

BOREC 703–705, LXVI/2014

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★  
AUTHORS' ABSTRACTS



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## ITALIJANSKA KONCENTRACIJSKA TABORIŠČA ZA SLOVENSKE IN HRVAŠKE CIVILISTE: ZGODBA O TRAGEDIJI ZA DOMAČIM DVORIŠČEM IN O RAZLOGIH ZA DOLGO TIŠINO

Ni skrivnost, da je Italija zgolj delno poravnala svoje račune, povezane s fašističnim režimom in Mussolinijevimi vojnami. Italijanska koncentracijska taborišča za slovenske in hrvaške civiliste so popolnoma izrinjena iz političnih razprav v Italiji, tudi v medijskih odzivih ob uradnih slovesnostih in navzočnosti visokih državnih funkcionarjev to tematiko vedno hitro pometejo pod preprogo. Italijansko zgodovinsko pisarje je to tišino odpravilo šele v zadnjih letih, čeprav z zelo široko zastavljenimi deli, gotovo pa je na področju raziskovanja, ki tako natančno proučuje civilno zavest dežele, še veliko neraziskanega in neobdelanega. Seveda govorimo o dolgem procesu, ki ga ovira tudi izpuščanje koncentracijskih taborišč v šolskih učbenikih. Še posebej v naših obmejnih pokrajinah pa bi bilo treba o tej tematiki razločneje spregovoriti tudi zato, ker v italijanskih koncentracijskih taboriščih niso bili zaprti samo ostareli, ženske in otroci, deportirani z območij vojaške zasedbe ali pokrajin, ki so bile priključene Italiji takoj po napadu na Jugoslavijo. Med omenjenimi deportiranci je bilo tudi veliko italijanskih državljanov slovenskega in hrvaškega porekla z vzhodnih področij. Gre za osebe, katerim so do sedaj v resnici odrekli tudi spomin na preživeto trpljenje. Obuditi ta spomin in z njim seznaniti javno mnenje v Italiji in še posebej mlajše generacije je državljanska dolžnost. Ne gre zgolj za priznanje takratnim žrtvam, ampak za moralno zavezo, ki zadeva vse nas in nam lahko odmeri korak na poti k demokraciji, ki ga je ta država zmogla narediti v zadnjih letih brez razlikovanja politične pripadnosti.

**KLJUČNE BESEDE:** *italijanska fašistična koncentracijska taborišča, zamolčana zgodovina, javno mnenje, revizionizem, šolski učbeniki, meddržavni odnosi.*

DARIO MATTIUSI

## ITALIAN CONCENTRATION CAMPS FOR SLOVENIAN AND CROATIAN CIVILIANS: A STORY ABOUT A TRAGEDY BEHIND OUR BACKYARD AND THE REASONS FOR THE LONG SILENCE

It is no secret that Italy has only partly settled its debts related to the Fascist regime and Mussolini's wars. Italian concentration camps for Slovenian and Croatian civilians have been expelled from political discussions in Italy, while, in the media responses to official commemorations in the presence of high state officials, this topic is quickly swept under the rug. Italian historiography broke this silence only in recent years, although with very broadly conceived works. Nevertheless, in the field of research that so meticulously studies the civilian consciousness of the country, much remains to be researched and discussed. We are talking about a long process, of course, which is also hindered by the omission of concentration camps from schoolbooks. It is especially in our border regions that this topic should be discussed more openly, also because the Italian concentration camps did not detain only the elderly, women and children deported from the occupied areas or regions annexed to Italy immediately after the attack on Yugoslavia. Among the mentioned deportees, there were also a lot of Italian citizens of Slovenian and Croatian descent from the Eastern areas. Until now, these persons, too, were denied the memory of the suffering they had experienced. It is one's civic duty to awaken this memory and inform the Italian public, especially the younger generations. It is not only about the acknowledgement of the victims, but also about a moral commitment that concerns us all and can measure our step on the way to democracy that this country has managed to take in the last years without differentiating between political affiliations.

KEY WORDS: *Italian Fascist concentration camps, suppressed history, public opinion, revisionism, schoolbooks, international relations.*

## ZAKAJ RAZISKOVATI TABORIŠČA DANES?

Članek obravnava globalnejše kontekste in razloge treh mednarodnih projektov o razredni in nacionalni zgodovini Primorja: prvi je bil *Il mosaico giuliano – Primorski mozaik*, s katerim smo želeli okrepiti sobivanje na zahodni meji. Drugi projekt, *L'internamento nei campi di concentramento italiani – Internacije v italijanskih koncentracijskih taboriščih*, je obravnaval agresijo na Jugoslavijo leta 1941. Tretji projekt, *Quando morì mio padre – Ko je umrl moj oče*, pa je obravnaval otroke in ženske v internaciji.

Od leta 1992, ko je Slovenija uresničila svojo suverenost, do leta 2004, ko je vstopila v Evropsko unijo, so se okrepili poskusi raznih revizij polpretekle zgodovine. Namen tega je bil izterjati od nove države Slovenije niz odprtih računov, ki jih je mednarodna skupnost izstavila od podpisa pariške mirovne pogodbe in avstrijske državne pogodbe naprej. Šlo je za »popravo krivic« Italijanom in Nemcem, ki so po drugi svetovni vojni odšli iz države, ter za denacionalizacijo, ki bi jim povrnila po vojni odvzeto premoženje. Te zahteve so potekale vzporedno z družbeno revizijo, medtem ko sta se sprememba mednarodnih pogodb in zahteva po novem pisanju zgodovine opirali na zgodovinsko revizijo. Ta je bila po mnenju rekonkviste nujna zaradi enačenja slovenske zgodovine s tisto, ki so jo širili v Evropi po padcu berlinskega zidu. Nasprotno pa so alternativna okolja nekaterih tujih univerz in inštitutov (v našem primeru beneška univerza Ca'Foscari in Raziskovalno-zgodovinski inštitut Leopolda Gasparinija z Gradišča ob Soči) že na prelomu iz 20. v 21. stoletje načrtovala protiofenzivo stroke nad družbeno revizijo dosežkov socialne države. Družbeno naravnani projekti, h katerim so povabili tudi nas, so z vključevanjem teorij o razvoju socialne države v času globalizacije in neoliberalizma želeli ugotoviti vzroke za ogrožanje marginalnih družbenih skupin, migrantov in žrtev socialno razslojene družbe. Kot predstavnikom države v tranziciji so nam namenili raziskavo, ki naj bi poiskala vzroke za drsenje socialnih pravic v brezno pozabe. Sodelavci v tem projektu smo posegli po zgodovini in vstopili v projekt z analizo znašanja okupacijskega sistema nad ženskami in otroki v ekstremnih razmerah druge svetovne vojne v Sloveniji. Ta študija primera je pokazala, da so bili v verigi prizadetih kot najšibkejši člen največje žrtve prav otroci in ženske v koncentracijskih taboriščih. S temeljno zgodovinsko in političnoekonomsko primerjavo pa smo pokazali, da so današnji vzroki za italijanska, grška in španska taborišča za migrante le produkt zakonitosti imperializma in kapitala. Tako morajo otroci in ženske tudi danes, podobno kot že takrat, plačevati najvišji davek nepravičnemu svetovnemu redu. Obe skupini vežejo mnoge vzporednice, ki izhajajo bodisi iz osnov razizma bodisi iz politike kršenja človekovih pravic, le da danes ideologijo večvrednosti nadomešča ideologija družbene revizije socialnih pravic.

**KLJUČNE BESEDE:** *politična ekonomija, zgodovinski revizionizem, fašizem, rasizem, razredna in nacionalna zgodovina Primorja, koncentracijska taborišča, (post)kolonializem, (neo)imperializem, neoliberalizem, migracijske politike.*

BORIS GOMBAČ

## WHY RESEARCH CONCENTRATION CAMPS TODAY?

The article discusses the more global contexts of and reasons for three international projects on the class and national history of Primorje. The first project was *Il mosaico giuliano – The Mosaic of Venezia Giulia*, whose aim was to strengthen the cohabitation along the Western border. The second project, *L'internamento nei campi di concentramento italiani – Internment in Italian Concentration Camps*, dealt with the aggression against Yugoslavia in 1941. The third project, *Quando morì mio padre – When My Father Died*, studied children and women in internment.

Between 1992, when Slovenia gained its independence, and 2004, when it became a member of the EU, the attempts at various revisions of recent history intensified. Their purpose was to demand that the new state settles a series of open bills that the international community has issued since the signing of the Paris Peace Treaties and the Austrian State Treaty. The demands were related to the “redressing of wrongs” done to Italians and Germans who left the country after WWII, and to denationalisation – the restitution of property they were dispossessed of after the war. These demands took place simultaneously with the social revision, while the change of international treaties and the demand for rewriting history leaned on the historical revision. In the opinion of the Reconquista, the last was necessary due to the equation of Slovenian history with the one spread in Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Contrary to this, it was already at the turn of the millennium that alternative environments of certain foreign universities and institutes (in our case, the Ca’Foscari University of Venice and the Leopold Gasparini Institute of Historical Research in Gradisca d’Isonzo) planned a counter-offensive of the profession against the social revision of the achievements of the welfare state. By involving theories on the development of the welfare state in the time of globalisation and neo-liberalism, the socially-oriented projects which we were invited to participate in wanted to ascertain the reasons for the endangering of marginal social groups, migrants and the victims of a socially stratified society. As representatives of a country in transition, we were assigned the research task of finding the reasons for social rights slipping into the abyss of oblivion. We turned to history and entered the project with an analysis of the occupation system mistreating women and children in the extreme circumstances of WWII in Slovenia. This case study has shown that, in the chain of afflicted people, the women and children in concentration camps, who were the weakest members of the chain, were the greatest victims. With a fundamental historical and politico-economical comparison, we have shown that today’s causes for the Italian, Greek and Spanish migrant camps originate in the laws of imperialism and capital. Today, just like then, it is the children and women who have to pay the highest price of the unjust world order. There are many parallels between both groups, proceeding either from racism or the politics of violating human rights, only that today the ideology of supremacy is supplanted by the ideology of the social revision of social rights.

**KEY WORDS:** *political economy, historical revisionism, Fascism, racism, class and national history of Primorje, concentration camps, (post)colonialism, (neo)imperialism, neo-liberalism, migration policies.*

METKA GOMBAČ

## ARHIVSKO GRADIVO IZ OBDOBJA DRUGE SVETOVNE VOJNE V ARHIVU REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE

V desetletjih po drugi svetovni vojni je arhivistika doživela velik razvoj. Arhivi, ki so za zgodovino neprecenljiv vir znanja in dokazovanja, so postali aktualni in pomembni spremljevalci vsakdanjega življenja. Arhivsko gradivo iz obdobja druge svetovne vojne je po ureditvi, bogastvu fondov in tematski raznovrstnosti poznan tudi v evropskem merilu; mnogi domači in tuji uporabniki priznavajo, da je to eden izmed največjih tematskih hraniteljev gradiva druge svetovne vojne v Evropi. Članek predstavlja zgodovino Arhiva in tematsko izbrane zbirke in fonde, mdr. fonde in zbirke vojaških partizanskih enot in ustanov, partizanske civilne fonde, italijanske in nemške fonde in zbirke, gradivo nasprotnikov narodnoosvobodilnega boja, zbirko dopolnilnega gradiva s spomini iz predvojnega in medvojnega obdobja, neobjavljenimi dokumentarnimi deli ter dopolnilnimi mikrofilmi, tematske zbirke o žrtvah italijanskih okupacijskih oblasti, Slovenkah v NOB, zbirko podpisov za priključitev Slovenskega primorja in Trsta k Jugoslaviji in zbirko resolucij za priključitev Slovenskega primorja in Trsta, zbirke o okupatorjevih zaporih in taboriščih ter sodnih zaporih v Ljubljani, osebne fonde z zapuščinskimi zbirkami ter številne druge.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *Arhiv Republike Slovenije, arhivsko gradivo iz obdobja druge svetovne vojne.*

METKA GOMBAČ

## ARCHIVAL MATERIAL FROM THE PERIOD OF WWII AT THE ARCHIVES OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA

In the decades following WWII, archival science developed immensely. Archives, which are a priceless source of knowledge and evidence for historical research, became relevant and important companions of everyday life. In view of its arrangement, rich fonds and the variety of topics, the archival material from the period of WWII is renowned also on a European scale; many Slovenian and foreign users admit that it is one of the biggest thematic keepers of WWII material in Europe. The article presents the Archive's history and the thematically selected collections and fonds, among others, the fonds and collections of partisan army units and institutions, partisan civilian fonds, Italian and German fonds and collections, the material of the opponents of the National Liberation Struggle, the collection of supplementary material with memories from the pre-war and the wartime period, unpublished documentary works and supplementary microfilms, thematic collections about the victims of Italian occupying authorities, Slovenian women in the National Liberation Struggle, the collection of signatures for the annexation of the Slovenian coast and Trieste to Yugoslavia, the collection related to the enemy's prisons and concentration camps and the court prisons in Ljubljana, personal fonds with legacy collections and many others.

KEY WORDS: *Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, archival material from the period of WWII.*

ALESSANDRA PIANI

## SPOMIN NA KONCENTRACIJSKO TABORIŠČE V GONARSU (1941–1943) V USTNEM PRIČEVANJU KRAJEVNEGA PREBIVALSTVA

V Gonarsu v Furlanski nižini je v letih 1941–1943 delovalo koncentracijsko taborišče za civilno prebivalstvo z območij bivše Jugoslavije, v njem je umrlo več kot petsto oseb. To je zgodovinsko dejstvo, na katero pogosto pozabljamo. Pričujoči prispevek se nanaša na mojo diplomsko nalogo, ki sem jo zagovarjala na videmski univerzi leta 2005. Namen dela je bila obnovitev zgodbe koncentracijskega taborišča Gonars »od zunaj«, torej z gledišča krajevnega prebivalstva. Prav zaradi dejstva, da ni pred tem še nihče proučil razmerja med krajevnim prebivalstvom in taboriščem, dvema stvarnostma, ki sta si bili fizično blizu, a pravzaprav oddaljeni druga od druge, so pogovori z intervjuvanci omogočili raziskave v drugačnem okviru od tistega pri pisnih in uradnih virih.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *koncentracijsko taborišče Gonars 1941–1943, ustno pričevanje, pogled krajevnih prebivalcev, meddržavni odnosi.*

ALESSANDRA PIANI

## MEMORY OF THE GONARS CONCENTRATION CAMP (1941–1943) IN THE ORAL TESTIMONIES OF THE LOCAL POPULATION

Between 1941 and 1943, a concentration camp for civilians from the territory of former Yugoslavia operated in Gonars, Friuli, in which more than five hundred people died. This is a historical fact we often forget. This contribution draws on my diploma paper which I defended at the University of Udine in 2005. The purpose of the work was to renew the story of the Gonars concentration camp “from the outside”, that is, from the viewpoint of the local population. It is precisely because nobody before had studied the relation between the local population and the concentration camp, two realities that were physically close, but actually very far apart, that the conversations with interviewees enabled research in a framework different from the one of the written and formal sources.

KEY WORDS: *Gonars concentration camp (1941–1943), oral testimony, viewpoint of the local inhabitants, international relations.*



PAOLA BRISTOT

## DON KIHOT V GONARSU: RISBE NIKOLAJA PIRNATA V ZBIRKI DRUŽINE CORDARO

Tudi v najbolj skrajnih in nečloveških razmerah lahko nastanejo vezi prijateljstva in solidarnosti, ki so prav zaradi tega verjetno še trdnjše. Prav to je veljalo za zdravnika v taborišču Gonars, podporočnika Maria Cordara, in umetnika, kiparja in pisca Nikolaja Pirnata, med katerima se je rodilo prijateljstvo, ki se je nadaljevalo tudi po vojni. Pirnata so vojaki italijanske fašistične vojske zaprli februarja 1942, najprej v tako imenovano Belgijsko kasarno, marca pa so ga internirali v Gonars, kjer je ostal do maja 1943. Cordaro je kot medicinec vzpostavil z jetniki odnos, ki je presegal okvire njegove vojaške zadolžitve, njegova človekoljubnost se je jasno kazala v prizadevanjih, da bi ublažil ne samo fizične, ampak tudi njihove notranje rane. V znak spoštovanja in hvaležnosti so mu jetniki podarili svoje risbe, ki so kasneje postale del njegove zbirke z naslovom *Civilni interniranci koncentracijskega taborišča. Gonars 1942*. Zbirka zajema dela Hermana Vrečka, Miloša Mehore, Mirka Lebeža, A. D. Kurandiča, Ivana Garbajsa, B. Jeločnika, Otmarja Drelseja, J. Mežana, Leona Furlana, največ pa je Pirnatovih – risbe, ki jih je ustvaril v tem obdobju jetništva, nas presunejo, pojasni jih lahko le umetnikova trdna volja, da bi se vzdignil nad vsiljene omejitve in izpolnil hrepenenje po svobodi. Risbe pa niso zanimive zgolj z umetniškega gledišča, ampak še danes pomenijo tudi enega glavnih dokumentarnih virov tistega zgodovinskega obdobja in taborišč, ki so jih porušili takoj po kapitulaciji, da bi zbrisali sledi. Vrednost risb zato določa predvsem ohranjanje spomina na dejstva, kraje in osebe, ki so prišle v poročila zgodovine, ne da bi prejele povračilo za storjeno škodo.

**KLJUČNE BESEDE:** *koncentracijsko taborišče Gonars, Nikolaj Pirnat, Mario Cordaro, solidarnost, prijateljstvo, umetnost kot zgodovinsko pričevanje.*

PAOLA BRISTOT

## DON QUIXOTE IN GONARS: NIKOLAJ PIRNAT'S DRAWINGS IN THE CORDARO FAMILY COLLECTION

Even in the most extreme and inhuman conditions, bonds of friendship and solidarity can be forged, and can even be stronger due to these conditions. This was precisely the case with the doctor in the Gonars concentration camp, sub-lieutenant Mario Cordaro, and artist, sculptor and writer Nikolaj Pirnat, who forged a friendship which continued also after the war. The soldiers of the Italian Fascist Army confined Pirnat in February 1942. He was first detained in the so-called Belgian Barracks, but in March they interned him into Gonars, where he remained until May 1943. As a medic, Cordaro established a relation with the internees that exceeded the framework of his military duty; his humaneness was clearly manifested in his endeavours to ease not only the physical, but also the internal wounds of the internees. As a sign of respect and gratitude, the internees made him a present of their drawings, which later became part of his collection entitled *Civilian Internees of the Concentration Camp. Gonars 1942*. The collection includes works by Herman Vrečko, Miloš Mehora, Mirko Lebež, A. D. Kurandič, Ivan Garbajs, B. Jeločnik, Otmar Drelsej, J. Mežan, Leon Furlan, but mostly Nikolaj Pirnat, whose drawings from his period of internment move us very deeply, drawings that can be explained only by the artist's determination to rise above the enforced limitations and fulfil the yearnings for freedom. The drawings are not interesting only from the artistic point of view, but also because they still represent one of the main documentary sources for that historical period and the concentration camps that were demolished immediately after Italy capitulated in order to cover things up. The drawings are considered valuable especially because they preserve the memory of the facts, places and persons that made it into historical records without receiving reparations for the damage done.

KEY WORDS: *Gonars concentration camp, Nikolaj Pirnat, Mario Cordaro, solidarity, friendship, art as historical testimony.*

## HOLOKAVST IN TRAJEKTORIJA 20. STOLETJA

Zgodovinarji, ki se ukvarjajo s holokavstom, se soočajo z dvema nalogama: kot dolžnost do mrtvih in v opozorilo prihodnjim generacijam morajo povedati in obeležiti zgodbo, obenem pa morajo zgodovino holokavsta integrirati v splošni tok zgodovinske zavesti. Sam se nameravam – s premislekom o možnosti odnosa med holokavstom in njegovimi posledicami ter temeljnimi časovnimi strukturami 20. stoletja – posvetiti drugi od obeh nalog, obravnavi holokavsta z vidika začetka 21. stoletja. Ta problematika postavlja vprašanje, ali je še mogoče – in če je, na kakšen način – razmišljati o prihodnosti, ne da bi izdali preteklost. Na podlagi svojih prejšnjih spisov bom zagovarjal tezo, da holokavst moremo in moramo analizirati z vidika procesov na ravni globinske zgodovinske strukture – da ga na tej ravni analize lahko osvetlimo in istočasno osvetlimo vidike splošne časovne strukturiranosti našega stoletja. Kategorije, kakršni sta »fašizem« ali »totalitarizem«, so morda uporabne za določene namene, ne morejo pa zadovoljivo razložiti načrtovanega uničenja evropskega judovstva, saj to ostaja zunaj njihovega analitskega obzorja. Dejansko lahko enako rečemo o teorijah Raula Hilberga in Hannah Arendt, ki poudarjata strukture birokratskih avtoritet ter delitev dela in s tem odgovornosti, ki je zaznamovala nacistični program uničenja. Takšni pristopi pomagajo osvetliti, kako je bil program izvršen in kaj ga je omogočilo, ne razložijo pa programa samega. Namesto tega bom predstavil razlago antisemitizma kot splošne ideologije in to poskušal povezati s splošnim časovnim strukturiranjem modernega sveta. Moj namen ni razložiti, *zakaj* sta nacizem in moderni antisemitizem v Nemčiji postala hegemoni. Podrobneje bom poskušal določiti *tisto*, kar je postalo hegemono, in razložiti moderni antisemitizem kot notranje povezanega z nacionalsocializmom, pri tem pa izhajati z gledišča, ki lahko posreduje med analizo holokavsta in velikimi zgodovinskimi procesi 20. stoletja. Tak pristop obravnava program uničenja v navezavi na ideologijo in ne na tehnologijo ali popolno zgodovinsko kontingenco, o ideologiji poskuša razmišljati družbeno in zgodovinsko. S tem prispeva k razlagi uničevalskega projekta in njegove notranje vezi z »idealističnim« in »revolucionarnim« samorazumevanjem nacistov. Kaže na to, da je prav narava tega uničevalskega zločina – in ne zgolj izbira žrtev – utemeljena v analizi modernega antisemitizma, razumljenega kot fetišizirana forma antikapitalizma, ki je vzniknila v tranziciji iz liberalnega kapitalizma v državno usmerjenega.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *holokavst, nacionalsocializem, antisemitizem, totalitarizem, fetišizem, ideologija, hegemonija, antikapitalizem, tranzicija.*

MOISHE POSTONE

## THE HOLOCAUST AND THE TRAJECTORY OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

Historians who deal with the Holocaust are confronted by two separable tasks: one is to tell the story, to commemorate – as an obligation to the dead and as a warning to future generations. The other is to integrate the history of the Holocaust into the general stream of historical consciousness. I intend to approach to the latter task – that is, the task of considering the Holocaust from the perspective of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century – by inquiring into the possible relation of the Holocaust and its aftermath to overarching temporal patterns of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This problematic raises the question of whether and in what ways it is still possible to think a future without betraying the past. I shall argue, on the basis of earlier works, that the Holocaust can and must also be analyzed with reference to historical processes on a deep structural level – that it can be illuminated by this level of consideration and, in turn, can illuminate aspects of the overarching temporal structuring of our century. Categories as “fascism” or “totalitarianism” may be useful for some purposes, but they do not adequately help account for the planned extermination of European Jewry, which remains outside of their analytic purview. The same may be said ultimately of theories – such as those of Raul Hilberg and Hannah Arendt – that emphasize the structures of bureaucratic authority, as well as the division of labour and, hence, responsibility, that characterized the Nazi programme of extermination. Such approaches help illuminate how the programme was and could have been executed but do not explain the programme itself. I shall rather sketch an analysis of anti-Semitism as a general ideology and try to relate it to the general temporal structuring of the modern world. My intention is not to explain *why* Nazism and modern anti-Semitism became hegemonic in Germany. Rather, I shall attempt to determine more closely, *what it was* that became hegemonic by suggesting an analysis of modern anti-Semitism that indicates its intrinsic connections to National Socialism in terms that can mediate between an analysis of the Holocaust and large-scale historical processes in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Such an approach understands a programme of extermination with reference to ideology, rather than with reference to technology, or complete historical contingency, and tries to ground that ideology socially and historically. It helps to explain the exterminatory project and its intrinsic ties to the “idealistic”, “revolutionary” self-understanding of the Nazis. It indicates that precisely the nature of the crime of extermination – not only the choice of victims – can be grounded in an analysis of modern anti-Semitism, understood as a fetishized form of anticapitalism that emerged in the transition from liberal to state-centred capitalism.

KEY WORDS: *Holokavst, National Socialism, anti-Semitism, totalitarianism, fetishism, ideology, hegemony, anticapitalism, transition.*

SLAVOJ ŽIŽEK

## KAJ HOČE EVROPA?

Na tem mestu smo v skušnjavi obnoviti staro marksistično »humanistično« opozicijo »odnosa med stvarmi« in »odnosa med ljudmi«: v pogosto opevanem prostem pretoku, ki ga je omogočil globalni kapitalizem, so prav »stvari« (blaga) tiste, ki svobodno krožijo, medtem ko je pretok »ljudi« vse bolj nadziran. Ta novi rasizem razvitih je na neki način brutalnejši od nekdanjega rasizma: njegova implicitna utemeljitev ni niti naturalistična (»naravna« superiornost razvitega Zahoda) niti ni več kulturalistična (mi na Zahodu prav tako želimo ohraniti svojo kulturno identiteto), temveč je nebrzdan ekonomski egoizem – temeljna delitev je med tistimi, ki so vključeni v sfero (relativne) ekonomske blaginje, in tistimi, ki so iz nje izključeni. To, kar imamo v politiki in civilizaciji ZDA za obsojanja vredno in nevarno, je torej del same Evrope, eden od možnih iztekov evropskega projekta. Ni prostora za samozadovoljno ošabnost: ZDA so izkrivljeno zrcalo Evrope same. Že leta 1930 je Max Horkheimer zapisal, da bi tisti, ki nočejo (kritično) govoriti o liberalizmu, morali molčati tudi o fašizmu. *Mutatis mutandis*, vsem, ki obsojajo novi ameriški imperializem, bi lahko odvrnili: tisti, ki se nočejo kritično opredeliti do same Evrope, bi lahko molčali tudi glede ZDA. Edino pravo vprašanje v ozadju samozadovoljnih praznovanj, ki spremljajo širitev EU, torej je: Kateri Evropi se pridružujemo? Soočeni s tem vprašanjem, vsi skupaj, tako »Nova« kakor »Stara« Evropa, plujemo na isti barki.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *postkomunizem, Evropa, Evropska unija, ZDA, globalni kapitalizem, blagovni fetišizem, liberalizem, fašizem, imperializem, nasilje, rasizem, izključeni vs. vključeni.*

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## WHAT DOES EUROPE WANT?

We could tempt here to resuscitate the old Marxist 'humanist' opposition of 'relations between things' and 'relations between persons': in the much-celebrated free circulation opened up by global capitalism, it is 'things' (commodities) which freely circulate while the circulation of 'persons' is more and more controlled. This new racism of the developed is in a way much more brutal than the racism of the past: its implicit legitimisation is neither naturalistic (the 'natural' superiority of the developed West) nor any longer culturalistic (we in the West also want to preserve our cultural identity), but unabashed economic egotism – the fundamental divide is between those included in the sphere of (relative) economic prosperity and those excluded from it. What we find reprehensible and dangerous in US politics and civilisation is thus a part of Europe itself, one of the possible outcomes of the European project. There is no place for self-satisfied arrogance: the United States is a distorted mirror of Europe itself. Back in the 1930s, Max Horkheimer wrote that those who do not want to speak (critically) about liberalism should also keep silent about fascism. *Mutatis mutandis*, one should say to those who decry the new US imperialism: those who do not want to engage critically with Europe itself should also keep silent about the United States. This, then, is the only true question beneath the self-congratulatory celebrations that accompany the extension of the European Union: what Europe are we joining? And when confronted with this question, all of us, 'New' and 'Old' Europe, are in the same boat.

KEY WORDS: *post-communism, Europe, European Union, United States of America, global capitalism, commodity fetishism, liberalism, fascism, imperialism, violence, racism, the excluded vs. the included.*

## Tematski blok

### UMETNOST IN STVARNOST

Tokratni tematski blok posvečamo umetniškemu in angažiranemu tkanju vezi, Miroslavu Krležu, Oskarju Daviču in Maruši Krese. Tkanju, ki bi ga lahko označili kot odgovor na naslovno vprašanje zadnjega romana Maruše Krese *Da me je strah?*. Ob nedavni 120. obletnici Krleževega rojstva in pred izidom knjige z izbranimi Krleževimi zapisi *Evropa danes in drugi eseji*, ki bo jeseni izšla pri Založbi Sophia, objavljamo uvodni esej *Evropa danes* iz leta 1933, v katerem Krleža razmišlja o dogajanju in zgodovini Evrope v širšem družbenopolitičnem in umetnostno-kulturnem kontekstu. Njegova jedka in lucidna družbena kritika z izrazitim protivojnim sporočilom je še vedno nadvse aktualna. Davičev spominski zapis na srečanje s Krležo leta 1937 povezuje Daviča, Krležo in Mošo Pijadeja, ki sta ga Daviču in Krleža skrivaj obiskala v jetnišnici v Beogradu. Davičo je bil Krleževa partijska zveza. Čeprav je bil krleževец, v neznancu sprva ni prepoznal pesnika in pisatelja. Dve leti pozneje je Krleža v svoji reviji *Pečat*, s katero so se polemike, v literarnih razpravah znane kot »spopad na literarni levici«, le še stopnjevale, objavil Davičev pesniški cikel *Hana*, ki ga je afirmiral kot pesnika. Memoarska vinjeta je tudi zapis Varje Velikonje o Maruši Krese, za kontrapunkt tonu, v kakršnem so se Maruše Krese v »njenem« Berlinu spominjali ob »Tednu slovenske literature« ob deseti obletnici vstopa Slovenije v Evropsko unijo in zvezo Nato.

## Thematic section

### ART AND REALITY

The thematic section in this issue is dedicated to the artistic and committed weaving of bonds – to Miroslav Krleža, Oskar Davičo and Maruša Krese. This weaving could be characterised as an answer to the title question of Maruša Krese's last novel *Da me je strah?* (*That I Am Afraid?*). To mark the recent 120<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Krleža's birth and announce the release of a selection of Krleža's writings *Evropa danes in drugi eseji* (*Europe Today and Other Essays*), which will be published in autumn by Sophia Publishing House, we included in this section the book's introductory essay *Europe Today*, which Krleža wrote in 1933 and in which he reflects on the contemporaneity and the history of Europe in the broader socio-political and cultural/artistic context. His bitter and lucid social criticism with a pronounced anti-war message is still most relevant. Davičo's memories of his meeting with Krleža in 1937 connect Davičo, Krleža and Moša Pijade, whom Davičo and Krleža clandestinely visited in prison in Belgrade. Davičo was Krleža's party connection. Although he was Krleža's follower, he did not recognise him at first. Two years later, Krleža published Davičo's poetic cycle *Hana* in his magazine *Pečat*, which only intensified the polemics known in literary discussions as the "conflict on the left". This established Davičo as a poet. Varja Velikonja's text about Maruša Krese is a memorial vignette and a counterpoint to the tone of remembering Maruša Krese in "her" Berlin during the "Week of Slovenian Literature" organised upon the tenth anniversary of Slovenia's accession to the EU and NATO.

## ODMEVI IN OCENE

V tematskem bloku Odmevi in ocene objavljamo tri prispevke, ki zaokrožajo vsebino revije: zgodovinar Božo Repe je napisal recenzijo knjige Dušana Nečaka z naslovom »*Ostpolitik*« *Willyja Brandta in Jugoslavija (1963–1969)*. Med drugim opominja, da je bila Nemčija »ob koncu vojne sprva hudo kaznovana, številna mesta, kot sta Dresden in Würtzburg, so morali postaviti popolnoma na novo. Hkrati pa je njen zahodni del iz vojne potegnili maksimalno: dobil je pomoč po Marshallovem načrtu, postopoma so bili zmanjšani ali popolnoma odpisani dolgovi. Brez tega bi Nemčija ostala na dnu, pretežno kmetijska država z omejenimi in nadzorovanimi možnostmi industrializacije, kar je bil tudi prvotni načrt zmagovalcev. V obdobju Willyja Brandta je ZRN dobila tudi mednarodno politično težo, pri čemer je kombinirala načela in pragmatizem. To se, recimo, izrazito kaže pri vprašanju vojnih odškodnin, ki jih je skušala z različnimi aranžmaji čim bolj minimizirati. [...] V številnih primerih, na primer jugoslovanskem, oziroma sedaj slovenskem, pa tudi grškem, ki znova postaja aktualen, so bile zadeve reševane improvizirano in še zdaleč ne do konca. Nemčiji se zdi, da je problem presežen, in tudi med povojnim strpnim odnosom do njenih dolgov in sedanjo stisko Grčije in podobnih držav ne želi vzpostaviti korelacije. Willy Brandt bi na to gotovo gledal drugače. [...] Če hoče kdo razumeti današnjo nemško politiko, mora razumeti tudi, v čem se je v sicer spremenjenih evropskih in svetovnih razmerah izneverila Brandtovim načelom.«

Mladi filozof in politolog Gal Kirn na primeru spominskega parka v Grahovem razmišlja o ideologiji narodne sprave in odprtem zagovoru fašizma: »[...] prišli smo do točke, kjer se minimalni ideološki konsenz o narodni spravi ruši. Novi spominski park v Grahovem namreč ni posvečen povojnim pobojem ali žrtvam povojne oblasti. Z novim parkom se je začela gradnja ogromnega spomenika, ki ne bo le spretno zakrival že obstoječa spomeniška obeležja narodnoosvobodilnega boja, temveč bo neposredno obeleževal lokalni fašizem, poraz domobranske postojanke, kar je politično izredno nevarno. [...] Današnjih premikov v domačem fašizmu torej nikakor ne smemo preprosto spregledati in obujanje fašizma odpraviti kot zgolj marginalen in nepomemben poskus rehabilitacije domobranstva. Vzpon skrajne desnice v kriznih razmerah ni naključen pojav in ga lahko opazujemo po vsej Evropi, še posebej v perifernih državah. Ravno zato tudi narodnoosvobodilnega boja ne smemo reducirati zgolj na antifašistični boj, temveč moramo ponovno poudarjati tudi socialno, revolucionarno razsežnost tega boja, ki je danes še kako aktualna.«

Za zaključek in kot apel k javnemu razmisleku o vprašanju suverenosti pa objavljamo pogovor na seji Sveta Zveze združenj borcev za vrednote NOB Slovenije, ki je bila 20. novembra 2013 in jo je povezoval Janez Stanovnik. Na temo *Suverena država Slovenija – danes* so razpravljali: Ljubo Bavcon, Uroš Dular, Mitja Klavara, Vlado Klemenčič, Peter Kovačič Peršin, Ivan Kristan, Darja Lavtžar Bebler, Andrej Marinc, Bogdan Osolnik, Jože Pirjevec, Janez Stanovnik ter Marko Vrhunec.



## Thematic section

### ECHOES AND REVIEWS

This section contains three contributions that round off the content of this issue. Historian Božo Repe reviewed Dušan Nećak's book entitled *"Ostpolitik" Willyja Brandta in Jugoslavija (1963–1969) (Willy Brandt's "Ostpolitik" and Yugoslavia (1963–1969))*. Among other things, he reminds us that "at the end of the war, Germany was first severely punished; numerous cities, such as Dresden and Würzburg, had to be completely reconstructed. At the same time, its Western part got the most out of the war: it received aid under the Marshall Plan, gradually all the debts were reduced or completely written off. Without this, Germany would have remained at the bottom, a predominately agricultural country with limited and controlled possibilities of industrialisation, which had been the initial plan of the victors. In Willy Brandt's period, the Federal Republic of Germany obtained international political weight, combining principles and pragmatism. This was clearly manifested when it came to the question of war reparations which it tried to minimize as much as possible with various arrangements. [...] In numerous cases, for example the Yugoslav or the Slovenian one now, but also the Greek, which is again becoming relevant, the solutions were improvised and by no means final. Germany feels that that the problem has been surpassed and it does not want to draw a correlation between the post-war tolerant attitude towards its debts and the current adversity in Greece and similar countries. Willy Brandt would certainly see this situation differently. [...] If we want to understand current German politics, we also have to understand in what way it betrayed Brandt's principles, albeit in the changed European and global conditions."

Gal Kirn, a young philosopher and political scientist, considers the case of the memorial park in Grahovo and reflects on the ideology of national reconciliation and the open advocating of Fascism: "[...] we have reached the point where the minimal ideological consensus about national reconciliation is collapsing. The new memorial park in Grahovo is not dedicated to post-war killings or the victims of post-war authorities. The new park brought the construction of a huge monument which will not only skilfully obscure the existing memorials to the National Liberation Struggle, but will directly commemorate local Fascism, the defeat of a post of the Slovenian Home Guard, which is politically extremely dangerous. [...] Today's shifts in Slovenian Fascism must not be ignored nor the revival of Fascism dismissed as a merely marginal and unimportant attempt of rehabilitating the Home Guard. The rise of the extreme right in crisis situations is not a coincidence and can be observed throughout Europe, especially in the peripheral countries. This is precisely why we should not reduce the National Liberation Struggle to an anti-fascist struggle, but must again emphasize its social, revolutionary dimension, which is today again most relevant."

In conclusion and as an appeal for a public reflection on the question of sovereignty, we publish the transcript of a discussion at the meeting of the Council of the Alliance of Associations of Fighters for the Values of the National Liberation Struggle of Slovenia which took place on 20 November 2013 and was moderated by Janez Stanovnik. The participants in the discussion entitled *The Sovereign Slovenian State – Today* were Ljubo Bavcon, Uroš Dular, Mitja Klavora, Vlado Klemenčič, Peter Kovačič Peršin, Ivan Kristan, Darja Lavtižar Bebler, Andrej Marinc, Bogdan Osolnik, Jože Pirjevec, Janez Stanovnik and Marko Vrhunec.

