da »Prekmurci najdejo v Jugoslaviji boljšo mater, kot so jo imeli v madžarski državi«. V tistih mesecih so tako na terenu kot v časopisih izpostavljali slab gmotni položaj, v katerem je stoletja živelo večinsko slovensko govoreče prebivalstvo Prekmurja, mnogi pa so zdaj to pokrajino svojim bralcem predstavljali tudi kot kulturno ter versko središče Panonske nižine in panonskih Slovencev. V *Sokoliču*, glasilu telovadnega društva Sokol, so v drugi polovici leta 1919 objavili daljši zapis o Prekmurju, v katerem so s pretiranim navdušenjem zapisali: »Tako je naša hrabra armada v par mesecih osvobodila našo Koroško - prvotno središče starih koroških Slovencev in Prekmurje - prvo kulturno središče - panonskih Slovencev. Tako se osvobaja kos za kosom naše zemlje in Jugoslavija raste.« Za jugoslovansko oblast, lokalne politike in prosvetne delavce je bilo med težjimi izzivi zadostiti vsem potrebam v šolstvu kot gradniku identitete Prekmurcev. Poznavalci, redki politiki in številni verski voditelji na Štajerskem in Kranjskem so že pred koncem vojne poudarjali, da sta jezikovna in kulturna identiteta pri Prekmurcih nedvomno slovenski oz. jugoslovanski. Zato ni bilo vprašanje, ali je kulturna integracija Prekmurja v jugoslovansko državo mogoča, ampak predvsem, kdaj in kako. V prvih odzivih na ozemeljsko pridobitev Prekmurja so v časopisnih objavah od Radgone do Trsta kar tekmovali, kateri od njih bo objavil bolj zanimiv uvodnik, dopis ali podlistek o geografskih danostih, zgodovini, kulturi, jeziku in verski pripadnosti prebivalcev. Nekateri od teh objav so bili srce parajoči izrazi objokovanja nad usodo »pozabljenih ljudi ob Muri«. Radgonska Murska straža je 16. avgusta 1919 objavila: »Solnce svobode je obsinilo prekmurske griče, Rabo in Lendavo, solnce davnih dedov, veselje Pribina in Kocelja. Pod tem solncem naj bi tisočem naših osvobojenih bratov vzkliči lepši dnevi, kot so jih imeli doslej. Prekmurski Slovenci, pozdravljeni v Jugoslaviji!« Spet drugi pisci člankov so se hudovali nad *Ogri*, *Židi* in vsemi, ki so zapostavljali njihove brate čez Muro. V zadnjem letu vojne so v *Slovcu* objavili dele besedila iz knjige o Madžarih (*Samoodređenje naroda i Mađari*), ki jo je leta 1918 v Zagrebu anonimno, pod imenom Jugoslovan iz Ugarske, izdal zaveden Medmurec Ivan Novak. Eno od opazanj o položaju slovanskih narodov na Ogrskem je bilo povezano s prislovično bogatimi Judi, ki da »... v vseh narodnih ustanovah, na vseh prizoriščih javnega življenja zavzemajo najuglednejša mesta. Ne samo najodličnejši mažarski književniki, umetniki, učenjaki, vseučiliški profesorji itd. se rekrutirajo iz vrst Židov, marveč so le-ti vzeli takorekoč v zakup vse svobodne, neodvisne in v gmotnem oziru ugodne poklice ...« Prav poklic učitelja se je v mesecih in letih po združitvi z matico v Prekmurju izkazal za enega težjih in manj željenih med Slovenkami in Slovenci. Oktobra 1919 so pristojni ugotovili, da bi bilo le 10 % prekmurskih učiteljev zmožnih in sposobnih začeti poučevati 1. novembra 1919. Manjkajočih 90 % učiteljev bi moralo priti z druge strani Mure ... Razmere za kulturno integracijo Prekmurja so bile težavne, svoje nezadovoljstvo z »novo« kulturo (in jezikom) pa so glasno izražali tudi nekateri protestantski pastori, ki so zahtevali, naj se v protestantskih šolah zaposlijo slovenski učitelji evangeličanske veroizpovedi.

Prekmurje's Cultural Integration into the Yugoslav State

Darja Kerec

Summary

In mid-August 1919, a few days after the introduction of the civil authority in Prekmurje, the Ljubljana-based periodical *Domoljub* hoped that “*people of Prekmurje would find a better mother in Yugoslavia than the one they had in the Hungarian state*”. The centuries-long bad economic situation of the Slovene-speaking population in Prekmurje was pointed out in the press and elsewhere in those months, while many others presented Prekmurje as a cultural and religious centre of the Pannonian Plain and of the Pannonian Slovenes. A lengthy text on Prekmurje was published in *Sokol*, journal of the Sokol society, in the second half of 1919; penned in an exaggerated enthusiasm, the article read: “*In the span of a few months our brave army liberated our Carinthia, the original centre of the ancient Carinthian Slovenes, and Prekmurje, the cultural centre of the Pannonian Slovenes. Our land is being liberated piece by piece and Yugoslavia is growing.*” One of the most difficult challenges the Yugoslav authorities, the local politicians, and teachers were faced with was meeting all school-related requirements, as education was regarded as a vital component of the Prekmurje population's identity. Experts, a few politicians, and many religious leaders in Styria and Carniola maintained even before the end of the war that, in terms of their linguistic and cultural identity, the people of Prekmurje are undoubtedly Slovenes or Yugoslavs. Thus the question was not whether Prekmurje's integration into the Yugoslav state was possible, it was, first and foremost, when and how it would take place. In the first responses to the territorial acquisition of Prekmurje, which emerged in periodicals published in an area extending from Radgona to Trieste, the periodicals competed with one another, presenting interesting editorials, articles or sections about Prekmurje's geographical conditions, history, culture, language, and its population's religion. Some of these articles included heart-wrenching depictions of the fate of “the forgotten people along the river Mura”. Published in Radgona, *Murska straža* ran an article on 16 August 1919, which read: “*The sun of freedom, the sun of the ancient grandfathers, joy of Pribina and Kocel, shone on the Prekmurje hillocks, on Rába and Lendava. Better days that they have seen thus far shall come for thousands of our liberated brothers under this sun. Welcome to Yugoslavia, the Prekmurje Slovenes!*” Other writers were cross with Hungarians, Jews, and everybody else who neglected their brothers across the river Mura. In the final year of the war *Slovenec* published excerpts from a book about Hungarians entitled *Samoodređenje naroda i Mađari*, which was published anonymously under the pseudonym of a Yugoslav from Hungary by Ivan Novak, a native of Međimurje, in Zagreb in 1918. One of observations regarding the position of Slavic nations in Hungary was associated with the proverbially well-off Jews, who “*[...] occupy the most prominent positions in all national institutions and realms of public life. Not only are the most distinguished Hungarian authors, artists, scholars, university professors, etc. recruited from the ranks of Jews, they occupy so-to-speak almost all free, independent and well-paid professions [...]*.” In the months and years after Prekmurje's integration in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, teaching turned out to be one of the most difficult and least preferred occupations among Slovenes. In October 1919 the authorities inferred that a mere 10% of teachers in Prekmurje were capable and fit for teaching on 1 November 1919; the other 90% should come from areas located across the river Mura. In terms of Prekmurje's cultural integration, the situation was not promising;

Protestant pastors voiced their dissatisfaction with the “new” culture (and language), demanding that Slovene-speaking Evangelicals be appointed as teachers in Protestant schools.

Pogled na usodo prekmurskih Nemcev po letu 1945

Dušan Nećak

Povzetek

V prispevku je govor o tragični usodi, ki je zadela veliko večino pripadnikov nemške narodne manjšine, t. i. Volksdeutscherjev, po drugi svetovni vojni, tako v Evropi kot tudi na Slovenskem in posebej v Prekmurju. Izgon oz. obračun z njimi je bil posledica njihove nezanemarljive nacificiranosti in gorja, ki ga je nacizem povzročil v vojni. Vojna pa je sama po sebi največji kršitelj človekovih pravic; Slovenci je niso ne načrtovali, ne začeli in ne vodili.

V prvem delu je predstavljenih nekaj osnovnih podatkov o usodi pripadnikov nemške narodne manjšine v Sloveniji in drugod v Evropi. Prispevek se dotika izhodišč zmagovalcev, na katerih je bil utemeljen obračun z Nemci, in nekaterih statističnih podatkov o prekmurskih Nemcih. V drugem delu pa je pojasnjen potek obračuna z njimi v času, ko je Slovenija živela v času „euforije (nad zmago v vojni), paranoje (v iskanju notranjih, zunanjih, narodnih in razrednih sovražnikov) ter shizofrenije (razdvojenosti med maščevanjem in pravičnostjo)“.

V Prekmurju je po podatkih jugoslovanskega ljudskega štetja iz leta 1931 živelo 1489 oseb z nemškim maternim jezikom. Večina (1202) jih je živela v dveh takratnih občinah (Rogaševci in Pertoča), katerih del (kraji: Fikšinci, Kramarovci, Ocinje in Serdica) je bil, podobno kot Apaška kotlina, še del nekdanjega nemškega ozemlja, ki ga je po razmejitvi po prvi svetovni vojni potok Kučnica odrezal od Avstrije. Le manjši delež prekmurskih Nemcev je živel v notranjosti pokrajine, predvsem v Murski Soboti. Čeprav je nacistična Nemčija leta 1941 prepustila Prekmurje madžarskemu okupatorju, je nekaj kasneje naselitveno območje prekmurskih Nemcev ob potoku Kučnica priključila Štajerski. Oboroženi oddelki nemške civilne uprave (orožništvo, policija in tudi SA) iz Zgornje Štajerske so na Hitlerjev rojstni dan zasedli to območje in šef civilne uprave za Spodnjo Štajersko ga je junija 1941 kot nemško zasedbeno območje podredil upravnim organom sosednjih zgornještajerskih okrožij.

Po koncu vojne se je začel obračun z obravnavanimi Nemci. Po nekaterih podatkih so bile prve aretacije pripadnikov nemške narodne manjšine v Prekmurju pa tudi prva zaslišanja prekmurskih Nemcev opravljeni takoj po osvoboditvi posameznih krajev, v katerih so živeli. V Prekmurju je bilo to že aprila 1945. Do množičnega pregona prekmurskih Nemcev v taborišča pa je prišlo v junijskih dneh 1945. Iz obmejnih vasi ob potoku Kučnica so odgnali nemške družine v taborišče Hrastovec pri Sv. Lenartu v Slovenskih goricah. To se je moralo zgoditi še pred 10. julijem 1945, ko je okrajni komite Murska Sobota na svojem širšem sestanku poslušal poročilo okrajnega referenta za socialno skrbstvo "o stanju in ukrepih v 4 nemških izpraznjenih vaseh." Na njihova mesta so namreč od 20. do 25. julija 1945 naselili slovenske koloniste.

Usoda prekmurskih Nemcev je bila zapečaten v začetku leta 1946, ko so prekmurske Nemce v januarskih transportih izgnali preko meje, tudi na Madžarsko. Uradne številke govorijo, da je bila iz okraja Murska Sobota (brez mesta Murska Sobota) zaplenjena tudi imovina 151 družin: iz Serdice 14, iz Sotine 8, Ocinja 43, Kramarovcev 39, Fikšincev 31, iz Gederovec 1, iz Sv. Jurija 3, iz Sela 1, iz Kuzme 1, iz Murskih črncev 1, iz Rakičana 1, in iz Ropoče 1 družine. Z nemško vojsko je pobegnilo 7 družin, ki so jim prav tako zaplenili premoženje.

Vojna je tako povzročila, da danes ne moremo govoriti več o strnjeno naseljeni nemški narodni manjšini v Prekmurju.

An Outlook on the Prekmurje Germans' Fate after 1945

Dušan Nećak

Summary

The paper addresses the tragic fate that befell the majority of members of the German minority, the so-called *Volksdeutsche*, after World War II in Europe, in Slovenia, and particularly in Prekmurje. Their expulsion was the result of their Nazification and the hardship that was caused by Nazism during the war. Wars are the worst violator of human rights and this particular war was neither planned nor initiated or led by Slovenes.

Basic data about the German minorities' fate in Europe and in Slovenia are presented in the first part. It touches upon the victors' starting points, which served as a basis for settling the score with Germans, and provides statistical data about the Prekmurje Germans. The process of settling the score with them in the period when Slovenia experienced "euphoria (for having won the war), paranoia (searching for internal, external, national, and class enemies), and schizophrenia (being torn between retaliation and justice)" is highlighted in the second part.

According to the 1931 Yugoslav population census, there were 1,489 people who identified German as their mother tongue living in Prekmurje. The majority of them (1,202 people) lived in the then municipalities of Rogaševci and Pertoča, parts of which (the settlements of Fikšinci/Füxelsdorf, Kramarovci/Sinnersdorf, Ocinje/Guizenhof, Serdica/Rotenberg) were — similarly to the Apače/Abstall Basin — still part of the former German territory, which was cut off from Austria by the stream Kučnica after the delimitation following World War I. Only a small portion of the Prekmurje Germans lived in the region's interior, mostly in Murska Sobota. Even though Nazi Germany left Prekmurje to the Hungarian occupiers in 1941, the area along the stream Kučnica, which was populated by the Prekmurje Germans, was later integrated into Styria. Armed sections of the German civil administration (gendarmerie, police, and the SA) from Upper Austria occupied this area on Hitler's birthday and head of the civil administration for Lower Styria placed it under the authority of administrative bodies in the neighbouring Upper Styrian districts as a German-occupied area in June 1941.

Retaliation took place after the end of the war. According to some data, the first arrests of members of the German minority in Prekmurje and first questionings were carried out immediately after the liberation of settlements that they populated. In Prekmurje this was as early as in April 1945. The Prekmurje Germans were in large numbers taken to camps in June 1945. German families from the border villages located along the stream Kučnica were taken to the camp Hrastovec near Sveti Lenart in the Slovene gorice hills. This must have taken place before 10 July 1945, when the Murska Sobota District Committee heard a district official's report on "the state of affairs and measures taken in four emptied German villages." Between 20 and 25 July 1945 these villages were settled by Slovene colonists.

The Prekmurje Germans' fate was sealed in January 1946, when they were expelled from the country, also to Hungary. According to the official numbers, 151 families, whose property was confiscated, were from the Murska Sobota district (excluding the city itself): 14 families were from Serdica, 8 from Sotina, 43 from Ocinje, 39 from Kramarovci, 31 from Fikšinci, 1 from Gederovci, 3 from Sv. Jurij, 1 from Selo, 1 from Kuzma, 1 from Murski črnci, 1 from Rakičan, and 1 family from Ropoča. Seven families fled with the German army and their property was also confiscated.

Nowadays, we can no longer speak about a clustered German minority in Prekmurje due to the World War II.

Prekmurski knjižni jezik in narečje

Marko Jesenšek

Povzetek

V prostoru med Muro in Dravo razlikujem med (nekoč) knjižnim prekmurskim jezikom in (današnjim) prekmurskim narečjem. Predstavljam nastanek, prostorske okvire, razvoj in zaton prekmurskega knjižnega jezika ter njegov prehod v narečne okvire, in sicer pri katoliških piscih sredi 19. stoletja v pomladi narodov, pri protestantskih piscih pa najkasneje do konca prve svetovne, ko je bil velik del Prekmurja (brez Porabja) priključen slovenskemu matičnemu ozemlju. Gre za pogled na razvoj slovenskega jezika, ki izhaja iz dvojničnega razvoja slovenskega jezika v osrednje- in vzhodnoslovenskem jezikovnem prostoru; do oblikovanja »novoslovenščine« sta se vzporedno razvijali knjižna kranjščina in prekmurščina – posebej izpostavljam tista spoznanja o prekmurskem jeziku, ki v slovenskem jezikoslovju omogočajo razumevanje njegove knjižnosti (v preteklosti) in narečnosti (danes): gre za razmišljanja o (1) Slovenski okroglini, tj. pokrajini med Muro in Rabo, in slovenskem jeziku ter časih, ko so Slovenci v tem prostoru brali knjige in časopise ter molili in se učili v prekmurskem knjižnem jeziku; (2) rabi prekmurskega jezika v katoliški in evangeličanski cerkvi; (3) poenotenju slovenske knjižne norme in prehodu prekmurskega knjižnega jezika v narečne okvire – knjižni jezik v Prekmurju in Porabju od začetka do konca in naprej; (4) vlogi in pomenu prekmurskih slovenskih »narodnih buditeljev« od Števana ter Mikloša Kūzmiča do Košiča, od Kardoša in Borovnjaka do Klekla, Ivanocyja, Kūharja in Jeriča, od časopisa Prijatelj do časopisa Porabje, od Temlina do Mukiča in Lainščka; (5) letu 1919, zgodovinski prelomnici prekmurskih Slovencev, in združitvi (večine) prekmurskih Slovencev (razen Porabcev) z matičnim slovenskim narodom; (6) prekmurščini danes – narečna leposlovna ustvarjalnost ali želja po več?

S popisom in opisom različnih jezikovnih pojavnih oblik v panonskem prostoru predstavljam jezikovno-literarno tradicijo, ki je bila odločilna za razvoj vzhodnoslovenskega knjižnega jezika. Odgovarjam na vprašanje, zakaj sta se norma in predpis prekmurskega knjižnega jezika dolga stoletja razvijala ločeno od osredneslovenskih in kako je prepletanje osredneslovenskih alpskih in vzhodnoslovenskih panonskih jezikovnih značilnosti sredi 19. stoletja omogočilo nastanek enotnega slovenskega knjižnega jezika. Komentiram opredeljevanje časovnih mejnikov in prostorskih okvirov nastajanja prekmurskega knjižnega jezika: kaj se danes pojmuje kot kultivirana knjižna prekmurščina in koliko je ta knjižni sociolekt z vsemi jezikovnosistemskimi lastnostmi še uzaveščen kot vzhodnoslovenska različica slovenskega knjižnega jezika.

Prekmurščina je danes slovensko narečje, ki s haloškim, prleškim in slovenjegoriškim sestavlja panonsko narečno skupino; deli se na dólinsko, ravénsko in goričko podnarečje ter številne govore med rekama Muro in Rabo v slovenski pokrajini Prekmurje in v Porabju na Madžarskem (Železna županija/Vas megye). V Porabju je prisotna želja, da se narečje ohranja pri bogoslužju, med tem ko se v umetnostnem jeziku, na radiu (slovenski radio Monošter) in v časopisu (časopis Porabje) oblikuje porabska slovenščina, ki poskuša iskati pravo razmerje med knjižno normo in narečjem. V liturgiji, umetnostnem jeziku in publicistiki se porabska slovenščina ponovno pojavlja kot nadnarečje, s katerim porabski Slovenci ohranjajo svoje jezikovno izročilo in zgodovinskost tega nekoč knjižnega jezika. Jezikovne razmere v Prekmurju in Porabju pa kažejo, da je na slovenskem jezikovnem obrobju razkorak med knjižnim jezikom in narečjem zelo velik in da slovenski jezik v Porabju ob državnem madžarskem, globalnem angleškem in regijskem nemškem počasi izgublja

številne sporočevaljske možnosti in okoliščine ter se umika v t. i. domačijskost, s tem pa mu grozi jezikovna smrt.

The Prekmurje Standard Language and Dialect

Marko Jesenšek

Summary

I differentiate between the (former) standard Prekmurje language and (modern-day) Prekmurje dialect in the area between the rivers Mura and Drava. The origin, spatial extent, development, and decline of the standard Prekmurje language, as well as its transition to dialect are presented; in the case of Catholic authors this occurred in the Spring of Nations in mid-19th century and with Protestant authors by the end of World War I, at the latest, when a large part of Prekmurje was integrated into the Slovene territory. This is an outlook on the development of the Slovene language, which is based on its dual development in the central-Slovene linguistic space and in the eastern-Slovene linguistic space. The standard Carniolan language and the Prekmurje language developed side by side up to the formation of the “new Slovene language”. Particular attention has been paid to findings from the Slovene linguistics, which allow for the Prekmurje language being understood as a standard variety (in the past) or a dialect (at the present), including contemplations on (1) the Slovene March, i.e. the area between the rivers Mura and Rába, as well as thoughts on the Slovene language and the period when Slovenes there read books or periodicals, prayed and learned in the standard Prekmurje language; (2) on the use of the Prekmurje language in the Catholic and Evangelical Church; (3) on the harmonization of the Slovene standard norm and the transition of the Prekmurje language to a dialect — the standard language in Prekmurje and in the Rába region from the beginning to the end and beyond; (4) on the role and significance of “national awakeners”, ranging from Števan and Mikloš Kuzmič to Košič, from Kardoš and Borovnjak to Klekl, Ivanocy, Kūhar and Jerič, from the periodicals *Prijatelj* and *Porabje*, from Temlin to Mukič and Lainšček; (5) on the year 1919, the watershed moment for the Prekmurje Slovenes, and the unification of (the majority of) the Prekmurje Slovenes (barring those in the Rába region) with their parent nation; (6) on the language spoken in Prekmurje nowadays — creative writing in dialect or striving for something more?

By listing and describing different linguistic forms occurring in the Pannonian space, I present the linguistic and literary tradition which was key for the development of the eastern-Slovene standard language. I have provided the answer to the questions of why the norm of the standard Prekmurje language developed separately from the central-Slovene norms and how the intertwining of the central-Slovene Alpine and eastern-Slovene Pannonian linguistic features in the mid-19th century enabled the formation of a uniform standard Slovene language. I have addressed the identification of watershed moments and spatial scope of the formation of the Prekmurje standard language. What is nowadays regarded as cultivated standard Prekmurje language and to what extent is this sociolect, with its linguistic and systematic features, still rooted in the awareness as an eastern-Slovene variety of the standard Slovene language?

Alongside the Haloze dialect, the Prlekija dialect, and the Slovenske Gorice dialect, the Prekmurje dialect is part of the Pannonian dialect group, which encompasses the Dolinsko subdialect, the Ravensko subdialect, and the Goričko subdialect, but also many others spoken in the area between the rivers Mura and Rába in Prekmurje, and in the Rába region in Hungary (Vas County). A desire to keep the dialect in use in liturgy is demonstrated in the Rába region, while the art, the radio (the Slovene-language radio station Monošter), and the periodical *Porabje* feature a variant of the Rába region Slovene language which aims to find a balance between the standard norm and the dialect. In

liturgy, art, and journalism the Rába region Slovene language has emerged anew as a supra-dialect, by means of which Slovenes in the Rába region maintain their linguistic tradition and historicity of this former standard language. The linguistic situation in Prekmurje and in the Rába region indicates that the discrepancy between the standard language and the dialect is substantial on the fringes of the Slovene linguistic area; occurring alongside Hungarian, the global English and the regional German language, Slovene is slowly losing ground in the Rába region, retreating to the realm of rusticity, and is thus at risk from language death.

Literarna ustvarjalnost prekmurskih Slovencev

Franci Just

Povzetek

»Ogrski Slovenci«, kot so rojaki na Kranjskem, Koroškem in Štajerskem pred letom 1919 pogosto imenovali slovenske prebivalce območja med Rabo in Muro, so v 18. stoletju svoj narečni ljudski govor izoblikovali v knjižni jezik in v njem poleg verskih, šolskih, publicističnih, strokovnih, poljudnih idr. knjig ustvarjali tudi literarna besedila, v katerih so avtorji pri ubesedovanju človekove osebne in družbene eksistence uporabljali estetski pristop. Po skromnih začetkih v zadnji tretjini 18. stoletja se je prekmurska literarna dejavnost postopoma razvila v regionalni literarni sistem z avtorskimi skupinami (najpogosteje duhovniki, učitelji, časnikarji, dijaki/šudentje), posredniki (neleposlovne knjige, časopisi, koledarji in drugi periodični tiski) ter sprejemniki (večinoma preprosti bralci nižje socialno-izobrazbene ravni). Pri tem velja dodati, da so poleg izvirnih literarnih besedil objavljali tudi literarne prevode, zlasti iz madžarske književnosti, v manjši meri iz nemške in slovenske.

Od zadnje tretjine 18. stoletja do srede 19. stoletja je bila prekmurska literarna produkcija šibka, leposlovna besedila – zvečine priložnostna in folklorno obarvana poezija – so bila objavljena kot dodatek v neleposlovnih knjigah ali pa so ostala v rokopisih. Poglavitni prekmurski literarni dosežki iz tega časa so prva prekmurska posvetna pesem *Veršuš vandalici* (1774) Davida Novaka, pesmi v tretjem delu knjige *Starišinstvo i zvačinstvo* (1807) Števana Sijarta in *Pesemski pristavek* Jožefa Košiča v njegovi knjigi *Zobrisani Sloven i Slovenka med Mürov i Rabov* (ok. 1845). Razmere so se začele izboljševati v drugi polovici 19. stoletja, še zlasti po izidu prvega prekmurskega časopisa *Prijatelj* (1875–1879) in za njim še katoliških periodičnih tiskov – koledarja *Kalendar srca Jezušovoga* (1904–1944), mesečnika *Marijin list* (1904–1941) in tednika *Novine* (1913–1941). Te periodične publikacije so namreč objavljale tudi literarna besedila in so postale posrednik, ki je z oblikovanjem mreže sodelavcev omogočil razmah literarne produkcije in ji z vzpostavitvijo distribucijskih kanalov zagotavljal pot do sprejemnikov. Okrog 20 avtorjev je ustvarilo tematsko raznoliko poezijo (verske, priložnostne, domovinske, vojne, filozofsko-refleksivne in osebno izpovedne pesmi) in pripovedno prozo (vzgojne, poučne, vaške, folklorno-idilične, vojne in zgodovinske črtice, krajše zgodbe in povesti), pesništvo Avgusta Pavla in Jožefa Baša Miroslav pa predstavlja literarno-estetski vrh prekmurske književnosti v obdobju pred 1919.

Po letu 1919, ko je Prekmurje postalo najmlajša slovenska pokrajina, se je literarna ustvarjalnost v prekmurskem jeziku nadaljevala, razmahnila pa se je tudi med prekmurskimi izseljenci v ZDA. Njen poglavitni posrednik so bili tiskani mediji različnih idejno-političnih provenienc, ki so izhajali v prekmurščini. Okrog njih so se oblikovali kulturni krogi z literarnimi skupinami, v katerih so se starejšim avtorjem pridružili mlajši ustvarjalci. Med najvplivnejšimi so bili katoliški kulturni krog *Novin*, *Marijinega lista* in *Kalendarja srca Jezušovoga* z literati Franjem Horvatom, Ivanom Krampačem, Julijem Kontlerjem, Miškom Kranjcem in Ferdom Godino (na začetku njune literarne poti), evangeličanski kulturni krog pri koledarju *Evangeličanski kalendari* (1923–1942) in mesečniku *Düševni list* (1922–1941) z osrednjim avtorjem Janošem Flisarjem, kulturni krog koledarja *Dober pajdaš kalendarium* (1923–1943) z vodilnim avtorjem Francem Talanyijem in kulturni krog tednika *Murska krajina* (1932–1941) z avtorico prekmurskih pripovedi Berto Kološvari. Za prekmurske izseljence v ZDA pa je bil najpomembnejši literarni posrednik tednik

Amerikanski Slovincov glas (1921–1954, osrednji avtorji Aleksander Kardoš, Šandor Polgar in Jožef Novak), ki je izhajal v pensilvanskem mestu Betlehem, v katerem so prekmurski priseljenci razvili tudi presenetljivo bogato gledališko dejavnost. Literarni ustvarjalci iz teh kulturnih krogov so dotedanjo prekmursko literarno produkcijo motivno-tematsko in zvrstno razširili ter dvignili njeno literarno-estetsko raven. V prekmurski pesniški mozaik so dodali socialne, izseljenske in domovinske pesmi, ki so pesniški odraz takratnih življenjskih razmer in eksistencialnih občutij prekmurskega človeka, impresionistično obarvano krajinsko liriko ter osebno izpovedno in reflektivno poezijo, ki v vsebini in slogu išče stik s sodobnimi literarnimi tokovi. Polje pripovedne proze so razširili z nekaj novimi pripovednimi žanri, tudi daljšimi, v katerih so v realističnem slogu predstavljali družbene razmere tistega časa.

Vendar v novem zgodovinskem kontekstu ta literarna produkcija ni mogla biti več reprezentant prekmurske skupnosti v slovenski nacionalni literarni kulturi. Pokrajina se je namreč tudi jezikovno-kulturno integrirala v slovenski prostor in na začetku tridesetih let 20. stoletja se je mlajša generacija avtorjev – po ostri javni polemiki o prihodnjem kulturnem razvoju – odločila za literarno ustvarjanje v knjižni slovenščini. Najvidnejši predstavnik te literarne generacije, Miško Kranjec, je s svojimi novelami in romani v tridesetih letih Prekmurje prepričljivo vrisal v slovenski literarni zemljevid. Med obema svetovnima vojnama so mu sledili ustvarjalci iz kroga revije *Mladi Prekmurec* na čelu s Ferdom Godino, po 2. svetovni vojni pa se je število njunih pisateljskih naslednikov podeseterilo. V stoletju po združitvi je več kot 50 pisateljev in pisateljic iz Prekmurja izdalo vsaj eno leposlovno knjigo in deseterica od njih je ustvarila literarne opuse, ki so konstitutivni in nepogrešljivi sodobne slovenske književnosti.

Po 2. svetovni vojni je literarno ustvarjanje v prekmurščini za dobro polstoletje presahnilo. Slovenska jezikovna politika je namreč v letih 1945–1990 kot edini ustrezen in legitimen kulturni ter narodno reprezentativni jezikovni kod priznavala slovenski knjižni jezik in v tem smislu ni bila naklonjena narečjem. Po letu 1990 se je odnos do t. i. neknjižnih zvrsti jezika, predvsem narečja, demokratiziral in v procesu literarne revitalizacije slovenskih narečij se je izkazalo, da so lahko leta učinkovito sredstvo za literarno izražanje. V minulem četrtstoletju se je v slovenskem zamejstvu in tudi znotraj državnih meja produkcija narečne literature opazno povečala. Med slovenskimi avtorji, ki so dokazali, da je lahko narečje v besedilih ustvarjalnih osebnosti kultiviran govor in prepričljiv literarni nagovor, prednjačijo prav pisatelji iz Prekmurja in Porabja in njihovo ustvarjanje v prekmurščini je danes eden nosilnih stebrov sodobne slovenske narečne književnosti. Vanjo so prispevali preko 30 samostojnih knjig poezije, pripovedne proze in dramatike, med katerimi je tudi prvi narečni roman v slovenski književnosti in prvi roman o slovenskem Porabju. To produkcijo dopolnjujejo še številna dramska besedila za ljudski oder v Prekmurju in Porabju ter pesemska in pripovedna besedila, objavljena v časopisu *Porabje* in v *Slovenskem/Porabskem koledarju*.

Literary Texts Penned by Slovenes in Prekmurje

Franci Just

Summary

“Hungarian Slovenes” as the Slovene population living in the area bounded by the rivers Rába and Mura was often referred to by their Carniolan, Carinthian, and Styrian compatriots before 1919, transformed their vernacular into a standard language in the 18th century; they used it to pen religious, educational, journalistic, scientific, and popular texts, as well as literary works, whose authors adopted the aesthetic approach when writing about man’s personal and social existence. Following modest beginnings in the last third of the 18th century, the Prekmurje literary activity gradually evolved into a regional literary system with groups of authors (who were most often priests, teachers, journalists, and students), media (non-fiction books, newspapers, calendars, and periodicals), and recipients (mostly readers with a lower social and educational background). It should be added that, alongside original literary texts, they also published literary translations – particularly translations of Hungarian literature, and, to a lesser extent, also of German and Slovene works.

From the last third of the 18th century to the mid-19th century the Prekmurje Slovenes’ literary production — mostly occasional poetry tinged with folklore — was weak; it was published as an appendix in non-fiction books or remained in manuscript form. The period’s main literary achievements include Prekmurje’s first secular song entitled *Veršuš vandalici* (1774) by David Novak, poems published in Part III of *Starišinstvo i zvačinstvo* (1807) by Števan Sijarto, and Jožef Košič’s *Pesemski pristavek* published in his book *Zobrisani Sloven i Slovenka med Mürov i Rabov* (around 1845). The situation began to improve in the second half of the 19th century, particularly after the publication of the first Prekmurje journal *Prijatelj* (1875–1879), which was followed by Catholic periodicals, namely the calendar *Kalendar srca Jezušovoga* (1904–1944), the monthly *Marijin list* (1904–1941), and the weekly *Novine* (1913–1941). These periodicals published literary texts as well and became a medium which, by forming a network of collaborators, allowed for the expansion of literary production and provided distribution channels by means of which recipients could be reached. About 20 authors wrote thematically diverse poetry (religious, occasional, patriotic, war-related, philosophical and reflexive, lyrical) and prose (educational, rural, folkloristic- idyllic, war-related and historical short sketches, stories and tales); while poetry penned by Avgust Pavel and Jožef Baša Miroslav represents Prekmurje’s literary and aesthetic zenith before 1919.

Having become Slovenia’s youngest region, the Prekmurje-language literary creativity continued after 1919, thriving also among expatriates who emigrated to the USA. It was spread mainly by the Prekmurje-language print media of different ideational and political provenances. Cultural circles with literary groups, whose membership included authors of different generations, formed around them. The most influential circles included: the Catholic cultural circle gathered around *Novine*, *Marijin list*, and *Kalendar srca Jezušovoga*, whose members were the literati Franjo Horvat, Ivan Krampač, Julij Kontler, as well as Miško Kranjec and Ferdo Godina (at the beginning of their literary career); the Evangelical cultural circle around *Evangeličanski kalendar* (1923–1942) and the monthly *Düševni list* (1922–1941), with Janoš Flisar as its central author; the cultural circle gathered around *Dober pajdaš kalendarium* (1923–1943), whose leading author was Franc Talanyi; and the cultural circle around the weekly *Murska krajina* (1932–1941), with the author of stories

Berta Kološvari. The most important literary medium for expatriates in the USA was the weekly *Amerikanski Slovincov glas* (1921–1954, with Aleksander Kardoš, Šandor Polgar, and Jožef Novak as its main authors); it was published in Betlehem, Pennsylvania, where expatriates from Prekmurje developed a surprisingly vibrant theatrical activity. Authors from these cultural circles expanded the previous literary production in terms of motif, themes, and genre, elevating its literary and aesthetic level. Poems dealing with social issues, emigration, and homeland that reflect the then situation and sentiments of the people in Prekmurje were added to the Prekmurje mosaic of poetry, along with poetry tinged with impressionist lyric depictions of the landscape, emotional and reflexive poems, which, in terms of content and style, seek contact with contemporary literary trends. New genres were featured in prose; the ongoing social situation was portrayed in a realistic style.

However, in the new historical context this literary production could no longer represent the Prekmurje community in the Slovene national literary culture. Namely, Prekmurje was linguistically and culturally integrated into the Slovene space and the younger generation of authors decided in the early 1930s to — following a heated public debate regarding the future cultural development — write in standard Slovene. Miško Kranjec, the most renowned representative of this literary generation, with his short stories and novels, clearly put Prekmurje on the Slovene literary map in the 1930s. In the interwar period he was followed by authors gathered in the circle around the periodical *Mladi Prekmurec*, with Ferdo Godina as its most prominent member; after World War II the number of their literary successors increased tenfold. Within a century after Prekmurje's integration in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes more than fifty local authors published at least one book of fiction, and ten authors created bodies of work, which are constituent parts of and indispensable for the contemporary Slovene literature.

After World War II the Prekmurje-language literature dried up for good half a century. Between 1945 and 1990 the Slovene linguistic policy recognized the standard Slovene language as the only appropriate and legitimate cultural and nationally representative linguistic code and, in this sense, regarded dialects with disfavour. After 1990 the attitude towards non-standard types of language, particularly dialects, was democratized. It turned out in the process of literary revitalization of Slovene dialects that they are an efficient means of literary expression. In the past quarter of a century dialectal literary production penned by Slovenes on both sides of the border increased significantly. Authors from Prekmurje and from the Rába region are at the forefront of Slovene authors who proved that in texts authored by creative personalities dialect can be cultivated and convincing. Their literary production is nowadays one of the main pillars of the contemporary Slovene dialectal literature. They contributed more than 30 books of poetry, prose, and plays, including the first Slovene novel written in dialect and the first novel addressing the Slovene-populated Rába region. This production is supplemented by numerous plays staged at popular theatres in Prekmurje and in the Rába region, as well as poems and prose published in the periodical *Porabje*, and in *Slovenski/Porabski koledar*.

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