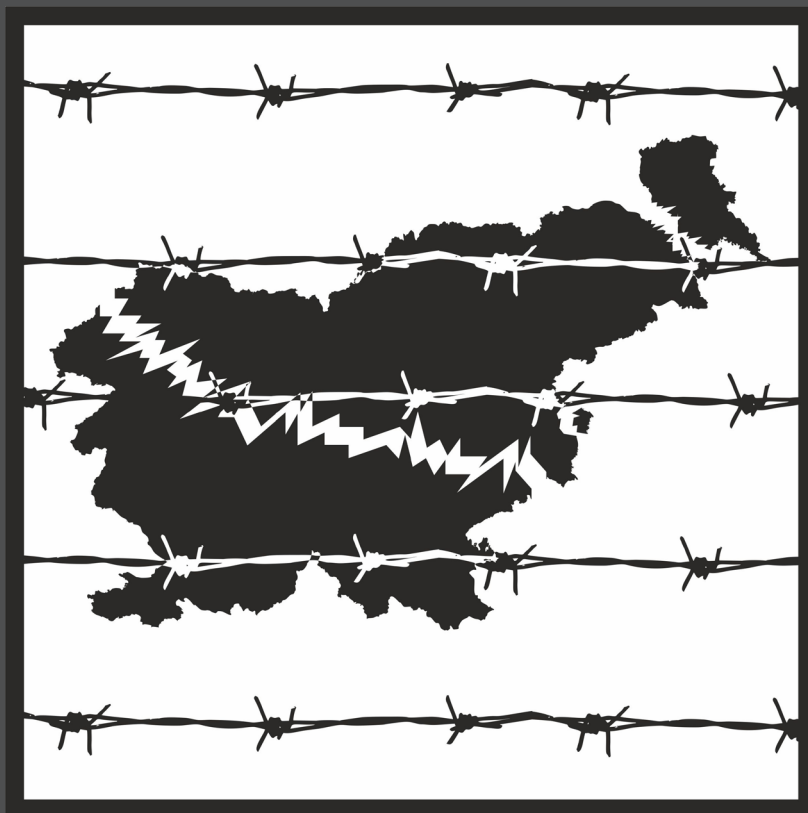


»Mi tujega nočemo, toda svojega ne damo.«

KNJIŽICA POVZETKOV ZNANSTVENEGA SIMPOZIJA,
LJUBLJANA, 6. APRIL 2020



“We don’t want what belongs to others,
but we will not give what’s ours.”

SCIENTIFIC SYMPOSIUMS’ BOOK OF ABSTRACT,
LJUBLJANA, 6TH APRIL 2020



Univerza v Ljubljani
FILOZOFSKA
FAKULTETA

»Mi tujega nočemo, toda svojega ne damo.«

KNJIŽICA POVZETKOV ZNANSTVENEGA SIMPOZIJA, LJUBLJANA, 6. APRIL 2020

“We don’t want what belongs to others, but we will not give what’s ours.”

SCIENTIFIC SYMPOSIUMS’ BOOK OF ABSTRACT, LJUBLJANA, 6TH APRIL 2020

Uredil/Edited by: Bojan Balkovec

Programski odbor/Editorial board: Božo Repe, Peter Mikša, Bojan Balkovec, Matija Zorn

Prevod in lektoriranje/Translation and proofreading: Aleksandra Repe, Irena Destovnik, Sašo Braz, Furocat d.o.o.

Tehnično urejanje/Technical Editor: Jure Preglau

Prelom/Layout: Jure Preglau

Oblikovanje znaka na naslovnici/Front page graphics: Božidar Flajšman in Primož Urgl

Založila/Published by: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani/
Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts

Za založbo/For the publisher: Roman Kuhar, dekan Filozofske fakultete/Roman Kuhar, the dean of the
Faculty of Arts

Izdal/Issued by: Oddelek za zgodovino/Department of History, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino/Institute
of Contemporary History, Pedagoška fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani/Faculty of Education, University of
Ljubljana, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja/The Institute for Ethnic Studies

Prva e-izdaja/First edition

Ljubljana, 2020

Publikacija je brezplačna./Publication is free of charge.

Publikacija je v digitalni obliki prosto dostopna na <https://e-knjige.ff.uni-lj.si/>.

Digital copy of the book is available on: <https://e-knjige.ff.uni-lj.si/>.

DOI: 10.4312/9789610603177

Kataložni zapis o publikaciji (CIP) pripravili v
Narodni in univerzitetni knjižnici v Ljubljani

COBISS.SI-ID=304799744

ISBN 978-961-06-0317-7 (pdf)



»Mi tujega nočemo, toda svojega ne damo.«

KNJIŽICA POVZETKOV ZNANSTVENEGA SIMPOZIJA,
LJUBLJANA, 6. APRIL 2020

“We don’t want what belongs to others,
but we will not give what’s ours.”

SCIENTIFIC SYMPOSIUMS’ BOOK OF ABSTRACT,
LJUBLJANA, 6TH APRIL 2020



Program simpozija

- 9.00 Roman Kuhar: Uvodni pozdrav
Dušan Mlacović: Uvodni pozdrav
Božo Repe: Uvodni pozdrav
-
- 9.20 Bojan Balkovec: Kako smo delali in kaj smo naredili?
9.40 Matija Zorn, Rok Ciglič, Primož Gašperič: Državne meje na ozemlju Slovenije med drugo svetovno vojno na podlagi kartografskega gradiva okupacijskih sil
10.00 Kornelija Ajlec, Božo Repe: Razkosana Slovenija
10.20 Razprava
-
- 10.30 Odmor
-
- 10.40 Maja Vehar, Matevž Šlabnik: Idrija in Žiri kot obmejni mesti 1941–1945
11.00 Bojan Balkovec: En krompir, tri države
11.20 Božidar Flajšman: VINCEREMO, VIDET ČEMO
11.40 Peter Mikša, Matija Zorn: Obsotelje – jugovzhodna meja nemškega rajha (1941–1945)
12.00 Razprava
-
- 12.10 Odmor
-
- 12.20 Blaž Štangelj: Projekt italijanske vojske – zapora meje z Neodvisno državo Hrvaško
12.40 Darja Kerec, Attila Kovács: Hlev je bil pod Nemci, hiša pod Madžari. Prekmurje v času okupacije 1941–1945.
13.00 Bojan Godeša: »Mi tujega nočemo, toda svojega ne damo.«
13.20 Aleš Gabrič: Meje in njihove omejitve
13.40 Razprava
13.50 Zaključek simpozija

Kako smo delali in kaj smo naredili?

Raziskovalni projekt *Napravite mi to deželo nemško ... italijansko ... madžarsko ... hrvaško! Vloga okupacijskih meja v raznarodovalni politiki in življenju slovenskega prebivalstva* je finančno omogočila Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije. V triletnem projektu smo svoje delo zastavili na način, ki mu do sedaj v slovenskem zgodovinskem raziskovanju nismo bili priča. Projekt je bil poseben zaradi multidisciplinarnega pristopa, saj smo imeli v ekipi tudi številčno skupino geografov. Na drugi strani je bil projekt poseben tudi zaradi pristopa, ki ga zgodovinarji do sedaj nismo uporabljali.

Najpogosteje temelji delo zgodovinarja na uporabi arhivskega gradiva, ki je shranjeno v različnih arhivih. K temu pa se pritegne še ustrezna znanstvena literatura. Tokrat je bil pomemben element tudi analiza kartografskega gradiva in predvsem delo na terenu. Vsebina dela na terenu je bila v enem delu povezana s kartografskimi viri. Na terenu smo namreč iskali ostanke okupacijskih meja. Potem, ko so geografi uspeli mejo predstaviti v sodoben digitalni sistem, smo lahko na terenu brez težav sledili meji in uspešno našli ostanke različnih okupacijskih meja. S projektom smo želeli ugotoviti vpliv meja na življenje posameznikov in neke širše skupnosti. Z delom na terenu nam je to uspelo z različnimi oblikami zbiranja ustnih virov. Ustne vire smo zbirali načrtno, kot vnaprej dogovorjene intervjuje s posamezniki iz nekega kraja. Druga oblika zbiranja pa je bilo srečevanje s posamezniki na nekih pomembnih točkah ob meji. Pravzaprav pa smo ne tako redko naleteli še na eno obliko zbiranja ustnega gradiva, namreč nenačrtovano smo pri delu na terenu naleteli na posameznike, ki smo jim povedali, kaj delamo in hitro so bili pripravljeni povedati kakšno zgodbo. Pri načrtovanih intervjujih so nam sogovorniki mnogokrat omogočili tudi vpogled v njihove osebne arhive, predvsem v družinske slike in dokumente, ki so dopolnjevali njihovo pripoved ali pa arhivske dokumente, kjer so slednji seveda pripovedovali le zgodbo nekih upravnih ali vojaških institucij.

Naslednji pomemben element našega dela je bila želja slediti konceptu public history. Hitro po začetku izvajanja projekta smo ugotovili, da moramo z javnostjo vzpostaviti dodatne načine komuniciranja. Možnosti za predstavitev rezultatov je več. Ker je bilo naše raziskovanje poleg splošnega usmerjeno tudi v lokalno, smo se odločili, da bomo na enak način zastavili tudi z razstavami. Izdelali smo eno razstavo, ki je problematiko predstavila na državni ravni, in šest lokalnih razstav o Rogaški Slatini Idriji in Žireh, Beli krajini, Ljubljani, Dolenjski in Prekmurju. Razstave so bile prvič na ogled v muzejih ali knjižnicah, ki so nam pomagala pri delu. Nato pa so razstave gostovale v regiji, ki so jo pokrivalo, nekatere tudi izven svoje regije. Skupaj smo, brez razstave o Prekmurju,

razstave postavili na tridesetih lokacijah doma in v tujini. Trajni ogled razstav smo omogočili tako, da smo jih preoblikovali v spletne razstave, kjer smo k siceršnji vsebini dodali še povezave na filmske posnetke. Spletne razstave so dostopne na naslovu <https://okupacijskemeje.si/>.

Še pred prvimi razstavami smo se kot eni prvih v Sloveniji odločili, da svoje delo tekoče predstavljamo s pomočjo Facebook profila. FB je postal tudi prostor interakcije med nami in našimi sledilci. Na naslovu <https://www.facebook.com/OkupacijskeMeje/> od začetka leta 2018 našim sledilcem ponujamo vpogled v različne segmente našega dela. Objavljamo predvsem dele intervjujev in opisov dela na terenu, predstavljamo dokumente in različne podrobnosti z lokacij, kjer smo opravljali raziskave. Konec marca 2020 smo imeli 1592 sledilcev. Naši sledilci so z različnih krajev Slovenije, nekaj je tudi tujcev. Med vsemi obiskovalci naših strani je bilo 60 % moških in 40 % žensk. Najštevilčnejša je bila starostna skupina od 35–44 let, sledila je skupina od 25–34 let in nato skupina od 45–54 let. Različne objave seveda dosegajo različno število obiskovalcev. Največje številke so dosegali nekateri filmski posnetki, ki jih je videlo po več tisoč oseb. Oseb, ki so obiskovale našo spletno stran, je torej mnogo več, kot je bilo sledilcev.

Vse filmske posnetke, ki smo jih objavili na FB, smo objavili tudi na našem Youtube kanalu. Do 26. marca 2020 smo objavili 267 posnetkov, ki so dosegljivi na predvajalnem seznamu https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLRtNtrQJTHOwr9R_8Rgj1KXtJo1T7nB0o. Izdelali smo tudi dva krajša filma, ki smo ju objavili še z angleškimi podnapisi. V načrtu pa so še novi daljši filmi, posvečeni posameznim regijam.

Svoje rezultate smo predstavili tudi na več predavanjih v različnih krajih. Svoje rezultate smo uspeli javnosti predstaviti tudi na posebnih straneh spletnega portala MMC RTV SLO.

Na zadnje ne smemo spregledati publicistične dejavnosti. Objavili smo nekaj prispevkov, najpomembnejši rezultati projekta pa so predstavljeni v publikacijah, ki bodo izšle. Prva publikacija bo zbornik različnih prispevkov o problemih okupacijskih meja v Sloveniji. Kot posebne knjige pa bodo izšle še raziskave, povezane s posameznimi regijami. Skupno bo tako izšlo sedem knjig.

How we worked and what we have made

The research project »Make this country German ... Italian ... Hungarian ... Croatian! The role of occupation borders in national politics and the life of the Slovenian population« was financially supported by the Slovenian Research Agency. In the three-year project, we set out our work in an unprecedented way for the Slovenian historiographical research. The project was special for its multidisciplinary approach, as we had a sizable group of geographers in the team. On the other hand, the project was also special for its approach that historians have not used before.

Most often, the historian's work is based on the use of archives and relevant scientific literature. This time, an important element was the analysis of cartographic material, and above all, the fieldwork, which was in part related to cartographic resources. The focus of field research was the remains of the occupation borders. After the geographers managed to transfer the border into a modern digital system, we were able to easily follow it in the field and successfully find the remains of different occupation borders. The project sought to identify the impact of borders on the lives of individuals and a wider community. Fieldwork included various forms of collecting oral histories. They were collected systematically with pre-arranged interviews with individuals in a particular place. Another form of gathering data was meeting with individuals at important spots along the border. We stumbled upon numerous anecdotes by chance when we encountered individuals during our field research whom we told what we were doing, prompting them to share a story. Interviewees often gave us access to their archives during the planned interviews, especially family photos and documents that complemented their narrative; or archival documents that told a story of administrative and military institutions.

Another important element of our work was the desire to follow the concept of »public history«. Shortly after we launched the project, we realized we needed to establish additional ways of communicating with the public. There are numerous options for presenting the results. Since our research was focused on a local environment, we decided to set up exhibitions the same way. We created one exhibition that presented the issue at the national level, and six local exhibitions in Rogaška Slatina, Idrija and Žiri, Bela krajina, Ljubljana, Dolenjska, and Prekmurje. Exhibitions were displayed in museums or libraries that helped our project. Then, we toured the regions they covered and even those outside their scope. Together, we set up exhibitions at thirty locations home and abroad, excluding the exhibition on Prekmurje. By transforming them into an online exhibition,

we enabled a permanent display. Links to film clips were added to the content as well. Online exhibitions can be accessed at <https://okupacijskemeje.si/>.

We decided to be one of the first in Slovenia to present our work on a Facebook profile even before the first exhibitions were displayed. Facebook has also become a space of interaction between us and our followers. Since the beginning of 2018, we have been offering our followers insight into various segments of our work on <https://www.facebook.com/OkupacijskeMeje>. We mainly publish parts of interviews and field research descriptions; we present papers and various details from the locations where we conducted the research. At the end of March 2020, we had 1592 followers. They are from different places in Slovenia, some of them are abroad. 60% of all visitors are men and 40% are women. The age group of 35-44 years is the most numerous, followed by the group of 25-34 years, and the group of 45-54 years. Different posts, of course, reach a different number of visitors. Particular video clips gained the highest numbers as they were seen by thousands of people. The number of people who visited our site is therefore much higher than the number of followers.

All video clips that were posted on Facebook were also posted on our Youtube channel. By March 26, 2020, we've published 267 videos, all available in a playlist: https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLRtNtrQJTHOwr9R_8Rgj1KXtJo1T7nB0o We also produced two short films and equipped them with English subtitles. New, longer films dedicated to individual regions are also in the pipeline.

We've presented our results in various lectures in different places. They were also presented to the public on special sites of the web portal MMC RTV Slovenia.

Lastly, publications should not be overlooked. We have published a couple of articles, while the most important results of the project are presented in publications yet to be published. The first one will be a collection of various papers on issues of occupation borders in Slovenia. Research related to individual regions will be published in the form of specialized books. In total, seven books are to be published.

Državne meje na ozemlju Slovenije med drugo svetovno vojno na podlagi kartografskega gradiva okupacijskih sil

Za prostorsko razumevanje pokrajine v nekem obdobju oziroma za spremljanje prostorske dinamike pojavov in procesov skozi daljša obdobja je zelo primerno kartografsko gradivo. Kartografski viri niso zgolj sredstvo za prostorski prikaz pojavov, pač pa so tudi verodostojen dokument prostora, časa in družbenih razmer, v katerem so nastali, ter jih kot take lahko obravnavamo kot vire iz prve roke. Pogosto vsebujejo informacije, ki niso zabeležene v nobenem drugem viru (na primer oblike površja, zemljepisna imena, potek meja, prometnic, vodotokov). Kot vir se uporabljajo predvsem pri zgodovinski geografiji in okoljski zgodovini, v povezavi s spremembami rabe tal in kulturne pokrajine. Je pa tako kot pri vseh zgodovinskih virih tudi pri kartografskih potrebna kritična obravnava.

Uporabo kartografskih virov za kvantitativno proučevanje zgodovinskih pokrajin so pospešili geografski informacijski sistemi (GIS-i). Za uporabo zgodovinskih virov v GIS-u je treba te ustrezno pripraviti. Po navadi si sledijo tri faze obdelave: digitalizacija, georeferenciranje in vektorizacija.

Za spremljanje pokrajinskih sprememb (tudi meja) so pomembni predvsem kartografski viri večjih meril. V prispevku obravnavamo takšne zemljevide nemške in madžarske vojske, ki so bili izdani v času druge svetovne vojne in prikazujejo tedanje državne meje na slovenskem ozemlju. Z zasedbo slovenskega ozemlja so bile leta 1941 na Slovenskem štiri državne meje: med Nemčijo in Italijo, med Nemčijo in Madžarsko, med Nemčijo in NDH ter med Italijo in NDH (Neodvisna država Hrvaška).

Za določitev meja smo uporabili 54 zemljevidov, od tega 44 v merilu 1 : 25.000, osem v merilu 1 : 50.000 in dva v merilu 1 : 200.000, ki so bili izdani med letoma 1941 in 1944. Za določitev meja med Nemčijo in Italijo, Nemčijo in NDH ter Italijo in NDH smo pretežno uporabili nemške zemljevide *Deutsche Heereskarte* v merilu 1 : 25.000, izdanih v letih 1942 in 1943. Za določitev meja med Nemčijo in Madžarsko pa smo se pretežno naslonili na madžarske vojaške zemljevide v merilu 1 : 50.000, ki so bili izdani leta 1944.

Skupaj je bilo na ozemlju današnje Slovenije 665,5 km okupacijskih meja. Najdaljša je bila meja med Nemčijo in Italijo, ki je merila skoraj 277 km (skoraj 42 % vseh okupacijskih meja). Sledile so meje med Italijo in NDH (172 km oziroma 26 %), Nemčijo in NDH (133 km oziroma 20 %) ter Nemčijo in Madžarsko (83 km oziroma 13 %). Dobra polovica (51,3 %) meja je imela potek, ki sovpada z današnjimi mejami Slovenije, slaba polovica (48,7 %) pa je potekala znotraj današnje Slovenije. Najdaljšo mejo

znotraj današnjih meja Slovenije sta imeli Nemčija in Italija – 264 km oziroma 95 % poteka meje. Ostale meje so imele večji delež meje, ki sovpada z današnjimi mejami: Italija in NDH 171 km (99 %), Nemčija in NHD 115 km (86 %) in Nemčija in Madžarska 44 km (52 %).

Glede na reliefne enote je večina okupacijskih meja (47 %) potekala po strugah vodotokov ali v njihovi neposredni bližini, le malo manj (45 %) pa po vzpetem svetu. Zgolj slaba desetina meja je potekala po večjih ravninah.

Največji delež slovenskega ozemlja, ki je v Kraljevini Jugoslaviji obsegalo območje Dravske banovine, je zasedla Nemčija – skoraj dve tretjini (10.291 km²). Slabih 6 % je zasedla Madžarska (945 km²), NHD pa je zasedel 0,08 % (12 km²). Slaba tretjina je pripadla Italiji (4621 km²). Italija je skupaj z današnjim slovenskim ozemljem zahodno od medvojne rapalske meje zasedala kar 9062 km² oziroma dobrih 44 % današnje Slovenije.

State borders in the territory of Slovenia in the Second World War on the basis of cartographic sources of the occupation forces

Cartographic material is very useful when it comes to the spatial understanding of a landscape over a period or monitoring the spatial dynamics of phenomena and processes over long periods. Cartographic resources are not only a means of spatial representation of phenomena, but also a credible document of the space, time, and social conditions in which they were created. As such, they can be regarded as first-hand sources. Often they contain data not recorded in any other source (e.g. surface shapes, geographical names, borders, roads, watercourses). They are primarily used in historical geography and environmental history, in connection with changes in land use and cultural landscape. However, as with all historical sources, cartographic ones also require critical treatment.

The use of cartographic resources for the quantitative study of historical landscapes has been accelerated by geographical information systems (GIS). Historical resources must be adequately prepared before they can be used in GIS. Usually, there are three stages of processing: digitization, georeferencing, and vectorization.

Monitoring landscape changes (including borders) especially requires cartographic sources of larger scales. This paper deals with such maps made by the German and Hungarian armies during World War II, which show the state borders on Slovenian territory during that period. With the occupation of the Slovenian territory, four national borders were established in Slovenia in 1941: between Germany and Italy, between Germany and Hungary, between Germany and the NDH, and between Italy and the NDH.

54 maps were used to determine the borders, 44 of them in scale 1:25,000, eight in scale 1:50,000, and two in scale 1:200,000. All maps were issued between 1941 and 1944. To determine the border between Germany and Italy, Germany and the NDH, and Italy and the NDH, we used mostly *Deutsche Heereskarte* maps (1:25,000), issued in 1942 and 1943. To determine the border between Germany and Hungary, we mainly relied on Hungarian military maps (1:50,000), issued in 1944.

In total, there were 666.5 kilometers of occupation borders on the territory of present-day Slovenia. The longest was the border between Germany and Italy, long almost 277 kilometers (almost 42% of all occupation borders). It was followed by the borders between Italy and the NDH (172 km or 26%), Germany and the NDH (133 km or 20%), and Germany and Hungary (83 km or 13%). More than half (51.3%) of the borders coincided with the present-day borders of Slovenia, while less than half (48,7%) ran inside

the present-day territory. Germany and Italy had the longest border within Slovenia's present borders - 264 kilometers or 95% of the border. Other borders had a larger share of the border that coincides with current borders: Italy-NDH 171 km (99%), Germany-NDH 115 km (86%), and Germany-Hungary 44 km (52%).

According to relief units, the majority of occupation borders (47%) ran along water-courses or close to them, while only slightly less (45%) ran in the uplands. Only a tenth of the borders ran across greater plains.

The largest part of the Slovenian territory, which covered the territory of the Drava Banate in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, was occupied by Germany - almost two thirds (10,291 km²). A little less than 6% was occupied by Hungary (945 km²), while the NDH occupied 0.08% (12 km²). Almost a third belonged to Italy (4,621 km²). Together with present-day Slovenian territory west from the interwar Rapallo border, Italy occupied as much as 9,062 km² or more than 44% of present-day Slovenia.

Razkosana Slovenija

Triletni temeljni raziskovalni projekt o Okupacijskih mejah se je začel 1. maja 2017 in se bo zaključil 30. aprila 2020. Namenjen je proučitvi vpliva meja, pa tudi njihovem natančnemu geografskemu načrtanju, s katerimi so štirje okupatorji razčetrili Slovenijo, pri čemer so načrtovali izbris slovenskega prebivalstva. Če niso bili deportirani, so se Slovenci morali prilagoditi novi realnosti življenja ob močno utrjenih in mnogokrat smrtonosnih mejah. Te so bile večinoma postavljene tam, kjer nikoli prej v zgodovini niso obstajale, in so posledično globoko zarezale v vsakdanjik lokalnega prebivalstva, v njihove vsakodnevne odnose s sorodniki in sosedi, hkrati pa so otežile vsakdanjo oskrbo s prehrano in drugimi potrebščinami, versko tolažbo, ter ostala, v mirodobnem obdobju povsem samoumevna vsakodnevna opravila. Projekt je zasnovan kot klasičen zgodovinarski projekt z delom v arhivih in knjižnicah. V okviru raziskovalne teme pa je novost t. i. javna zgodovina, ki pretežno sledi zgodovinskemu pogledu od spodaj navzgor. Raziskovalci se posledično v večji meri posvečajo intervjujem s posamezniki, še zadnjo živo generacijo, ki je drugo svetovno vojno osebno doživela, ko so bili otroci. Do priprave prispevka je bilo posnetih 184 intervjujev, ki variirajo v dolžini od pol ure do treh ur. Dopolnjeni so z obsežnimi raziskavami materialnih preostankov na terenu, od mejnih kamnov, strelskih jarkov, do preostankov stražnih stolpov, bunkerjev in žičnatih ograj, ki se jih beleži in vnaša v GPS-sisteme ter zemljevide. Hkrati projektni člani skrbijo za redno diseminacijo projektnih rezultatov prek spletnih socialnih omrežij, razstav, dokumentarnih filmov, predavanj, znanstvenih in poljudnih člankov ter s pojavljanjem v lokalnih in nacionalnih medijih, pri čemer sledijo načelu raziskovanja zgodovine za čim širši diapazon javnosti. Okupacijske meje pred 80. leti so se dotaknile praktično slehernega prebivalca Slovenije. Tudi tisti, ki so živeli daleč od državnih meja, so se lahko kaj hitro znašli v obroču bodeče žice, saj so okupatorji podobno kot državne meje ožičili številne slovenske kraje in jih s tem preoblikovali v svojevrstna koncentracijska taborišča. Zgodbe skrivnih prehajanj, ki so se mnogokrat končale tragično, so delili številni pričevalci. Zgodbe so jih zaznamovale in ostale z njimi ter njihovimi družinami skozi desetletja vse do danes.

Dismembered Slovenia

The three-year basic research project on the Occupational Borders began on May 1, 2017, and will end on April 30, 2020. It is intended to examine the impact of the borders, as well as their precise geographical delineation, with which four occupiers quartered Slovenia, planning to wipe out its population. Unless they were deported, the Slovenes had to adjust to the new reality of life along heavily entrenched and often deadly borders. These were mostly placed where they had never existed in history and consequently deeply cut into the everyday life of the local population, in their daily relations with relatives and neighbors, while complicating the daily delivery of food and other supplies, religious comfort, and other mundane tasks that are taken for granted during the time of peace. The project is designed as a classic historical project with work in archives and libraries. Within the research topic, however, the novelty of the so-called public history, which largely follows the bottom-up historical view. As a result, researchers focus more on interviews with individuals, the last living generation who personally experienced World War II when they were children. By the time the paper was prepared, 184 interviews were recorded, ranging in length from half an hour to three hours. They are complemented by extensive research on material remains in the field, from boundary stones, trenches, to the remains of guard towers, bunkers, and wire fences, which are recorded and entered into GPS systems and maps. At the same time, project members ensure the regular dissemination of project results through online social networks, exhibitions, documentaries, lectures, scientific and popular articles, and by appearing in local and national media, following the principle of exploring history for the widest possible range of the public. 80 years ago, occupation borders touched almost every inhabitant of Slovenia. Even those who lived far from national borders could quickly find themselves in the barbed wire ring, as the occupiers surrounded numerous Slovenian towns with barbed wire, the same way they did with national borders, and thus transformed those towns into a kind of concentration camps. Tragic stories of secret passages, many of which ended tragically, were shared by many witnesses. The stories have marked them and have stayed with them and their families through the decades until today.

Idrija in Žiri kot obmejni mesti 1941–1945

Idrijo in Žiri je skoraj tri desetletja razmejevala državna meja. Značaj obmejnega območja je Idrijsko in Žirovsko dobilo že ob koncu prve svetovne vojne, ko je bilo ozemlje prav tu razdeljeno med Kraljevino Italijo in Kraljevino SHS. V času druge svetovne vojne pa je tu potekala nemško-italijanska okupacijska meja. V obeh krajih sta okupatorja izvajala raznarodovalne ukrepe, Idrijo pa so Nemci tudi ožičili. Poleg tega je okupacija povzročila, da so Žiri in Idrija postale kraj ob tromeji med Kraljevino Italijo, Ljubljansko pokrajino pod italijansko okupacijsko oblastjo in nemškim okupiranim območjem. Nova meja je do sektorskega mejnika št. 40, ki se nahaja v bližini Spodnjega Vrsnika, potekala po stari rapalski meji, nato pa se je od nje odcepil nov krak, ki se je v smeri proti vzhodu nadaljeval severno od Šentjošta nad Horjulom, mimo Polhovega Gradca do Šentvida pri Ljubljani. Meja je bila določena aprila 1941, spomladi leta 1942 pa so Nemci začeli postavljati mejno infrastrukturo in čistiti obmejni pas (posek gozda, rušenje stavb). Tako utrjeno mejo je bilo mogoče prehajati le z uradnim dovoljenjem in listinami, in sicer na žirovskem mejnem prehodu. Policijski in davčni nadzor pa se je vršil tudi na kraku rapalske meje, ki je razmejeval Ljubljansko pokrajino in Kraljevino Italijo. Okupacijska meja je bila tako težko prehodna, zato so se morali prebivalci posluževati ilegalnega prehajanja meje. Meja je ostala nevarna tudi po italijanski okupaciji, nemški zasedbi Idrije in osvoboditvi Žirov jeseni 1943, saj je večina obmejne infrastrukture ostala. Proces temeljitega odstranjevanja je trajal nekaj let po njenem koncu, nekdanja rapalska meja pa je ostala aktualna vse do priključitve Cone B Julijske krajine k Jugoslaviji.

Idrija and Žiri as border towns 1941-1945

For almost three decades, Idrija and Žiri were separated by the state border. The towns became border towns at the end of World War I when the border between the Kingdom of Italy and the Kingdom of SHS ran on that very territory. During World War II, the German-Italian occupation border was there. In both towns, the occupiers carried out nationalist measures, while the Germans erected barbed wire around Idrija. Also, the occupation rendered Žiri and Idrija places near the tri-border between the Kingdom of Italy, the Ljubljana province under Italian occupation, and the German-occupied territory. The new border followed the old Rapallo border up to the sector milestone no. 40 near Spodnji Vrsnik. Then, a new branch split off and continued eastward north of Šentjošt nad Horjulom, past Polhov Gradec to Šentvid pri Ljubljani. The border was defined in April 1941, and in the spring of 1942, the Germans began setting up border infrastructure and clearing the border corridor (felling of forest, demolition of buildings). Such a fortified border could only be crossed with an official permit and documents, namely at the Žiri border crossing. Police and tax control were also carried out at the branch of the Rapallo border, which separated the Ljubljana province and the Kingdom of Italy. The occupation border was difficult to cross and the locals had to resort to the illegal border crossing. The border remained dangerous even after the Italian occupation, the German occupation of Idrija, and the liberation of Žiri in the autumn of 1943 since most of the border infrastructure remained. The process of complete removal lasted several years after the war, while the former Rapallo border remained active until Zone B was annexed to Yugoslavia.

En krompir, tri države

Ob razkosanju Slovenije med štiri okupatorje je bila najbolj prizadeta Dolenjska. V primeru ostalih pokrajin so te v glavnem ostale skupaj in bile del ozemlja istega okupatorja. Na Dolenjskem pa so si ozemlje razdelili Nemci, Italijani in Neodvisna država Hrvaška. Mejo so določili Nemci in jo zaradi vojaško strateških, gospodarskih in prometnih razlogov pomaknili od 10 do 15 km južno od reke Save. Do junija 1941 so Nemci zasedali tudi ozemlje čez demarkacijsko črto, kar je prikazano tudi na zemljevidu na začetku poglavja. Takoj so bile vzpostavljene meja, ki so se junija potem pomaknile na nove državne meje.

Prebivalci so za prehajanje meje potrebovali prepustnice. Te so bile potrebne takoj, tudi še v času začasne vojaške uprave do junija 1941. Prebivalci Ljubljanske pokrajine, katere del je bila tudi Dolenjska, so prepustnice potrebovali tudi za potovanja znotraj ozemlja pokrajine. Dolenjska je bila kot del Ljubljanske pokrajine 3. maja 1941 s kraljevim ukazom priključena h Kraljevini Italiji.

Nemci so po meddržavnih dogovorih Neodvisni državi Hrvaški prepustili nekaj vasi na vzhodu Dolenjske južno od Brežic. Te vasi so bile septembra 1941 vključene v novoustanovljeno občino Bregana, kamor so vključili še nekaj hrvaških vasi. Cerkevno življenje v teh vaseh je bilo zelo prizadeto. Nemci so kmalu po okupaciji izselili duhovnike, saj je bilo bogočastje v Nemčiji prepovedano. Za vasi, ki so bile priključene k Neodvisni državi Hrvaški, pa je bilo treba urediti način opravljanje maš in vodenja matičnih knjig. Maše so bile le občasno, matične knjige pa so vodili v župniji Samobor, ki so jih priključili omenjene vasi.

Kmalu po nemški zasedbi delov Dolenjske so začeli izseljevati tamkajšnje prebivalstvo. Del ozemlja med reko Savo in državno mejo je bil predviden za naselitev Nemcev. Del teh Nemcev so naselili iz ozemlja okoli Kočevja, kjer so živeli že stoletja, v vojni pa je bilo priključeno Italiji. Poleg teh bi naseljevali tudi Nemce od drugod.

Meja je bila velika ovira za domače prebivalstvo. Meja jim je onemogočila dostop do služb, kmetom pa dostop do svojih zemljišč. Ta zemljišča kmetje v glavnem niso obdelovali, saj je bilo prehajanje meje omejeno, težavo pa je povzročal tudi prenos blaga iz ene v drugo državo.

Poleg državne meje je bila ovira za prebivalce tudi postavljanje različnih vojaških objektov okoli krajev. V primeri Novega mesta in Šentjerneja so tako Italijani kraja v celoti obdali z bodečo žico. Tudi v mnogih drugih krajih so z žico obdali posamezne hiše, ki so jih utrdili in poleg zgradili bunkerje. Domačine, ki so živeli v teh hišah, so seveda pregnali.

One Potato, Three States

When Slovenia was divided among four occupiers, Dolenjska suffered the most. Other provinces mostly remained undivided and part of the territory of the same occupier. Dolenjska, however, was divided among the Germans, Italians and the Independent State of Croatia. The border was drawn by the Germans and moved 10 to 15 kilometers south of the Sava River for military, economic and transport reasons. By June 1941, the Germans also occupied territory across the demarcation line, which is also visible on the map at the beginning of the chapter. Borders were immediately established and moved to new national borders in June.

Residents needed passes to cross the border. They were necessary immediately, even during the temporary military administration that lasted until June 1941. Residents of the Ljubljana region that included Dolenjska also needed permits for traveling within the province territory. As part of the Ljubljana region, Dolenjska was annexed to the Kingdom of Italy on May 3, 1941, by the King's decree.

According to international agreements, the Germans left some villages in the east of Dolenjska and south of Brežice to the Independent State of Croatia. Said villages were incorporated in the newly established municipality of Bregana in September 1941 that included several Croatian villages. The church life in these villages was greatly affected. The Germans evicted the priests shortly after the occupation, as worship was banned in Germany. The villages that were annexed to the Independent State of Croatia had to regulate the manner of conducting masses and keeping the registers. Masses were occasional, and registers were kept in the parish of Sabobor, which was annexed to said villages.

Shortly after the German occupation of parts of Dolenjska, the local population was gradually deported. Part of the territory between the Sava River and the state border was intended for Lebensraum. Part of these German settlers came from the territory around Kočevje, where they had lived for centuries, but the region was annexed to Italy during the war. In addition to them, Germans from elsewhere were to be settled.

The border was a major obstacle for the locals. It cut them from jobs, or in the case of farmers, from their land. These lands were mostly uncultivated since border crossing was restricted, in addition to difficulties in transferring goods from one country to another.

In addition to the state border, the erection of various military facilities around the area was also a hindrance for the locals. The Italians surrounded Novo mesto and Šentjernež with barbed wire. In many other places, individual houses were cordoned off with barbed wire, fortified and equipped with bunkers. The locals who lived in these houses were evicted.

VINCEREMO, VIDET ČEMO

Okupacijska meja med fašistično Italijo in ustaško Neodvisno državo Hrvaško (NDH) je v Beli krajini potekala po meji sreza Črnomelj, od Trdinovega vrha po grebenu Gorjancev/Žumberka do reke Kolpe pri Božakovem, nato pa po reki Kolpi navzgor do Predgrada. Da bi preprečili prehajanje meje slovenskim in hrvaškim partizanskim brigadam, so Italijani nameravali mejo na Gorjancih/Žumberku utrditi s pasom žične ograje in bunkerji. Ob Kolpi navzgor naj ne bi bilo žične ograje, ampak samo utrjeni mostovi in drugi objekti. Zaradi kapitulacije jim je spomladi 1943 uspelo zgraditi le pet bunkerjev pri Metliki. Meja je močno zarezala v vsakdanje življenje ljudi, zelo so bili prizadeti predvsem kmetje, ki so imeli zemljo na obeh straneh meje. Ljudje ob meji so se soočali tudi z begunstvom iz NDH, še posebej židovskega prebivalstva. Prebivalci Žumberka s pravoslavnimi koreninami so bili mnenja, da je bila meja tudi koristna, ker je ustašem preprečevala, da bi prihajali na italijansko okupacijsko območje. Maja 1941 so bili tudi posamezni poskusi, da bi občino Radatovići, ki je spadala pod srez Črnomelj, priključili NDH, in poskus, da bi celotno Belo krajino priključili nacistični Nemčiji. Zelo hitro se je razvilo močno partizansko gibanje, tako da so Italijani že decembra 1942 zapustili manjše, predvsem obmejne, postojanke. Od takrat naprej so se zadrževali le še v večjih krajih, ki so jih v celoti ali deloma obdali z bunkerji in bodečo žico.

Po kapitulaciji Italije septembra 1943 je Bela krajina postala svobodno ozemlje, kjer se je nastanil Glavni štab Narodnoosvobodilne vojske in partizanskih odredov Slovenije, Izvršni odbor Osvobodilne fronte in vrsta drugih inštitucij. Do konca vojne je Belo krajino doletelo le še nekaj posameznih vdorov Nemcev in ustašev.

Zilje so majhna vas na bregu na Kolpi. V vasi je bila italijanska posadka financarjev. Z njimi vaščani niso imeli težav. Podobno kot mnogi kraji v Beli krajini je italijanska vojska iz Zilj v taborišča odgnala precej moških. Večje število jih je tam zaradi nevdržnih razmer tudi umrlo.

Danes se same po sebi ponujajo primerjave med nekdanjo okupacijsko mejo in sedanjo ograjeno in ožičeno mejo z Republiko Hrvaško.

WE WILL WIN, WE WILL SEE

The occupation border between fascist Italy and the Ustashe Independent State of Croatia (NDH) in Bela krajina ran along the border of the Črnomelj district, from Trdinov vrh along the Gorjanci ridge and Žumberk to the Kolpa River near Božakovo, moving along the Kolpa River up to Predgrad. To prevent the Slovenian and Croatian partisan brigades from crossing the border, the Italians intended to fortify the border at Gorjanci/Žumberk with a corridor of wire fence and bunkers. No wire fence was conceived along the Kolpa River, only fortified bridges and other structures. Due to the capitulation in the spring of 1943, the Italians only managed to build five bunkers near Metlika. The border cut deep into people's daily lives, especially farmers who had land on both sides of the border. People along the border also faced the issue of refugees coming from the NDH, especially the Jewish population. Residents of Žumberk with Orthodox roots believed the border was quite useful since it prevented the Ustashe from coming to the Italian occupation area. In May 1941, there were individual attempts to annex the municipality of Radatovići, which was part of the Črnomelj district, to the NDH; and an attempt to annex the entire region of Bela krajina to Nazi Germany. A strong resistance movement evolved very quickly, forcing the Italians to leave smaller border outposts as early as December 1942. From then on, they stayed in larger towns only, surrounding them completely or partially with bunkers and barbed wire.

After the capitulation of Italy in September 1943, Bela krajina became a free territory where the headquarters of the National Liberation Army and the partisan detachments of Slovenia was set up in addition to the Executive Committee of the Liberation Front, and many other institutions. By the end of the war, only a couple of individual invasions of Germans and Ustashe had hit Bela krajina.

Zilje is a small village on the banks of the Kolpa River. There was a crew of the Italian Guardia di Finanza. The villagers had no problems with them. Like in other places in Bela krajina, the Italian Army deported many men from Zilje to camps. A lot of them died there due to unbearable conditions.

Today, comparisons between the former occupation border and the current wired border with the Republic of Croatia are being made.

Obsotelje – jugovzhodna meja nemškega rajha (1941–1945)

Današnja meja med Slovenijo in Hrvaško je bila v času druge svetovne vojne najbolj jugovzhodna meja nemškega rajha. Potek meje med Nemčiji in novoustanovljeno Neodvisno državo Hrvaško so v grobem določili maja 1941 z meddržavnim sporazumom, za določitev meje na terenu pa je bila ustanovljena nemško-hrvaška razmejitvena komisija. Mejo so Nemci zavarovali z žično ograjo in minskimi polji. Na najbolj izpostavljenih mestih so postavili dva metra visoko pleteno ograjo, na vrhu katere je bila bodeča žica. Za njo so po tleh položili dva do tri metre na široko zverženo bodečo žico. Poleg tega so postavili številne stražne stolpe in bunkerje ter skopali strelne järke, katerih ostanki so v pokrajini vidni še danes. Na mestih, kjer je bil potreben poseben nadzor, so bile tudi obmejne postojanke. Utrjevanje meje se je začelo oktobra 1942, dodatno pa so jo utrjevali od druge polovice leta 1944. Obrambno linijo so pretežno gradili prisilno mobilizirani krajevni prebivalci. Sama mejna črta je bila označena s številnimi mejnimi kamni, ki jih je bilo skupaj prek dva tisoč. Ti so danes lepo ohranjeni na grebenu Maclja, kjer jim lahko sledimo na vsakih 50 metrov in danes na tem območju predstavljajo edine razmejitvene oznake med Slovenijo in Hrvaško. Samo prehajanje meje je bilo mogoče zgolj ob zastraženih mejnih prehodih, kar je za krajevno prebivalstvo, med katerimi so bili številni dvolastniki, predstavljalo veliko težavo v vsakdanjem življenju. Mestoma so bili ti prehodi kar »pogosti«, tako jih je bilo na reki Sotli med Dobovcem pri Rogatcu in Podčetrtkom štirinajst, danes pa so le štirje. Kot graničarji so na nemški strani služili predvsem starejši vojaki, pretežno iz Avstrije, ki so mejo nadzorovali v parih. V Obsotelju je meja onemogočila predvsem dostop do reke Sotle in s tem možnost dostopa do pitne vode (ljudem in živini), vode za pranje, ribolova, v času poletnih suš pa tudi vode za namakanje kmetijskih zemljišč. Da dovoljenja za prehajanje meje niso bila samoumevna, pove podatek, da prisostvovanje na pogrebih in mašnih slovesnostih ter obiski cerkva, sorodnikov in prijateljev na drugi strani meje niso bili zadostni razlogi za izdajo dovoljenj. Kljub zastraženosti meje se je razmahnilo tihotapstvo, ki je bilo posledica velikega pomanjkanja dobrin. Prehod prek minskega polja so največkrat omogočile deske in lestve, žično ograjo so rezali s škarjami za obrezovanje žive meje, podkupovalo pa se je tudi mejne uslužbenke.

Največjo nevarnost za krajevno prebivalstvo so predstavljale mine. Zaradi njih je bil otežen prehod do njiv in gozdov, pot do trgovine, zdravnika ali cerkve pa se je zato lahko znatno podaljšala. Otežena je bila tudi paša v obmejnem pasu. Po drugi strani pa so mine predstavljale vir oborožitve za partizane. Mine so številne smrtne žrtve terjale tudi še dlje časa po koncu vojne.

Obsotelje - the southeastern border of the German Reich (1941-1945)

The present-day border between Slovenia and Croatia was the most southeastern border of the German Reich during World War II. The course of the border between Germany and the newly formed Independent State of Croatia was roughly determined in May 1941 by an interstate agreement, while a German-Croatian Delimitation Commission was set up to determine the border in the field. The Germans secured the border with a wire fence and minefields. At the most exposed sites, a two-meter high fence with barbed wire on top was erected. Behind the fence, they laid a two to three meters wide concertina fence, erected guard towers and bunkers, and dug trenches - the remains of which are still visible in the landscape today. Border posts were also located in places where special surveillance was needed. The fortification of the border began in October 1942 and was further enforced in the second half of 1944. The defense line was mainly built by forcibly mobilized locals. The border was marked by numerous boundary stones that totaled over two thousand. They're still well preserved on the Macelj ridge, where they can be seen every 50 meters, representing the sole demarcation between Slovenia and Croatia in this area. Crossing the border was only possible at the crossings, which posed a major problem for everyday life for the local population, many of whom owned land on both sides of the border. In parts, these crossings were quite »frequent«, namely fourteen on the river Sotla between Dobovec pri Rogatcu and Podčetrtek, while only four remain today. On the German side, older, mostly Austrian soldiers served as border guards, patrolling in pairs. In Obsotelje, the border primarily prevented access to the Sotla River, and thus the drinking water, both to people and livestock, washing water, fishing, and irrigation water during summer droughts. The fact that border permits were not taken for granted, indicates that attending funerals and religious ceremonies, or visiting churches, relatives and friends on the other side of the border were not sufficient reasons for issuing a permit. Despite border security, smuggling was widespread as a result of a large shortage of goods. The passage through the minefield was mostly made possible by boards and ladders, while the wire fence was cut with hedge trimmers. Border guards were often bribed.

Mines posed the greatest danger to the local population. They made it difficult to access fields and forests, while routes to shops, doctors and churches were significantly longer. Grazing in the border zone was also hindered. On the other hand, mines were a source of armament for the partisans. Many lives were claimed by mines even after the war.

Hlev je bil pod Nemci, hiša pod Madžari. Prekmurje v času okupacije 1941–1945

Nemška vojska je takoj prvi dan napada na Jugoslavijo zasedla Prekmurje, vendar tam ni ostala dolgo, saj je že 16. aprila 1941 na svečanosti v Murski Soboti oblast nad pokrajino na levem bregu Mure, razen naselij Kramarovci, Ocinje, Fukšinci in del Serdice (Rottenberg) z večinskim nemškim prebivalstvom, predala Madžarom.

Nova meja je ostro zarezala v slovensko narodno telo, saj je Slovence v Prekmurju ločila od njihovih rojakov na desnem bregu Mure. Po drugi strani pa je priključitev k Madžarski odstranila politično mejo med porabskimi in prekmurskimi Slovenci kot tudi med prekmurskimi Madžari in njihovimi rojaki, ki so se tako ponovno združili v eni državi, kar se je odrazilo na različnih življenjskih področjih.

S prevzemom oblasti v Prekmurju 16. aprila 1941 so Madžari vpeljali vojaško upravo z dvema vojnoupravnima poveljstvom v Murski Soboti in Lendavi. Njuna naloga je bila ustvariti razmere za uvedbo civilne uprave, to pa je pomenilo v najkrajšem času izbrisati vse sledi, ki jih je v Prekmurju v 22 letih zapustila jugoslovanska država. Uveljavljanje te politike se je kazalo na vseh področjih, od političnega, družbenega do gospodarskega. Vse institucije so bile ukinjene in nadomeščene z novimi, odstranjeni so bili slovenski napisi, uveden je bil madžarski črkopis. Med prvimi so zasedbeno politiko novih oblasti občutili priseljenci, ki so iz osrednje Slovenije v Prekmurje prišli po 31. oktobru 1918. Za madžarsko oblast so bili ti ljudje, med katerimi so bili predvsem uradniki, učitelji in kolonisti, najbolj nezanesljivi. Med priseljenci so bili najbolj izpostavljeni kolonisti, ki so jih madžarske oblasti že poleti 1941 razlastile in junija 1942 internirale v internacijsko taborišče Sárvár.

V nasprotju s priseljenci – prišleki pa je bil odnos do domačinov strpen in prijazen. Prekmurske Slovence, ki so bili sami ali njihovi predniki v pokrajini rojeni pred 31. oktobrom 1918, je madžarska uprava smatrala za sebi lojalne državljane. Sicer so bili 22 let deležni napačne propagande in vzgoje, vendar se jih da ponovno prepričati v to, da so Vendi, kar naj bi bil prvi korak k spoznanju, da so Madžari. Čeprav je madžarska okupacijska oblast s svojim ravnanjem poskušala na svojo stran pridobiti Prekmurce staroselce, je del levo usmerjenih domačinov v okviru Osvobodilne fronte že v poletnih mesecih 1941 v Prekmurju izvedel več sabotаж. Odporniško gibanje so že jeseni istega leta madžarske oblasti razbile, večino aktivistov zajele, le malokomu se je uspelo izogniti aretaciji in zapustiti Prekmurje.

Kljub dokaj hitri vzpostavitvi infrastrukturne povezave z notranjostjo države, kar je bilo eno od pogojev za čim hitrejšo integracijo Prekmurja v madžarsko gospodarstvo, so zaradi spremenjenih gospodarskih razmer tovarniški obrati v Murski Soboti zašli v težave, s težavami pri iskanju službe pa so se soočali tudi številni prekmurski sezonski delavci. Proces vključevanja zasedenega ozemlja v madžarski administrativni sistem je legalizirala 15. avgusta uvedena civilna uprava, s sprejetjem zakona o ponovni priključitvi Južnih pokrajin (Délvidék) oziroma Bačke, Baranje, Prekmurja in Medžimurja k Madžarski pa 16. decembra 1941 zaključil madžarski parlament.

The barn was under the German, the house under the Hungarian rule Occupation borders in Prekmurje 1941-1945

On the first day of the invasion of Yugoslavia, the German Army occupied the Prekmurje region, but it did not stay there long, since on April 16, 1941, the province on the left bank of the Mura River (except Kramarovci, Ocinje, Fukšinci, and part of Serdica (Rottenberg) with a German majority) came under Hungary at a ceremony in Murska Sobota.

The new border cut into the Slovenian national body sharply, separating the Slovenes in Prekmurje from their compatriots on the right bank of the Mura River. On the other hand, the annexation to Hungary removed the political border between the Slovenes in Prekmurje and Porabje, as well as between the Prekmurje Hungarians and their compatriots, who were then reunited in one country, which reflected in different areas of life.

With the takeover of authority in Prekmurje on April 16, 1941, the Hungarians introduced a military administration with two military-administration commands in Murska Sobota and Lendava. Their mission was to create the conditions for the introduction of civil administration, which meant erasing all traces left by the Yugoslav state in 22 years. The implementation of this policy was reflected in all areas, from political and social to economic. All institutions were abolished and replaced with new ones; Slovene inscriptions were removed, and the Hungarian alphabet was introduced. Immigrants who came from central Slovenia to Prekmurje after October 31, 1918, were among the first to feel the occupational policy of the new authorities. Hungary deemed those people, who were mainly officials, teachers, and settlers, as unreliable. Said settlers were the most exposed among the immigrants, as the Hungarians expropriated them in the summer of 1941, and interned them at the Sárvár internment camp in June 1942.

In contrast to the immigrants, the attitude towards the locals was tolerant and friendly. The Prekmurje Slovenes, who were born before October 31, 1918, were considered loyal citizens by the Hungarian administration. They were supposedly subjected to untrue propaganda and education for 22 years, but they could be re-educated into believing they were Wendish, which was the first step towards accepting they were Hungarians. Although the Hungarian occupation authorities tried to win over the indigenous people of Prekmurje with their actions, part of the left-leaning locals carried out several sabotages within the Liberation Front as early as in the summer of 1941. The resistance movement was broken up by the Hungarians in the autumn of the same year; most of the activists were captured, while only a handful of them managed to evade arrest and flee Prekmurje.

Despite the relatively quick establishment of an infrastructure connection with the mainland, which was one of the conditions for a speedy integration of Prekmurje into the Hungarian economy, the factories in Murska Sobota faced difficulties due to the changed economic conditions, while numerous seasonal workers found it difficult to find a job. The process of integrating the occupied territory into the Hungarian administrative system was legalized by the civil administration introduced on August 15, with the adoption of the law on the re-annexation of the Southern Provinces (Délvidék) - namely Bačka, Baranja, Prekmurje, and Međimurje - to Hungary on December 16, 1941

Projekt italijanske vojske – zapora meje z Neodvisno državo Hrvaško

Italijanska vojska je v letu 1942 izdelala načrt za zaprtje dela meje njene Ljubljanske pokrajine z Neodvisno državo Hrvaško. Zaprtje bi jo z nepretrgano ograjo iz bodeče žice ter utrdili z bunkerji in vojaškimi postojankami. Prvotnega načrta, da bi utrjena meje potekala po dejanski meji z NDH po grebenu Gorjancev in se usmerila proti reki Kolpi, niso uresničili. Utrjeno zaporo meje, ki jo je sestavljal pas bodeče žice, utrjeni objekti (bunkerji) in mejni prehodi, so v letu 1943 gradili ob vznožju Gorjancev in od reke Kolpe vzhodno od Metlike v smeri Žumberaka. Preprečevala naj bi prehode partizanov iz Žumberaka in Gorjancev v vasi pod njimi in jim s tem preprečevala zbiranje hrane. Gradnjo je izvajala inženirska enota divizije Isonzo in mobilizirani domačini krajev, kjer so se dela izvajala. Gradnjo utrjene zapore meje razdelimo v 4 faze. Prva faza se je začela 13. januarja 1943 v vasi Šmarje (južno od Šentjerneja), ko so v smeri Kostanjevice začeli postavljati 6 m širok in v obliki trapeza postavljen pas bodeče žice. Druga faza se je začela okoli 10. marca 1943, ko so pas bodeče žice začeli postavljati od reke Krke okoli 1 km vzhodno od Kostanjevice proti Šmarju. Ta dva kraka pasu bodeče žice sta se združila 12. aprila 1943 nekje v okolici vasi Zaboršt, zato ta datum označuje konec prve in druge faze. Tretja faza se je začela 13. aprila 1943, ko so bodečo žico začeli postavljati iz Šmarja po predvideni trasi v smeri Tolstega Vrha in vasi Gaberje. Tretja faza se je zaključila v zaselku Pušče pri vasi Dolž, kjer se je 8. septembra 1943 ob kapitulaciji Italije končala gradnja utrjene meje pod Gorjanci. Med Kostanjevico in zaselkom Pušče je bilo postavljeno okoli 27 km pasu bodeče žice in ob njej 46 utrjenih objektov (bunkerjev), dva bunkerja pa sta bila še v gradnji. Četrta faza je bila gradnja utrjene meje v Beli krajini. Pas bodeče žice in bunkerjev se je začel graditi 22. julija 1943 ob železniškem mostu pri Rosalnicah v okolici Metlike. Četrta faza se zaključi 8. septembra 1943 ob kapitulaciji Italije. Tedaj so z bodečo žico prišli približno do vasi Grabrovec. Postavljeno je bilo okoli 4 km pasu bodeče žice, ob kateri je bilo postavljenih 6 bunkerjev, trije pa so bili še v gradnji. Načrtovali so, da se bo pas bodeče žice in bunkerjev od Dolža nadaljeval proti zahodnemu delu grebana Gorjancev, kjer bi se združil z enakim utrjenim pasu, ki bi se od Grabrovca nadaljeval proti severu. Načrti so ostali neuresničeni, ker je italijansko vojsko prehitela njihova kapitulacija. Partizansko vojsko je zastražena italijanska utrjena zapora meje omejevala, ne pa preprečevala prehodov skozi njo. Nekajkrat so jo napadli, uničili določene odseke bodeče žice in prodrli skozi njo. Po kapitulaciji Italije so partizani in domačini podrli večino bunkerjev in razdrli bodečo žico. Nekateri ostanki še danes opominjajo na nekdanjo italijansko zaporo meje z NDH.

The Italian army's project - the barricade of the border with the Independent State of Croatia

In 1942, the Italian army drafted a plan to close part of the border between the Ljubljana province and the Independent State of Croatia. They intended to close it with an uninterrupted barbed wire fence and fortify it with bunkers and military outposts. The original plan for the fortified border to run along the actual border with the NDH along the Gorjanci ridge and head towards the Kolpa River was not carried out. A fortified barricade of the border consisting of barbed wire, fortified structures (bunkers) and border crossings were built in 1943 at the foothills of Gorjanci, and from the Kolpa River east of Metlika in the direction of Žumberk. It was supposed to prevent the partisans from Žumberk and Gorjanci from crossing into villages below, thus restricting their efforts to gather food. The construction was carried out by the engineering unit of the Isonzo Division and the mobilized locals of the towns where the works were carried out. The construction of the border barricade is divided into four phases. The first phase began on January 13, 1943, in the village of Šmarje (south of Šentjernej), when a barbed wire corridor was built 6 meters wide in the shape of the trapezoid in the direction of Kostanjevica. The second phase began around March 10, 1943, when a barbed wire corridor was being built from the Krka River about one kilometer east of Kostanjevica towards Šmarje. These two branches of the corridor were joined on April 12, 1943, somewhere near the village of Zaboršt. This date marks the end of the first and second stages. The third phase began on April 13, 1943, when the barbed wire was being laid from Šmarje along the planned route in the direction of Tolsti Vrh and the village of Gaberje. The third phase ended in the hamlet of Pušče near the village of Dolž, where on September 8, 1943, following the capitulation of Italy, the construction of the fortified border below Gorjanci was halted. Between Kostanjevica and the village of Pušče, 27 kilometers of barbed wire was erected, while 46 fortified structures (bunkers) were built, with two bunkers still never finished. The fourth phase was the construction of the fortified border in Bela krajina. The construction of the corridor of barbed wire and bunkers began on July 22, 1943, along the railway bridge near Rosalnice in the Metlika area. The fourth phase ended on September 8, 1943, with the capitulation of Italy. About 4 kilometers of barbed wire were erected and six bunkers were built, with three never finished. The plan was for the corridor of barbed wire and bunkers to go from Dolž to the western part of the Gorjanci ridge, where it would merge with the same fortified corridor that would go northwards from Gabrovec. The plans remained unfulfilled as the Italian Army was

stopped by the capitulation. The Italian guarded border barricade hindered the partisans but could not prevent crossings. It was attacked several times, with certain sections of barbed wire destroyed and penetrated. Following the capitulation of Italy, the partisans and locals tore down most of the bunkers and barbed wire. Some remnants still remind us of the former Italian border barricade with the NDH.

»Mi tujega nočemo, toda svojega ne damo.« Slovensko odporniško gibanje in vprašanje meja v času okupacije 1941–1945.

Načelo, na katerem je slovensko/jugoslovansko odporniško gibanje utemeljevalo ozemeljske zahteve na etničnem principu, je bilo najbolj izraženo v misli »Mi tujega nočemo, toda svojega ne damo«, ki jo je izrekel Josip Broz Tito v govoru ob proslavi druge obletnice ustanovitve prve dalmatinske narodnoosvobodilne brigade 12. septembra 1944 na Visu, ko je prvič javno spregovoril o ozemeljskih zahtevah. Tito v omenjenem govoru sicer pri tem v svojem govoru ni bil izviren, saj so ga uporabljali že pred tem. Gre za univerzalno geslo, kar pa seveda v ničemer ne spreminja njegovega temeljnega sporočila in izhodišč, na katerih je odporniško gibanje utemeljevalo nacionalne zahteve.

Pomen mejnega vprašanja za Slovence je decembra 1942 Edvard Kardelj v pismu Josipu Brozu Titu opisal z besedami: "Vprašanje meja je za nas tako aktualno, kot verjetno ni niti za angleški imperij. Gre za popolnoma specifično slovensko občutljivost v tem pogledu, ki smo jo dolgo poizkušali obiti s splošnimi načelnimi izjavami, toda sedaj postaja to vse manj možno. Slovenci, ki so že 1000 let razcepljeni, namreč čutijo, da se sedaj odloča o tem, da končno stara parola o "Združeni Sloveniji" postane resnica.«

Izjava odseva tedanje optimistično razpoloženje, ki je vladalo v slovenski družbi glede možnosti uresničitve »Zedinjene Slovenije«, ne glede na politično in ideološko razcepljenost v njej. V skladu z velikim pričakovanjem o povojni razširitvi slovenskega ozemlja po zmagi protihitlerjevske koalicije so začeli kot gobe po dežju nastajati številni nacionalni programi najrazličnejših političnih skupin in tudi posameznikov, katerih temeljna značilnost je bila nezmernost in popolno pomanjkanje realizma glede ozemeljskih zahtev, ki naj bi jih Slovenci postavili pred zaveznike oz. na mirovni konferenci.

V odporniškem gibanju so sicer vseskozi prevladovala stvarne ozemeljske zahteve, ki so temeljile prvenstveno na etničnem principu, kot so ga utemeljili strokovnjaki v odboru za meje, ki je deloval v okviru OF. Čeprav je tudi v tem pogledu prihajalo, vsaj v začetnem obdobju, do določenega »tekmovanja« z domačimi nasprotniki, kdo se bo izkazal za bolj »nacionalnega«. Seveda pa je to »rivalstvo« s protikomunističnim taborom postajalo vedno manj pomembno in nato tudi povsem brezpredmetno, kajti razvoj dogodkov je šel vse bolj v smeri uveljavljanja odporniškega gibanja, ki je ob koncu vojne tudi postalo edini legitimni nosilec zahtev za spremembo meja v slovensko oziroma jugoslovansko korist tudi pred mednarodno zavezniško skupnostjo.

V mirovni pogodbi z Italijo, podpisani v Parizu 10. februarja 1947 (veljati je začela 15. septembra 1947), je bila mejna črta med Jugoslavijo in Italijo pomembno spremenjena v jugoslovansko in s tem tudi slovensko korist, s priključitvijo delov Primorske in Notranjske. Po podpisu memoranduma o soglasju, ki so ga oktobra 1954 v Londonu podpisale ZDA, Velika Britanija, Jugoslavija in Italija, je bilo ozemlje Svobodnega tržaškega ozemlja razdeljeno med Jugoslavijo in Italijo. Dokončna sprememba meje je bila nato potrjena leta 1975 z osimskimi sporazumi.

Druga svetovna vojna v Evropi – v nasprotju s prvo svetovno vojno, ko je na ruševinah cesarstev in imperijev nastalo več nacionalnih držav – od Finske in baltskih držav do Kraljevine SHS, kar poznamo pod pojmom »versajska Evropa« – ni imela za posledico radikalnih sprememb družbenopolitične kartografije. To namreč tudi ni bil namen in vojni cilj zaveznikov, ti so tudi posebej izpostavljali, da se v tem pogledu ključno razlikujejo od sil osi, ki so si prizadevale ustvariti »novi red« tudi s korenito spremembo državnih meja. Zavezniški načrti o povojni ureditvi Evrope so namreč prvenstveno stremeli k oblikovanju kompaktnih nacionalno homogenih držav, ki naj bi kot take zagotavljale povojno stabilnost v vmesnem prostoru med Sovjetsko zvezo in Zahodno Evropo, ta je dotlej vseskozi upravičeno veljal za izvir najrazličnejših konfliktov, ki so nenazadnje tudi pomembno vplivali na Hitlerjev vzpon in s tem posledično tudi na začetek druge svetovne vojne. Oblikovanje nacionalno homogenih držav je bilo v skladu s takšnimi zavezniškimi predpostavkami po vojni uresničeno s preseljevanjem prebivalstva in ne s premikanjem državnih meja.

V skladu s takšno filozofijo je po vojni prišlo v Evropi zgolj do dveh korenitejših sprememb meja, in sicer do ozemeljske razširitve Sovjetske zveze in pa do spremembe jugoslovansko-italijanske meje, s priključitvijo pretežnega dela Primorske vred. Soglasno odločitev velikih treh o upravičenosti premika jugoslovansko-italijanske meje v korist Jugoslavije po drugi svetovni vojni, kljub njihovi načelni politiki o nespremenljivosti povojnih evropskih meja, je treba v tem kontekstu torej razumeti predvsem kot veliko izjemo oziroma celo kot pravzaprav edinstveno odločitev v okviru dogovorjene načelne zavezniške politike o povojni Evropi.

“We don't want what belongs to others, but we will not give what's ours.” The Slovenian resistance movement and the issue of borders during the occupation 1941-1945.

The principle on which the Slovenian/Yugoslav resistance movement based its territorial demands on the ethnic principle was best expressed in the adage said by Josip Broz Tito in his speech during the celebration of the second anniversary of the founding of the first Dalmatian National Liberation Brigade on September 12, 1944, in Vis, when he first publicly spoke about territorial requirements: »We don't want what belongs to others, but we will not give what's ours.« Tito's speech was not exactly original in that sense since the motto had been used before. It was a universal slogan, which, of course, does not alter its basic message and the starting points on which the resistance movement based its national demands.

In December 1942, Edvard Kardelj described the significance of the border issue for Slovenes in a letter to Josip Broz Tito: »The issue of borders is so prevailing to us, even more than to the English Empire. This is a very specific Slovenian sensitivity in this respect, which we have long tried to circumvent with general statements of principle, but now it is becoming less and less possible. Slovenians, who have been split for a thousand years, feel that the decision is now being made to finally make the old parole of »United Slovenia« a reality.

The statement reflects the then optimistic mood that prevailed in the Slovenian society regarding the possibility of realizing a »United Slovenia«, regardless of the political and ideological chasm. In accordance with the great expectation of the post-war expansion of Slovenian territory after the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition, many national programs of various political groups, as well as individuals whose basic characteristic was immoderation and complete lack of realism regarding territorial demands expressed to the Allies at the peace conference, began to grow like weeds.

The resistance movement, however, had always been dominated by substantive territorial requirements based primarily on the ethnic principle, as justified by experts in the Border Committee operating within the Liberation Front. Although in this respect, at least in the initial period, there was a certain „competition“ with domestic opponents of who would prove to be more „national“. Of course, this „rivalry“ with the anti-communist camp was becoming more and more meaningless, and then completely irrelevant, since the development of events went towards enforcing the will of

the resistance movement, which at the end of the war became the only legitimate carrier of demands regarding the change of the borders in Slovenia's or Yugoslavia's favor with the international allied community.

The peace treaty with Italy signed in Paris on February 10, 1947 (it entered into force on September 15, 1947) changed the border between Yugoslavia and Italy significantly favoring Yugoslavia and thus Slovenia by annexing parts of Primorska and Notranjska. Following the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding signed by the United States, Great Britain, Yugoslavia, and Italy in October 1954 in London, the Free Trieste Territory was divided between Yugoslavia and Italy. The definite change of the border was confirmed in 1975 by the Treaty of Osimo.

World War II in Europe - unlike World War I, when several nation-states emerged from the ruins of empires - from Finland and the Baltic States to the Kingdom of SHS, known as »Versailles Europe« - did not result in radical changes in socio-political cartography. It was not the purpose and the objective of the Allies, who particularly emphasized that in this respect, they crucially differed from the Axis powers, which sought to create a »new order« with a radical change of national borders. The Allied post-war plans for Europe were primarily aimed at creating compact, nationally homogeneous states, which would provide post-war stability in the buffer zone between the Soviet Union and Western Europe, which was rightly considered the root of numerous conflicts, that significantly influenced Hitler's rise and, consequently, the onset of World War II. The formation of nationally homogeneous states was, in accordance with such Allied assumptions after the war, carried out by relocating the population rather than moving national borders.

According to such a philosophy, there were only two radical changes to the borders after the war, namely the territorial expansion of the Soviet Union and the change of the Yugoslav-Italian border, including the annexation of a larger part of Primorska. The unanimous decision of The Big Three on the justification of moving the Yugoslav-Italian border in favor of Yugoslavia after World War II, despite their principled policy on the immutability of post-war European borders, must, therefore, be seen as a major exception in this context, or even as a unique decision within the agreed Allied policy on post-war Europe.

Meje in njihove omejitve

Razdelitev Dravske banovine oz. slovenskega dela Kraljevine Jugoslavije je bolj kot marsikje drugje v okupirani Evropi zarezala v življenjski krogotok ljudi. Ob mejah so določili nove mejne prehode. V predmestju Ljubljane je nova meja celo presekala linijo mestnega tramvaja, ki so jo zato skrajšali. Na drugi strani meje sta dve nemški okupacijski coni ostali brez neposredne povezave, saj sta bili prej prometno povezani prek Ljubljane. Da ne bi bili odvisni od prevoza skozi italijanske okupacijske cone, so se hitro lotili gradnje novih prometnih zvez. Glede oskrbe prebivalstva je bila še posebej problematična Ljubljana, saj se je zaledje, ki jo je oskrbovalo, precej skrčilo. Nemčija, Italija in Jugoslavija so vpeljale racionirano preskrbo že pred aprilsko vojno 1941, okupacija pa je pomanjkanje le še poglobila. Nemčija je uspela na svojem okupiranem ozemlju zagotoviti večje količine hrane kot Italija na svojem. Čeprav je ob poskusih modernizacije na nemškem okupacijskem območju kmetijski produkt sprva naraščal in so kmetje imeli tudi presežke, z njimi niso mogli prosto razpolagati, temveč so jih morali obvezno oddajati državi. Pri razdelitvi prehrane so bile že vnaprej predvidene razlike, izhajajoče iz nacističnega rasnega razlikovanja.

Postavljanje novih meja je za prebivalstvo prineslo tudi zelo različne perspektive gospodarskega razvoja. Madžarski in Hrvaški sta pripadla le majhna in agrarno zaostala dela. Hitlerjeva Nemčija si je prisvojila najbolj razvit predel Slovenije z več kot 70 odstotki industrijskih zmogljivosti Dravske banovine. Manj možnosti je bilo za hitrejši razvoj kmetijstva, saj je to v prvi Jugoslaviji zaradi konkurence cenejših izdelkov iz južnih delov države stagniralo. Več težav so imeli italijanski okupatorji, saj so si priključili večinsko zaostali agrarni predel in le nekaj več kot četrtno industrijskih zmogljivosti bivše Dravske banovine, večinoma v Ljubljani. Najbolj sistematično se je uvajanja novosti lotila Nemčija, ki je hotela ozemlje vključiti v svoj gospodarski sistem. Najpomembnejša investicija je bila tovarna glinice in aluminija v Strnišču pri Ptuj, navezana na rudo iz zaveznice Madžarske in povezana z načrtovano gradnjo tovarne letalskih delov v Mariboru. Italija je pridobila ozemlja brez pomembnejših rudnih bogastev, najpomembnejša surovina pa je bil les.

Okupacijske meje so jasno začrtale tudi ozemlja z zelo različnimi odnosi do slovenstva, slovenskega jezika in slovenske kulture. Nemški okupator je poskušal čim prej ponemčiti prebivalstvo in temu cilju je podredil odnos do jezika in kulturnih ustanov. Prepovedali so vse slovenske kulturne in kulturne organizacije ter v šole vpeljali nemški učni jezik. Italijanski okupator je vpeljal dvojezičnost in v upravi dopuščal slovenščino in italijanščino.

Nove okupacijske meje so tako postale meje novih uradnih jezikov in poskusov ustvarjanja nove identitete tamkajšnjega prebivalstva. Da bi se tudi starejše prebivalce čim hitreje naučili nemško, so Nemci organizirali številne tečaje nemščine. Prebivalci in kraji so dobili nemška imena. Italijani se tovrstnega početja ob upoštevanju dvojezičnosti niso lotevali, so pa poskušali novo identiteto prebivalstvu na svojem okupacijskem področju nadeti Madžari. Madžarska uprava se je zelo veliko ukvarjala z narodnim vprašanjem, pri čemer so se oprli na vendsko teorijo in poskušali dokazati, da v Prekmurju živijo Vendi, ki govorijo vendski jezik, ki je bila mešanica lokalnega narečja, slovenščine in madžarščine, pisana ob upoštevanju madžarskih pravopisnih načelih. Slovenski Jože je med vojno prišel na državni urad kot Jože le v italijanski Ljubljanski pokrajini. Na Primorskem, ki je bila že pred vojno del Kraljevine Italije, je prišel kot Giuseppe. Če se je znašel v krajih, ki so prišli pod Hrvaško, se je na uradih pojavil kot Josip, pod Nemci ali Madžari pa kot Josef ali Jozef. Ampak po vojni so bili vsi spet Jožeti.

Borders and their boundaries

The partition of the Drava Banate or the Slovenian part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, cut into the lives of people more than anywhere else in occupied Europe. The new border even cut the city tram line in the suburbs of Ljubljana, shortening it in the process. On the other side of the border, the two German occupation zones remained unconnected, having previously been linked via Ljubljana. In order not to depend on transport through the Italian occupation zone, they quickly set up new transport connections. Ljubljana was particularly problematic with regard to the supply of the population, since the hinterland that used to supply the city, had shrunk considerably. Germany, Italy, and Yugoslavia introduced rationing before the April war of 1941, while the occupation only exacerbated the shortage. Germany managed to provide more food in its occupied territory than Italy. Even though the attempts at modernization in the German occupation territory increased the agricultural output with farmers even having surpluses, the produce was not at their disposal as they had to hand it over to the state. The distribution of food presupposed differences as designed by Nazi racial discrimination.

Drawing new borders also brought different perspectives on economic development for the population. Only small and agriculturally underdeveloped areas belonged to Hungary and Croatia. Hitler's Germany took over the most developed part of Slovenia with more than 70 percent of the industrial capacity of the Drava Banate. There was less potential for faster agricultural development, as it stagnated in Yugoslavia due to competition with cheaper products from the southern parts of the country. The Italian occupiers had more problems since they acquired mostly undeveloped areas with only slightly more than a quarter of the industrial capacities of the former Drava Banate, mostly in Ljubljana. Germany introduced novelties most systematically, aiming to integrate the territory into its economic system. The most important investment was the bauxite and aluminum plant in Strnišče pri Ptuj, attached to the ore coming from the Hungarian ally, and connected to the planned construction of an aeronautical parts factory in Maribor. Italy acquired territories without significant mineral resources, with the most important raw material being wood.

The occupation borders clearly outlined territories with very different attitudes to Slovenianism, the Slovene language, and culture. The German occupier tried to Germanize the population as soon as possible, subjugating the attitude to language and cultural institutions to that goal. They banned all Slovene cultural organizations and introduced German into the curriculum. The Italian occupier introduced bilingualism and allowed

both Slovene and Italian to be used in the administration. The new occupation borders thus became the frontiers of new official languages and attempts to create a new identity for the local population. For the elderly to learn German as quickly as possible, the Germans organized numerous German courses. Residents and towns were given German names. While the Italians did not use such measures (respecting bilingualism), Hungary tried to find a new identity for the population in their occupation area. The Hungarian administration dealt with the national issue a lot, relying on the Wendish theory and trying to prove that Prekmurje is populated by the Wendish who speak Wendish language, a mixture of the local dialect, Slovene and Hungarian languages, that uses Hungarian grammar. During the war, Slovenian Jože could visit the bureau as Jože only in the Italian province of Ljubljana. In Primorska, which was already part of the Kingdom of Italy before the war, he would be Giuseppe. If he found himself in places under the Croatian rule, he would be Josip, while the Germans or the Hungarians would call him Josef or Jozef, respectively. After the war, everyone was Jože once again.