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## The History of Slovak Press in Argentina<sup>1</sup>

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The study introduces the history of the Slovak-language press in Argentina. In a chronological overview, it introduces 20 Slovak periodicals published mainly in Buenos Aires between 1929 and 2003. The Slovak interwar emigration formed its institutions in broad connection with institutions of Czechs, while the post-war political exile established a distinct political line with strong Slovak nationalism. The post-war elite expanded the production of the Slovak press abroad and Buenos Aires became one of the main centres of the Slovak post-war exile in the late 1940s and early 1950s but struggled to include the voice of inter-war numerous immigrants. The study includes a bibliographical references and index of Slovak periodicals published in Argentina, as well as, short history of each title, its editorial, and references it is stored.

Slovaks immigrants, Argentina, ethnic press, Slovak language press, political press.

At least 20 titles of Slovak-language newspapers were published in Argentina in the 20th century. Apart from one inter-war and war newspaper, they consisted mainly of political and religious periodicals with a strong nationalist orientation. The post-war press production of Slovak political exiles in Argentina was numerous and their influence, although limited in time, was significant within the Slovak exile abroad. At the turn of the 1940s and 1950s, Buenos Aires became one of the main centres of Slovak exile abroad.

Although the Slovak language immigrant press published in Argentina is a closed historical chapter – no newspaper coming out after 2003, its collection provides a comprehensive insight into the development of the inter-war (compatriots) and after-war (exile) immigrant community,<sup>2</sup> and how coexisted with the new Argentine society, with the Czech and other immigrant groups. It reflects contemporary local and Argentine, Czechoslovaks and worlds events from the perspective of Slovak migrants and is also a chronicle of immigrant institutions and Slovak community abroad.

The press production made of abroad Slovaks is an extensive and still little used source for reconstructing and understanding the life of migrants in distant Argentina. The aim of this study is to provide insight into the history of the Slovaks' immigrant and exile press and its develop-

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<sup>1</sup> This article was written as part of research program Cooperatio – Literature.

<sup>2</sup> The term for interwar immigration widely used in Slovak *krajanía* and in Czech *krajané* (English alternative compatriots). In this text, the term post-war emigration or exile emigration refers to the emigration of Slovak political and culture representatives or supporters of the Slovak state (1939-1945) who, in contrast to the interwar – mainly economic – emigration, defined themselves politically – which was also their reason for emigration. In Argentine Spanish, the immigrant community is called *colectividad eslovaca*, without distinguishing whether it was economic or political emigration, and this term is still used today for the descendants and institutions of Slovak migrants.

ment in Argentina. Due to its limited availability, the study provides bibliographic references of the periodicals including their contemporary public storage location.

### **The collection of the Slovak press from Argentina**

The documentation of the Slovak press published in Argentina was a challenging one, as due to its limited circulation and often self-published nature it was rather sporadically than systematically archived. In particular, the Slovak exile press at the time of its creation was mostly archived only by Slovak and Czechoslovak exile institutions abroad, and occasionally by Czechoslovak and Argentine Libraries. It was only through later donations that it reached university or specific libraries in Germany, the USA, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia.

Hard copies of the Slovak press from Argentina have been preserved but spread in several libraries in various countries. The challenging task that preceded the research was to collect a corpus of periodicals. The search for them took place in libraries in Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Germany, Argentina, and the US. The research was conducted in specialized archives – among others in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Argentina (Archivo Histórico de Cancillería), the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic (Archiv Ministerstva zahraničních věcí) and The Archives of Czechs and Slovaks Abroad of the University of Chicago, where it was possible to trace several undocumented periodicals and samples of individual copies, or at least their fragments (mostly clippings).

The corpus of periodicals, creating gradually since 2013 and on which this study is based, includes 17 of the 20 known titles of Slovak periodicals published in Argentina. Seven Slovak written newspapers have been preserved almost complete, but single editions or copies located in various libraries. After intensive research, ten periodicals are so far documented only by single issues. Three titles have not yet been located physically in any public library or archive.

The article draws information about the history of the Slovak press from newspapers themselves, but also from researching the Czechoslovak-Argentine diplomatic correspondence.<sup>3</sup> It provides a broader insight into the development of journalism by Slovaks and Czechs in Argentina and into Czech-Slovak-Argentine relations in general, which were closely monitored and interpreted by the embassies in Buenos Aires and Prague. The publishers and editors of the exiled press themselves have occasionally mentioned the history of publishing in Argentina,<sup>4</sup> and these articles are a very valuable source for reconstructing and understanding the Slovak press abroad.

In the 20th century, several publications intended systematically mapped migrant press in the North America.<sup>5</sup> The geographical distance of Latin America and the limited contact with immigrants due to war conflicts and Cold War made this work difficult. The Slovak and Czech exile press abroad was monitored by the leaders of the Czech and Slovak exile – Michal Laco, Josef Pekelský and Vojtěch Duben, who kept bibliographic records of the foreign press in the West-

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<sup>3</sup> Hingarova, V.: La emigración checoslovaca a Argentina en el Archivo de la Cancillería Checa – estudio de fuentes. In: *Ibero-Americana Pragensia Supplementum* 37. Praha: Karolinum, 2014, s. 241-263.

<sup>4</sup> Hrubý, A.: Päťdesiat rokov slovenskej práce. In Jankovič, L. (ed.): *Kalendár Slovenského kultúrneho spolku v Argentíne*. Buenos Aires: Slovenský kultúrny spolok, 1977, s. 112-119; Hrubý, A.: Slovenská exilná tlač v Argentíne. *Zápisník SNRvA*, červen 1958; Horský, J.: Z časopiseckej a knižnej činnosti Slovákov v Argentíne. In Jankovič, L. (ed.): *Kalendár Slovenského kultúrneho spolku v Argentíne*. Buenos Aires: Slovenský kultúrny spolok, 1977, s. 97-104; Macek, A.: Slováci v Južnej Amerike. In Paučo, J. (ed.): *Literárny Almanach Slovák v Amerike*. Chicago: Slovák v Amerike, 1975, s. 37-49.

<sup>5</sup> Čulen, K.: *Dejiny Slovákov v Amerike*. Bratislava: Slovenská Liga, 1942. 277 s.; Stolarik, M.: *The Slovak-American Press*. In Miller, S. M. (ed.): *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1987. 437 s.

ern Hemisphere, including South America, during the communist Czechoslovakia.<sup>6</sup> After 1989, a number of partial studies and overview publications were published in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, including catalogues of exile periodicals in the world focusing on the dominant centres of exile or exile.<sup>7</sup> A detailed insight into the history of the immigrant and exile press in Argentina, including an inventory of Slovak press in Argentina, was achieved recently only in the book *Czech and Slovak Periodicals in Argentina* (2019).<sup>8</sup> This study focuses exclusively on the history of the Slovak press in Argentina, updates the findings with the recent research conducted at The Archives of Czechs and Slovaks Abroad at the University of Chicago.

At present, copies of the Slovak-language immigrant press can be found mainly in the foreign libraries. A large collection of Slovak immigrant press is deposited in three libraries – the Náprstek Museum Library in Prague, the National Library in Buenos Aires, and the Collegium Carolinum archive library in Munich. The Slovak National Library in Martin and the library of the Slovenská Matice in Martin (Slovakia) also store incomplete editions of several titles. Some of the titles and single copies are stored in the National Library of the Czech Republic and private Libri prohibiti in Prague. Individual issues are deposited in the libraries of the University of Chicago and the University of Minnesota (see the Appendix for a detailed list of the locations of Slovak publications). The website Lamigrace.cz, hosted by Charles University in Prague, documents Czech and Slovak immigrant institutions and press in South America. It provides on-line access to selected issues of Slovak and Czech periodicals from Latin America.

### **Slovak inter-war press in Buenos Aires**

Slovak-language publishing started to develop in Buenos Aires with the publication of its first Slovak newspaper, *Slovenský Lud* (Slovak People) in 1929, but its beginnings can be traced in the pages of Czech-language newspapers.

Between 1923 and 1926, 11,000 Czech and Slovak-speaking immigrants from Czechoslovakia moved to Argentina,<sup>9</sup> who enlivened the then several thousand-member of Czech and Slovak community and gave an impetus to the dynamic development of institutions of association and press. In the interwar period, the number of Slovak-speaking migrants to Argentina is estimated up to 30,000.<sup>10</sup>

In the inter-war years, a dozen Czech-language newspapers were formed. The Czech written newspaper *Jihoamerický Čechoslovák*, the most widely circulated of them, was also followed by Slovak immigrants. From 1923 onwards, the Czech newspapers also included Slovak texts.

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<sup>6</sup> Duben, V. N.: *Český a slovenský tisk v zahraničí: 1945–1975*. Washington: vl. nákl., 1976; Lacko, M.: *Slovenská bibliografía v zahraničí 1945–1965*. In: *Slovak Studies VII*. Cleveland–Rome: Slovak Institute, 1967. 366 s.; Lacko, M.: *Slovenská bibliografía v zahraničí 1966–1975*. In: *Slovak Studies XVII*. Cleveland–Rome: Slovak Institute, 1977. 436 s.; Pekelský, V.: *Slovenský exilní tisk*. In: Pekelský, V. (ed.): *Sborník Bohemia č. 3*. Köln-Ehrenfeld: vl. nákl., 1958, s. 37–40; Pekelský, V.: *Archív Bohemia*. Katalog 1961. Deset Let Archivu Bohemia. Zehn Jahre Bohemia-Archivs. Mnichov: cyklostyl, 1961. 265 s.

<sup>7</sup> Formanová, L. – Gruntorád, J. – Příbáň, M.: *Exilová periodika*. Katalog periodik českého a slovenského exilu a krajaných tisků vydávaných po roce 1945. Praha: Nakladatelství Ježek ve spolupráci s Libri prohibiti, 1999. 503 s.; Špetko, J.: *Slovenské tlačené slovo v zahraničí*. (Náčrt tlačiarskej, vydavateľskej a knižnodistribučnej problematiky). Downloaded: [http://www.viks.sk/dkk/kniha91\\_92\\_19\\_34.doc](http://www.viks.sk/dkk/kniha91_92_19_34.doc) [16. 5. 2017]; Horanský, M.: *Slovenské krajané periodika*. Bratislava: Novinarsky studijný ustav, 1990. 76 s.; Holeštiak, P.: *Slovenské médiá vo svete*. Krajané periodika v zahraničí po obnovení samostatnosti Slovenska. Čadca: Vzlet, 2002. 139 s.

<sup>8</sup> Hingarová, V.: *Český a slovenský tisk v Argentíně*. Praha: FF UK/ FHS UK, 2019.

<sup>9</sup> *Věstník Československý*, 1926, č. 16.

<sup>10</sup> Botík, J.: *Slováci v argentínskom Chacu*. Historický a etnokultúrny vývin pestovateľov bavlny. Los Eslovacos en el Chaco Argentino. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 2002, s. 14.

Slovaks contributed especially to the left-wing workers' newspapers *Dělnické listy*, *Obrana* and *Svornost*. Slovak Ján Janič worked in the editorial office of the workers' newspaper and was even arrested and imprisoned in 1931 for spreading communist ideals. Slovak articles were also written by Štefan Kusenda, the cofounder of the workers' newspapers, who directed the Czech and Slovak left-wing press in Argentina until his re-emigration to Czechoslovakia in 1946. These and other Slovak writers wrote in Slovak and promoted the voice of Slovaks in Argentina within the Czech-Slovak immigrant community. The workers' press became an important platform for the later development of Slovak journalism in Argentina.<sup>11</sup> The interest in workers' issues reflected the composition of the compatriot community in Buenos Aires, which consisted of workers from the workers' concentration in the industrial districts of Buenos Aires, and in the industrial centres of La Plata and Berisso in the province of Buenos Aires.<sup>12</sup>

In 1929, the Slovak Workers' Association (Slovenský robotnícký spolok) founded the first Slovak newspaper in Argentina and on the South American continent. The newspaper *Slovenský Lud*, was originally intended and run as a workers' newspaper, but it gradually emerged as a politically and class-neutral immigrant newspaper for Slovaks in South America. It carried non-political information about Slovak associations in Buenos Aires, in the Argentine provinces, as well as in neighbouring Uruguay. The editorial board of the newspaper was under the authority of the Slovak Association, which elected the editor of the newspaper.

Compared to other Czech newspapers, this brought continuity and financial security to the newspapers and it has proved to be beneficial on several occasions when the paper has encountered financial difficulties. The Slovak Association provided the newspaper financial support, editorial office, as well as readership. The leadership of the association had indeed considerable influence on the selection of topics and to keep the non-political orientation.

Non-political orientation changed during the Second World War. Five times the chief editors of *Slovenský Lud* were replaced.

At the beginning of the war, the newspaper manifested sympathy for the Slovak state.<sup>13</sup> However, when the association was taken over by the leaders of the workers' left, the newspaper adopted the Soviet war policy. And after 1942, under the leadership of former Czechoslovak diplomat Kazimír K. Štefánik, the newspaper began to express itself in favour of the reestablishment of a pro-democratic Czechoslovakia. Kazimír Štefánik was also involved in publishing the Slovak version of the wartime newsletter *European Correspondent*, which was edited in 1943 by employees of the Czechoslovak embassy who had been recalled by the Germans. Štefánik helped negotiate for the Slovak Association to join the Czechoslovak resistance organization Sjednocení in Buenos Aires, and then reports on the activities of Czechoslovak associations, as well as information about home resistance movement against the pro-fascist government of the Slovak Republic appeared in *Slovenský Lud*.<sup>14</sup>

With the onset of the Peronist regime in Argentina in the early 1940s, the publishers of *Slovenský Lud* faced the intensifying persecution measures of the Argentine authorities, especially after the Slovak Association joined the pan Slavic immigrant's organization Unión Eslava. The organization partnered with a dozen Slavic migrant institutions, and its strong ties to Russian communism irritated Argentina's right-wing fascist government. Like all publishers of Slavic newspapers, *Slovenský Lud* had to communicate the political orientation by introducing Slovak

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<sup>11</sup> Hingarová, V.: Česká a slovenská periodika v Argentině, c. d., s. 54-55.

<sup>12</sup> Hingarová, V.: Česká a slovenská periodika v Argentině, c. d., s. 52-53.

<sup>13</sup> Boli sme a budem. In: *Slovenský Lud*, 13. 3. 1941.

<sup>14</sup> Hingarová, V.: Česká a slovenská periodika v Argentině, c. d., s. 71-72.

and Spanish titles and subtitles proclaiming non-political interests. The publishers hoped that this strategy would satisfy the Argentinian authorities and avoid the eventual shutdown of the newspaper that happened to other Slavic papers.

As a result of the political establishment of communism in Central Europe after 1948, a great majority of newspapers published by Slavic immigrants ceased to be published and Argentine authorities banned them. This as the case of several Czech written immigrant newspapers. The edition of *Slovenský Ľud* was not stopped by Peronist government, but by a coup within the Slovak association itself. The coup was pushed by the post-war Slovak immigrants, supporters of the former Slovak state, who found asylum in Argentina. Since their arrival after 1946, they had been trying to influence the leadership and members of the only Slovak immigrant organization in Buenos Aires, but the left-wing leadership denied it.<sup>15</sup>

Most of the inter-war Slovak immigrants in Argentina maintained close relations with Czech immigrants and Czech institutions as well as the Czechoslovak embassy. The pro-Czechoslovak orientation among Slovaks reinforced the presence of the new Slovak envoy, Alexander Kunoši, who was appointed Czechoslovak ambassador to Argentina in 1946.

The new Slovak exiles – strongly anti-Czechoslovak – managed to become members of the Slovak Association. As a result of the February 1948 communist coup in Czechoslovakia, they managed to overthrow the leadership and install their political supporters. They stopped publishing *Slovenský Ľud* immediately. After a two-year break, they reinstated the association's newspaper under new name of *Juhoamerický Slovák* (South-American Slovak)

### **Slovak exile press in Buenos Aires**

The Slovak political exile was not significant in number, consisting of only 300-400 individuals. This group of political and cultural elite with international contacts needed after unsafe migration in Italy and Germany to engage politically, socially, and intellectually. In Argentina they found the opportunity to become politically involved in the public struggle for the restoration of an independent Slovakia.<sup>16</sup> Some high-ranking government officials sought safe refuge in Argentina from a Czechoslovak war court that demanded they be held accountable for war crimes.<sup>17</sup> They considered the press as the main medium of their communication and founded several new political newspapers. Buenos Aires experienced a boom of the Slovak immigrant press from the late 1940s to the late 1950s. Between 1945 and 1958, twelve periodicals had been founded by Slovak after-war immigrants in Argentina, while in Germany eight and in the U.S only six.<sup>18</sup> This demonstrates that the Slovak post-war exile found a strong base for its activities in Argentina.

The active immigrants in Argentina were among others supporters of two main exile groups – the Slovak Action Committee (founded in Italy in 1946) headed by ex-minister of Slovak State Ferdinand Durčanský (1906–1974) and supporters of Karol Sidon organized latterly in the Slovak National Council Abroad (*Slovenská národná rada v zahraničí*). In Argentina, they have established two organisations Slovak Peasant Party (1949) and the *Slovenská Matice v Zahraničí*

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<sup>15</sup> Archive of Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Territorial Department– secret, 1945–1955, Argentina, Buenos Aires, VI/1, Testimony of school inspector D. Bučenec after his return from Argentina, 21 may 1949.

<sup>16</sup> For biographies and contributions to the Slovak exile of selected personalities settled in Argentina such as Ján E. Bor, Ján Ďurčanský, Ladislav Jankovič, Štefan Polakovič see: Maruniak, P. – Grácová, G. *Slovenská štátnosť a slovenský povojnový exil*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 2008. 299 s.

<sup>17</sup> For more detailed information see Vondrášek, V. – Pešek, J.: *Slovenský poválečný exil a jeho aktivity 1945–1970: mýty a realita*. Bratislava: Veda, 2011.

<sup>18</sup> Pekelský, V.: *Slovenský exilní tisk*. In Pekelský, V. (ed.): *Sborník Bohemia č. 3*. Köln-Ehrenfeld: vl. nákl., 1958, s. 37-40.

(1959). Representatives of these institutions communicated their views and positions through newly established periodicals. Their political activities were possible only because they managed to defend their political work before the Argentine authorities of J. D. Perón, who – during the 1940s succeeded in restrict the activities of Slavic immigrant groups.

The Slovak after-war exile in Argentina succeeded for three main purposes – firstly, because of its former Fascist orientation and its ties to Nazi Germany, and secondly, because of the interconnectedness of the with the Catholic Church, and finally because of its strong anti-communist position.<sup>19</sup> These political and religious premises were close to the Perón administration. Effective communication with the authorities and ties to the highest officials of the government and the Catholic Church helped them to break free from the government's restrictions on Slavic institutions<sup>20</sup> – which the authorities thus considered to be almost all Slavic institutions in Central European countries absorbed by communist governments.

Slovak post-war exile periodicals in Buenos Aires showed a strong nationalist inclination and defended the right of Slovaks to an independent state. Political aspirations, or rather the struggle for the political renewal of an independent Slovak nation, then manifested themselves in the newspapers in varying degrees of strength.

The first newspaper of the Slovak exile was released in cyclostyle, from 1949 to the end of the 1950s they appeared mostly in print. Some letters, such as *Slovenská Republika*, *Naša Zem* and *Juhoamerický Slovák*, were read by Slovak political immigrant circles in the USA and Europe and referred to by other Slovak and Czechoslovak exile periodicals, while in Argentina they reached only a limited circle of readers.

The exile press in Buenos Aires can be divided into political, religious and literary-cultural publications. The only *Juhoamerický Slovák* profiled itself as an independent pan-Argentine Slovak newspaper like predecessor *Slovenský Lud*, but advocated for Slovak separatism. The leading voice of the inter-war immigrants almost disappeared, although the new exile immigrants made efforts to make their voice visible. Trying to gain the large pre-war emigration on their side was an important to legitimize their leadership of all Slovaks in Argentina. This strategy was most evident in the *Juhoamerický Slovák*. The newspaper published on behalf of all Slovaks in Argentina, but at the same time included political statements, memoranda and protests. The newspaper generally expressed itself uncritically towards the exile activities of Slovaks abroad and created the image of the Slovak exile as a non-conflicting, cooperating body.<sup>21</sup> The paper was published monthly for five years until 1955, after which it ceased to exist due to lack of funding.

The political activity of the Slovak exile reached its peak in the first half of the 1950s, when the Slovak Action Committee (Slovenský akčný výbor) was active in Argentina and headed by Ferdinand Ďurčanský. In November 1947, the first Slovak exile newspaper began to be published in Argentina under the name *Slovenské zvesti pre Slovákov Jižnej Amerike* (Slovak News for Slovaks in South America). The newspaper was founded by the priest Rudolf Dilong, who published it and was also its editor-in-chief. The newspaper at first printed editorials in Spanish, targeting the Argentine authorities and outlining its political orientation, as well as explaining the recent changes in the Slovak immigrant community.

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<sup>19</sup> Hingarová, V.: *Česká a slovenská periodika v Argentíně*, c. d., s. 71.

<sup>20</sup> Goni, U.: *The real Odessa: how Perón brought the Nazi war criminals to Argentina*. London: Granta, 2003, s. 63-92.

<sup>21</sup> Hingarová, V.: *Česká a slovenská periodika v Argentíně*, c. d., s. 85.

After Ďurčanský's arrival in Argentina, the Slovak Action Committee's typewritten circular, *Slovenská informačná služba*, appeared in Buenos Aires. It was originally published in Rome, but when the key leadership emigrated to Argentina, was dated and came out from Buenos Aires. It advocated the re-establishment of an independent Slovakia and opposed the government in Czechoslovakia. In February 1949, the Slovak Action Committee launched more representative printed newspaper *Slovenská Republika* (Slovak Republic) in Buenos Aires.

Most of the leaders of the Slovak exile contributed to this strongly nationalistic Slovak newspaper. The international dimension of the newspaper is reflected in the fact that contributions could be delivered to addresses in Buenos Aires, London, New York or Madrid. The newspaper sharply criticised the political situation in Czechoslovakia and the undignified position of Slovaks. The harsh political nationalist statements became the subject of diplomatic protests between representatives of Czechoslovakia and Argentina.<sup>22</sup> *Slovenská Republika* was published until 1954. After Ďurčanský moved out of Argentina, it ceased to circulate regularly.

In 1956, a new political bulletin *Slovenská zvesti SOVu v Argentíně* (Slovak Liberation Committee's News in Argentina) was established, no longer as the central press organ of the Slovak Liberation Committee, but as the bulletin of its newly established branch in Argentina. The political bulletin reported for two years on the political activities of Slovak Liberation Committee and about the Slovak exile in Buenos Aires.

Ďurčanský's group also included the nationalist newspaper *Slovenská mládež* (Slovak Youth), which was published by the Slovak Youth Abroad. This organization, like the newspaper, was headed by Alojz Macek, former commander-in-chief of the Hlinka Youth and former commander of the Slovak Labour Service of the Slovak State. The list ceased to exist after the first year. Alojz Macek tried to revive his news activities in the 1970s – from November 1971 he published a small newsletter *Slovo Slovákom a Slovenkám dobrej vole* (Word to Slovak men and women of good will). The typescript was reproduced twice a year and Macek published it until his death in 1975.

The Foreign Committee of the Slovak Farmers' Party published the newspaper *Naša zem* (Nuestra Tierra) from 1948 in Buenos Aires. The newspaper reported on the Slovak exile abroad and reported on Communist Czechoslovakia. Occasionally it included Spanish editorials expressing loyalty to the Argentine establishment. The paper covered activities in the Slovak community in Argentina. It was the only Slovak post-war political newspaper listed in the Argentine National Register of Periodicals at the National Library in Buenos Aires. It was published for four years and ceased publication in 1952.

Election of Jozef Cíger-Hronský as President of the Slovak National Council Abroad (SN-RvZ), its newspaper began to be published in 1956 under called *Zápisník* (Notebook), later as *Zápisník SNRvZ*. The paper was edited by Marián Dafčík and political essays were written by Ladislav Jankovič, Josef M. Kirchsbaum, Ján Polerecký, Jozef A. Mikuš and Konštantín Čulen. The newspaper also reported on the political activities of Slovak exile in Argentina and the USA.

Following the Catholic orientation of the Slovak exile, the Slovak Catholic Association was founded in Buenos Aires in 1948, which, in addition to organising Slovak religious services and religious life, published a Catholic press. During the years 1949–1968, the association published three newspapers, *Výber z katolíckej svetovej tlače* (Selections from the Catholic World Press), *Slovenská rodina v Argentíne* (Slovak Family in Argentina) and *Slovenská katolícka informačná služba* (Slovak Catholic Information Service). These newspapers had a very limited edition and circulated mostly only within the local Catholic exile group.

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<sup>22</sup> Hingarová, V.: *Česká a slovenská periodika v Argentíně*, c. d., s. 89.

In 1949, the literary and cultural magazine *Mladost* (Youth) was founded in Buenos Aires. A group of intellectual and writers who needed a forum for their literary work organized themselves around this magazine. These included Jozef Čiger-Hronský, František Hrušovský, Stanislav Mečiar and Ernest Žatko-Bor. In addition to these intellectuals, there were a number of other writers who had published in Argentina. It published literary and socio-political essays, and for a number of contributors it was the first opportunity to publish during their stay in Argentina. The newspaper published in a cyclostyle format and in a humble edition, became a key literary platform for exiled intellectuals in Argentinian exile.

Completely isolated from the Buenos Aires new political and religious life of the Slovak exiles was the evangelical congregation in the Northern province of Chaco. From 1953 to 1988, the congregation published three religious newsletters in Slovak and Spanish. It printed sermons on a small scale and reported on the events and life of the evangelical congregation. The bulletin was edited by evangelical pastors and distributed to members of the congregation. The newspaper *Buletín, Oznamovateľ*, published in Slovak, targeted the first generation of the migrant community, while the Spanish-language *Boletín de la congregación evangélica lutherána*, intended for youth, was published for three years.<sup>23</sup>

Since the 1970s, a new generation of Argentine-born descendants of Slovaks in Buenos Aires showed interest in the activities of the Slovak Cultural Association. The association organized meetings, Slovak language classes and Slovak religious services. In 1976, the association began publishing a club newspaper, *Slovenský život v Argentíne* (Slovak Life in Argentina). From the title of the title, it appeared to be a politically neutral society newspaper – it became the next but last newspaper of the Slovak political exile. The paper was edited by the president of the association Ján Jankovič and his wife Eva Jankovičová, who later became the editor-in-chief. *Slovenský život v Argentíne* was published for 27 years and became the longest running Slovak-language periodical in South America. The newspaper reprinted newspaper reports of other Slovak exile newspapers, reported about Slovaks in Czechoslovakia and Slovak exile in the world. After the fall of communism in 1989, it maintained a sharp tone towards the Czech-Slovak political formation. After Slovakia's independence, the newspaper commented on the political situation there. The paper was read by a limited circle of the aging generation of Slovak post-war emigrants who spoke and read Slovak. However, the publishers were keen to adapt it to the adolescent second generation and some of the contributions were published in Spanish from the 1980s onwards. The newspaper ceased publication in 2003. The ceasing of this newspaper ended the era of Slovak-language periodicals on the South American continent.

## Conclusion

The Slovak-language press was published from 1929 to 2003, and two waves of immigrants – two socially and ideologically distinct groups of Slovaks – participated in it. While the inter-war immigrants were engaged in building a regional and working-class press with a purely local impact, it is characteristic of the Slovak postwar exile press that it was oriented towards the Slovak political exile both in Argentina and abroad. The Slovak political press had a dramatic development in Argentina and its activity was only discontinued in 2003.

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<sup>23</sup> Botík, J.: Slováci v argentínskom Chacu. Historický a etnokultúrny vývin pestovateľov bavlny. Los Eslovacos en el Chaco Argentino, c. d., s. 136-149.



The confrontation of two distinct immigration waves, both politically, culturally, and socially heterogeneous, caused a partial fragmentation of the pre-war Slovakian institutions of the then still large Slovakian immigrant community, especially in Buenos Aires, while the continuity of the Czech-Slovak institutional unity in the provinces was maintained.

The boom of exile newspapers of post-war Slovaks did bring a temporary increase in new Slovak periodicals, but these were ideologically too distant from the settled compatriots, who struggled to understand the starting points of the new immigrant intellectuals and therefore failed to acquire many supporters in this large Slovak pre-war immigrant community. Moreover, the political restrictions of the pro-fascist Argentine government towards Slavic migrants caused further marginalization of Slovaks both within their own national, Slovak group and within the Czechoslovak compatriot community. Moreover, the Catholic separatists failed to seek common ground with the institutions of the Lutheran Slovaks in the remote province of Chaco.

Numerous and ideologically diverse newspapers reveal the complex history of Slovaks in Argentina in the second half of the 20th century. Disparate groups – politically, religiously and culturally different – lived their own lives. Only the generations of their descendants, to whom the political disputes in the community seemed too distant, gradually began to turn back to the Slovaks, the Czechs and outside Buenos Aires to the still functioning joint Czechoslovak institutions.

For today's descendants of Slovak immigrants, the key story of their emigration is mostly preserved only in family memory, while the story of the Slovak community is difficult to trace. The reconstruction of the history of the expatriate and exile press proved to be helpful in providing partial insight into the complex story of Slovak emigrants. However, to understand the story of Slovak emigration in Argentina, further comparative research is needed. Exile and expatriate press clearly belong to important sources and sources of research.

#### **ANNEX: Inventory of Slovak periodicals published in Argentina**

The inventory provides descriptive information on 20 titles of periodicals published in Argentina mainly in Slovak language between 1929 and 2003. It provides basic bibliographic data of the periodical, information on the orientation of the publication, the publisher and editors, and briefly explains its history. The entry also provides information on the deposit of the periodical in public libraries and archives.

##### **Boletín / Ján Evin – Chaco**

The religious newsletter founded in 1953 by pastor Ján Evin and published monthly by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the province of Chaco. The newsletter printed sermons and reported on the life of the congregation. Michal Klenovský and Štefan Černoša contributed to the edition. It ceased to exist after J. Evin left for Canada in 1973. Since 1985 the newspaper continued the Spanish newsletter *Boletín de la congregación evangélica luterana*, which Rudolf Sexauer edited for several years.

**Deposit:** Slovak National Museum – Historical Museum in Bratislava

##### **European Correspondent / Československá tlačová služba, František Kadeřábek – Buenos Aires**

The war correspondent monitored political and war situation in Europe reprinting a selection of news from Czechoslovak and other international news offices. It was founded in June 1943 by former Czechoslovak envoy František Kadeřábek and Kazimír Štefánik headed the Slovak edition. The newsletter was published twice a month in Slovak, Czech, Spanish and English versions. All language versions had the same editorial, the Slovak version addressed to the Slovak community in Argentina focused on events in Slovakia. Germans recalled by Czechoslovak embassy representatives Germans distributed the newsletter free of charge and the Czechoslovak Government in Exile in London covered the print and delivery expenses. In January 1944 came out the last number. Later, the bulletin appeared as a merged Czech-Slovak newspaper. *Československý Zpravodaj* written partly in Slovak.

**Deposit:** National Archives of the Czech Republic – Fond: Foreign Press Service New York

##### **Juhoamerický Slovák (El Eslovaco de América del Sur) / Slovenský spolok, Arvéd Grébert – Buenos Aires**

The exile newspaper of the advocates of independent Slovakia started to be published from 1 September 1950 by the Slovak Association in Buenos Aires (renamed the Slovak Cultural Association in 1951). The publishers aimed the

newspaper as a unifying joint newspaper for the Slovak post-war exile, as well as for Slovak pre-war emigrants. Politically, it opposed communism and the government regime in Czechoslovakia and sympathised with the Peronist regime in Argentina. The newspaper reported on the Slovak exile in the US and Europe as well as, Slovak communities in Buenos Aires, Rosario, Comodoro Rivadavia and Cordoba. The contributors Ján Lány, Pavol Hudzovič, Vojtech Mojžiš, T. B. Trnavský, Ernest Žatko-Bor, Ján Pohronský, D. Gabriš and Jozef Cigler Hronský published articles regularly in the newspaper. It included also examples of literary text by Viliam Illenčík, Ján Dafčík and Rudolf Dilong. The newspaper circulated in around 1300 copies. In the first years it was published as a bimonthly, then as a monthly newspaper. In November 1959, the last special issue was published on the visit of the Slovak Abbot T. G. Kojiš to Buenos Aires.

**Deposit:** Náprstek Museum and Library in Prague; Collegium Carolinum in Munich; National Library in Buenos Aires; Archive of Czechs and Slovaks Abroad University of Chicago

**Mladost!** / Ján a Vlado Dafčík – Buenos Aires

Cultural month magazine founded in 1949 in Buenos Aires by Ján Dafčík published original literary texts by Slovak authors in exile and also reprinted other literary, cultural and political articles. It introduced world literature personalities and news. Executive editor Vlado Dafčík published articles by Viliam Illenčík, Dominik Valco, Rudolf Dilong, Ján Horský, Teodor Kojiš, Marián Dafčík B. Hancko. In total, four years of publication are documented in 37 issues. Under the *Mladost'* name, a book edition was also established in Buenos Aires to publish the works of Slovak writers abroad.

**Deposit:** University of Minnesota – Immigration History Research Center Archive; Archive of Matica Slovenska in Martin; Slovak National Library in Martin; Archive of Czechs and Slovaks Abroad University of Chicago

**Naša zem** (Nuestra Tierra) / Zahraničný výbor Slovenskej roľnickej strany, Pavol Krchňák – Buenos Aires

The political newspaper founded in 1948 published monthly by the Foreign Committee of the Slovak Farmers' Party. The nationalist-oriented newspaper brought political news from the Slovak exile and from Czechoslovakia. The newspaper edited by Pavol Krchňák followed the events in the Slovak community, reporting on cultural, social, and religious activities of Slovaks in Buenos Aires. Included articles by several contributors such as Ján Wozár, Viliam Illenčík, Ján Dafčík, Marián Dafčík, Ernest Žatko-Bor, J. Horský. The newspaper occasionally published political articles in Spanish in order to express the support of the Argentine government. Until the spring of 1951 the newspaper appeared in lithography, then in print. The last issue documented is from July 1952. In total, about 65 issues appeared.

**Deposit:** Collegium Carolinum in Munich; Archive of Czechs and Slovaks Abroad University of Chicago

**Oznamovateľ** / Pavel J. Jamnický – Chaco

The bulletin of the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran congregation in the Chaco province was renewed in 1965 by the pastor Pavel Jamnický. It came out monthly and reprinted the sermons and provided brief information about current events and life of the congregation. Except for one documented issue from April 24, 1966, there is no further information on the bulletin.

**Deposit:** Slovak National Museum – Historical Museum in Bratislava

**Slovenská informačná služba** (Servicio Eslovaco de Informaciones) / Slovenský akčný výbor – Buenos Aires

The political and press circular of the Slovak Action Committee founded in 1946 in Rome, since 1947 published in Buenos Aires. The newspaper advocated the restoration of Slovak independence, discussed the political affairs of Slovak exile and strongly protested against international communism and the government regime in Czechoslovakia. It appeared irregularly in several languages – Slovak, French, English, and German, as a reproduced typescript. Number of issues and circulation is not known. The only preserved hard copy dates from April 1949.

**Deposit:** Historical Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Buenos Aires

**Slovenská katolícka informačná služba** / Slovenský katolícky spolok – Buenos Aires

The Slovak catholic Newsletter published out in Buenos Aires from September 1961 by the Slovak Catholic Association. The bulletin brought a monthly summary of news from the Slovak Catholic Church in exile. It was published in cyclostyle. Four issues were published in 1961, 12 issues in 1962 and the last two issues published in 1963 on the Cyril and Methodius Jubilee. Not a single hard copy is preserved.

**Slovenská mládež** / Ústredie slovenskej mládeže v zahraničí, A. Macek – Buenos Aires

The Slovak Nationalist newspaper was founded in March 1949 by A. Macek and edited by the Central Office of Slovak Youth Abroad. The monthly political newspaper promoted the continuity of the authoritarian nationalist policy of A. Hlinka and agitated for the restoration of an independent Slovakia. It published also poetry and selections from the Slovak press abroad. It published articles on the anniversaries of J. Tiso, R. Štefánik and A. Hlinka and supported the Cyril and Methodius heritage. The newspaper was managed by an editorial circle; the editor in charge was Alojz Macek, former commander of the Hlinka Youth. Contributors to the newspaper included Anton Štencl and Zlatica Horská, Ferdinand Ďurčanský, Ernest Žatko-Bor, Stanislav Mečiar, Anton Bugan and Dušan Gabriš. The newspaper appeared in print for less than two years and in total 11 issues came out. The last undated number appeared as a cumulative issue for the year 1950.

**Deposit:** Collegium Carolinum in Munich; Archive of Czechs and Slovaks Abroad University of Chicago

### **Slovenská Republika** / Slovenský akčný výbor, Stanislav Mečiar – Buenos Aires

Political newspaper published monthly from February 1949 in Buenos Aires by the Slovak Action Committee. It turned out to be a politically engaged exile newspaper, which advocated the juridical continuity of the independent Slovak state according to the conception of F. Ďurčanský. It documented the political activities of the committee chairman F. Ďurčanský and supported his political ideology, as well as, reported on the activities of branches of the Slovak Action Committee in Europe, the USA and Canada and covered the situation of the Slovak exile in Germany, Britain and the USA. Irregularly it referred to news regarding the Slovak exile community in Argentina, Brazil and Australia. The main editor Stanislav Mečiar. Published articles by Ferdinand Ďurčanský, Ján Ďurčanský, Štefan Polakovič, Anton Bugan, Alojz Macek, Rudolf Dilong, Ivan Bazovský, Ernest Žatko-Bor, Štefan Hnilecký, Stanislav Mečiar, Štefan Ondruška, Viliam Illenčík, Arvéd Grébert and Zlatica Horská. Since 1954, it appeared irregularly. The last issue came out in April 1957. In total, 68 issues are listed.

**Deposit:** Collegium Carolinum in Munich; Archive of Czechs and Slovaks Abroad University of Chicago

### **Slovenská rodina v Argentíne** / A. Bugan, Š. Hnilecký – Buenos Aires

The religious circular published by the Slovak Catholic Association in Buenos Aires since October 1953. The editor was Anton Bugan, later Štefan Hnilecký and Štefan Magúth. The newspaper printed religious texts, brought news for the Catholic community of Slovaks in Buenos Aires and reported on the activities of Slovak Catholic clerics in Argentina. It focused on the Slovak post-war exile. The newspaper came out in cyclostyle, after 1965 in print. The periodicity of the newspaper has not yet been identified. It apparently lasted until 1967. Not a single hard copy has been found so far.

### **Slovenské zvesti pre Slovákov v Južnej Amerike** / Rudolf Dilong – Buenos Aires

The newsletter founded in November 1947 in Buenos Aires by the politically engaged priest and writer R. Dilong. He edited the paper as a monthly for two years. The newspaper brought political news from the outside world as well as from political exile in Argentina and reported on the activities of Slovaks in Argentina. The newspaper reproduced by lithography. The only documented hard copy is dated 5 April 1948. A total of 14 issues appeared.

**Deposit:** Historical Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Buenos Aires

### **Slovenské Zvesti reprezentácie SOV-U v Argentíne** / Slovenský oslobodzovací výbor Ladislav Čížik – Buenos Aires

The political newsletter, founded in November 1956 in Buenos Aires, came out as a circular of the Slovak Liberation Committee. It reported on the political activities of the Slovak Liberation Committee in Argentina and abroad, on the Slovak exile and on the exile community in Buenos Aires. It also included religious texts, as well as political news. The editor of the newspaper Ladislav Čížik cooperated with contributor Stanislav Mečiar, Štefan Jarabinský, Ján Pohronský. The Slovak newspaper often appeared as a double or triple issue. The last documented issue is from December 1958. A total of 35 issues are registered.

**Deposit:** Slovak National Library in Martin; Archive of the Slovenská Matica in Martin; Archive of Czechs and Slovaks Abroad University of Chicago

### **Slovenský Ľud** (Pueblo Eslovaco) / Slovenský spolok – Buenos Aires

The first and only Slovak pre-war newspaper established in 1929 and came out monthly and later as a fortnightly. The newspaper published the Slovak Workers' Association (Slovenský robotnícky spolok), later renamed the Slovak Association (Slovenský spolok). The newspaper reported activities of Slovak associations in Buenos Aires and Slovak communities in Rosario, Cordoba, Berisso, Sáenz Peña, Comodoro Rivadavia, Bajo Hondo, Las Cuchillas and in neighbouring Montevideo. The newspaper reported on Czech associations in Argentina. During the war, it paid attention to the Slavic federation Unión Eslava, as well as the pro-Communist organisation Komitét pre Združenie Slavjanov v Argentíne, and reprinted their political pamphlets in Spanish. Each year the association elected or ratified an editor-in-chief and a editorial press committee. The association annually elected or confirmed the editor-in-chief and the press committee. Before the World War II the newspaper was edited by J. Skladan, Pavel Holec, Ivan Šimko, Stanislav Kuzma, Daniel Bučenec, Anton Hrubý, during the war by Stanislav Kuzma, Kazimír Štefánik, Ivan Šimko and Leonardo Braniša, after the war by Josef Šlesár, Viktor Samek and Ivan Šimo. In 1933-1937 the association edited *Slovenský kalendár pre Južnú Ameriku* (Slovak Calendar for South America). In 1948, the new elected leadership of the association which came from post-war emigrants, stopped publishing this newspaper. The last issue came out on 25 March 1948. There are 690 issues in total.

**Deposit:** Náprstek Museum and Library in Prague; National Library in Buenos Aires

### **Slovenský život v Argentíne** (La vida de los Eslovacos en Argentina) / Slovenský kultúrny spolok, Ján a Eva Jankovič – Buenos Aires

The newspaper of Slovak post-war exiles in Buenos Aires belongs to the longest lasting Slovak periodical in South America. It used to be published quarterly and later as a bimonthly by the Slovak Cultural Association. The newspaper reported on the activities of the Slovak community in Argentina, on the situation in Slovakia and on Slovak exile abroad and it republished articles from other exile newspapers and, after 1989, also from Slovakia. Since the 1980s, some of the articles appeared in Spanish. The newspaper became edited by Jan and Eva Jankovič, with Stanislav Jančařík co-editing

the Spanish section. It was circulated in 300 copies, at first on cyclostyle paper and later in the form of a photocopied typescript. The last issue came out in 2003. A total of 112 issues are registered.

**Deposit:** Slovak National Library in Martin; Libri prohibiti Library in Prague; Archive of Czechs and Slovaks Abroad University of Chicago

**Slovo Slovákom a Slovenkám dobrej vôle / Alojz Macek – Buenos Aires**

The exile nationalist newsletter published by Alojz Macek in Buenos Aires since 1971. It reported on the activities of Slovak exile, the World Congress of Slovaks, and the exile community in Argentina. It published political texts and text selections from the Slovak exile press. The paper appeared twice a year as a typewritten publication. The only known hardcopy is from 1971. The paper lasted until 1975.

**Deposit:** Slovak National Library – Literary Archives, Martin

**Štít – Buenos Aires**

The Slovak-language magazine began in Buenos Aires in early 1949 and appeared for a short time. Not a single hard copy has been found.

**Výber z katolíckej svetovej tlače / Slovenský katolícky spolok, P. Valenta – Buenos Aires**

The Catholic newsletter in Slovak, founded in December 1949, published monthly by the Slovak Catholic Association in Buenos Aires. The chief editor was Peter Valent.

It published religious texts and news about the activities of the Catholic Church in exile. It included translations of articles from the international Catholic press and news reports from various countries. So far, 15 issues are registered.

**Deposit:** Immigration History Research Center Archive University of Minnesota

**Zápisník Slovenskej národnej rady v zahraničí / Slovenská národná rada v zahraničí, Marian Dafčík – Buenos Aires**

Catholic newsletter written in Slovak, founded in December 1949 in Buenos Aires, was published monthly by the Slovak Catholic Association in Buenos Aires. The chief editor was Peter Valent. The newsletter published religious texts and news about the activities of the Catholic Church. It translated articles from the world's Catholic newspapers and provided brief news reports from various countries. There are 15 numbers documented so far.

**Deposit:** Collegium Carolinum, Mnichov; Krajanské muzeum Matice Slovenské, Martin; Archiv Matice Slovenské – Fond J. Ciger-Hronský

**Zrkadlo, Buenos Aires \* 1957**

The Slovak magazine founded in Buenos Aires in the year 1957, existed only for a short time. So far, not a single hard copy has been documented.

## **La Historia de la Prensa de los Eslovacos en Argentina**

Vendula V. Hingarová

El estudio presenta la historia de la prensa en lengua eslovaca en Argentina. En un recorrido cronológico, presenta 25 publicaciones periódicas eslovacas editadas en lengua eslovaca principalmente en Buenos Aires entre 1929 y 2004. La emigración eslovaca de entreguerras formó sus asociaciones regionales e instituciones de prensa en estrecha proximidad con las instituciones checoslovacas, mientras que el exilio político de posguerra estableció una línea política diferenciada bajo la influencia del nacionalismo eslovaco y la continuidad ideológica del Estado eslovaco (1939-1945) independiente en la segunda guerra mundial. La élite eslovaca emigrada de posguerra amplió en gran número la producción de la prensa eslovaca en el extranjero, convirtiendo a Buenos Aires en uno de los principales centros del exilio eslovaco de posguerra a finales de los años cuarenta y principios de los cincuenta. Sin embargo, el exilio de posguerra impidió la continuidad de las instituciones eslovacas de la emigración económica de entreguerras.

El estudio presenta una panorámica de las publicaciones periódicas eslovacas editadas en Argentina, con detalles sobre la historia de cada título, su estructura editorial, así como enlaces a las bibliotecas individuales donde se archivan.

## **Historie slovenské žurnalistiky v Argentíně**

Vendula V. Hingarová

Krajanská žurnalistika se etablovala v meziválečném období, kdy se do Argentiny vystěhovalo kolen 40 tisíc vy-stěhovačů z Československa a polovinu z nich tvořili mluvčí slovenštiny. Hlavním tiskovým orgánem Slováků byl *Slovenský Lud* (zal. 1929), který propojoval slovenské krajany a spolky v hlavních krajanských střediscích v Argentíně a

sousední Uruguayi, Paraguayi a okrajově i v Brazílii. Předcházela mu produkce slovensky psaných článků vycházejících v řadě česky psaných krajských listů.

Po roce 1946 našla v Argentině pod křídly profašistické Perónovy vlády útočiště slovenská ľudácká emigrace – přívrženci Tisovy slovenské profašistické vlády. Tato politická a kulturní elita byla po obnově Československa v roce 1945 na útěku v Německu a v Itálii a teprve odchod do emigrace v Argentině jim umožnil se veřejně podílet na politické činnosti a během jedné dekády vydávat desítku slovenských listů. Tato nepočetná, avšak angažovaná skupina způsobila svou politickou aktivitou v usedlé, převážně levicově orientované slovenské krajské obci v Buenos Aires rozkol, který vyústil v převzetí jejich etablovaných institucí a mnohaleté umlčení hlasu této početné meziválečné emigrace.