

THE LAST GREAT MIGRATION WAVE FROM KOPER AND ITS SURROUNDINGS AND AN ATTEMPT TO RECONSTRUCT THE EMIGRANTS' SOCIAL PICTURE

Jure GOMBAC

Science and Research Centre of the Republic of Slovenia, SI-6000 Koper Capodistria, Garibaldijeva 18
e-mail: jure.gombac@zrs-kp.si

ABSTRACT

Almost a decade had passed from the time world politics entered the Gulf of Trieste at the end of World War II to the signing of the London Memorandum at the end of 1954. During this time the boundary between Yugoslavia and Italy was being demarcated by small policy steps which, however, brought fear and uncertainty to the people living in the crossborder areas. This fact eventually caused numerous migrations by the inhabitants of Istria and Dalmatia, particularly of the Italian nationality. On the basis of statistical data gathered with the aid of the documents submitted by these people in the hope that a permit to leave the country would be obtained, this paper attempts to present a social picture of the last migration wave from Koper and its surroundings. Professions, employment, form of movable and fixed property are the factors with which the paper wishes to disclose the social conditions in which the optants lived and thus to find answers to the numerous questions presently raised about these migrations by various academic disciplines as well as by the public.

Key words: migrations, exodus, social picture, multiethnic territory, delineation of the boundary

L'ULTIMA GRANDE ONDATA MIGRATORIA DA CAPODISTRIA E I SUOI DINTORNI, E UN TENTATIVO DI RICOSTRUZIONE DEL QUADRO SOCIALE DEGLI EMIGRANTI

SINTESI

È trascorsa quasi una decade da quando la politica mondiale ha cominciato ad interessare il Golfo di Trieste, alla fine della seconda guerra mondiale, fino alla firma del Memorandum di Londra, alla fine del 1954. Durante questo periodo il confine tra la Jugoslavia e l'Italia veniva demarcato con piccole mosse politiche che, tuttavia, causavano paure ed incertezze nella popolazione residente nelle zone di confine. Tale situazione causò numerose migrazioni da parte degli abitanti dell'Istria e della Dalmazia, in particolare quelli di nazionalità italiana. In base ai dati statistici raccolti attraverso i documenti inoltrati da queste persone nella speranza di ottenere un permesso per lasciare il paese, questo articolo tenta di fornire un quadro sociale dell'ultima ondata migratoria da Capodistria e i suoi dintorni. Le professioni, gli impieghi, le forme di proprietà mobili e immobili sono i fattori con cui questo saggio intende illustrare le condizioni sociali in cui gli optanti vivevano, per poter così rispondere alle numerose domande, circa queste migrazioni, sollevate recentemente da varie discipline accademiche e dal pubblico.

Parole chiave: migrazioni, esodo, quadro sociale, territorio multietnico, demarcazione del confine

INTRODUCTION

Due to various migrations and military campaigns the territory situated at the head of the Adriatic began to acquire a very interesting history quite early in its existence. Admixing of the old that was rooted in small stony settlements of Istria, and the new that kept coming in along various land and water routes, was reminiscent of a wild dance between the northeasterly *bora* and the sea. In these unpredictable gusts, places were changed by quite diverse civilisations, cultures, religions, and political and economic systems. When nation-states began to spring up in the mid-19th century, the concept of a nation brought a new dimension, the notion of national superiority, into this territory. And the effect of this superiority was fully unveiled with the origin of extreme nationalist systems, which sparked World War II and whose course and actual end were marked by new shifts of the population in this part of the world.

The most diverse migrations have till today remained, like "a complex phenomenon, which includes a wide range of facts, dimensions and aspects and cannot be fully grasped with a single approach of a single scientific discipline" (Battistella, 1991, 1), one of the major driving forces for all the changes in our environment. Numerous researchers have tried to understand the significance of the demographic shifts in this area, the impact and consequences, and therefore tried to uncover, with all possible scientific approaches, the dynamics of this process. The interdisciplinary approach is particularly perceivable in the reconstruction of the Istrians migration to Italy after World War II, by Slovene, Italian and other historians, sociologists, anthropologists, geographers, psychologists, ethnologists and linguists (Gombač, 2001).

THE ATTEMPTS TO RECONSTRUCT THE SOCIAL PICTURE OF THOSE WHO LEFT

The studies of political conditions, demographic changes and economic aspects of this migration were soon joined by various attempts to reconstruct the social outline of the people who migrated in a number of waves after World War II from Istria, Rijeka and Dalmatia (Pupo, 2000). As early as 1958, i.e. only two years after the end of the last great migration wave, a group of researchers led by Amedeo Collela tried to count all those who had left for Italy after World War II from the territory they simply named "terre adriatiche". With this term they attempted to embrace all the places which after 1954 found themselves on the Yugoslav side of the boundary with Italy. In their work they tried to determine the social picture, at least partially, by counting the professions of the emigrants; and they established that 5.7% of them had been employed as freelancers, 17.6% as civil servants and officials, 7.7% as tradesmen,

and 45.6% as workers. No less than 23.4% of the emigrants were represented by women, children and the elder population (Collela, 1958). Only a year earlier a study had been carried out by request of the Executive Council of the Parliament of the People's Republic of Slovenia; it was limited to the Koper District and its aim was to study the situation in which the Italian minority found itself there. It was established that 16,062 people had left the Koper District between October, 1953 and December, 1956. Most of these were housewives (5,862), then there were workers (2,159), farmers (1,300), tradesmen (414), fishermen (387), sailors (362) and pensioners (265) (Tremul, 2001). More recent research, which was led in 1992 by Furio Bednarz from the Regional Institute of Istrian Culture (IRCI) in Trieste and was focused mainly on Istria, indicated that among the emigrants 0.9% were businessmen and officials, 14.1% were merchants and tradesmen, 11.2% civil servants and petty bourgeoisie, 10.9% farmers and fishermen, and 11.9% workers. No less than 49.6% of them were unemployed and 1.3% were pensioners (Pupo, 1995).

In 1980, a group of five authors gathered under the auspices of the Regional Institute for the Liberation Movement's History in the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region under the leadership of Prof. Miccoli to prepare the booklet entitled "Storia di un Esodo", which has till this very day remained one of the basic works for the study of the Istrian and Dalmatian emigrants' social picture. The greatest value of the booklet lies primarily in the fact that it was the first to cease treating the refugees as numbers and returned to them a human face (Miccoli et al., 1980). Also worth mentioning is the project "The population's movements and social changes in the Trieste province and the Koper district after World War II", which was given financial support by the European Union, or, to be precise, by its Regional Development Fund, and eventually carried out by the Department of Geographical and Historical Research of the University in Trieste. With the aid of a computer programme, the researchers analysed the files belonging to the refugee organisation "Opera Profugi" and kept in the National Archives in Rome. These files contain censuses covering the emigrants from Istria and Dalmatia after 1945, eventually located by this organisation in Italy. As the censuses are rich with details, a social outline of all those covered by the censuses could have been made. There were presumably 16,674 of them, with the majority of them – no less than half – unemployed. They were mainly farmers, wives, workers and seamen (Donato, 2001).

Similar investigations were carried out in Slovenia, where they were based on the study of the sources available in Slovene and Yugoslav archives. The present research is a continuation of the master's thesis entitled "Sociological Aspects of Migrations Along the Slovene-

Italian Boundary after World War II", published in an abridged version by the journal *Annales* (Gombač, 2001).

GREAT POLITICS IN A SMALL BAY

If after World War I the great politics symbolically reached the Gulf of Trieste and its immediate hinterland on the Italian torpedo boat "Audace", then at the end of World War II it arrived, by foot, or, to be precise, came marching in accompanied by Yugoslav and Slovene troops of the 4th Army and the 9th Corps, as well as by units of the 2nd New Zealand Division of the 8th British Army (Gombač, 1997). However, the Western allies had to bite off their tongues after the promises given to the Italians during the signing of the truce in spring, 1943, that they would liberate Italy within its integral boundaries and introduce an allied military administration which should function until an international conference (already planned) took place. Namely, it became clear to them that during the talks held at Lago di Bolsena near Naples in August, 1944, the Yugoslav delegation headed by Tito comprehended in its very own way the arguments by which Harold Alexander, British field marshal, and Winston Churchill, the prime minister, made it clear that the Allies intended to occupy the entire territory of the former Italian state to the very Rapallo frontiers (Jeri, 1961). Their main reasons, as stated, were the opposition of the United States' to any territorial change while the war was still going on, a need to get enough manoeuvring room for their military units, and a need to fulfil the promises given to the Italian state.

The partisan units, however, occupied all those areas in Slovenia, Istria, and Dalmatia that Italy wished to get from the Austro-Hungarian empire in April, 1915 in London and which it eventually extorted, after signing the Rapallo treaty in November, 1920, from the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and then drove away the German troops from almost the entire Venezia Giulia region. The Yugoslav occupational military authority was soon followed by civil authority (Marin, 1992, 163). The Allies did not approve of this development of events, for "they were aware that any delaying tactics connected with the Yugoslav occupation of these territories would mean certain weakening of their negotiating positions and would increase the possibility for this temporary occupation turning into a permanent one" (Troha, 1999, 23). In order to get the Yugoslavs out of Trieste, they exerted great pressure on them via political persuasion, diplomatic notes and movements of military contingents. The Yugoslav Army indeed moved out of the town on June 12th, 1945, while the territory of Julijska Krajina (Giulia region) was divided into two occupation zones: Anglo-American (Zone A) and Yugoslav (Zone B). The border between them ran along the out-

skirts of large towns, from Debeli Rtič to Trieste, Sesljan, and Štanjel, then descended down the railway line to Gorizia and eventually rose, along the left bank of the Soča river to Kobarid and Bovec, and along the left bank of the Koritnica river to Mt. Mangart. The town of Pula and its port became a unique enclave of Zone A in the middle of Zone B (Mendola, Russian, 1996, 50).

The frequent diplomatic endeavours and behind-the-scene encounters for a more lasting solution of this complex issue continued. In September, 1945, when Yugoslavs and Italians presented their views and proposals for solving the accumulated problems in this small part of Europe before the Council of the Great Powers' foreign ministers in London, it became clear that this knot would not be untangled for years, for it was being increasingly tightened by the stronger and stronger winds of the Cold War. The international commissions sent to the area to establish who is entitled to this and that part of the land, returned with contradictory plans concerning the new boundary (Jeri, 1962).

At the Paris Peace Conference there was no true will for the Yugoslav and Italian politicians to agree, under the patronage of the Great Powers, on a more far-reaching solution. The French line as a border compromise between the two states and the proposal by Georges Bidault, the Foreign Minister, to internationalise Trieste and its territory by establishing a "buffer state" called the Free Territory of Trieste under the United Nations and Governor's administration thus became just another of the many steps along this difficult path (Pirjevec, 1998). The Free Territory of Trieste (FTT) was divided into Zone A under the Allied Military Administration and Zone B under Yugoslav Administration. "Zone A FTT enclosed, apart from the Trieste Council, the Councils of Devin – Nabrežina, Zgonik, Dolina and Milje, while Zone B FTT embraced the Koper and Buje Districts" (Troha, 2000, 209).

However, this multinational state, divided into two zones, could not begin functioning. Owing to the fact that Trieste was cut off from its once huge Central European hinterland, from the great routes of trade and investments, the town was falling into increasingly greater crisis, which was further deepened by the high as well as the much lower politics of the powers involved. By June, 1947, the great powers proposed 12 candidates for the office of Governor, but all were rejected. Another 5 proposals followed, yet again without success.

THE COMPROMISE OR "A HUGE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS SYMBIOSIS BETWEEN THE NATIONS"

In the 1950s, the conditions intensified both in Zone A, where irrespective of the agreements and the Slovene minority, the Allied Military Administration continued to methodically return full authority to the Italians, and in Zone B, where the Military Administration of the Yugo-

slav Army (MAYA) continued to enforce, by fair means or foul, the so-called people's government. The latter met with opposition by the Italian nationals in Istria and Dalmatia, who again began to migrate in great numbers.

After the Italian elections in early June 1953, Italy resolved to solve, with the blessing of the Americans and the British, the Trieste question, their greatest priority. While the Yugoslav side studied its standpoints, the Italian side began to concentrate its military forces on its boundary with Zone A and sent a part of its fleet to Venice. The Yugoslav side answered by closing all border crossings between the two zones and by reinforcing its military forces in Zone B (Jerman, 1994, 323). Tito declared that the marching of Italian troops into Zone A would be considered an act of aggression and that the moment the first Italian soldier entered Zone A, the Yugoslav Army would march into it as well (Pletikosič, 2000, 225). The United States and Great Britain published a bipartite statement, by which Zone A was left to Italy, while not a word was said about Zone B. The highly strained situation was to nobody's liking and certainly not to that of the American President Dwight Eisenhower, who wished to continue a policy of moderation in Europe, its objectives set out by the Marshall plan: political stability, economic reconstruction and safety (Valdevit, 1998, 113).

Upon a number of contacts between embassies, ambassadors and foreign ministers, all the sides involved finally agreed to attempt to solve the strained situation at a conference. After almost six months of negotiations, the American, British, Italian and Yugoslav delegations gathered in London to sign the Memorandum on the Consensus amongst the Governments of Italy, Great Britain, USA and Yugoslavia on the Free Territory of Trieste. It abolished the military administration in Zone A and Zone B and at the same time stipulated a withdrawal of British and American military units from Zone A. With some minor corrections of the Morgan Line in the Milje Hillocks in favour of Yugoslavia, Italy and Yugoslavia accepted the existing division, with the Yugoslav civil administration replacing the military administration in the entire Zone B, and the Italian administration replacing the British and American administration in Zone A of the Free Territory of Trieste. In the obtained areas, both states acquired all the rights of state sovereignty. At the same time the Free Territory of Trieste ceased to exist by being divided between Italy and Yugoslavia.

THE YUGOSLAV EXPERIMENT IN NEWLY ANNEXED TERRITORIES

On October 12th, 1954, the large red capital letters shining from the front page of the Italian daily *La Nostra Lotta*, published by the "Body of the Socialist Workers' Alliance" in Koper, informed the passers-by that Yugo-

slavia had yet again greatly contributed towards peace and collaboration between nations. It was of course about the agreement signed by Italy and Yugoslavia at the beginning of that month, under the vigilant eyes of Great Britain and the States. The agreement stipulated the division of Zones A and B of the Free Trieste Territory between these two countries. From the British and Americans and their military administration, Italy obtained Zone A in the Free Territory of Trieste, while in Zone B Yugoslavia replaced its military administration with the civil one.

Those who decided to buy the paper were able to read, on Page 2, the agreement in full together with all the Memorandum's articles; the sentences that the Editorial Board had considered particularly important for the newly formed Italian minority in the Koper district were emphasised with bold letters. Also printed was an interview with Boris Kraigher, President of the Slovene National Assembly, who stressed that Yugoslavia would consistently fulfil all the articles of the signed Memorandum, especially those that concerned the life of the Italians living in our country (NL, 12. 10. 1954, 1). All those who did not wish to leave their homes and had decided to preserve the Italian language and culture in this territory, as promised to them by the constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and by the Special statute on the protection of the national minorities' rights, were stimulated by the article entitled "Italiani e niente altro" to build socialism in their new homeland together with their Slovene and Croatian brothers (NL, 12. 10. 1954).

On this October day, however, many fewer Italians were promenading the Koper streets than on that May day some nine years ago, when units of the Slovene and Yugoslav National Liberation Army appeared in front of the city walls that had seen countless other armies and announced that freedom finally reached the Slovene Littoral as well (Ballinger, 1998). From as early as September, 1943, inhabitants of this town and its ethnically mixed surroundings had been leaving their homes, travelling along the coastal roads or by sea to Trieste, where the Allied Military Administration (and Italian authorities later on) immediately sent them to various refugee camps (Donato, 2001). From there they continued, some to their relatives, some to the residential quarters especially built for them, and others to Western Europe, Americas, Australia, Canada, and elsewhere.

The departures, which became particularly frequent shortly before and shortly after the important agreements by which the two countries more or less fictitiously attempted to strengthen their joint border, yet again inflamed, in this area and among its people, much distrust, lack of understanding, uncertainty and hate, which by the end of the war had diminished considerably (Pupo, 2000, 167). A concrete result was the number of long queues in front of the council buildings in Istrian

towns and villages, where people effected their decision to leave the country by filling out the forms necessary for the acquisition of a temporary permit to cross the border. The new authority classified them as refugees, for they had decided to exchange the most progressive social system extant (in the opinion of the apparatchiks) for some old and redundant manner of capitalist production. Legal terminology marked them as *optants*, for according to Article 8 of the London Memorandum they were able to opt for a country to which they would entrust their future. In Italy, the political Right proclaimed them exiles and tried to gain political capital on their account both in home and foreign politics, while the Left used more tolerant terms (Volk, 1998). In this confusion of titles, denominations and denotements, which was amplified by the swirl of the Cold War, with its descending Iron Curtain, individuals were trying to find themselves – those who were politically informed by the traumatic experiences of the past, those who knew their wishes and fears, and sought to control their own futures.

THE LAST GREAT WAVE OF EMIGRANTS FROM KOPER AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

If we are concerned with the complex issue of the people who left for Italy after the London Memorandum and its Article 8, we should first of all ask ourselves who these people were. In spite of the ample literature available to us, the essence of the refugees, the optants, the exiles, often remains concealed. Who were they, what were their nationalities, what were their professions, was their social status good or bad, what property did they have, what was their political conviction, of what gender and how old were they, when did they leave, and from where?

Almost all of those who decided to leave the Koper City Council or its surroundings after October, 1954, left behind them a number of traces in the archives in diverse documents. With the aid of some specific computer programmes, the data of 1,363 people could thus be processed, their common points being at least the following two:

1. They were all inhabitants of the Koper City Council or its surroundings (Outer Koper Council) and lodged the application for emigration between 1954 and 1956.

2. They were the "permit bearers", which means that they submitted the documents for themselves and members of their families. On the "Exit permit" they were registered as "cappo familia", and most of the available details are concerned with them.

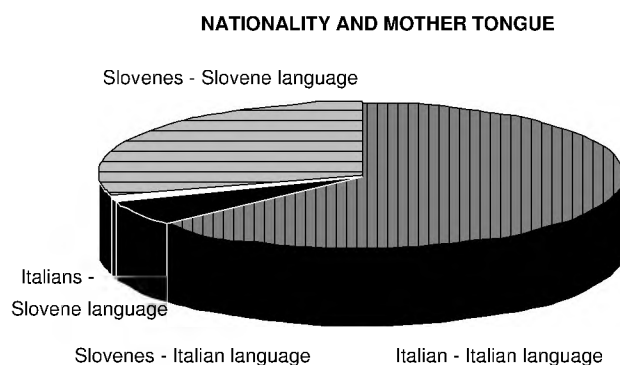
Most of the sources are kept by the Regional Archives Koper, i.e. in the files dealing with the Regional People's Committee, or, to be precise, the Department of Internal Affairs of the Koper District. The documents, which the future emigrants had to submit together with

the "Application for emigration", tell us their name, surname, address, place of birth, date of birth, profession, reason for departure, nationality, and date of departure from Yugoslavia. Also available are details about the property left behind by the emigrants and the movable property taken with them to Italy.

Data about the tax and penal history of the applicants are also available, as well as about their colloquial language, number of family members, and various problems with which they had to contend (through personal letters) with the bureaucracy. At times an opinion about a candidate could also be found, issued by a special commission of the People's Committee or by Section IV of the Administration for Internal Affairs of the Koper District (Gombač, 2001, 6).

SOCIAL PICTURE OF THE EMIGRANTS

On the basis of all these and some other sources, it was possible to attempt to reconstruct the social outline of all those who left the area between the end of 1954 and the end of 1957. The graph, which reveals the mother tongue of the emigrants, clearly shows that they had come from a multinational area. If the nationalities are further expressed in percents, it can be seen that no less than 68% of them spoke Italian, 25% Slovene, while the remaining 7% spoke a little of each.



Graph 1: The Emigrants' Nationality and Mother Tongue (PAK. TNZ OLO).

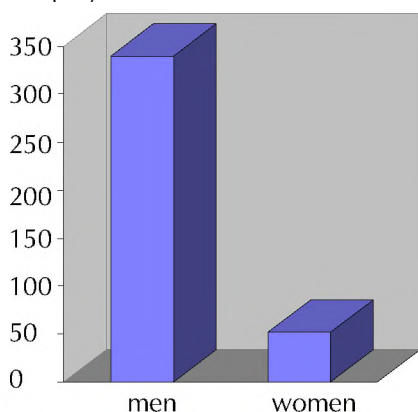
Graf 1: Narodnost in materin jezik (PAK. TNZ OLO).

If we then have a look at how many permit bearers were employed and how many unemployed in Koper and its surroundings, we can see that the area was at that time hit by a severe economic crisis, further intensified by ideological struggle against "private profiteers who constantly speculate and oppose, from the class point of view, socialist relations", (ARS. CK ZKS), against "the impenitent and pro-Fascist petty bourgeois intellectuals" (Beltram, 1986) and the Catholic Church, which was supposed to actively stimulate Italian nationalism.

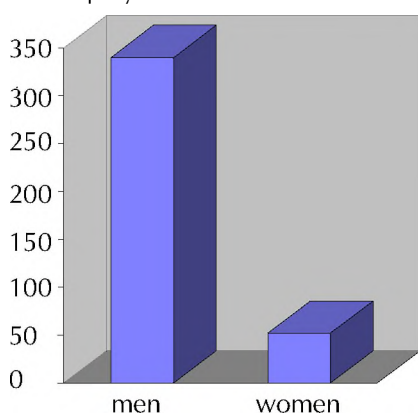
Of the 1,363 permit bearers, 953 were employed either as persons of independent income, as workers in nationalised industry, or as civil servants; 851 of these were men and 102 women. Of the 410 unemployed, 137 were men, 273 women. The unemployed women were mostly housewives who were not paid for their work at home and were dependent mainly on their parents, husbands or boyfriends, or on pensions after their death. As we have already mentioned that we are dealing with a multiethnic area, let us link employment and unemployment with a national component as well:

Amongst the Slovenes, 392 (72.5%) were employed; 52 of these were women, 340 men. 148 (27.5%) were unemployed (91 women and 57 men).

Employed Slovene Nationals



Unemployed Slovene Nationals

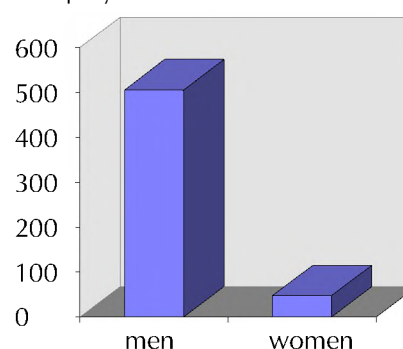


Graph 2: Structure of the Employed and Unemployed Slovene Nationals in the Koper District During 1954-1956 (PAK. TNZ OLO).

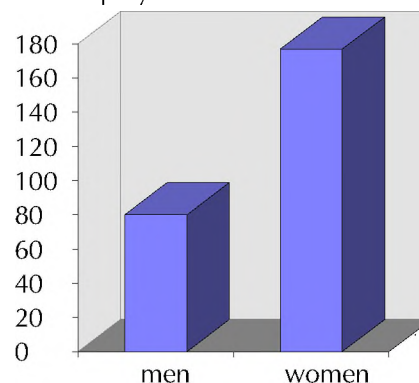
Graf 2: Zaposlenost slovenskega prebivalstva v okraju Koper med leti 1954-56 (PAK. TNZ OLO).

Amongst the Italian nationals, 554 (68.3%) were employed (506 men and 48 women). 257 (31.7%) were unemployed (177 women and 80 men).

Employed Italian Nationals



Unemployed Italian Nationals



Graph 3: Structure of the Employed and Unemployed Italian Nationals in the Koper District During 1954-1956 (PAK. TNZ OLO).

Graf 3: Zaposlenost italijanskega prebivalstva v okraju Koper med leti 1954-56 (PAK. TNZ OLO).

Seven Croats were also employed (2 women and 5 men). Five Croat women were unemployed.

Which were the most common professions in the town of Koper and its surroundings? This question is of particular significance, for we wish to use this detail as one of the major bases for the reconstruction of the social picture of that time. As space does not permit us to state all of the 96 different professions, we shall just present some of the most common ones, divided into three categories. This should better illuminate the social differences, which the new system wished to eliminate by all means and as soon as it could. However, the fact should also be taken into account that the nationalisation of firms and the inclusion of former self-employed people into the state economy were speeded up and that many self-employed future emigrants already worked in the state sector by the time they finally decided to leave.

Table 1: Employed tradesmen and self-employed in the Koper District During 1954-1956 (PAK. TNZ OLO).**Tabela 1: Zaposleni obrtniki in privatniki v okraju Koper med leti 1954-56 (PAK. TNZ OLO).**

PROFESSION	ITALIANS	SLOVENES	CROATS
FARMER	260	190	3
HOUSEWIFE	170	92	2
JOINER	41	6	0
FISHERMAN	25	0	0
DRIVER	17	19	0
BLACKSMITH	13	7	0
MECHANIC	12	10	0
BARBER	9	2	0
MERCHANT	9	1	0
BUTCHER	8	1	0
BAKER	7	2	0
SHOEMAKER	7	2	0
ELECTRICIAN	6	5	0
HOUSE PAINTER	6	8	0
DRESSMAKER	5	6	0
SEAMAN	4	0	0
INN-KEEPER	4	0	0
BRICKLAYER	4	19	0
TINSMITH	4	1	0
UPHOLSTERER	4	1	0
WAITER	3	2	0

Table 2: Employed "petty-bourgeois and intellectuals" in the Koper District During 1954-1956 (PAK. TNZ OLO).**Tabela 2: Zaposleni "malomeščani in intelektualci" v okraju Koper med leti 1954-56 (PAK. TNZ OLO).**

PROFESSION	ITALIANS	SLOVENES	CROATS
CIVIL SERVANT	7	2	0
FEMALE TEACHER	6	0	1
TYPOGRAPHER	2	0	0
STUDENT	2	3	0
PHYSICIAN	2	0	0
NOTARY	1	0	0
PRIEST	1	2	0
MALE TEACHER	1	1	0
PRINTER	1	0	0
ENGINEER	1	0	0
DRUGGIST	1	0	0
SURVEYOR	0	1	0
DEAN/PROFESSOR	0	1	0
COMPOSITOR	1	0	0
CHEMIST	1	0	0

Table 3: "Employed under the new system" in the Koper district during 1954-1956 (PAK. TNZ OLO).**Tabela 3: "Zaposleni v novi državni ureditvi" v okraju Koper med leti 1954-56 (PAK. TNZ OLO).**

PROFESSION	ITALIANS	SLOVENES	CROATS
WORKERS	66	90	2

The political leadership of the Koper District was therefore quite right when describing, at the beginning of 1947, the situation in the town as follows: "The town centres are inhabited mostly by farmers, seamen and fishermen, then by merchants and tradesmen, and by only a few intellectuals." (Beltram, 1986, 46) The leadership was also aware, however, that the situation would not remain such for long, as it was attempting to induce the self-employed, by imposing a tax on trade workshops, to look for a job in the state trade sector. In 1953, the number of self-employed tradesmen in Koper thus fell a great deal – in a single year, the number of private workshops fell from 282 to 203 – while the number employed in state institutions rose from 211 to 310. Although the tradesmen paid the high taxes, more and more workers decided to return the trade permit and, instead of joining the state-owned firms, leave for Italy, "which was quite acceptable, as long as tradesmen were adversely disposed to us, otherwise such things should not be solved with fiscal policy" (ARS. CK ZKS, 2).

The social picture was therefore changing rapidly or was rather "increasingly encouraged by itself, for the great majority of the population were farmers, workers, fishermen and seamen." (Beltram, 1986, 46)

And what about their property? All those who lodged the application to leave the country were also required to state whether they were fixed property owners or not. These properties were then inspected by a special commission, which assessed their condition and whether they had been damaged on purpose, a necessity after the experience with emigrants from Pula. Most often it was established that fixed properties were in poor condition, and there were very few houses that had electricity and running water. Orchards and vineyards were often in a sad state, as well. The owners could name caretakers for their real estate, and as a rule the latter were then confirmed by the Council.

A house with no land was owned by 129 Italians, 57 Slovenes and 1 Croat.

Land with no house was owned by 35 Italians and 40 Slovenes.

House and land at the same time were owned by 90 Italians, 70 Slovenes and 1 Croat.

Thus 557 Italians, 373 Slovenes and 10 Croats were without fixed property. The reasons for this situation were several. They may not have had any to begin with, some of them had simply sold their property, and of

course it is also possible that the documents at hand at times remain silent about these things.

Still, while speaking about real estate we must not forget the fact that every town has its rich and poor districts. Thus the emigrant's address tells us a lot about his or her social status. Opposite the palaces in the Koper's centre stood slums such as Bošadraga, whose residents belonged to the socially lower class of fishermen and partially farmers" (Guček, 2000, 58).

THE PROPERTY ALLOWED OUT OF YUGOSLAVIA

In Article 8 of the London Memorandum, Yugoslavia and Italy also resolved to stipulate the fate of the property of those who had lived in the areas that came under the civil administration of Italy or Yugoslavia and were now able to return unmolested to these areas. All of those who did that were entitled to the same rights as all other inhabitants of these areas. In accordance with current laws, they had all their property at their disposal. Two years after the "Memorandum on Consensus" was signed, the people who had lived in one of these areas but did not intend to return there, and the people who lived in one of these areas but within a year of the day the Memorandum was signed decided to leave this residence, were able to transfer their property and financial means. Relative to this property, they had no import, export or other duties imposed on them. The sums realised through the sale of property of the people, who in view of where they lived decided to sell their fixed and movable property within two years from the day the Memorandum was signed, were supposed to be deposited in special accounts at the National Banks of Italy and Yugoslavia. At the end of the two-year period, the two governments were to clear the balance between these two accounts.

Those who left Yugoslavia in this particular way were thus able to take with them, without export duties, personal goods, furniture, agricultural products and implements, livestock, and vehicles, or almost all movable property. While farmers were allowed to export a yearly supply of provisions, workers and civil servants were able to take with them only a few weeks' supply of such goods (Zagradnik, 1997). However, as Yugoslavia was at that time troubled by a severe economic crisis, its Government ordered its Customs to prohibit or limit the export of certain provisions due to their shortage in the country. This of course means that the optants were not able to take with them everything they wished. The reduction concerned particularly meat, fat, sugar and alcohol. The bearers of the temporary permit to cross the border could take with them only 5 kilograms of sugar, 1 whole prosciutto, from 5 to 10 hens, 5 litres of oil, two litres of spirits, about 10 litres of wine, 2 kilograms of ham, 10 tins of fish, 20 eggs, 3 litres of liqueur, from 20 to 50 kilograms of potatoes, and around 2 kilograms of

fresh meat. Their smoking habit could be consoled by only 10 packets of cigarettes. No gold nor other precious metals were allowed to be exported.

What else were they able to take away with them? This differed from person to person, as it was subject to their profession, life path, good and bad luck, capabilities and a number of other factors that make up people's lives. It also depended on the time available to them for the selection, preparation and packing of their property. While some had enough time to prepare well, some were greatly surprised by the short time in which the exit permit was issued to them and the even shorter time in which they had to leave the country. They were thus forced to fill their vehicles almost at once, and everything for which there was no space left had to be sold, often at inordinately low prices. All of them of course tried to take as much as possible with them, at least in money if not in movable property.

People took the following movable property with them to Trieste: bedroom equipment, complete with beds, cribs, mattresses together with springs, canopies, chairs, pillows, wardrobes, blankets, bedside tables, dressing tables, pictures, clocks, alarm clocks, glass cases, quilts, covers, mirrors, carpets, curtains and chandeliers. As they also kept blankets and dresses in their bedrooms, suitcases or cases with summer, winter and working clothing as well as cases with all kinds of white linen, were included. Shoes, too, were normally packed in their own case.

From their living rooms they took radios, telephones, clocks, pianos, record players (together with records), vases, cabinets, sofas, tables, chests of drawers, chairs, armchairs, deck-chairs, pictures, sculptures, marble plates, albums, chandeliers, ventilating fans, dolls, wooden horses, books, flowers, aquariums, birds and their cages, crucifixes, Christmas-tree decorations, etc.

In the kitchens of that time people kept – apart from electric or spirit stoves, kitchen ranges, cupboards, table, chairs, dishes, and tableware – tin or wooden tubs, copper cauldrons, dough and pasta making boards, buckets, jugs, scales, mincers and flytraps. Together with the kitchen range, firewood had to be taken. In some dining rooms, silver dinner services, crystal glasses, candlesticks, embroidered tablecloths and fine china plates could be found.

From their bathrooms they took bathtubs, flushing pans, washbowls, tubs for bathing children, electrical and mechanical water heaters, wardrobes, mirrors, lights and shavers; but as these places were also used for laundering, washing boards, tubs for soaking dirty linen, soap, electric or gas irons (or even the older ones heated by coals), clotheslines and clothes pegs were taken as well.

The people ready to leave took the requisite tools for their profession. Farmers took complete machinery for land cultivation and boxes of farming tools; some even

brought along hotbed frames and panes, together with seeds. If they were winegrowers, they also took dossers, tubs, presses, barrels, bottles, wicker flasks, hoses, hoes, spades, sulphur and blue vitriol sprayers, ordinary and barbed wire, bundles of willow twigs, beams, wheelbarrows and pumps. Apart from their boats, fishermen took nets, sails, lines with hooks, compasses, ores, spare motors, tools necessary for boat repairs, boxes for storing their catch, supplies of fuel, and fishing overalls. Blacksmiths took various hammers, anvils, moulds, iron pieces, bellows, firewood, paints and other tools. Drivers, mechanics and electricians opted mainly for the tools needed for repairs, various wires, and gauges, etc. Bricklayers needed bricklaying tools and materials, while housewives did not forget to take their sewing machines with them. Priests could not leave their parishes without crucifixes, kneelers, liturgical attire, chalices, altars, statuettes, mass wine, holy water, wafer bread, religious pictures and literature, and stationery. Private physicians loaded their entire dispensaries, together with operating tables, surgical instruments, sanitary material and scientific literature. From their waiting rooms they took benches and armchairs, coat and hat stands, small tables and even doormats. Some also loaded their ophthalmologist instruments and appliances, and some their dentist chairs. For various analyses they also needed centrifuges, microscopes, quartz lights with batteries, sanitary instruments, flasks with reagents, test tubes and burners. They also took medical correspondence and their patients' data. Photographers, and others, often owned cameras with stands, various agents for the making of pictures, albums and whole cases of photos. Chemists took pharmaceutical tools with them, boxes with compounds for pharmaceutical preparations, all kinds of bottles, dishes, plates, precision scales and numerous prepared medicines. In addition they brought internal equipment and furnishings such as display cases, cash boxes, scientific literature, marble tables for the preparation of medicines, counters, framed diplomas and other acknowledgements, and chairs. Apart from furniture, clothes and food, engineers took mostly books with them. As these, too, had to be examined, a special commission made up by the employees of the Regional Museum in Koper was formed by the Secretariat for the Internal Affairs. They prepared lists of books the owners could take with them. As some engineers had quite large libraries, the commission could not always succeed in examining the entire literature, which resulted in the postponement of many applicants' departures for Italy.

Quite a number of people in Koper lived on various annuities. For instance, Mrs. Nicolina G. was letting rooms in her houses and belonged to the richer stratum of the Koper population. With her she decided particularly to take some luxury goods from her apartment – mirrors, folding screens, showcases for objects made of

cut glass, china, kneelers, crosses, statues, wall clocks, pictures, candlesticks, wall-, floor- and bedside-carpets and rugs, memorial sabres, an ornamental miniature ship, old coins, used stamps, postcards, umbrellas, sunshades, a walking stick, hats, laces, shoes, gloves, dresses, four cases of pottery, a Christmas tree, a Christmas crib with Three Wise Men, shepherds, a little Christ and his family, a knitting kit, two cases of books, two boxes of manuscripts and other documents, and a substantial pile of linen and cloths. She did not take any victuals other than a few bottles of mineral water and medicaments for the heart.

Many people in the Koper District played some kind of instrument, and when they had to leave they could of course not part with them. Thus they took to Italy pianos, guitars, mandolins, violins, trumpets, clarinets, trombones, accordions and drums. Even some sports equipment could be found in the property lists, such as skis, sledges, balls, boxing gloves, skates, spear guns, fishing rods and racing bikes. Somebody even took a massage table and a massage machine with him.

Food constituted the greater part of the lists and was carefully weighed and documented. The list of live animals, which the optants were able to take with them to be used as pack animals, if necessary for food, or, perhaps in great need even as something valuable to sell, included mainly horses, donkeys, mules, bulls, cows, calves, pigs, rabbits, turkeys, hens, and chickens. Dogs and cats often travelled with them, as well. For all the animals, food had to be provided, including hay and seeds. Personal food supplies consisted of ham, prosciutto, bacon, oil, sausages, home-made salami, Hungarian salami, pork, beef, butter, eggs, canned fish, pasta, sugar, honey, biscuits, chocolate, marmalade, wheat and corn flour. Common fruits and vegetables were onions, garlic, olives, potatoes, beans, peas, corn, bran, tomatoes, apples, pears, plums, grapes, almonds, walnuts and nuts.

On the lists of drinks wines predominated, while spirits and liqueurs were carried to quench the thirst of those who longed for something stronger. Stewed fruits were taken for children and those with sensitive stomachs (PAK. TNZ OLO).

Their property was loaded onto all sorts of vehicles, which they either owned or borrowed from tradesmen or cooperative societies. These were mainly lorries available for hire at the price of about 80,000 dinars (Derin, 2002). Also used, however, were carts and boats, as well as cars and motorcycles. Some rode bicycles, while others had to carry their property on their shoulders.

CONCLUSIONS

It has been stressed a number of times that migrations are a very complex issue, an exceptionally wide

and multi-layered phenomenon enclosing numerous and very diverse topics (Rystad, 1992). With its great complexity, contradicting data and constant meddling by representatives of both low and high politics, the post-war emigration from Istria, this multiethnic and multicultural territory, has merely confirmed these statements. This course of events is for all involved still one of the major foundations upon which they shape their views in connection with the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, their culture and politics. And if this foundation is composed of diverse myths with a questionable historical basis, then periodically problems will recur; tensions are present today, not only at the local level but also, more broadly, encroaching on the relations between the two countries and even on the EU's expansion politics.

It is becoming increasingly clear that there can simply be no progress toward a better understanding of these events merely by the dull counting of emigrants followed by guesses about all other data concerning these people. The number of emigrants is indeed important, especially if related to their ethnic affiliation. However, as we "lack a more integral picture of these events, we can still only speculate on the causes for such mass migrations" (Troha, 1999, 167).

A social picture is indeed a fountain of data from which we discover a great deal without burdening ourselves with the sheer size and fluidity of a study on a national scale. The fact is that in this way we can turn the numbers into people who were working, hoping, in-

vesting, believing, building, saving, sinning, helping, taking care of their families, travelling, amusing themselves, enjoying life, and in the end also suffering due to the circumstances brought to bear by the war, and, later on, by the new political system, not to mention their personal problems. Also available are the data on their property, one of the main criteria for someone's success, which clearly demarcates the different social layers of population. Through the lists of movable property allowed to be taken with them, one can also observe, apart from tools and equipment intended for individual professions, the education of these people, the things intended for their family life, their desires regarding reading and creating, their interest in art and culture. Also at hand are the diverse objects used in their leisure time, as well as in their religious lives and on various holidays and festivals. All this reveals the rich and interesting lives of these people and their community, at the same time demonstrating the power of their motivation for leaving and going abroad.

For the time being, the research work has been limited only to the town of Koper and its surroundings, but a similar survey has already started that will include the entire Slovene Istria. In connection with similar investigations dealing with the study of the authority's documentation of that particular time and with the aid of a firm collaboration with Italian researchers, an increasing number of answers to our questions will become available.

ZADNJI VELIKI VAL IZSELITEV IZ KOPRA IN NJEGOVE OKOLICE TER POSKUS REKONSTRUKCIJE SOCIALNE SLIKE IZSELJENCEV

Jure GOMBAČ

Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Republike Slovenije Koper, SI-6000 Koper Capodistria, Garibaldijska 18
e-mail: jure.gombac@zrs-kp.si

POVZETEK

S podpisom Londonskega memoranduma med Italijo in Jugoslavijo pod skrbnim očesom velesil v začetku meseca oktobra 1954 se je končal skoraj desetletni politični spopad za dokončno zakoličenje meddržavne meje. Ta dogodek pa je postal tudi uvod v zadnje poglavje poveljnih migracij Italijanov, pa tudi Hrvatov in Slovencev iz Istre in Dalmacije v Italijo. Tega procesa, ki se je začel že leta 1943, ni zaustavila nobena mednarodna pogodba oziroma sporazum, s katerim sta obe državi vsaj na videz skušali utrditi skupno mejo.

To je dokazal tudi zadnji veliki val izseljencev, ki so po Londonskem memorandumu sklenili zapustiti Koper in njegovo okolico. Za seboj so pustili številne uradne dokumente o svoji prisotnosti na tem prostoru, zato se je dalo s pomočjo statistike, grafov in števil izseljence ne le prešteti in razdeliti na "naše in njihove", temveč je postalo mogoče uzreti tudi njihovo socialno sliko. Ta nam govori svojo zgodbo o ljudeh, ki so prebivali v teh krajih, opravljali svoje poklice, večali ali izgubljali svoje premoženje, oblikovali družine, živeli bogato kulturno in versko življenje na tem multietničnem in multikulturnem prostoru in ki so se odločili vse to zapustiti in oditi najprej v Trst, nekateri pa tudi drugam posvetu.

Kar 94 različnih poklicev nam kaže raznolikost zaposlitve v tem mediteranskem mestu, seveda pa gre k poklicu tudi določen status in njemu pripadajoči statusni simboli. Da pa dela le ni bilo za vse, nam kažejo podatki o brezposelnosti, kjer so prevladovale predvsem ženske.

O bogastvu in revščini tamkajšnjega prebivalstva nam govorijo podatki o nepremičninah. Teh izseljenci niso mogli vzeti s seboj, so pa jih lahko prodali, ali pa jim priskrbeli oskrbnike, ki naj bi skrbeli za zanje vse do njihove vrnitve. V premičninah, ki so jih izseljenci lahko vzeli s seboj, pa lahko najdemo celo vrsto predmetov, ki nas boljše seznanijo s samim življenjem ljudi v tistem času, ljudi, ki so delali, bivali, se družili in ljubili, skrbeli za osebno higieno, se ukvarjali z športom, fotografijo, izobraževali, kulturno ustvarjali, potovali, verovali in seveda jedli in pili. S seboj v novo življenje so na vsak način želeli prenesti temelje, ki naj bi jim v kaotičnem svetu migracij nudili oporo in na ta način ohranjali upanje, da bo spet kdaj tako, kot je bilo.

Ključne besede: migracije, eksodus, socialna slika, multietnični prostor, oblikovanje meje

SOURCES AND REFERENCES

- PAK. TNZ OLO** – Pokrajinski arhiv Koper (PAK), Tajištvo za notranje zadeve okrajnega ljudskega odbora Koper (TNZ OLO), fasc. 24, Optanti – dovolilnice za izselitev.
- ARS. CK ZKS, 1** – Arhiv republike Slovenije (ARS), Centralni komite Zveze komunistov Slovenije (CK ZKS), t. e. 1562, Zapisnik konference s sekretarji OK ZKS, 5. 1. 1955.
- ARS. CK ZKS, 2** – ARS. CK ZKS, t.e. 1562, Zapisnik konference s sekretarji OK ZKS, 6. 4. 1955.
- NL** – La Nostra Lotta, Italiani e niente altro. Koper, 12. 10. 1954.
- Argenti Tremul, A. (2001):** Rilevamenti nel circondario Capodistriano (1945-1957). ETNIA, VIII. Rovigno-Trieste, Centro di Ricerche Storiche Rovigno-Unione Italiana Fiume, Università popolare di Trieste, 91-100.
- Ballinger, P. (1998):** Remembering the istrian exodus. MESS II, Ljubljana, Inštitut za multikulturne raziskave, 51-70.
- Battistella, G. (1991):** Introduction. International Migration review 1-23. New York, Center for migration studies, 1-2.
- Beltram, J. (1986):** Pomlad v Istri. Koper, Založba Lipa.
- Collela, A. (1958):** L'Esodo dalle terre adriatiche. Rivelazioni statistiche. Roma, Opera per l'assistenza ai profugi giuliani e dalmati.
- Colummi, C., Ferrari, L., Nassisi, G., Trani, G., Bron-dani, A. & G. Miccoli (1980):** Storia di un' Esodo. Istria 1945-1956. Trieste, Istituto regionale per la storia nel movimento di liberazione nel Friuli – Venezia Giulia.
- Darovec, D. (1998):** A Brief History of Istria. Yanhep (Western Australia), Archivio del Litorale Adriatico.
- Biondi, N., Cecotti, F., De Menech, S., Famiani, L., Mendola, L., Pappucia, F., Puissa, P., Russian, P., Stranj, P., Umek, D. & D. Vecchiet (1996):** Il Confine mobile, Atlante storico dell'Alto Adriatico 1866-1992. Monfalcone, Edizioni della Laguna S. R. L.
- Derin, L. (2002):** Capodistria addio, lettere di un' esule 1945-1956. Milano, Mursia.
- Donato, C. (2001):** Il Friuli e la Venezia Giulia nelle migrazioni di oggi e di un recente passato. Trieste, Università degli Studi di Trieste.
- Donato, C. (2001):** Analisi dei risultati. V: Donato, C. et al.: Spostamenti di popolazione e trasformazioni sociali nella Provincia di Trieste e nel Distretto di Capodistria del Secondo dopoguerra. Trieste, Regione Autonoma Friuli-Venezia Giulia-Università degli Studi di Trieste, 113-149.
- Gombač, B. (1996):** Slovenija Italija, od preziranja do priznanja. Ljubljana, Debora.
- Gombač, J. (2000):** Izseljevanje iz Kopra in njegove okolice po Londonskem memorandumu. Analiza podatkov skozi prizmo nacionalnosti. Annales, 26/01. Koper, Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko – Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Republike Slovenije, 395-402.
- Gombač, J. (2001):** Sociološki vidiki migracij na slovensko-italijanski meji po drugi svetovni vojni. Magistrska naloga. Ljubljana, Filozofska fakulteta.
- Gombač, J. (2001):** Izseljevanje iz Kopra in njegove okolice po Londonskem memorandumu. Analiza podatkov skozi prizmo nacionalnosti. Annales, 26/01. Koper, Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko – Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče republike Slovenije, 395-402.
- Gombač, M. (1997):** Slovensko primorje 1944-1947. V: Gombač, M. et al.: Zbornik Primorske-50 let. Koper, Primorske novice, 30-34.

- Guček, M. (2000):** Anonimna arhitektura v prenovi Koper. Knjižnica Annales Majora, Koper. Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko – Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Republike Slovenije Koper.
- Jeri, J. (1961):** Tržaško vprašanje. Ljubljana, Cankarjeva založba
- Jerman, A. (1994):** 40. obletnica podpisa Londonskega memoranduma – konec tržaškega vprašanja. Annales, 5/94. Koper, Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko – Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Republike Slovenije, 323-324.
- Marin, L. (1992):** Upravna in teritorialna razdelitev slovenske Istre v zadnjih treh stoletjih. Annales, 2/92. Koper, Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko – Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Republike Slovenije, 159-174.
- Pletikosić, I. (2001):** Vpliv selitvenih gibanj na spreminjanje števila prebivalcev v Piranu sredi 20. stoletja. Annales, 26/01. Koper, Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko – Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Republike Slovenije, 387-394
- Pirjevec, J. (1998):** Pariška mirovna konferenca. Acta Histrie, VI. Koper, Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko – Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Republike Slovenije, 99-116.
- Pupo, R. (1995):** L'Esodo degli Italiani da Zara, da Fiume e dall'Istria-1943-56. Quaderni, 3/4. Trieste, Centro Studi Economico-Politici "Enzo Vanoni", 125-166.
- Pupo, R. (2000):** Orientamenti della piu recente storiografia Italiana sull'Esodo Istriano. Annales, 20/00. Koper, Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko – Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Republike Slovenije, 165-170.
- Rystad, G. (1992):** Immigration History and the Future of international Migration. International Migration review 26, New York, Center for migration studies, 1169-1180.
- Troha, N. (1999):** Komu Trst. Ljubljana, Modrijan.
- Troha, N. (2000):** Ukrepi jugoslovanskih oblasti v conah B Julijske krajine in Svobodnega tržaškega ozemlja in Italijani na koprskem. Annales, 20/00. Koper, Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko – Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Republike Slovenije, 203-216.
- Valdevit, G. (1998):** Gli Alleati e la questione di Trieste fra peace making e la guerra fredda. Acta Histriae, VI. Koper, Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko – Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Republike Slovenije, 99-116.
- Volk, S. (1999):** Ezulski skrbniki. Knjižnica Annales, 20. Koper, Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko.
- Zagradnik, M. (1997):** Optiranje in izseljevanje. Zagradnik, M. et al.: Zbornik Primorske-50 let, Koper, Primorske novice, 60-64.