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103

The historical background as reflected in translations

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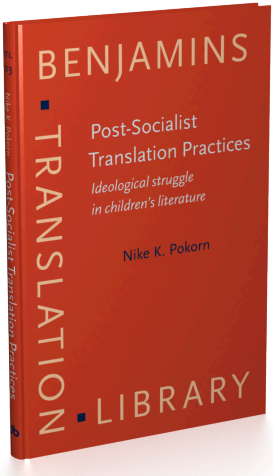

Pages 15–38 of
Post-Socialist Translation Practices: Ideological struggle in children's literature
Nike K. Pokorn
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The historical background as reflected in translations

> In practice this meant that no book written before approximately 1960 could be translated as a whole. Pre-revolutionary literature could only be subjected to ideological translation – that is, alteration in sense as well as language. (Orwell, *1984*)

This passage describing politically controlled translation policy taken from "The Principles of Newspeak", the appendix to Orwell's novel *1984,* has not been unfamiliar to the Slovene and Yugoslav publics. In 1947, at the Stalinist show trials in Ljubljana (the so-called Dachau trials), one of the defendants, a former minister in the new post-war government, had to face charges which included the allegation that he possessed and had attempted to translate Orwell's novel *Animal Farm.* Although the accused defended himself, saying that he had only read the book and had not tried to translate it, the punishment was severe: he was sentenced to seven years forced labour and was stripped of all political rights for three years (Puhar 2001: 253–254). Only twenty years later, in 1967, a Slovene translation of Orwell's novel *1984* was published by one of the main publishing houses in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, thus making the Slovene translation the first translation of this novel in the Socialist East. Three years later, in 1970, there followed a Slovene translation of the political fable *Animal Farm,* which directly criticized the abuse and betrayal of a revolution by its leaders, this time published by a low-profile technical publishing house (see Puhar 2001). And this openness was not restricted to Slovenia: in 1974 there appeared a Serbian translation of *1984*, and in 1977 *Animal Farm* was translated into Croatian. Yugoslav society created an illusion of openness and freedom. How was it possible, without a change of regime and with the same people in power, that at one time even possessing a particular book was a crime, while twenty years later the same book was allowed to be translated and published by the state publishing house? This radical transformation, so clearly reflected in translation policy, was a result of a society undergoing transformation, of changing political alliances, and also of individual efforts to open the society to other political and ideological views. Changing political stances and new ideological positions were particularly visible in the selection of translated texts for the juvenile public.

From mediaeval times to Austria-Hungary

For the purpose of my investigation, I created a catalogue (see Pym 1998: 42) of publications of children's literature in Slovene for the period from 1800 to 1899. The most exhaustive Slovene electronic online bibliographic source catalogue (COBISS, www.cobiss.si) and the electronic online bibliography of the National and University Library (www.nuk.uni-lj.si) were checked. Despite the incomplete and sometimes contradictory data, it was established that in the whole of the 19th century there appeared only 87 Slovene translations of children's literature. Although this number appears very low, the influence of the translated works was nevertheless important: in the same period there were only 22 works that were originally written in Slovene for a juvenile audience – a strikingly low number compared to the 375 original titles in Slovene published for an adult readership during that same period. In the period between 1900 and 1944, however, the number of original and translated books in Slovene rose dramatically, which was partly due to the changed political position of the speakers of Slovene and society's intense focus on the Slovene language itself.

These efforts to develop and safeguard the language were the result of the fact that for over nine centuries Slovenes were subjected to a more or less intense Germanization, which had started as early as the 10th century, when the territory inhabited by the Slovenes was assigned to the German kingdom. The Habsburg dynasty ruled over the territory from the 14th century to 1918 and divided the great majority of Slovene speakers between the historic provinces of Carinthia, Carniola, Styria, Gorizia and Istria (see e.g. Gow and Carmichael 2000: 13; Pisanski Peterlin 2005).

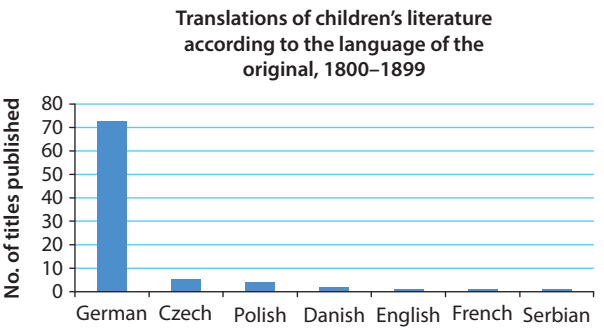
The earliest written record of the Slovene language is found in the Freising Manuscripts, a collection of confessions and sermons dating from around 1000 AD. However, despite these early literary attempts, the Slovene language was not generally written until the Reformation, when Protestants translated the *Bible* (1584), wrote tracts in Slovene, and published the first Slovene grammar and dictionary (see e.g. Ahačič 2007). After a fierce Counter-Reformation, the next revival of Slovene happened at the end of the 18th century when a Roman Catholic translation of the Bible in Slovene appeared. The century was also marked by increased economic growth, and the appearance of a Slovene intelligentsia and of the first Slovene theatrical texts (Kocijančič 2007). The 19th century, i.e. a century included in our survey, started with the occupation of the Slovene lands by Napoleon. From 1809 to 1913 the majority of the Slovene population was included in the Illyrian Provinces of the French Empire, and enthusiastically welcomed the French, who favoured the use of Slovene as an official language at lower levels of administration and in state schools, and therefore contributed greatly to national self-awareness.

(Shepherd 1912)

Thus, in the early 19th century, the first scholarly grammar of Slovene was published (1808), which standardized and codified the language, so much so that by the middle of the 19th century, a standard written language was in use. The return of Habsburg rule ended many of the reforms, but could not stop the national revival: in 1843 Ljubljana finally saw the publication of the first Slovene-language newspaper (see e.g. Žigon 2009). The revolutionary movement in 1848 touched upon the Slovenes as well – the first Slovene national programme was formulated by important prominent Slovene figures (e.g. the linguist and the future rector of Vienna University, Fran Miklošič) demanding a unified Slovene province within the Austrian Empire. Although the idea did not gain the support of Vienna, the German influence diminished and the Slovene bourgeoisie gradually gained in importance, so that by the end of the century the first Slovene political parties were founded: the most important of them being the Liberal Party and the Slovene People's Party. A deep rift between the left-wing liberal position and right-wing "clerical" political position, which retained close links with the Roman Catholic Church, was to plague the Slovene people for more than a century to come.

This progress in national awareness and the foundation in 1851 of the first Slovene publishing house, the Society of St Hermagoras, by the Catholic priest

Martin Slomšek in Klagenfurt (in today's Austria) are mirrored in the production of original and translated works in Slovene. The 19th century started with 2 translations for children in the first decade, and ended with a decade that offered as many as 18 translations for a juvenile audience. The majority of the works, however, were translated from German. More than a half (i.e. 54 titles) of the total 87 Slovene translations of children's literature were originally written by Christoph von Schmidt (1768–1854), a Bavarian Catholic priest and educator, who wrote numerous books for children (among them *First Lessons about God for the Little Ones* and *Bible History for Children*) imbued with religious overtones (Guldner 1912). The predominance of this author in the corpus of translated texts for children manifests the important role of the Roman Catholic Church in the Slovene society of the time. In addition to the fact that the majority of the original texts were in German, even those books that were originally not written by German authors (e.g. fairy tales by Hans Christian Andersen, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe etc.) were predominantly translated from German translations or adaptations (see graph).



The interwar period

The early 20th century proved to be even more tumultuous for the Slovene population. First, the Slovenes fighting in the Austrian and Italian armies suffered huge losses, particularly along the Isonzo front. After the war, when Austria-Hungary collapsed in 1918 and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was formed, the political situation did not significantly improve: one third of the Slovene population was left in Italy and Austria, outside the boundaries of the new state.

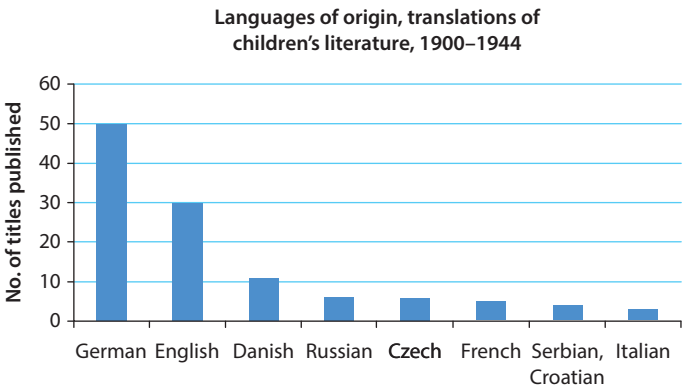
When in the plebiscite of 1920 a large part of the Slovene-populated Carinthia stated a preference for Austrian rule, the intense Germanization of the region started and the oldest publishing house Hermagoras had to relocate to the newly established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. It was even worse in the coastal region: under the terms of the Treaty of Rapallo in 1920 approximately

Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Kingdom of Yugoslavia), 1918–1923, Scale 1: 8 890 000 (Magosci 2002: 38)

300,000 Slovenes were included in the new Italian state, in the year when the Slovene national centre was burned down by the Fascists in Trieste. The Slovene population was subjected to an Italianization programme which included changing their surnames, and moving intellectuals and clergy to other parts of Italy. But the new kingdom was also unfavourable towards Slovenes. It soon changed its name to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and strengthened the position of the Serbs: Slovenes did continue using the Slovene language officially, but their autonomy was in reality restricted mainly to cultural affairs. Although Slovene politicians were not really satisfied with their position under strong and hegemonic Serbian control, the Catholic conservatives, anticlerical liberals and the emerging leftist could not find common ground in order to bring any radical change to the system. The Slovenes entered the Second World War strongly politically divided.

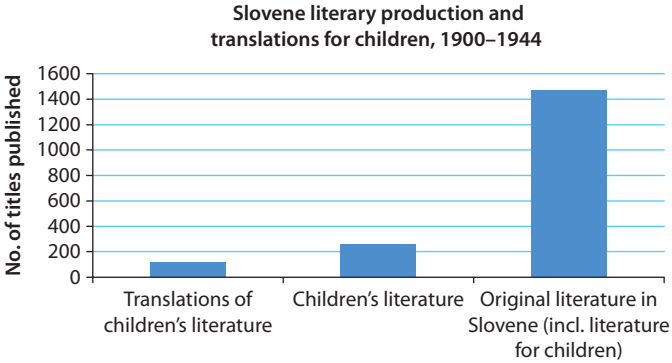
The production of the translations for children between 1900 and 1944 manifests the historical changes that the Slovenes underwent during that period. First, the production of translated texts, involving 116 titles, surpassed by one third the production of translated texts of the entire previous century. This increase in the number of titles published was also the result of the increasing literacy of the

population: according to Rogel (1968) in 1921 only 8.8% of the Slovene population were still illiterate, which was relatively low compared to 49.8% of Croats and 67.8% of Serbs. The First World War took its toll: between 1910 and 1919 there were only 7 works translated, but otherwise on average approximately 37 translations for children were published each decade. Although German literature was still predominant (see graph), works from other cultures were also translated: for example, from English, Danish (although mainly via German), Russian, French, Czech, Serbian and Croatian, and Italian.



Among the authors, Christoph von Schmidt was still highly popular (14 translations appeared in that period), although not as much as another Catholic writer, Joseph Spillmann, with 17 works published in Slovene translation during that short period. Joseph Spillmann (1824–1905) was a Jesuit priest who wrote edifying stories for a juvenile audience and longer romances in the style of Sir Walter Scott and Charles Dickens (Scheid 1912). Thus, during these years, Schmidt's and Spillmann's works represented more than one fifth of the whole production of Slovene translated texts for children, manifesting the continuing strong influence of the Roman Catholic Church on education. However, not only pronounced Catholic writers appeared: there were others who would later (cf. O'Sullivan 2006) be listed among the authors of the classics of children's literature (e.g. Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, Hans Christian Andersen, Carlo Collodi, Erich Kästner, Felix Salten), and those authors who originally wrote for adults, but whose works became part of the children's literature canon: for example, Jonathan Swift, Daniel Defoe, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Jules Verne, Mark Twain and Karl May.

Another significant change during this period was the fact that translations for children no longer outnumbered the original Slovene production for the juvenile public. Between 1900 and 1944 there appeared 258 original Slovene works for children, i.e. more than twice as many as translations. Children's literature represented 17% of the entire production of Slovene literature during that period (see graph).



The Second World War

In 1941 the Kingdom of Yugoslavia collapsed, and the territory inhabited by Slovenes was partitioned. The Italians controlled the capital of Ljubljana and the lands to the west, Germany annexed the north directly to the Reich, while Hungary recovered the easternmost territory called Prekmurje. Immediately after the occupation, Slovene resistance groups sprang up and soon came under the leadership of the Slovene National Liberation Front, which was founded in April 1941. This Front, which at the start was a coalition of various left-wing activists including Christian Socialists, fell under the exclusive leadership of Slovene Communists following the Dolomite Declaration of 1943, in which all non-Communist parties of the Front renounced independent political activity. Because of its Communist core, the Liberation Front did not gain the support of the right-wing political parties. Various anti-revolutionary groups were formed: members of the Blue Guard remained loyal to the Yugoslav government in exile and collaborated with the Italians against the Communists. They were later joined by the White Guard, a group of forces which had initially emerged in villages to oppose the Communist-led Partisans. The second anti-Communist fraction was the so-called Slovene Covenant (established in 1942), whose political programme was very similar to that of the Slovene Liberation Front, and which was supported by the right-wing parties, in particular the Slovene People's Party. After the collapse of Italy in September 1943, the German occupying forces decided to form the Home Guard from the remnants of the White Guard and other anti-Communist forces. When the members of Home Guard made a solemn oath of loyalty to German forces on the day of Hitler's birthday in 1943, the bishop of Ljubljana, Gregorij Rožman officiated at a mass for them. His presence there was regarded as the official support of the Slovene Catholic Church for collaborators, and has been a source of ardent controversy

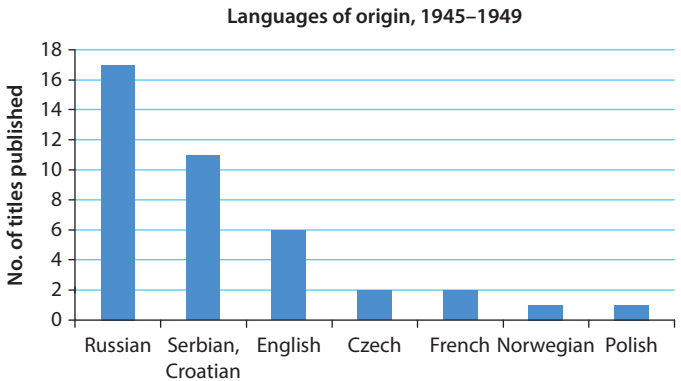
in Slovenia ever since. The Slovene Liberation Front, by contrast, strengthened its links with Tito's Partisans and in 1943 sent a Slovene delegation to the second session of the provisional parliament in Bosnia, when the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was founded. The war ended in May 1945 with the victory of Partisans and the Liberation Front – and with a massacre of around 10,000 members of the Home Guard and of other opponents of the new Communist regime at the end of 1945.

In 1945 when a new Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was formed, the Partisan forces took control of territories that had become part of Italy and Austria after the First World War, including Trieste, which was later lost again in the post-war settlement in 1954 and was followed by an extensive exodus of the Italian population from Istria to Italy. Slovene became one of the three official languages of the new state, together with Serbo-Croat and Macedonian.

Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 1980, Scale 1: 8 890 000 (Magosci 2002: 56)

The early post-war period

During the early post-war years Slovenia restructured its economic and political life along Stalinist lines. However, in 1948 Josef Stalin expelled Yugoslavia from the Cominform, an international organization devoted to the encouragement of Communist solidarity, which resulted in a complete break with the Soviets. The initial post-war enthusiasm for the Soviet Union and the subsequent rejection of everything coming from the USSR are visible in the selection of children's works that were translated in that period. The bibliographical data for the post-war period are more detailed, so that in addition to the online catalogues, the printed Slovene bibliography from 1945 onwards and the bibliography of children's books for the period from 1945 to 1958 (Šircelj 1961) were checked for all translations of children's literature. The bibliographies show that the most popular language of origin of the past, the German language, was replaced by Russian (see graph).



Despite this political break with the USSR, the Yugoslav Communist Party retained the Soviet attitude towards religion. And this particular attitude was one of the most defining features of the post-war ideological struggle within the Yugoslav Socialist society.

Yugoslav Communists and the Church

There is no uniform Communist attitude towards religion. While, for example, the Italian Communists did not consider religion as an impediment but, on the contrary, as an incentive for the Socialist orientation of the masses, the Slovene Communists followed orders issued by Belgrade which adopted the Soviet attitude towards "clericalism" (see e.g. meeting of the Politburo of the CC CPS, 5 Jan

1951) and regarded religion as "prejudice and superstition" and the church as the "ideological weapon of imperialism" (cf. XXI. Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union). Although less extreme in terms of persecution of religion in comparison to the Soviet Union (see Boeckh 2006), the Communist Party of Yugoslavia still considered religion as an aberration and prejudice that lingers in "specific historical conditions of the material and spiritual backwardness of the people" (16 October 1967 (AS[1]1589, a.u. 215)).

The negative attitude of Yugoslav Communists towards any kind of religious sentiment was partly ideological and found its inspiration in Marx. In his introduction to *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* (1843) Karl Marx offered his criticism of religion, asserting that it is man that creates religion, not religion that creates man. The source of religion, according to Marx and Feuerbach, is therefore not in the individual, but in a man as a social being, i.e. in the entirety of his/her social relations. The classics of Marxism thus see religion as a social phenomenon that stems from and renews itself through the individual's alienation, which is in turn created by the contradictory world in which that individual functions. For Yugoslav Communists, following Marx, religion is thus a historical category whose content changes with the increased influence of man on nature and the social environment (cf. 14–16.6.1967, AS 1589, a.u. 215). According to Marx, "religion is only the illusory Sun which revolves around man as long as he does not revolve around himself," "the opium of the people", "the self-consciousness of a person who has not found himself yet or who has lost himself again" (Marx 1843). Marxists believed that any progress in human culture and civilization required the repudiation of idealism and religion. Religion is something which does not belong to the essence of man: on the contrary, it is a phenomenon that characterised a specific historical period in man's development, but which does not belong to man's real nature. At one of the Communist Party seminars still kept in the archival material of the Communist Party of Slovenia it is therefore concluded that the essence of man is work, and that work is the ontic and ontological meaning or both together (1969 (AS 1589/62, a.u. 193–194)).

However, the negative attitude towards the Roman Catholic Church in Slovenia and in other Yugoslav republics was also historical. During the Second World War some members of the Catholic church hierarchy supported the occupying forces, and openly worked against the Communists. After the war, some of the clergy (in particular in Croatia) kept close contact with émigré political groups and various terrorist groups that were sent to Yugoslavia (Gabrič 2005: 854). Despite these sporadic counter-revolutionary activities, after the war

1. The references to archival records are explained in the bibliography section.

the new Yugoslav and Slovene government allowed the functioning of the Roman Catholic Church, other Christian denominations, and Islam, also because, for example in Bosnia, Muslims even formed a partisan brigade,[2] and in Slovenia, Christians were among the founding members of the Liberation Front (the organisation behind the Partisan movement), and some priests had even joined Partisan forces (Griesser Pečar 2005: 88) – their activities, however, were closely monitored. For this reason, since the Roman Catholic Church remained the only organisation in post-war Slovenia that was not under the direct influence of the new government, leading Communists saw it as a reactionary organisation and treated it with suspicion (Gabrič 2005: 852).

The general population was not aware of the intensity of the ideological struggle, since there was a considerable discrepancy between what was being said officially and what went on behind the scenes: for example, in 1945 all the major daily newspapers in Slovenia stated that there were no priests in prison or concentration camps (claiming that there were no concentration camps in Yugoslavia), and that no priests had been convicted and executed by the new government (Gabrič 2005: 853), whereas in reality there were various concentration camps, 429 priests had been indicted, and 339 imprisoned, and four priests were executed between 1945 and 1961 (Griesser Pečar 2005: 103). In addition to repressive methods, in 1949 the government attempted to weaken the Roman Catholic Church by establishing a national church Cyrillo-Methodian Society of Catholic Priests; however, the attempt to undermine the RCC in Slovenia failed because very few priests joined this new organisation (Režek 2005: 953). The pressure against the Roman Catholic Church, however, gradually increased and culminated in attack on the Catholic bishop Anton Vovk who was splashed with gasoline and set on fire in 1952 (Pust et al. 1994). In spite of all this, in 1953 83% of the Slovene population declared themselves to be Catholic.

In 1960s the attitude changed: in 1966 Yugoslavia signed a protocol with the Vatican, and in 1970 diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Yugoslavia were restored: Tito became the first Socialist leader to visit the Pope (Režek 2005: 1052). This is also reflected in the work of different party committees: while the emphasis on the fight against religion was very present in the 1950s and 1960s, the 1970s still saw some seminars on the topic of church and religion within the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia (AS 169, a.u. 402; AS 173, a.u. 407; AS 367, a.u. 2542–2546), but increasing emphasis was laid on

2. Bosnian Muslims, in fact, fought for the Communist-dominated Partisans, for the pro-Nazi Ustaša regime, for the royalist Yugoslav Chetniks, and had even some independent units directly under German SS command, while their religious leaders were openly anti-British (see e.g. Malcolm 1996).

political schools for Communists. The archival material reveals that in the early 1980s the Communists pleaded for greater tolerance for religious sentiment (e.g. AS 1589, a.u. 697), and in 1986 the archbishop was given the opportunity to appear on public television for the first time since the war (Gabrič 2005: 1165).

The organisation of the Slovene and Yugoslav Communist Parties

In the early post-war years the Slovene and Yugoslav Communist Parties mimicked not only the attitude towards religion, but also the internal organisation of the Soviet Communist Party and party members were installed in every important position in society. Consequently, membership soared after the Second World War: in August 1945 there were only 4978 party members in Slovenia, whereas seven years later, in 1952, there were already 54 809 (Drnovšek 2000: 9). The highest governing body in each republic was the Central Committee, which had various departments, among them the department for agitation and propaganda (agitprop), which also covered publishing activity and education (ibid.: 11). The agitprop department functioned behind the scenes: officially it did not exist, but everyone was aware of the fact that without agitprop approval a work could not be published (Gabrič 2005: 903).

Despite the fact that from September 1950 Russian was no longer taught as the obligatory foreign language in primary schools, even after the break with Stalin in 1948 the agitprop department still favoured soc-realism in art: the "poetry of shovel and spike" (Gerbič 2005: 945), as it was disparagingly described by the critics. Moreover, the Party ideologues acted against personalism, existentialism, abstract art, jazz – and pulp fiction (Gabrič 1995: 26, 36; 2005, 945). Their influence, however, was not all-pervading: although the 1950s and early 1960s saw some repressive censorial activities with several journals being closed down, among them *Nova Obzorja* (1952), *Svit* (1954), *Bori* (1955), *Beseda* (1957), *57* (1958), and *Perspektive* (1964), (Gabrič 2005: 1025; Gabrič 1995: 62, 135; Repe 1990), in 1950 articles by Albert Camus were translated into Slovene, a play by Jean Anouilh was staged at the National Theatre, and there was an exhibition of French abstract modernist paintings in the Modern Gallery (Gabrič 2005: 945–947).

When in 1952 the Yugoslav Communist Party changed its name to the League of Communists, agitprop and its sub-committees were abolished, and ideological control was transferred to the newly established Socialist Alliance of the Working People (SAWP). The president of the Yugoslav SAWP was the head of the Communist party and President of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, while the leading positions were taken by Communists, and the membership was made up of all

citizens of Yugoslavia over 18, who accepted the programme and the statute of the organisation. The main goal of this new organisation was to "re-educate" people to see the benefits of the Socialist system in comparison to other political systems (Drnovšek 2000: 13; Režek 2005: 943; Gabrič 1995: 16–17).

From 1954 onwards, the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia (SAWPS) established various committees that monitored publishing activity. Although the real control never slipped out of the hands of the Communist Party (cf. Repe and Prinčič 2009: 73), soon the work of the SAWPS committees was judged to be insufficiently thorough, so the Ideological Committee at the Central Committee of the League of Communists was reinstated in 1956. These various committees focused mainly on the management of publishing houses: after 1955, when the new law on publishing activity was passed by the Yugoslav Assembly, each publishing house in Slovenia was obliged to have a publishing council whose members were selected by the SAWPS print committee (Gabrič 1995: 72–73), and the decisive positions in these councils were given to trustworthy party members. The main goal of publishing councils was to approve the yearly publishing programme – in that way the appropriateness of the selection of publications and translations was monitored, and no censorial office was needed (cf. Žniderščič 1995: 129; Gabrič 1995: 23).

Socialist publishing houses

> There is a great need for the intensification of the fight against clericalism in the entire publishing field.
> (Meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovenia (CC CPS), 20 November 1952 (Drnovšek 2000: 321))

Ideological control in Socialist Yugoslavia and Slovenia was thus exercised mainly through publishing houses. This control was relatively efficient and systematic. For example, before the Second World War there were 26 different publishing houses in Slovene lands, but only three of them continued with their activities after the war: Mohorjeva družba (est. 1851), Slovenska matica (est. 1864), and the publishing house of the Academy of Arts and Sciences (est. 1938) (Žniderščič 1995: 119–136). While Slovenska matica and the publishing house of the Academy of Arts and Sciences were taken over by the new ideological elite, the only one that retained some sort of independence after the war was Mohorjeva družba.

Mohorjeva družba publishing was established in Klagenfurt in 1851 (in the 19th century this town was an important centre of Slovene Carinthian culture),

but relocated after the First World War, when Klagenfurt became part of Austria, to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes: first to Prevalje in 1919, and then to Celje in 1927. In 1924 a new subsidiary was established in Gorizia to cater for the Slovenes in the Italian state. The division of its readership among three states signalled even greater hardships to come: during the Second World War the German occupying forces confiscated the printing press and all the other assets, and although these were returned after the war, the new Communist government nationalised the printing house and hampered its work in various ways. But despite the continuous attempts to neutralise (e.g. at one point the Communist Party also planned to close the company down (meeting of the Politburo of the CC CPS of 12 October 1951 (Drnovšek 2000: 276)), Mohorjeva družba remained under the strong influence of the Catholic Church and as such was the only publisher that managed to some extent to avoid the ideological control of the Communist Party. The archival materials of the meetings of the Central Committee explain this apparently inexplicable lenience of the new government: the publishing house was allowed to continue its activities after the war because of the strong influence it had on the Carinthian Slovene population, i.e. on the population living outside the borders of the Communist state in the Republic of Austria. Its activities, however, were closely monitored: on 20 November 1952, at a meeting of the Politburo of the CC CPS, the future Slovene prime minister and Yugoslav economics minister Boris Kraigher explained that Mohorjeva družba "was kept because of the influence it had in Carinthia, which it has now lost," and warned that it "now provides support for clerical political action among the people" (Drnovšek 2000: 320) – consequently, its print run was severely reduced (officially because of the "lack of paper"), its internal organisation was infiltrated by the Communists, and a competitive publishing house, Prešernova družba, was established in 1953, targeting the same audience (cf. Žnideršič 1995: 133).

All the other pre-war publishers were closed down in 1945, their assets nationalised and their owners imprisoned (see Drnovšek 2000: 27). All came under the direct control of the Communist Party; at a meeting of the CC CPS on 17 December 1945 it was concluded that the agitprop committee, i.e. the Communist Party committee for agitation and propaganda, should directly "control all material in print, everything that is being printed and all locations where printing is carried out" (Drnovšek 2000: 56). In addition, immediately after the war in 1945, four new publishing houses were established with clearly defined goals and aims:

a. *Cankarjeva založba* (the Cankar Publishing House) was the official publishing house of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovenia, and focussed mainly on the publication of Marxist literature and the works by the new political leaders;

b. *Slovenski knjižni zavod, Založba OF* (the Slovene Book Institute, the Publishing House of the Liberation Front) published fiction for a larger audience: in 1956 it was merged with the Cankar Publishing House;
c. *Državna založba Slovenije* (the National Publishing House of Slovenia) was the publishing house of the Ministry of Education, and therefore produced mainly textbooks, academic books and official forms;
d. *Mladinska knjiga* ("the Juvenile Book") was the publishing house of the Youth Association (whose members were all young people in Slovenia) and produced children's literature and literature for a juvenile audience (Gabrič 2005: 903; Žniderščič 1995).

Although in the 1950s new publishing houses were established in Slovenia, so that in the 1980s there were approximately 20 (Žniderščič 1995: 130; Gabrič 2005: 1029), these three (i.e. Cankarjeva založba, Državna založba Slovenije and Mladinska knjiga) basically controlled the publishing activity and set the trends. All three of them soon widened their repertoire and became general publishing houses.

In the post-Socialist period the situation changed radically: Državna založba Slovenije discontinued its publishing activity, Cankarjeva založba became part of the Mladinska knjiga Publishing House Group, and numerous smaller publishing houses were established (e.g. the statistical data for 2008 showed that there were 569 publishers registered in Slovenia). However, the largest and most important remains Mladinska knjiga, with a network of about 50 bookshops round the country; it is also the publisher responsible for the vast majority of the texts treated in our analysis.

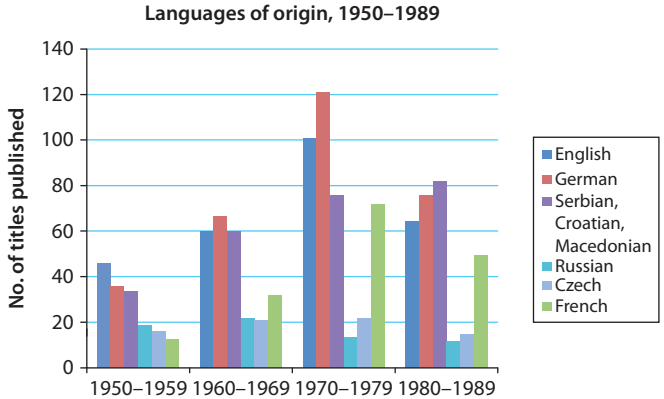
From self-management to independence

After the break with the Soviet Union in 1948, when numerous Yugoslavs suspected of being agents or supporters of the Soviet Union were arrested and sent to labour camps, Yugoslavia developed a new political doctrine and a unique economic system called "socialist self-management" which, at least in principle, transferred the decision-making in the workplace to the workers themselves. Although Party rule was still maintained, power seems to have been more diffuse after this reform, so that in the 1950s and 1960s Yugoslavia, and in particular Slovenia, achieved greater prosperity than other Socialist countries. In the 1960s Yugoslavia thus experienced relative financial and economic liberalization, an improvement in relations with the Western countries, and also the opening of the borders – citizens were finally allowed to travel abroad. This economic

liberalization also triggered a political one, in particular in Slovenia and Croatia, which reached its peak in the early 1970s (cf. Repe and Prinčič 2009). The liberalization did not last long: the "old-guard" Communists, with Tito at their head, reacted fiercely, changed liberal governments and reasserted Party control throughout the federation.

The resurgence of the old regime did not last long: in the 1980s Yugoslavia faced an economic, social, political and institutional crisis. In 1980 Tito died, the country was soon plagued by inflation and a large international debt, Belgrade attempted to strengthen its position and diminish the autonomy of the republics, including their linguistic autonomy, which was particularly badly received by the representatives of Slovene culture. Fortified during the centuries-long fight against assaults by the German and Italian cultures, the Slovenes soon became united in the fight against Serbification (see e.g. Vošnjak 1917; Gorjanc 2009). The reaction to the crises differed among the Yugoslav republics: in Slovenia the crisis mainly strengthened the democratic movement, while in other republics radical, nationalistic currents came to the forefront. For example, data published by the weekly magazine *Mladina* (9 December 1988, see also Kos 2004) showed that in the Eighties differences regarding freedom of speech between Yugoslav republics were considerable: in dealing with "verbalni delikt", i.e. defamation of the state, between 1981 and 1987 there were "only" 19 Slovenes persecuted for this crime, compared to 505 Albanians, 172 Croats and 81 Serbs jailed or fined on the same charge in other republics. All these changes led not only to a growing number of dissidents, but forced even Slovene Communists to distance themselves from the other Yugoslav parties and allow Slovenia to embrace pluralism. In May 1990 Slovenia held the first Yugoslav multiparty elections and in December of the same year more than 90% of those voting supported the separation of the Republic of Slovenia from Yugoslavia. This was the beginning of the end of the common state.

The changes in politics were also clearly reflected in translations of children's literature. After the rift with the Soviet Union in 1948, the Russian language stopped being taught at schools as the obligatory foreign language in the school year 1950/1951, consequently also almost no Russian work for children was translated into Slovene, and German originals regained their popularity. They were, however, closely followed by English books for children and works written by other Yugoslav authors. Cultural exchange with other Yugoslav republics was so strongly politically encouraged that in the 1980s Yugoslav authors, i.e. Croatian, Serbian and Macedonian authors, became the most common source texts in the corpus of translated Slovene children's literature (see graph).



Yugoslav wars and their consequences

The last decade of the twentieth century saw not only the fall of Socialism in Yugoslavia, but also the disintegration of the country itself. In 1991, first Slovenia and then Croatia declared their secession from the Yugoslav federation. When Slovenia seceded from Yugoslavia in June 1991, the Serb-led Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) attacked border posts in Slovenia. In the brief, so-called Ten-Day War, Slovene militiamen and police forces forced the YPA to retreat: the last Yugoslav soldier left Slovenia in October 1991. The armed conflict was much longer in Croatia: the fact that Croatia was led by the right wing nationalist party of Mr Franjo Tudjman raised concerns among the Serb minority there. Their fears were further heightened by Serbian propaganda that the new political situation would lead to a return to the anti-Serb violence of World War 2. Thus in 1991 armed clashes spread throughout the Serb enclaves in Croatia, which were backed by the YPA. War broke out, numerous Croatian towns were shelled, and almost one-third of Croatian territory was occupied. The Croatian government did not regain military control of its entire territory until 1995. The war did not leave Croatia and Serbia unstained: several individuals who were praised as Croatian and Serbian national heroes (including the Serbian president) were later indicted by the UN Security Council's International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) at the Hague.

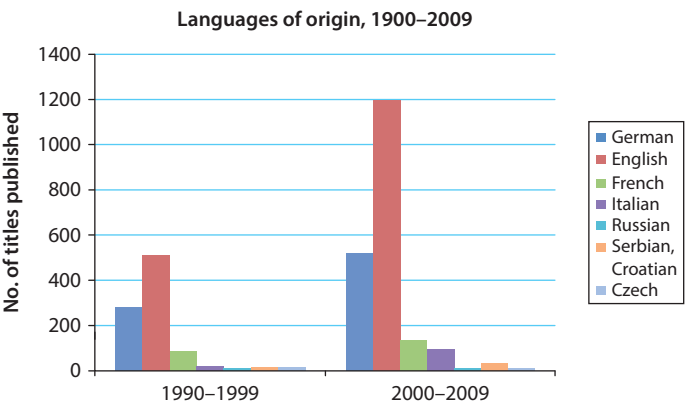
In 1991 Macedonia also declared independence, but Greece immediately objected to the name of the new republic, insisting that the use of the name "Macedonia" indicated a revival of territorial claims on Greek Macedonia. The new republic was thus named The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and has, ever since, been experiencing sporadic violent ethnic tensions between its Macedonian and Albanian populations.

A year later, in 1992 Bosnian Croats and Muslims voted to secede from Yugoslavia. When Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence in 1992, the republic witnessed the emergence of several Serbian and Croatian autonomous regions. As a response to the proclamation of independence, Serbian paramilitary forces started shelling the capital, Sarajevo. Soon, several other towns with a predominantly Bosniak population were attacked with the help of Yugoslav army units. After much bloodshed and several failed peace proposals, in 1995 NATO forces decided to launch air strikes on Serbian targets. This led to peace talks in Dayton where a federalized Bosnia and Herzegovina was created with a tripartite national presidency. Unfortunately, the future of this country is still insecure, since the modern Bosnia continues to be plagued (perhaps today even more than before the war) by ethnic and religious tensions.

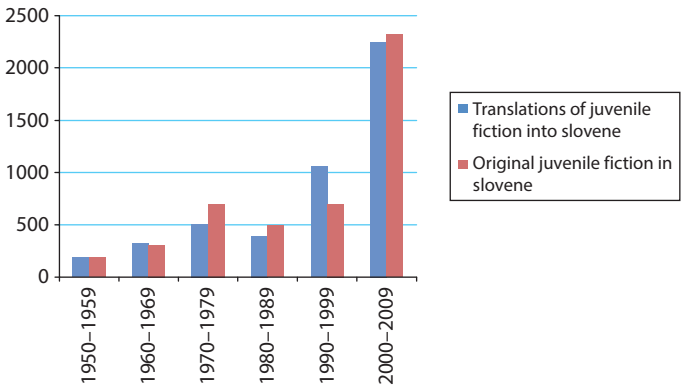
Serbia and Montenegro created a new Yugoslav federation in 1992. In 1998 a civil war broke out in Kosovo between the Serbs and Albanians, and a year later NATO started a bombing campaign against Serbia, which ended in 2000 when a peace accord was reached. Kosovo became an UN-administered region, and in 2008 its Assembly declared independence, although this is still disputed by the Serbian government. Serbia and Montenegro remained together as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia until 2003, when the country was renamed as Serbia and Montenegro. And three years later, in 2006, Montenegro declared independence – the only secession in the region that was accepted without violent clashes.

Thus, by 2012 the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has disintegrated into 7 different states – and there is a possibility of some further disintegration ahead. The new states, however, do have one thing in common: none of them retained the Socialist political system.

The political situation is also reflected in translations for children: after 1991, when Slovenia became an independent state, alliances with the other Yugoslav republics were broken and English became the dominant source culture.



Translation as such also gained in importance. While in the 1970s and 1980s the domestic production of children's literature was still greater than the production of translated works, in the 1990s the number of translated works already greatly exceeded that of the original Slovene works for children published in that decade. The situation, however, improved in the 21st century. The fact that translations always represented a very high percentage of all published books for children in Slovenia might lead us to assume that this also strengthened the ideological pressures on the selection of the original texts and translation strategies.

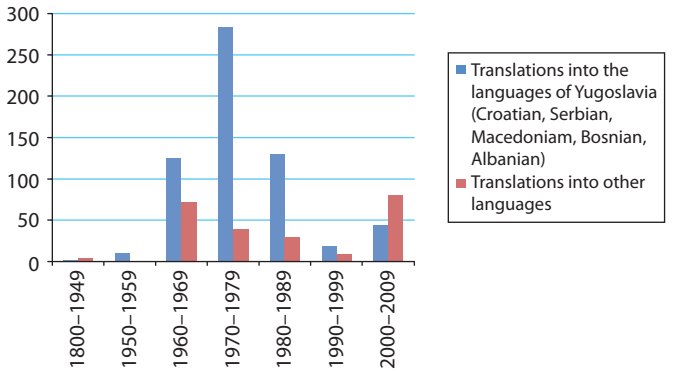


The export of Slovene children's literature

Similarly, translation of original Slovene children's literature into other languages clearly reflects the shifting political dominances. In the period between 1800 and 1950 there were only 7 original Slovene works for children translated into other languages: 2 into Croatian and 5 into Czech. In the postwar period the situation changed: in the 1950s there appeared 10 translations of Slovene works for children in other languages, while in the following decade 197 translations were published, and in the 1970s the export of Slovene children's literature reached its peak with 323 titles published in translation. In the 1980s this number diminished to 160 titles; in the 1990s, when Slovenia separated from Yugoslavia, there were only 28 books for children translated into other languages; however, in the first decade of the 21st century this number increased to 125.

During the period when Slovenia was a part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the most intense exchange was with other Yugoslav languages (i.e. Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian, Albanian). In the 1960s, during the time of political liberalization, there was an upsurge of translation into Western languages, while in the 1970s, during the time of political counter-reaction, exchange with

the West diminished while that with other Yugoslav republics skyrocketed. After the collapse of Yugoslavia, when Slovenia declared independence in 1991, this export to other Yugoslav republics plummeted and the most common target language became English (e.g. between 2000 and 2009 export into English reached more than 90% of all translated Slovene books for children) (see graph).



As shown above, the political changes and alliances of the different states that governed the Slovene population were clearly reflected in the production of Slovene translations of children's literature: either in the selection of source texts to be translated or in the selection of target languages into which Slovene original literature was to be translated.

The corpus of retranslated texts

In trying to establish whether there were any typical features of Socialist translation policy, I paid most attention to the period from the end of the Second World War in 1945 up to 1955, i.e. three years after the VI. Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in November 1952, which abolished the apparatus of state control set up according to the Soviet model, and two years after the death of Stalin in 1953. The period between 1945 and 1952 was marked by the most oppressive control by the Communist Party in Yugoslavia: all spheres of public life were controlled by the Party, through a range of means. Adapting the Soviet system of cultural policy, called Zhdanovism (after Stalin's party secretary and cultural boss Andrey Aleksandrovich Zhdanov), the Yugoslav Communists monitored what was expressed in print and attempted to make all artistic creativity conform to official lines (cf. Gabrič 2005: 900–904) through agitprop committees, i.e. the committees of the Communist party for agitation and propaganda. Although the

agitprop committees and censorship officially did not exist, and functioned in the background, these bodies became very important and influential factors in culture in the early post-war years and kept control of everything published and printed firmly in the hands of the highest circles of the Communist Party (see also Gabrič 1995). The Party Congress in 1952 put an end to republican agitprop committees, including the Slovene one, but we can assume that some of the translations that appeared over the next three years had already been completed and that ideological pressure, if it existed, might have found new channels and did not end abruptly with the official abolition of the committees. I therefore identified all works for children, regardless of the language of origin, which had been translated into Slovene before the Second World War and then re-translated between 1945 and 1955. Since during this period there were severe shortages of paper and printing ink (see e.g. the 1952 report of the Print Committee at SAWPS, AS 531, a.u. 139), I assumed that all the works that were retranslated and published in the early post-war period were given priority status, most probably because the pre-war translations of these works were in one way or another problematic for the new Communist regime.

The corpus of retranslated works for children (see Pym 1998: 42) consists of the following:

- *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe (translated in 1853, 1888, 1918, 1932, 1934, retranslated in 1954)
- Fairy tales by Hans Christian Andersen (translated in 1863, 1869, 1923, 1928, 1940, 1944, retranslated in 1950)
- *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe (translated in 1876, 1904, 1915, 1920, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1936, 1945, retranslated in 1946)
- Fairy tales by the Brothers Grimm (translated in 1880, 1887, 1903, 1930, 1932, 1935, 1938, 1944, retranslated in 1953–1958)
- *Gulliver's Travels* by Jonathan Swift (translated in 1894, 1907, 1926, 1942, re-translated in 1951)
- *The Second Jungle Book* by Rudyard Kipling (translated in 1943, retranslated in 1951)
- *The Prince and the Pauper* by Mark Twain (translated in 1910, retranslated in 1953)
- *Treasure Island* by Robert Louis Stevenson (translated in 1920, retranslated in 1950)
- *Adventures of Tom Sawyer* by Mark Twain (translated in 1921, retranslated in 1947)
- *Michel Strogoff* by Jules Verne (translated in 1923, retranslated in 1955)
- *Pinocchio* by Carlo Collodi (translated in 1926, 1943, retranslated in 1951)

- *Winnetou* by Karl May (translated in 1931, retranslated in 1952)
- *Pünktchen und Anton* by Erich Kästner (translated in 1937, retranslated in 1955)
- *Bambi* by Felix Salten (translated in 1938, retranslated in 1953)

When putting together this corpus of texts, I carried out a differential analysis of source and target texts. As the next step, all textually manipulated Slovene retranslations were compared to the pre- and post-war translations into Serbian, Croatian and Macedonian. The assumption was made that if any systematic changes occurred in translations of children's literature in Slovenia, which was considered as the most liberal of all Yugoslav republics, similar changes would most probably be found in translations in other Yugoslav republics. So, all the above-mentioned translations that appeared between 1945 and 1955 were compared to:

- their originals and to the Slovene pre-war translations of the same work
- possible subsequent translations into Slovene between 1955 and 2010
- possible Croatian, Serbian and Macedonian pre-war and post-war translations.

First, the translations of *Gulliver's Travels* by Jonathan Swift and of *The Prince and the Pauper* by Mark Twain were excluded from the study, because all pre-war translations were adapted to such an extent that any direct comparison with post-war translations could not be made. For example, the pre-war adaptation of *The Prince and the Pauper* reduces the text, which is more than 200 pages long, to only 59 pages (for more details see Mazi-Leskovar 2011: 86–87). Similarly also the adaptations of *Gulliver's Travels* from 1894 and 1907 are severely truncated and focus only on the voyage to Lilliput. The translation of *Gulliver's Travels* from 1926 by Pavle Flere is also an abridged version, in which Gulliver does not urinate on the burning palace, but pours over the palace a hat-full of manure (Swift 1926: 79). Similarly, the version from 1942 purifies the text for a children's audience: the translation is an adapted version of the travels to the land of the little people and the land of the giants, where, again, Gulliver pours a bucket of manure on the royal palace (Swift 1942: 49). The first translation of the whole text into Slovene appeared as late as 1951; this text, however, was also the first not to censor the passages that might be considered unsuitable for children. However, as said above, the pre-war material was so heavily adapted that did not allow any textual comparison with the post-war translation. Then I added to the corpus translations of Johanna Spyri's *Heidi*, which was first translated into Croatian in 1943, while the first Slovene translation was published in 1954. The addition was made because *Heidi*, together with *Winnetou*, were indisputable best-sellers in the new Socialist society.

The differential analysis of these thirteen works and collections showed that largely three different groups could be formulated:

– re-translations for linguistic and stylistic reasons,
– re-translations because of a problematic translator,
– re-translations because of ideologically unacceptable passages.

A critical analysis of catalogues also revealed that some significant omissions occurred. The most popular author of the pre-war period, the Catholic priest Christoph von Schmidt, whose 72 titles were published between 1800 and 1945, has not appeared at all in Slovenia since the Second World War. The works of the second most published author of children's literature, the Jesuit priest Joseph Spillmann, also almost completely disappeared after the war: while there appeared 17 works by Spillmann between 1899 and 1945, only two translations were published after the war (in 1973 and 2008), both of them outside Slovenia, by the Slovene publishing house in Klagenfurt in Austria. These omissions clearly illustrate the focus of the new, Socialist translation policy.