



BOREC 724-726, LXVII/2015

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★  
AUTHORS' ABSTRACTS



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## ILEGALČKI – LJUBLJANSKI OTROCI DRUGE SVETOVNE VOJNE

Skriti otroci v Ljubljani, ki se jih je že med vojno oprjel izraz »ilegalčki«, so bili otroci aktivistov, podpornikov odporneškega gibanja, partizanov, ubitih talcev, internirancev in taboriščnikov. Bili so otroci, ki so se zaradi vojne nenadoma znašli brez staršev ali sami z materjo brez možnosti preživljanja. Osvobodilna fronta je v okviru organizacije Slovenska narodna pomoč otrokom poiskala skrbniške družine, materam z majhnimi otroki, ki so se skrivale, pa možnost nastanitve. Organizacija je prek svojih aktivistk za otroke zbirala pomoč v denarju, hrani, oblačilih, nakaznicah in drugih življenjskih potrebščinah. Sistem pomoči in skrbi za otroke je vključeval ljubljanske zdravnike, odvetnike, trgovce in druge, ki so po potrebi priskočili na pomoč. Nekatere otroke je bilo treba skrivati, večkrat menjati skrbniške družine in kraj bivanja, saj so jih okupacijske oblasti iskale. Zato so nekateri otroci živeli pri skrbnikih pod lažnimi imeni.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *NOB, ilegalčki, Slovenska narodna pomoč, Osvobodilna fronta.*

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## “ILEGALČKI” – HIDDEN CHILDREN IN LJUBLJANA

The hidden children in Ljubljana who, already during the war, came to be known as ‘children in hiding’ (Slov.: ‘ilegalčki’) were the children of activists, partisans, supporters of the resistance movement (National Liberation Struggle; Slov.: NOB), killed hostages, internees and camp prisoners. They were children who, due to the war, suddenly found themselves either without parents or alone with just their mothers, without any means of subsistence. Within the framework of the Slovenian National Relief organisation, the Liberation Front helped find foster families for such children and accommodation for mothers with small children who had to hide. With the help of their activists, this organisation offered assistance for the children in the form of money, food, clothes, food ration cards and other necessities of life. The system providing help and care to these children involved Ljubljana-based doctors, lawyers, merchants and others whose help was needed. The occupation authorities searched for some children who therefore had to remain in hiding or, alternately, their foster families or places of residence had to be changed several times. That is why some children lived with foster carers under false names.

KEYWORDS: *WWII, hidden children (“Ilegalčki”), Slovenian Relief Organisation, Liberation Front.*

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## MED PRISILNIM DELOM IN PONEMČEVANJEM: BELORUSKI »BANDITENKINDER« V AUSCHWITZU, MAJDANKU, POTULICAH IN KONSTANTINOVU

Mednarodne raziskave so večinoma zanemarile dejstvo, da je bilo med prisilnimi delavci v nacistični Nemčiji in na njenih okupiranih ozemljih v vzhodni Evropi zelo veliko otrok. Delali so v vseh vejah industrije, v kmetijstvu, kot služinčad po nemških domovih, nemška vojska in SS sta jih uporabljala kot delovno silo pri gradnji utrdb, mostov, cest in letališč. Samo iz Poljske in Sovjetske zveze je bilo v Nemčijo deportiranih okrog 1,5 milijona mladoletnih za prisilno delovno silo. Raziskava se opira na velik fond objavljenih in neobjavljenih dokumentov ter pričevanj, osredotoča se na deportirane poljske in sovjetske otroke, ki so v Nemčiji – poleg judovskih prisilnih delavcev – delali v najhujših razmerah. Nemška okupacijska politika je bila na Poljskem in v Sovjetski zvezi veliko bolj kruta kot v drugih državah, deportacije pa najbolj nehumane. Čeprav se osredotočamo na žrtve in njihove izkušnje, bodo obravnavane v širšem in ključnem kontekstu političnih in ideoloških ciljev nacističnih storilcev. Z obravnavo starosti in spola kot dveh kategoriji analize se posebej osredotočamo na: 1. proces deportacije, 2. prihod in domotožje, 3. življenje in delovne pogoje v Nemčiji ter 4. osvoboditev in vrnitev v domovino.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *nacizem, prisilno delo otrok, Nemčija, Poljska, Sovjetska zveza.*

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## BETWEEN FORCED LABOUR AND GERMANIZATION: BELORUSSIAN 'BANDITENKINDER' IN AUSCHWITZ, MAJDANEK, POTULICE AND KONSTANTYNÓW

International research has widely neglected that a great number of the forced labourers in National Socialist Germany and German occupied Eastern Europe were children. They worked in all branches of industry, in agriculture and as domestics in German households. The Wehrmacht and SS deployed children in construction work on fortifications, bridges, roads and airfields. It can be estimated that from Poland and the Soviet Union alone 1.5 million forced labourers under the age of 18 have been deported to Germany. Based on a wide range of published and unpublished documents and testimonies, this paper will focus on Polish and Soviet children deported to Germany, who – apart from Jewish forced labourers – had to endure the worst working and living conditions. Moreover, German occupation policies in Poland and the Soviet Union were far more brutal than in any other country, and German deportation practices the most inhuman. While the emphasis of this paper is on the victims and their experiences, these will be placed within the broad and crucial context of the political and ideological imperatives of the National Socialist perpetrators. By addressing age and gender as categories for analysis, the paper will focus in particular on: 1. The process of deportation; 2. Arrival and homesickness; 3. Living and working conditions in Germany; 4. Liberation and repatriation.

KEYWORDS: *Nazism, forced labour, children, Germany, Poland, Soviet Union.*

POTITI HANDZARULA

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## OTROCI PO HOLOKAVSTU IN REKONSTRUKCIJA JUDOVSKIH SKUPNOSTI V POVOJNI GRČIJI

Članek se ukvarja s povojno rekonstrukcijo judovskih skupnosti v Grčiji in z rehabilitacijo judovskih otrok skozi raziskavo mednarodnih in skupnostnih organizacij, ki so se spoprijemale s katastrofalnimi posledicami holokavsta na telesih in psihah otrok. Poleg tega obravnava temo transformacije judovske identitete, kot jo je oblikoval antisemitizem med vojno in po njej. Ustanovili so se prostovoljni odbori, z namenom, da obnovijo skupnost in njeno življenje in poustvarijo judovsko identiteto, ki je bila uničena in nepreklicno poškodovana. Za otroke, ki so bili prejemniki socialne pomoči, je to pomenilo izoblikovanje nove identitete, ki ni bila zasidrana v strahu in stigmi, temveč v skupnem življenju, ustvarjenem s prijateljstvom, z zaščito, veseljem in ljubeznijo.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *holokavst, antisemitizem, skriti otroci, sram, identiteta, Grčija.*

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## CHILDREN AFTER THE HOLOCAUST AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN POST-WAR GREECE

The article explores post-war reconstruction of Jewish communities in Greece and the rehabilitation of Jewish children through the study of international and community organizations that dealt with the catastrophic consequences of the Holocaust on the bodies and psyches of children. Furthermore, it addresses the issue of the transformation of Jewish identity, which was shaped by anti-Semitism during and after the war. Voluntary committees were created to rebuild the community and their lives again and to re-create a Jewish identity that had been destroyed and harmed irrevocably. For the recipients of welfare who were children it meant the creation of a new identity that was not anchored in fear and stigma but on a shared life created through friendship, protection, joy and love.

KEYWORDS: *Holocaust, anti-Semitism, hidden children, shame, identity, Greece.*

MAJA NIKOLOVA

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## VOJNE SIROTE IN OTROŠKO MESTO NEDIĆ

Zaradi nacistične okupacijske politike, ki je obsegala germanizacijo, izgon, zaslužnjevanje ali eksterminacijo, je jeseni 1941 iz vseh smeri v Srbijo prispelo večje število beguncev, največ iz »Neodvisne države Hrvaške« (NDH), s Kosova in iz Slovenije. Med njimi so bile tako družine z otroki kot tudi sirote. Poskusi, da bi srbske družine slednje sprejele, se zaradi vojne, revščine in neurejenih okoliščin niso uresničili. Tako so bili otroci najprej nameščeni v beograjskem sprejemnem centru za otroke, v stavbi, imenovani Princ Andrej, čez nekaj mesecev pa je Nedićeva vlada vzpostavila sprejemni center in sirotišnice v Smederevu, Vranjčki Banji, Banji Koviljači, Beogradu ter drugod po Srbiji. Med vojno je mnogo srbskih otrok ostalo brez staršev, drugih otrok pa starši zaradi prevelike revščine niso mogli preživljati. Tako se je v drugi polovici leta 1943 začelo graditi otroško mesto Nedić za vojne sirote in otroke v tiski, katerega delovanje je urejala Uredba o Otroškem mestu Nedić v Obiliću iz decembra 1943. Poslanstvo mesta je bilo zbirati vojne sirote in pomoči potrebne revne otroke, jih izobraziti v produktivne člane skupnosti in jih pripraviti na samostojno delo. Da bi dosegli te cilje, so zgradili nastanitve za dečke in dekleta ter zagotovili pedagoge. Postavili so stavbe za osnovno šolo, rokodelske delavnice, umetnost in šport, bolnišnico, igrišče ter vrtove. Celoten kompleks je spadal pod ministrstvo za šolstvo in vero ter ministrstvo za socialne zadeve in javno zdravje.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *okupacija, vojne sirote, otroško mesto Nedić v Obiliću.*

MAJA NIKOLOVA

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## THE WAR ORPHANS AND CHILDREN'S NEDIĆ CITY

In consequence of the Nazi occupational policy that aimed at Germanization, expulsion, enslavement or extermination, a large number of destitute refugees arrived in Serbia during the fall in 1941. The refugees were coming from all directions, and most of them were from 'Independent State of Croatia' (ISC), Kosovo and Slovenia. Among them, there were families with children, but also abandoned ones. Regarding the latter, there have been attempts that Serbian families accept those children, but because of the war, poverty and unsettled opportunity, that was not realized. At the first time, the children were placed in Children's reception centre of Belgrade municipality, in the home named Prince Andrea. A few months later Nedić's government organized the reception centre and orphanages in Smederevo, Vrnjačka Banja, Banja Koviljača, Belgrade and elsewhere in Serbia. Also, during the Second War, in Serbia, many children were left without parents, and there were those whose parents, because of poverty, were not able to support them. For war orphans and morally ailing children, in the second half of 1943, began to raise Children's Nedić City. Its existence was governed by the Regulation on the Children's Nedić City in Obilić, which was enacted on December 1943. The mission was to collect war orphans and ailing poor children as well as to educate them into good members of the national community and to make them capable for the individual work. In order to achieve the set goal, the pavilions housing for male and female children, as well for educators, were built. There were the buildings for elementary school, for craft education workshops, rooms for arts and sporting events, hospital, playground and gardens. This institution stood under the Ministry of Education and Religion and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Health.

KEYWORDS: *WWII, occupation, war orphans, Children's Nedić City.*



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## NJIHOVA LASTNA VOJNA: PISATELJI, KI SO KOT OTROCI IZKUSILI DRUGO SVETOVNO VOJNO V GRČIJI

Druga svetovna vojna – okupacija in državljanska vojna, ki je sledila – je močno vplivala na izoblikovanje grške povojne družbe. Občutja otrok, ki so v času okupacije izkusili lakoto in spopade med uporniškimi gibanjem in kolaborantsko vojsko, ki je Grčijo takoj po okupaciji potisnila v državljansko vojno, so danes podrobno dokumentirana v literaturi, ki je nastala med dogodki in v desetletjih potem. Medvojne izkušnje otrok se zelo razlikujejo glede na to, kje so odraščali. V večjih mestih se bili priče posledic holokavsta ter spopadov med levičarskimi in desničarskimi oboroženimi skupinami, ki so ali poskušale osvoboditi domovino ali pa so v osvojenih državah utrjevale svoj položaj. Na podeželju je vojno izkušnjo določala vojska, ki je nadzirala območje, zato obstaja več ločenih naracij o preteklosti. Trditev, da so štirideseta leta ena izmed glavnih tematik v literaturi v povojnem obdobju, nikakor ni pretirana. Vse odkar so nekateri otroci vojne odrasli v ugledne pisatelje in začeli v svojih delih objavljati spomine na preteklost, izstopa nov fenomen: prevladujoče zgodovinske naracije izzivajo prek pravice, da interpretirajo preteklost skozi lastno izkušnjo. Taki primeri, ki bi jih Foucault lahko označil celo kot »protispomin«, so postali tudi predmet javnih sporov o tem, kako lahko osebna travma vpliva na spomine skupne izkušnje, vir razprav o kulturnem in kolektivnem spominu.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *II. sv. vojna, pričevanjska literatura, protispomin, zgodovinopisje, Grčija.*

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## A WAR OF THEIR OWN: NOVELISTS WHO EXPERIENCED WORLD WAR II IN GREECE AS CHILDREN

World War II, occupation and the civil war that followed held a major role in the formulation of the Greek post-war society. The experience of children during the occupation in particular, which included famine, a popular resistance movement, a collaboration army and conflicts between the two which lead to the civil war right after, has been well documented in literature both during the events and in the decades after. The experiences of children during the war vary greatly depending of the place where they grew up. In the big cities they came close mostly to the tragedy of the Shoah and the conflicts between left wing and right wing groups, either trying to liberate their lands or to secure their position in the post war state. In the countryside the experiences changed greatly depending on who the controlling army was, thus creating multiple separate narrations about the past. It is not an overstatement to say that the 1940s have been one of the major subjects in fiction since then. Ever since the children of the war started publishing their recollections of the past in works of fiction as prominent writers, a new phenomenon came up: they would challenge the main historiographical narratives claiming their right to interpret the past through their own experiences. Such examples, which are to similar to what Michel Foucault described as “countermemory”, were also the subject of public conflicts about the way personal trauma would affect recollections the common experience, feeding the discussion around cultural and collective memory.

KEYWORDS: *WWII, testimonial narratives, countermemory, fiction, historiography, Greece.*

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## SESTRI PORTNOV V SOVJETSKI OTROŠKI LITERATURI: HAGIOGRAFSKI MOTIVI, SESTRSKE KODE, INICIACIJSKI OBREDI

V sovjetski otroški literaturi so zgodbe o pionirjih-herojih, udeležencih druge svetovne vojne, oblikovane po enotnem načelu, ki temelji na prenastavitvah in vzorcih hagiografske literature. Junaška dejanja otrok ali njihova smrt so prikazana kot pustolovske zgodbe s krščanskimi koncepti »herojskega dejanja«, »mučeništva« in »pasijona«. Take zgodbe o smrti pravičnega otroka, ki so naslavljale mlade bralce, so bile nedvomno didaktične. V sovjetskem kanonu otrok-herojev imata pomembno mesto sestri Zina in Galja Portnov; starejša, herojka Sovjetske zveze, je bila ubita leta 1944. Zgodbe o njunem življenju in smrti so postale osnova za številne priljubljene knjige v obdobju med šestdesetimi in osemdesetimi leti prejšnjega stoletja. V določenih obdobjih so prozna dela, ki so temeljila na življenju sester Portnov, mlajšo preprosto odstranila iz vseh zapletov. Tako je to postala samo zgodba mlade Zine. Treba pa je poudariti, da je zgodba Ane Frank z gledišča bralne pragmatike prešla enako transformacijo v ameriški povojni mladinski literaturi, saj se je iz zgodbe o smrti spremenila v zgodbo o odraščanju. V literarnih besedilih o sestrah Portnov se hagiografska paradigma junaškega dejanja (Zina) kaže v didaktični paradigmi srečnega otroštva (Galja). Z raziskovanjem sprememb v zgodbi o sestrah Portnov v sovjetski otroški literaturi lahko ugotovimo, kako se je oblikoval kulturni mit o otrocih-herojih Sovjetske zveze med drugo svetovno vojno.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *sovjetska otroška literatura, herojski pionir, sestri Portnov, hagiografija, sestrstvo.*

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## THE PORTNOVY SISTERS IN SOVIET LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN: HAGIOGRAPHICAL MOTIVES, SISTERHOOD CODES, INITIATION SCENARIOS

In the Soviet literature for children, the stories about pioneers-heroes, participants of the WWII, are shaped into one unified text, the foundation of which is based on the pre-sets and patterns of hagiographical literature. The heroic deed of a child at war and his or her death are described through the inclusion into an adventure plot of Christian concepts of “heroic deeds”, “martyrdom”, “passions”. Such stories about the death of a righteous child, addressed at children, had, no doubt, educational intent. In the Soviet canon of children-heroes, an important place has been occupied by two sisters: Zina and Galya Portnovy (the elder one, killed in 1944, Hero of the Soviet Union). The stories of their life and death became a basis for a number of popular books in 1960–80’s. Eventually, the younger sister was practically removed from the plot of fiction prose works of the Portnovy sisters: it became the story about young Zina only. It should be pointed out, from the position of reading pragmatics, that the story of Anna Frank underwent identical transformations in the American post-war adolescent literature: it has been transformed from the story of death to the story of growing up. In the fictional texts about the Portnovy sisters, the hagiographical paradigm of a heroic deed (Zina) exists in the context of the educational paradigm of a happy childhood (Galya). If we trace the changes in the plot about the Portnovy sisters in the Soviet prose for children, we can pinpoint the formation stages of a cultural myth about the children-heroes of the WWII in the USSR.

KEYWORDS: *Soviet literature for children, pioneer-hero, Portnovy sisters, hagiography, sisterhood.*

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## ANALIZA PREDSTAVITVE OTROK MED DRUGO SVETOVNO VOJNO V ŠPANSKIH PROPAGANDNIH FILMIH

Filmografija je eden izmed novih virov za proučevanje otroške zgodovine. Kot so pokazale kulturne študije, lahko gibljive slike prispevajo nov vidik razumevanja družbenih, političnih in antropoloških pojmovanj otrok in izobrazbe. Zlasti v propagandnih filmih opazimo, katere elemente, ideje ali pojmovanja je družbasprejela in katere naj bi še spremenili. Pri svojem raziskovanju španskih filmov iz prve polovice 20. stoletja smo ugotovile, da je med vojno naraslo število propagandnih filmov z otroškimi liki, saj se ti gledalcev bolj dotaknejo, sprožijo več reakcij. Na neki način so bili otroci uporabljeni kot orožje. Tako nam lahko zapisi in podobe evropskih otrok na filmskih trakovih z novicami in dokumentarci iz časa druge svetovne vojne danes pomagajo pri razumevanju španske uradne reprezentacije otrok in zgodovine v prvih letih Francove diktature. Predstavile bomo svoje izsledke raziskave omenjene zbirke posnetkov s podobami otrok (in sicer iz let 1943–1945), kjer se ti pojavljajo kot begunci, učenci, vojaki ali žrtve.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *II. sv. vojna, Španija, propagandni filmi, otroštvo, No-Do.*

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## AN ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATIONS OF CHILDREN IN WAR DURING THE WORLD WAR II IN THE SPANISH PROPAGANDA FILMS

One of the new sources for researching the children's histories are films. As cultural studies have shown, the moving images can be a new way of understanding the social, political and anthropological conceptions about children and education. In films, especially those made with propaganda purpose, we can see what elements, ideas or conceptions are accepted for the community and what are expected to be changed. In our current research project about the Spanish films made during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, we have concluded that in war times, propaganda films in which children are the main characters have increased in number as a way of "touching" the citizens and provoking some responses. In some sort, children have been used as a weapon. In consequence, the presence of European children images and European children histories during the World War II on the No-Do – newsreel – can help us to understand the Spanish official representation of them during the first years of the Franco dictatorship. Specifically, we are going to present our results about the research of the collection of No-Dos from the period of 1943–1945, in which European children were involved in the World War II as refugees, pupils, soldiers or victims.

KEYWORDS: *WWII, Spain, propaganda films, childhood, No-Do.*

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## OTROŠKI SPOMINI NA HRANO KOT IZRAZ SPREMEMB, VREDNOT IN DRUŽBENE DINAMIKE: PRIMER NARACIJ KARELIJSKIH EVAKUIRANCEV NA FINSKEM

Med drugo svetovno vojno se je Finska borila v dveh vojnah s Sovjetsko zvezo. Končni rezultat zimske vojne (1939–1940) in nadaljevalne (1941–1944) je bila finska prepustitev ozemlja province Karelije Sovjetski zvezi. Na prepuščenem ozemlju je takrat živelo več kot 400.000 Fincev, ki so bili evakuirani na finsko stran nove državne meje. Prispevek raziskuje avtobiografske zapise nekdanjih karelijskih otroških evakuirancev o svojem potovanju za novo državno mejo. Čeprav otroci niso bili pogosto ločeni od staršev in se proces njihove nove naselitve šteje za uspeh, je izkušnja tega potovanja na številne načine vplivala na otroške izseljence. Zapisi njihovih spominov nam prikazujejo, da izguba doma in vojna ter z njima povezana negotovost niso bila edina bremena, ki so jih izkusili, saj so se obremenjevali tudi s počutjem in prilagajanjem staršev na novo okolje; raziskati je mogoče senzorične in telesne spomine otrok ter pomen hrane in družbenih odnosov. Naštete teme prikazujejo vlogo teh otrok v družini in med vrstniki, koliko so se zanašali na starše, ter osvetljujejo odvisnost evakuirancev od pomoči in naklonjenosti drugih. Ugotovimo, da se pri obujanju spominov na hrano, razmerja moči in družbene odnose različni simbolni prikazi povezujejo s splošnejšimi etičnimi diskurzi – ločevanje, kaj je prav in narobe, slabo in dobro –, ki orišejo celostno izkušnjo izgube doma ter občutka, da si »evakuiranec za vse življenje«.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *II. svetovna vojna, Karelija, otroci, hrana, družbena dinamika.*

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## CHILDHOOD MEMORIES OF FOOD AS ARTICULATIONS OF CHANGE, VALUES AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS: THE CASE OF NARRATIVES OF KARELIAN EVACUEES IN FINNLAND

As a part of the World War II, Finland fought two wars against the Soviet Union. As a result of the Winter War (1939–1940) and the Continuation War (1941–1944), Finland ceded territories of Karelia to the Soviet Union. There was a Finnish population of over 400,000 people living in the ceded area at that time, and this population was evacuated to the Finnish side of the new border. This paper examines the autobiographical writings of former Karelian child evacuees about their evacuation journey. Even though often Karelian child evacuees were not separated from their parents, and even though the evacuation and resettlement process of Karelian evacuees has considered to be a success, the experience of the evacuation journey affected the lives of child evacuees in many ways. Reminiscence writings illustrate that for the child evacuees the experiencing the losing of home, the war and the insecurity that they caused were not the only burdens. In addition, former child evacuees troubled themselves with the well-being and coping of their parents. The paper concentrates on exploring the significance attached to food and social relations as well as to sensory and bodily memories in the writings of former child evacuees. These themes illustrate children's reliance on their parents, their role within the family and peer group, and the dependence of the evacuees on other people's help and benevolence. Different symbolic representations that in reminiscing relate to food as well as social and power relations interconnect with more general ethical discourses – understandings of right and wrong, good and bad – which illustrate child evacuees' comprehensive experiences of losing their homes and being "evacuees of life" as they often describe.

KEYWORDS: *Finland, Karelia, Soviet Union, wartime childhood, social relations, representation.*



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## IZRINJENI SPOMINI: JAPONSKI OTROCI, ROJENI MED VOJNO, ZGODOVINA TER SPOMIN NA JAPONSKO OKUPACIJO NIZOZEMSKÉ VZHODNE INDIJE

Članek raziskuje, kakšen je bil vpliv nerazrešenih vojnih napetosti na izoblikovanje identitete otrok, ki so bili v času japonske okupacije Nizozemske vzhodne Indije v letih 1942–1945 spočeti med Indoevropeljami (t. i. *Indisch*) in Japonci. Ker je japonska okupacija vodila tudi k internaciji velikega dela civilnega prebivalstva nizozemske kolonije ter k sami izgubi kolonije in povojni naselitvi njenega prebivalstva na Nizozemskem, so ti otroci odraščali v pokolonialni skupnosti, globoko zaznamovani z vojno ter protijaponskimi občutji. Njihove izkušnje, in s tem identiteta, so tesno prepletene s pregnano indischevsko skupnostjo ter zgodovino in spominom na vojno na Pacifiku in povojno Nizozemsko. Kako sta zgodovina in spomin na japonsko okupacijo nizozemskega ozemlja vplivala na življenje in izoblikovanje identitete indischevskih Japoncev. Intervjuji, ki sem jih izvedla na Nizozemskem, prikazujejo, kako so vojne izkušnje njihovih družin in skupnosti zapletle družinske odnose ter pogosto vodile v težavna otroštva in zelo zaznamovano samopodobo. Ker so okoliščine njihovega nastanka zavite v skrivnosti in tabuje, lahko njihove zgodbe osvetljujejo učinek, ki ga je imelo utišanje njihove preteklosti na to, kako so se soočali s svojimi japonskimi koreninami in okupacijo, ki ji sami nikoli niso bili priča. S poudarkom na sedanjosti lahko raziskujem tako njihovo razmišljanje o preteklosti kot tudi trenutne poskuse nove opredelitve spomina na japonsko okupacijo, ki bi jim pomagala pri soočanju z japonskimi koreninami.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *Nizozemska vzbodna Indija, indischevski Japonci, povojna Nizozemska.*

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## CONTESTED MEMORIES: JAPANESE CHILDREN BORN OF WAR AND THE HISTORY AND MEMORY OF THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

In this paper, I examine the impact of unresolved wartime tensions on the identity formation of *Indisch*-Japanese children born of war, conceived between Indo-European (*Indisch*) women and Japanese men during the Japanese occupation of the Netherlands East Indies (1942–1945), who grew up in the post-war Netherlands. Specific about the experience of *Indisch*-Japanese is that they are Dutch citizens fathered by an enemy that not only occupied Dutch territory, but that also subjected the large parts of the civilian colonial population of the Netherlands East Indies to internment. As the Japanese occupation also led to the loss of the colony and resettlement of the *Indisch* to the Netherlands, *Indisch*-Japanese children grew up within a displaced post-colonial community deeply scared by the war, and surrounded by strong anti-Japanese sentiments. Their experiences and identity formation, as a consequence, are closely intertwined with the displacement of the *Indisch* community and the history and memory of the Pacific War in the post-war Netherlands. I examine how the history and memory of the Japanese occupation in the Netherlands informs the lives and the identity formation of *Indisch*-Japanese. Based on life history interviews conducted in the Netherlands, I portray how the wartime experiences of their family and community complicated family relations, and often led to difficult childhoods and a deeply troubled self-image. As the circumstances of their conception remain surrounded by secrecy and taboo, their stories highlight the impact of the silencing of their past on their ability to come to terms with their Japanese origins, and an occupation they themselves never witnessed. Focusing on the present, I not only examine their reflections on the past, but also current attempts to renegotiate the memory of the Japanese occupation, as a means to come to terms with, and reconcile with their Japanese origins.

KEYWORDS: *Dutch East Indies, Indisch-Japanese children, post-war Netherlands.*

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## ŠOLSKE IZKUŠNJE OTROK KOLABORANTOV, 1940–1960

Danes na Norveškem velja splošno soglasje, da imajo šole, predvsem učitelji, posebno obvezo do otrok, ki so iz tega ali onega vzroka posebej ranljivi. Po novejših raziskavah so stigmatizirani otroci v šoli bolj izolirani in tako pogosto žrtve vrstniškega nasilja. Pripadanje taki skupini je že samo po sebi družbena diskreditacija in lahko vodi do tega, da otroka vidijo kot drugačnega od njegovih šolskih vrstnikov. Na tisoče norveških šolarjev je stigmatizacijo in ranljivost morda občutilo v štiridesetih in petdesetih letih 20. stoletja kot posledico dejanj svojih staršev med vojno. V času nemške okupacije Norveške v letih 1940–1945 je Vidkun Quisling s svojo nacistično stranko Nasjonal Samling oblikoval kolaborantski režim in se zavzemal za nacistično preoblikovanje družbe. V obsežnih povojnih sodnih procesih so bili vsi člani stranke obsojeni zaradi izdaje, neuradne družbene sankcije proti nekdanjim kolaborantom pa so se verjetno izvajale še mnogo let. Po sociologu Ervingu Goffmannu se osebna stigma, sploh tako močna, kot je stigma izdajalca, lahko prenese na druge družinske člane. V obravnavanem primeru, v katerem so bili starši stigmatizirani skozi daljše časovno obdobje, so bili njihovi otroci pogosto prepoznani in nadlegovani s strani vrstnikov. Kako so med okupacijo in v povojnih letih otroci kolaborantov kot skupina uspevali v šoli? V kolikšni meri so jih učitelji ščitili in skrbeli zanje?

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *otroci kolaborantov, stigma, vrstniško nasilje, ranljiva skupnost.*

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## SCHOOL EXPERIENCES OF COLLABORATORS' CHILDREN, 1940-1960

In Norway today there is broad consensus that schools, i.e. first and foremost teachers, have a special obligation to children who, for one reason or another, are particularly vulnerable. Recent studies find children who bear some form of stigma to be more susceptible to isolation or bullying at school than others. Membership in such a group is in itself socially discrediting and may lead to the child being perceived as different from its “normal” school mates. In the 1940s and 1950s, thousands of Norwegian school children may have been stigmatized and left vulnerable because of their parents’ actions. During the German occupation 1940–1945, Vidkun Quisling’s Fascist-like party Nasjonal Samling formed a commonly detested collaborationist regime and strived to reshape society in accordance with its New Order-vision. In the extensive trials that followed the liberation, every single NS member was sentenced for treason. Informal social sanctions against ex-collaborators apparently continued for many years to come. According to sociologist Erving Goffmann, a personal stigma – especially a strong one such as the traitor stigma – can be transferred to family members. In the case under discussion, with parents stigmatized over a long period of time, the children almost certainly risked being singled out and picked on. How did collaborators’ children as a group actually fare at school, during the occupation and in the immediate after-war years? To what extent were they cared for and protected by teachers of the day?

KEYWORDS: *collaborators’ children, traitor stigma, bullying, vulnerable groups.*

ARNE ØLAND

Otroci vojne, Danska

## MOJA ZGODBA

Svojega biološkega očeta sem se trudil najti, odkar so me leta 1994 o njem poučili sorodniki na Danskem. Naposled mi ga je uspelo identificirati in maja 2014 sem v Donjem Miholjcu na Hrvaškem obiskal njegovega polbrata. Izkazalo se je, da je leta 1945 izginil moj stari oče, najverjetneje pri Plibergu. Moj oče si je kmalu po svojem osemnajstem rojstnem dnevu, leta 1943, odrezal prst v upanju, da se bo izognil bojišču. Vpoklican je bil v policijski polk SS, deloval je na Poljskem in naposled je končal v Kopenhagenu, kjer je spoznal mojo mater. Po nemški kapitulaciji je oče odšel v Nemčijo, kjer je živel v taboriščih za razseljene osebe, nato pa se je leta 1948 poročil s Poljakinjo, ki je v tretjem rajhu od svojega štirinajstega leta delala kot prisilna delavka. Leta 1956 sta skupaj s hčerama emigrirala v Kanado, oče pa je preminil leta 1998.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *Otroci vojne, policijski polk SS, kolaboracija, ustaštvo, stigma.*

ARNE ØLAND

Children of War, Denmark

## MY OWN STORY

Since 1994, when my cousins in Denmark informed me about my biological father, I have been trying to find him. At last I succeeded in identifying him. In May 2014, I visited my father's half-brother in Donji Miholjac in Croatia. It turned out that my grandfather disappeared in 1945, probably in the Bleiburg. Although my father shortly after his 18-year birthday in the summer of 1943 mutilated himself in order to evade military service, he was drafted to a SS-police regiment, and eventually ended up in Copenhagen, where he met my mother. After the capitulation he came to Germany and lived in DP-camps. In 1948, he married a Polish woman, who had been a forced labourer in the Third Reich since the age of 14. Together with two daughters they emigrated to Canada in 1956. My father died in 1998.

KEYWORDS: *Children of War, SS-police regiment, collaboration, stigma.*

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## PUŠČAVSKI OTROCI: PRISPEVEK K ZGODOVINI JUGOSLOVANSKIH BEGUNSKIH TABORIŠČ DRUGE SVETOVNE VOJNE V EGIPTU

Zadnji dan leta 1943 je preko Jadranskega morja odrinila prva skupina od skupaj skoraj 30.000 beguncev, ki so našli zatočišče v šotorskih begunskih taboriščih Egipta. Večino so sestavljali ženske in otroci. Daleč od doma in očetov, ki so se borili proti okupatorju v domovini, so ženske prevzele vlogo samohranilk, ki so skrbele za dobrobit svojih otrok. Pri tem sta jih podpirala Centralni odbor beguncev in zavezniško vodstvo taborišč, ki sta s pomočjo britanske vojske in ameriškega Rdečega križa zagotavljala primerno prehrano za mnogokrat podhranjene otroke in mladino. Kljub nekaterim začetnim težavam so za otroke organizirali ustrezno zdravstveno varstvo. Na pobudo beguncev in njihovega vodstva so takoj po prihodu prve skupine v Egipt organizirali tudi prvi šolski pouk, ki so ga vodili vse do končnega zaprtja taborišč. Otroci v taboriščih so imeli tudi politični pouk in so bili kot pionirčki ter mladinci vzgajani kot dobri bodoči državljani poveljne socialistične Jugoslavije.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *II. svetovna vojna, otroci, begunci, El Šat, UNRRA.*

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## THE DESERT CHILDREN: GROWING UP IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR YUGOSLAV REFUGEE CAMPS IN EGYPT

On the last day of 1943, the first group of almost 30.000, mostly Croat refugees set sail over the Mediterranean for tented refugee camps in Egypt. Most of the refugees were women and children, who relied on the guidance of the partisan and allied administration at the camps. Many children arrived to the camps malnourished and were dependent on the military provisions to help them recover their strength as well as voluntary societies to provide adequate medical support. With plenty of initiative amongst the refugees, the first school classes were organised immediately after the arrival of the first group. These classes evolved into proper elementary and middle schools. The children refugees were also inducted into Pioneers' Association. In this manner, the partisan administration secured excellent citizens of the new Yugoslavia, at the same time giving them practical foundation for further education after the war.

KEYWORDS: *WWII, children, refugees, El Shatt, UNRRA.*

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## OTROŠTVO V CONI B JULIJSKE KRAJINE IN CONI B SVOBODNEGA TRŽAŠKEGA OZEMLJA, 1945–1954

V prispevku razčlenjujemo posebne razmere na območju cone B Julijske krajine in cone B STO ter odnos organov ljudske oblasti do vprašanja otrok in otroštva. Osredotočamo se na področje skrbništva, rejništva in posvojitve, predstavljamo delovanje ustanov za zaščito in vzgojo otrok v razmerah vojaške uprave. Zaradi politične in družbene nestabilnosti, ki so jo zaznamovala močna migracijska gibanja, so oblasti spodbujale institucionalno skrb za socialno ranljive otroke kot osrednjo obliko državne zaščite. Obenem se je začelo ustanavljati tudi mrežo predšolskega javnega varstva in skrbstva.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *cona B STO, cona B Julijske Krajine, otroštvo, skrbništvo, rejništvo, posvojitev, institucionalna skrb, mladinsko prestopništvo.*

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## CHILDHOOD IN ZONE B OF THE JULIAN REGION AND IN ZONE B OF THE FREE TERRITORY OF TRIESTE, 1945–1954

The article explores particular circumstances in Zone B of Julian Region and in Zone B of the Free Territory of Trieste (FTT), the attitude of the Yugoslav military government towards children and childhood. The contribution will highlight the features on the field of custody, guardianship and adoption and the functioning of the institutions for the protection and education of children and youth in situations of military administration. Because of political and social instability, which are characterized by strong migratory movements, the authorities favored institutional care of the socially vulnerable children as a central form of their national institutional protection. At the same time a new pre-school public network was established.

KEYWORDS: *Free Territory of Trieste (FTT), Zone B of Julian Region, childhood, custody, guardianship, adoption, institutional care, juvenile delinquency.*

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## SKRB ZA OTROŠKE ŽRTVE VOJNE V ITALIJI: PSIHOPEDAGOŠKI ZDRAVSTVENI CENTRI

Ena izmed najbolj bolečih zapuščin druge svetovne vojne je bil problem mladoletnega prestopništva. Zavezniške čete so v večjih italijanskih mestih, kot sta Neapelj in Rim, pa tudi po drugih državah, za seboj pustile na tisoče zapuščenih, lačnih in slabo preskrbljenih otrok. To tematiko so načeli leta 1945 v Zürichu na mednarodni konferenci z naslovom *Séminaires Internationales d'Etudes pour l'enfance victime de la guerre* (SEPEG), na kateri je mnogo evropskih strokovnjakov iskalo nove načine, kako mladoletno delinkvenco zatreti in okrepiti psihološko okrevanje otrok, ki so zaradi dolge vojne ostali brez prave vzgoje in se znašli v vlogi družbenih izobčencev. SEPEG je zagovarjal uporabo »psihopedagoških zdravstvenih centrov« (MPPC), sestavljenih iz delovne skupine psihiatra, dveh psihologov in socialnih delavcev, ki so otroke celostno obravnavali, tj. upoštevali so sociološke, psihološke in psihopatološke dejavnike. Ti centri so sprejemali otroke in mladostnike med četrtem in osemnajstim letom, pri katerih so se pokazali kakršni koli znaki značajskih, vedenjskih idr. motenj. Dr. Giovanni Bollea jih je postavil povsod po Italiji in tako postal oče italijanske pediatrične nevropsihiatrije. Prvi izmed centrov je bil ustanovljen v Rimu, kar je bila tudi zasluga Narodne organizacije za zaščito materinstva in otroštva (ONMI). Nato so se razširili po vsej državi in se postopoma uveljavili kot središča otroške mentalne higiene ter kot centri nege za žrtve vojne. Raziskava je namenjena razpravi o tej pomembni in edinstveni izkušnji, zasnovani za italijanske otroke, ki so preživeli drugo svetovno vojno.

**KLJUČNE BESEDE:** *Italija, otroške žrtve vojne, mladoletno prestopništvo, SEPEG, psihopedagoški zdravstveni centri.*



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## THE ITALIAN ATTENTION FOR THE CHILDREN VICTIMS OF WAR: THE MEDICO-PSYCHO-PEDAGOGICAL CENTRES

One of the most painful legacies of the World War II was the problem of juvenile delinquency. The Allied troops had left behind thousands of abandoned, hungry, ill-clothed children, especially in large cities such as Naples and Rome. But this problem was not just Italian. In Zurich the “Séminaries Internationales d’Etudes pour l’enfance victime de la guerre” (SEPEG) were opened in 1945, where many European experts were confronted on new ways to curb the problem of juvenile delinquency and to strengthen the psychological rehabilitation of misfit and misguided children due to the long years of war. The SEPEG promoted the spread of the “Medico-psycho-pedagogical centres” (MPPC) using a team, consisting of a psychiatrist, two psychologists and two social workers; the objective was to do a survey on children of “integral” type (social, psychological and psychopathological). The MPPC welcomed children and adolescents from the age of 4 to 18 who had any impairment of intelligence, character or conduct. Dr. Giovanni Bollea introduced these centres in Italy and become the father of the Italian child neuropsychiatry. The first centre was established in Rome thanks to the help of the National Opera for the protection of motherhood and childhood (ONMI), afterwards they spread all over the country. During the Republic years, the MPPC gradually managed to establish itself as the “hub” of children’s mental hygiene victim of the war as a true centre of prevention and care. The paper intends to discuss this important and exclusive experience designed for the Italian children that lived through the dramatic experience of the WWII.

KEYWORDS: *Italy, children victims of WWII, juvenile delinquency, SEPEG, medico-psycho-pedagogical centres (MPPC).*

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## FOTOGRAFSKA PODOBA, ZAPISOVALKA OTROŠKE VOJNE USODE

Že z leta 1924 prvič izdanim *Ilustriranim Slovincem*, prvo s slikovnimi podobami oziroma fotografijami zapolnjeno tedensko prilogo na Slovenskem, se je nakazalo, da bo fotografija prvotni, zgolj ilustrativni funkciji dodala še druge. V času druge svetovne vojne, ko je težke steklene plošče zamenjal negativ v formatu Leica in je fotografski aparat postal dostopnejši, je fotografija postala zapisovalka in s tem dokument o bolečih okoliščinah svetovnega spopada. Prikaz realnega dogajanja oziroma možnost ujeti »pravi« trenutek sta fotografa umestila v polje zgodovine. Ta izjemna možnost od slikovnega medija nujno zahteva kontekst, kajti videnje motiva ni nikoli enoznačno in ne pomeni »obče resnice«. Otroci na fotografskih podobah druge svetovne vojne, ki jih hranimo v Muzeju novejšje zgodovine Slovenije, se pojavljajo na njih kot osrednji motiv ali kot podoba, za katero se zdi, da je naključno zašla pred fotografski objektiv. Otrokom na fotografijah dodajamo kontekst prek semiotičnih funkcij fotografije same, prek ohranjene zgodovinske dokumentacije in tudi, kjer je to mogoče, fotografovih spominov.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *II. svetovna vojna, otroci, vsakdanje življenje, fotografija, reprezentacija, resnica.*

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## PHOTOGRAPHIC DEPICTION: A RECORDER OF FATE OF THE CHILDREN OF THE WAR

Already, with the *Illustrated Slovene (Ilustrirani Slovincem)*, the first weekly supplement with pictures from 1924, it was indicated that the former, barely illustrative function of photography would be enriched by other functions. During the Second World War, when heavy glass plates were replaced by negative films and the camera became more available, photography became a recorder and thus a document of the painful circumstances of the global conflicts. A representation of what was really happening, the possibility to capture the "right" moment, places a photograph in the sphere of history since he/she acquires the function of being the first witness. This exceptional possibility urgently demanded a context from a pictorial media since the perception of a motif never has a single meaning and does not represent "a universal truth". The children in the photographs kept by the National Museum of Contemporary History in Ljubljana are represented as the central motifs or images which seem to have appeared in front of the photographic objective by chance. By means of individual fragments of the past we start to compose the whole and thus we get the stories of the fates of the children who experienced everyday life during the Second World War.

KEYWORDS: *WWII, children, everyday life, photography, representation, truth.*



