

MEDNARODNI DAN SPOMINA NA ŽRTVE HOLOKAVSTA
ŠOA – Spominjajmo se 2015

INTERNATIONAL HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE DAY
SHOAH – Let Us Remember 2015

MEDNARODNO ZNANSTVENO SREČANJE
Vsako leto eno ime

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC MEETING
Each Year One Name

MARKO ROSNER

UNIVERZITETNA KNJIŽNICA MARIBOR
*Glazerjeva dvorana,
27. januar 2015*

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SINAGOGA

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VSako LETO ENO IME:
/ EACH YEAR ONE NAME:
MARKO ROSNER

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/ Organisation and realisation of the international scientific meeting
CENTER JUDOVSKÉ KULTURNE DEDIŠČINE SINAGOGA MARIBOR

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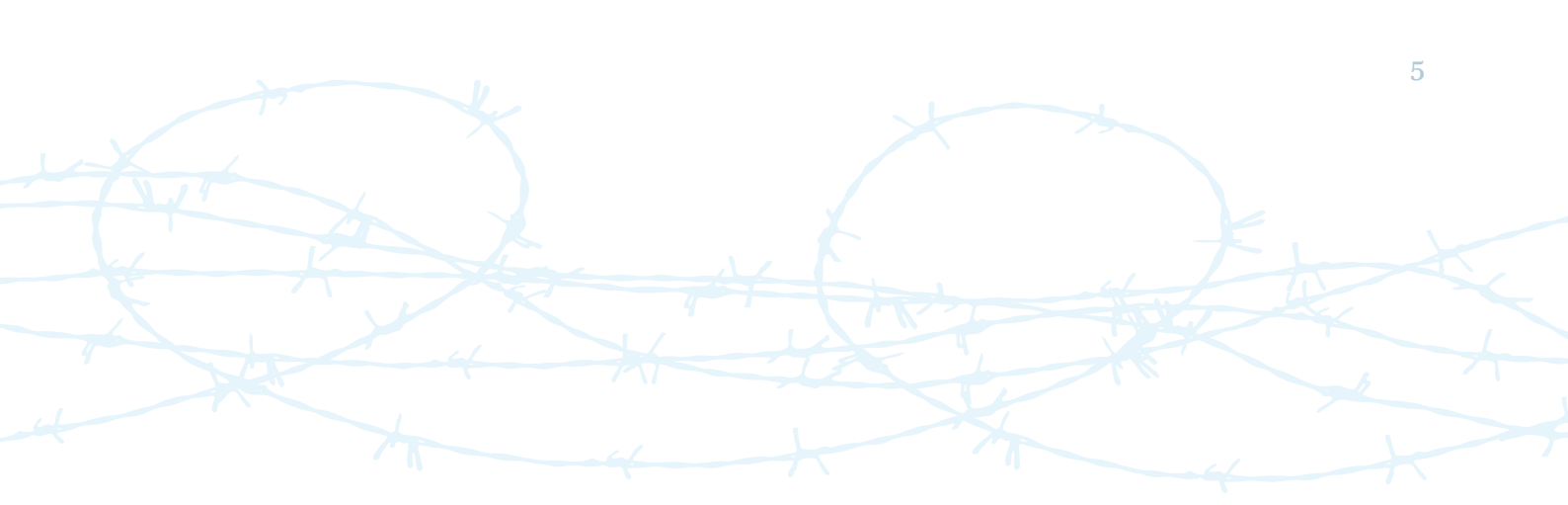
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»... DA SE NE BOMO NIKOLI VEČ SKUPAJ VIDELI V MARIBORU«: DRUŽINA ROSNER MED DRUGO SVETOVNO VOJNO

BORIS HAJDINJAK

Karlo Rosner (1922, Maribor – 2002, Novara), sin Marka Rosnerja (1888, Iacobeni – 1969, Haifa), mariborskega tovarnarja in osrednje osebnosti okoli stoglave mariborske judovske skupnosti pred drugo svetovno vojno, je v svojih spominih z naslednjimi besedami opisal svoje slovo od rojstnega mesta: »Žalostno in ganljivo je bilo slovo od naše dolgoletne in zveste kuharice Tili. Vsi smo imeli solzne oči in se točno zavedali, da se ne bomo nikoli več skupaj videli v Mariboru. 27. marca 1941 je torej vsa družina zapustila Maribor in v tem trenutku smo postali begunci.« Njegovi spomini imajo za mariborsko in slovensko zgodovino po mojem mnenju izreden pomen, saj so eden izmed redkih ohranjenih oziroma znanih spominov slovenskega Juda na čas holokavsta. S pomočjo njegovega dnevnika lahko sledimo vsem fazam bega družine Rosner – poleg Marka in Karla sta jo sestavljali še mati Charlota/Šarlota, roj. Brecher (1902, Näsäud – 1974, Novara), in hči Lidija, kasneje por. Busti (1928, Maribor) – od Maribora do končnega zatočišča v Izraelu.

Rosnerjevi so se najprej zatekli v Beograd, kjer je od leta 1939 živela družina Isidorja/Izidorja Ohrensteina, od leta 1939 Obradovića (1902, Kuszuja – 1941, Beograd), Markovega nečaka in Karlovega bratranca, in kjer so imeli stanovanje. Beograd so zapustili že 6. aprila 1941, torej na sam dan napada na Jugoslavijo. Njihova pot v Grčijo se je končala že v Veliki Plani pri Smederevski Palanki in po krajšem bivanju v Smederevu so dočakali prvo srečanje z nemškim okupatorjem v Nišu. V tem kraju so živeli do oktobra leta 1941. Ker je v tem času odporniško gibanje imelo precejšnje uspehe, so ga Nemci poskušali zatreti z množičnim streljanjem talcev. Med prvimi tovrstnimi žrtvami so bili prav Judje in tako se je med talci znašel tudi Karlo Rosner. A imel je srečo, saj prav v času, ko je bil talec, ni bilo napadov na nemške enote in zato talcev niso streljali. Po enem tednu je bil izpuščen in glede na siceršnjo usodo odraslih Judov moškega spola v Srbiji, ki so jih jeseni leta 1941 večinoma



ustrelili kot talce, je to bila izjemna sreča. Družini Rosner se je nato s pomočjo podkupljenega nemškega uradnika uspelo prebiti v Novi Sad, ki je bil takrat na ozemlju Madžarske. To je bilo še tik pred dokončnim uničenjem Judov v Srbiji, ko so bili ubiti tudi vsi člani družine Obradović. Iz Novega Sada je družina Rosner s ponarejenimi dokumenti prišla v Budimpešto. Tam so se s pomočjo sorodnikov skrivali do začetka leta 1943. Lidija je zaradi večje varnosti nekaj časa živela v Cluju (madžarsko Kolozsvár) v takrat madžarskem delu Transilvanije pri sorodnikih; te so leta 1944 vse odpeljali v Auschwitz in nihče od njih ni preživel vojne. V začetku leta 1943 so s pomočjo Šarlotinega sorodnika Joela Branda (1906, Näsäud – 1964, Bad Kissingen), leto dni kasneje pogajalca z Eichmannom za sporazum »življenja za blago«, s katerim je neuspešno poskusil rešiti madžarske Jude, prišli v Palestino. Na pot prek Romunije, Bolgarije, Turčije in Sirije do Palestine niso odšli skupaj, temveč je najprej odšel Karlo, kak mesec dni kasneje Lidija in še mesec dni kasneje oba starša. Družina se je tako po nekaj mesecih znova zbrala v Palestini.

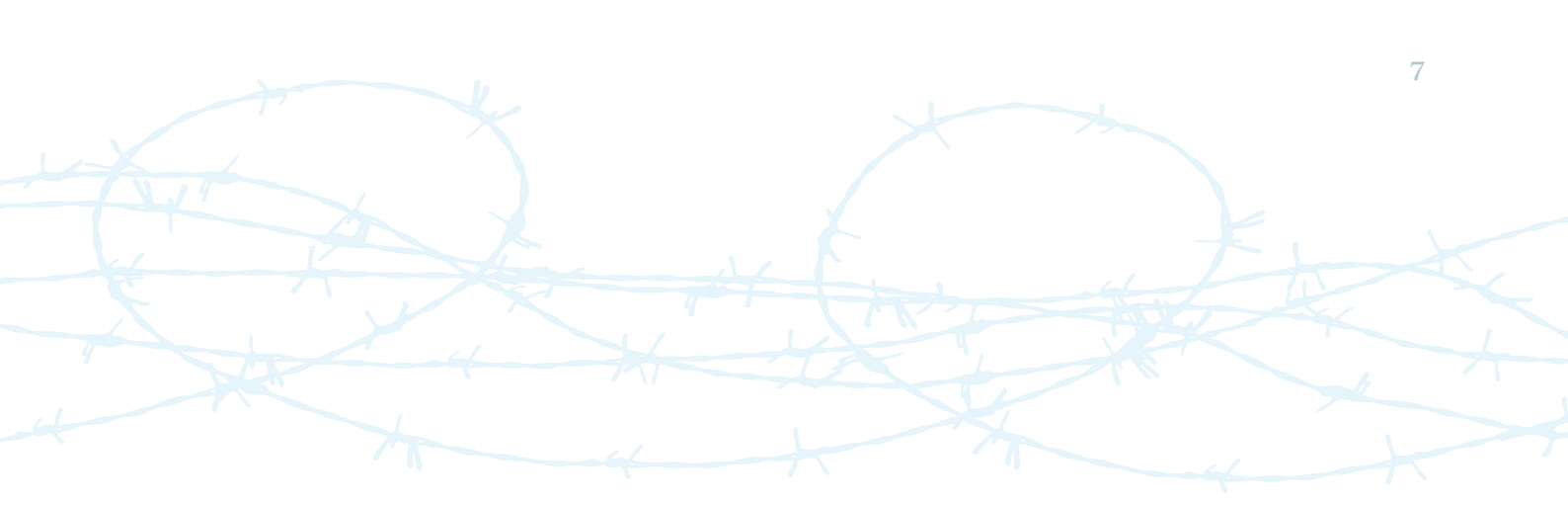
Marko in Šarlota Rosner sta v Palestini oziroma od leta 1948 novonastali državi Izrael tudi ostala. Karlo Rosner se je priključil britanski vojski v Italiji in se po koncu vojne naselil v Trstu, se poročil in z družino živel do svoje smrti. Lidija se je po vojni prav tako naselila v Italiji, v Novari, kjer živi še danes. Marka Rosnerja je nova, komunistična oblast avgusta 1945 na vojaškem sodišču v Mariboru obsodila na petnajstletno zaporno kazen, odvzem državljskih pravic ter zaplembo premoženja. Obtožnica je bila pravni zmazek, začinjena pa je s stavki, kot je na primer: »Rosner Marko je umazan žid, asocijalen in nemške narodnosti. Protežiral je v tovarni inozemske in tuzemske Nemce, dasi je vedel, da so zagrizeni kulturbundovci in hitlerjanci.« Sam je v odgovoru na obtožbo prek odvetnika trditev, da je kot Jud pred vojno podpiral nacistično propagando, označil kot »absurdno«. Leta 1954 je v starosti 66 let še zadnjič poskušal doseči obnovitev procesa, pri čemer sploh ni zahteval vrnitve premoženja, pač pa zgolj rehabilitacijo dobrega imena. V prošnji za obnovitev procesa je tudi zapisal, da si želi vsaj še enkrat v življenju obiskati Maribor, mesto, ki mu je veliko dalo in kateremu je tudi on veliko dal. Obnovitev procesa ni bilo in zato Marko Rosner ni nikoli več obiskal Maribora. Karlo in Lidija Rosner sta Maribor ponovno obiskala po političnih spremembah v Sloveniji in se srečala s še redkimi živečimi znanci iz predvojnega obdobja. Ker pa sta bila starša takrat že pokojna, se celotna družina Rosner ni nikoli več vrnila v Maribor. Tako se je uresničila zla slutnja iz leta 1941, a menimo, da lahko z obuditvijo spomina na družino Rosner vsaj simbolno to slutnjo presežemo.

»... WE WOULD NEVER SEE EACH OTHER IN MARIBOR AGAIN«: THE ROSNER FAMILY DURING WORLD WAR II

BORIS HAJDINJAK

Karlo Rosner (1922 Maribor – 2002 Novara), the son of Marko Rosner (1888 Iacobeni – 1969 Haifa), who was an industrialist and the central personality within the Maribor Jewish community before World War II, described in his memoirs the farewell to his hometown with the following words: »It was sad and pathetic to say goodbye to our long-time and loyal cook Tili. We all had tears in our eyes and were aware of the fact that it was for good and that we would never see each other in Maribor again. On 27th March 1941 the whole family left Maribor and at that moment we became refugees«. In my opinion, his memories are of the utmost importance to Maribor and Slovenian history, as they are one of the few preserved and known memories of a Slovenian Jew from the time of the Holocaust. With the aid of his diary it is possible to follow all stages of the Rosner family's getaway: from the moment Marko, Karlo, mother Charlota, born Brecher (1902 Näsäud – 1974 Novara), and daughter Lydia, later married to Busti (1928 Maribor) took flight from Maribor to their final place of refuge in Israel.

At first they sought refuge in Belgrade, where Marko's nephew and Karlo's cousin Isidor Ohrenstein (1902 Kuszuja – 1941 Belgrade) – later changed to Obradović in 1939, had lived with his family since 1939. They had an apartment there and left Belgrade on 6th April 1941, i.e. exactly on the day the Germans attacked Yugoslavia. They were heading for Greece but their journey ended abruptly in Velika Plana next to Smederevska Palanka. After a short stay in Smederevo they encountered the German occupying forces in Niš, where they stayed until October 1941. At that time, the resistance movement was having considerable success. The Germans tried to suppress it by mass shootings of hostages. Some amongst the first victims of this kind were Jews and it happened that Karlo Rosner found himself amongst the hostages. He was lucky though because at that time there had been no attacks on German troops and therefore there were no executions of hostages. He was released after a week and when compared to the fates of adult male Jews in Serbia in the autumn of



1941, when most of them were shot as hostages, he had amazing luck. After that, the Rosner family managed to get through to Novi Sad with the aid of a corrupt German official. At that time Novi Sad belonged to Hungary. This had happened just before the final extinction of the Jews in Serbia, when all members of the Obradović family were also killed. From Novi Sad, the Rosner family arrived in Budapest with false documents. They hid there with the help of relatives until the beginning of 1943. For the sake of greater security, Lydia lived for some time in Cluj (Hungarian: Kolozsvár), the then Hungarian part of Transylvania. She stayed with her relatives who were all transported to Auschwitz in 1944 and none of them survived the war. In early 1943, the family managed to reach Palestine with the aid of Charlota's relative Joel Brand (1906 Năsăud – 1964 Bad Kissingen), who a year later tried to save Hungarian Jews by unsuccessfully negotiating with Eichmann the »Blood for Goods« deal (e.g. 10,000 trucks in exchange for one million Jews). They did not travel together through Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Syria to Palestine. Karlo went first; a month later he was followed by Lydia, and two months later by both parents. After a few months the family were reunited again in Palestine.

Marko and Charlota's Rosner stayed in Palestine and in the 1948 newly formed State of Israel, respectively. Karlo Rosner joined the British Army in Italy and after the war he settled down in Trieste, got married and lived with his family until his death. After the war, Lydia also moved to Italy and settled down in Novara, where she still lives today. In August 1945, a military court of the new communist authorities in Maribor sentenced Marko Rosner to fifteen years imprisonment, deprived him of his civil rights, and confiscated his property. The indictment was a legal smear containing phrases such as: »Marko Rosner is a dirty Jew, antisocial, and of German nationality. In his factory native and foreign Germans were treated better than Slovenes, even though he knew that they were fanatical followers of Kulturbund (the Cultural League) and Hitlerites«. In response to this accusation, he made a statement through his lawyer that as a Jew he had supported the Nazi propaganda before the war was »absurd«. In 1954, at the age of 66, he made his final attempt to resume proceedings with the aim to getting his good name back, not his property. In his application for process renewal he also stated that he wanted to visit Maribor at least one more time, the city that gave him a lot and a city he also gave a lot to. The proceedings were never renewed and therefore Marko Rosner never visited Maribor again. Karlo and Lydia Rosner re-visited Maribor after the political changes in Slovenia and met-up with a few acquaintances from the pre-war period. By that time their parents had already passed away and consequently the whole Rosner family never came back to Maribor again. Their premonition from 1941 came true. However, I believe that the revival of the memory of the Rosner family can – at least symbolically, overcome this premonition.

JUDOVSKI PODJETNIK FRANZ MAUTNER

ROMAN MIRNIK

Franz Mautner je bil češki Jud, rojen leta 1895 na Dunaju. Po prvi svetovni vojni se je preselil v Prago in tam v dvajsetih letih začel svojo poklicno pot kot tekstilni disponent oziroma referent pri češki Združeni banki. V tem času se je v Pragi poročil z Mario Neuman in v zakonu se jima je rodil sin Heinrich Georg. Na svoji poklicni poti je spoznal brate Ernesta, Fritza in Paula Deutscha, ki so bili poslovneži, zaposleni v očetovem podjetju v kraju Dvůr Králové na Labi na Češkoslovaškem, ter začel z njimi poslovno sodelovati.

Takrat je bil Maribor pomembno industrijsko, predvsem tekstilno središče. Med večjimi tekstilnimi družbami je bila tudi Mariborska tekstilna tvornica, ki so jo leta 1930 kupili Franz Mautner in bratje Deutsch. Mautner je postal 40-odstotni lastnik, bratje Deutsch pa skupaj 60-odstotni lastniki. Poleg te družbe so kupili tudi tkalnico v Varaždinu. V začetku leta 1931 se je družina Mautner priselila v Maribor, kjer je živela do leta 1941, do časa tik pred napadom fašističnih in nacističnih sil na tedanjo Jugoslavijo. Leta 1939 so dobili tudi jugoslovansko državljanstvo. Leta 1940 sta brata Deutsch svoja lastniška deleža Mariborske tekstilne tvornice odstopila bratu Fritzu, ta pa je svoj lastniški delež kmalu prodal družbi A. G. für Handel mit Rohrprodukten iz Arlsheima v Švici, ki pa je bila le fiktivna družba. Franz Mautner je skupaj s tem fiktivnim švicarskim podjetjem tedaj postal solastnik družbe. Kmalu za tem so ustanovili delniško družbo MA-VA ter sedež in premoženje družbe prenesli v Beograd. Tik pred izbruhom vojne leta 1941 je Mariborska tekstilna tvornica prešla v postopek likvidacije. Nemci so družbo med okupacijo zaplenili in jo izročili v upravo uradu za utrjevanje nemštva. Mautner je, enako kot bratje Deutsch, z družino tik pred vojno pobegnil v ZDA.

Po vojni nastala Federativna ljudska republika Jugoslavija je prevzela oziroma zaplenila celotno premoženje nemškega rajha, k čemur je sodilo tudi celotno premoženje Franza Mautnerja in bratov Deutsch, nekdanjih lastnikov družbe Mariborska tekstilna tvornica. Proti Mautnerju in bratom Deutsch je na mariborskem Vojaškem sodišču avgusta 1945 v njihovi odsotnosti potekal sodni proces, na katerem so bili kot okupatorjevi sodelavci ter kapitalistični izkoriščevalci v družbi zaposlenih delavcev in potrošnikov obsojeni na zaplembo celotnega osebnega premoženja in lastništva oziroma premoženja družbe. Franz Mautner je bil obsojen tudi na petnajst let prisilnega dela.

Mautnerjeva družina je po vojni dobila ameriško državljanstvo. Živel so na Beverly Hillsu v Los Angelesu, kjer naj bi bil Franz Mautner tudi lastnik tekstilne tovarne. Leta 1954 je pri tedanjih jugoslovanskih oblasteh skušal uveljaviti odškodnino zaradi spornega odvzema tukajšnjega premoženja, vendar pri tem ni bil uspešen. Umrli je v ZDA leta 1979, star 84 let.

Nekdanja družba Mariborska tekstilna tvornica je prešla v državno last in bila z drugimi večjimi mariborskimi predvojnimi tekstilnimi družbami (Hutter in drug itd.) združena v MTT.

JEWISH ENTREPRENEUR FRANZ MAUTNER

ROMAN MIRNIK

Franz Mautner, a Czech Jew, was born in 1895 in Vienna. During World War I he moved to Prague and in the 1920s he began his career there as a textile dispatcher and an official at the General Union of Czech Banks. In Prague he married Maria Neuman and they had a son Heinrich Georg. During his professional career he met brothers Ernest, Fritz, and Paul Deutsch, businessmen working for his father's company in Dvůr Králové nad Labem in Czechoslovakia, and started doing business with them.

At that time Maribor was an important industrial centre, especially for the textile industry. 'Mariborska tekstilna tvornica' (Maribor Textile Mill) was one of major textile companies and purchased in 1930 by Franz Mautner and brothers Deutsch. Franz Mautner owned 40 percent and the Deutsch brothers 60 percent of the company. In addition they also bought a weaving mill in Varaždin. In early 1931 the Mautner family moved to Maribor, where they lived until 1941, which was shortly before the Fascist and Nazi forces attacked the then Yugoslavia. In 1939 they obtained Yugoslav citizenship. In 1940 two of the Deutsch brothers relinquished their stakes in the Maribor Textile Mill in favour of their brother Fritz who, shortly afterwards, sold his share to the Swiss company 'A.G. für Handel mit Rohrprodukten' (Piping products Trading PLC) from Arlsheim, which was only a fictitious company. Together with this fictitious Swiss company, Franz Mautner became a co-owner of the Maribor Textile Mill and soon afterwards they formed a joint stock company MA-VA. The headquarters and the company's assets were transferred to Belgrade. Shortly before the war broke out in 1941, Maribor Textile Mill started the liquidation procedure. During the wartime occupation the Germans confiscated the company and handed it over for management to the Office for the Consolidation of German Nationhood. On the outset of war, Mautner – as well as the Deutsch brothers, fled with their families to the United States.

After the war, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was formed and confiscated the entire property of the German Reich, including the properties of Franz Mautner and the Deutsch brothers, former owners of the Maribor Textile Mill. In August 1945, in their absence, a judicial process took place against Mautner and the Deutsch brothers at the Maribor military court. They were accused of being collaborators during the occupation and capitalist exploiters of the company's workers and consumers. Their personal properties and the entire ownership of the business were confiscated along with the company's assets. Moreover, Franz Mautner was sentenced to fifteen years of forced labour.

After the war Mautner and his family received American citizenship. They lived in Beverly Hills, Los Angeles. Allegedly, Mautner was the owner of a textile factory there as well. In 1954 he tried to extract from the then Yugoslav authorities compensation for the disputed deprivation of the local property but in vain. In 1979 he died in the U.S. at the age of 84.

The former company Mariborska tekstilna tvornica was passed over to state ownership and merged with other major pre-war textile companies (such as Hutter in drug – Hutter and associates, etc.) into MTT.

SLOVENSKI PRAVIČNIKI MED POZABO IN SPOMINOM

DR. MARJAN TOŠ

Ideja o pravičnih Nejudih je starejša od holokavsta. Izraz pravični oziroma ger tošav (ger toshav) ali ger cedek (ger tzedek) je namreč že prej označeval tiste Nejude, ki so živeli po sedmih moralnih zapovedih talmuda. O projektu zbiranja imen tistih, ki so pripomogli, da bi nacistični načrt o uničenju 11 milijonov prebivalcev Evrope s kombinacijo prisilnega dela in industrije množičnega umora spodletel, dr. Iael Nidam-Orvieto, direktorica mednarodnega inštituta za raziskovanje holokavsta v Yad Vashemu, pravi: »Od samega začetka so aktivisti, povezani z Yad Vashemom, vztrajali, da mora biti eno od ključnih poslanstev Yad Vashema spominjanje pravičnih (Righteous Among the Nations). To je zelo zanimivo, če pomislite na preživele holokavsta, ki so bili le nekaj let po osvoboditvi sposobni zagnati raziskovalni program, katerega bistvo je hvaležno spominjanje pomoči, ki so jo prejeli od Nejudov, in spominjanje nekaterih pozitivnih trenutkov druge svetovne vojne. Ti ljudje so res bili izjemni. Niso se le bojevali za novo življenje, ampak so tudi vztrajali pri moralnih vrednotah, ki naj bi bile tudi vodilo prihodnjih generacij. Pravzaprav je to tisti del Yad Vashema, ki prinaša sporočilo o upanju, ki nam govori, da je v vsaki situaciji možnost drugačnega ravnanja, ki lahko spremeni zgodovino«. Pa čeprav v zelo omejenem obsegu – pomembno je vsako življenje. Tudi eno samo.

V strokovni in tudi splošni javnosti še vedno prevladuje prepričanje, da je medel odziv Evropejcev na holokavst dosegel hkrati najgloblje dno popolne izprijenosti in najvišje vrhove heroizma. Znani so primeri »podmazovalcev« na Poljskem (»szmalcownicy«), ki so ubežne Jude (in tudi pripadnike odporniškega gibanja) prodajali gestapu. A znani so tudi mnogi drugi, ki so tvegali lastno življenje in življenja svojih družin, da bi preganjane Jude rešili pred popolno pogubo. Najdemo jih tako rekoč v vseh evropskih državah, tudi v Sloveniji, in večina med njimi je v spominskem centru Yad Vashem v Jeruzalemu dobila naziv »pravičniki med narodi«. To so bili čisto navadni, mali ljudje, ki so poskušali narediti vse, da bi rešili vsaj nekaj judovskih življenj, zlasti otrok in mladine. Med njimi se je našlo tudi več diplomatov, na primer švicarski diplomat Carl Lutz, ki je na Madžarskem ustanovil legendarno Stekleno hišo (o njej je bila lani na ogled odmevna razstava v mariborski Sinagogi) in v njej skrival Jude pred uničenjem. Tisočem Judov je pomagal organizirati pobeg in jih rešil gotove smrti. Herojska je tudi zgodba švedskega diplomata Raoula Wallenberga, prav tako z Madžarske, ki je rešil na tisoče Judov in bil za plemenitost »nagrajen« tako, da je izginil po sovjetski osvoboditvi Budimpešte. In še se najdejo podobne zgodbe. Slovenski pravičniki so pisali drobnejše, a zato nič manj plemenite zgodbe in reševali Jude tam, kjer se je to dalo. Večina jih je delovala na območju nekdanje Jugoslavije, nekaj pa tudi v okupirani Sloveniji, na primer mariborski obmejni policijski komisar Uroš Žun ali pa štajerski duhovnik Andrej Tumpej v Beogradu, primorska Slovenka Zora Pičulin v Makedoniji in diplomat Franjo Punčuh v Varšavi na Poljskem. Šele zdaj počasi spoznavamo njihova dejanja, ki so vredna vsega spoštovanja in trajnega spomina. In na svetlo prihajajo tudi najnovejša odkritja iz Prekmurja, kjer je prof. Boris Hajdinjak odkril posameznike, ki bi si zaslužili naziv pravičnika med narodi. Omenja Aleksandra Žilavca, pa Franca in Jožefa Fartelja. Ta imena je potrdila tudi še živa priča iz taborišča smrti Erika Fürst iz Murske Sobote, ki je preživela Auschwitz. Predlog za priznanje je že romal v Yad Vashem; tam ga proučuje ena največjih poznavalk holokavsta

na območju nekdanje Jugoslavije Miriam Steiner Aviezer. V Prekmurju se omenja tudi ime Jurija Kontlerja, čigar dejanja v dobro Judov bo treba še podrobneje raziskati.

Na Zidu časti v Vrtu pravičnikov v Yad Vashemu so vklesana imena slovenskih pravičnikov med narodi: Uroš Žun, Ivan Breskvar, Ivan in Ljubica Župančič, Zora Pičulin, Andrej Tumpelj in Franjo Punčuh (njega na svojih seznamih vodijo tudi v Srbiji; podobno je Slovenka Zora Pičulin tudi na seznamu pravičnikov Makedonije, ker je med drugo svetovno vojno reševala judovske otroke v Skopju). Med naše pravičnike lahko štejemo še Olgo Neuman Rajšek in Martino Marković Levec, ki sta uvrščeni na seznam hrvaških oziroma srbskih pravičnikov med narodi. A to ne spremeni plemenitosti dejanj naših pravičnikov, med katerimi bosta kmalu tudi diplomat Ciril Kotnik, ki je reševal Jude v Rimu, in primorski učitelj iz Solkana Andrej Vendramin, ki je pomagal Judom v Nonantoli pri Modeni. Imena slovenskih pravičnikov so navedena v Aveniji pravičnikov, ki je eden od delov Yad Vashema. Ta avenija ima za sodobne Jude največji simbolni pomen. Ob aveniji, ki preseka podolgovat podzemni muzej holokavsta in tako govori o tem, da je dobro dejanje Nejudov tudi sredi divjanja nacistične manije rasnega očiščevanja Evrope lahko rešilo Jude, so namreč drevesa z imeni tistih, ki so pomagali rešiti vsaj enega Juda. Ker se je v letih nabralo ogromno imen dobrih ljudi, so preostali svojo tablico dobili v malo bolj odmaknjenem Vrtu pravičnih. Tudi nekaj Slovencev je med njimi; Slovencev, ki jih danes pri nas še vedno zelo slabo ali skoraj nič ne poznamo. To so naši, torej slovenski Oskarji Schindlerji. Bilo jih je malo, a zato njihova dejanja štejejo toliko bolj. In negirajo nesprejemljivo tezo, da je na Slovenskem o holokavstu nesmiselno govoriti, saj da ga sploh ni bilo. To je čisto navadna laž, saj se je holokavst zgodil med nami, med našimi nekdanjimi sovladavljani, someščani v Lendavi, Murski Soboti, v Beltincih, Mariboru, Ljubljani, v Gorici, Trstu. Le da tega nismo hoteli vedeti ... Ali pa smo na genocid nad sicer maloštevilnimi slovenskimi Judi preprosto – pozabili. Slovenski holokavst moramo obravnavati kot mikrozgodbo v veliki tragediji v 20. stoletju, ki pomeni največjo in najhujšo obliko kršenja človekovih pravic in svoboščin. Redki slovenski pravičniki med narodi so pripomogli, da se je v teh tragedijah ohranilo še nekaj človeških življenj. Ne smemo namreč pozabiti, da so v obdobju med letoma 1933 in 1945 nacisti ubili šest milijonov Judov in milijone drugih, Rome (in Sinte), Slovane, politične nesomišljenike, homoseksualce, vojne ujetnike, telesno slabotne in duševno prizadete. Nacistična politika rasnega sovraštva se je okrutno širila s propagando sovraštva in z množičnimi poboji, ki so dosegli vrhunec v iztrebljanju evropskih Judov in njihove kulture.

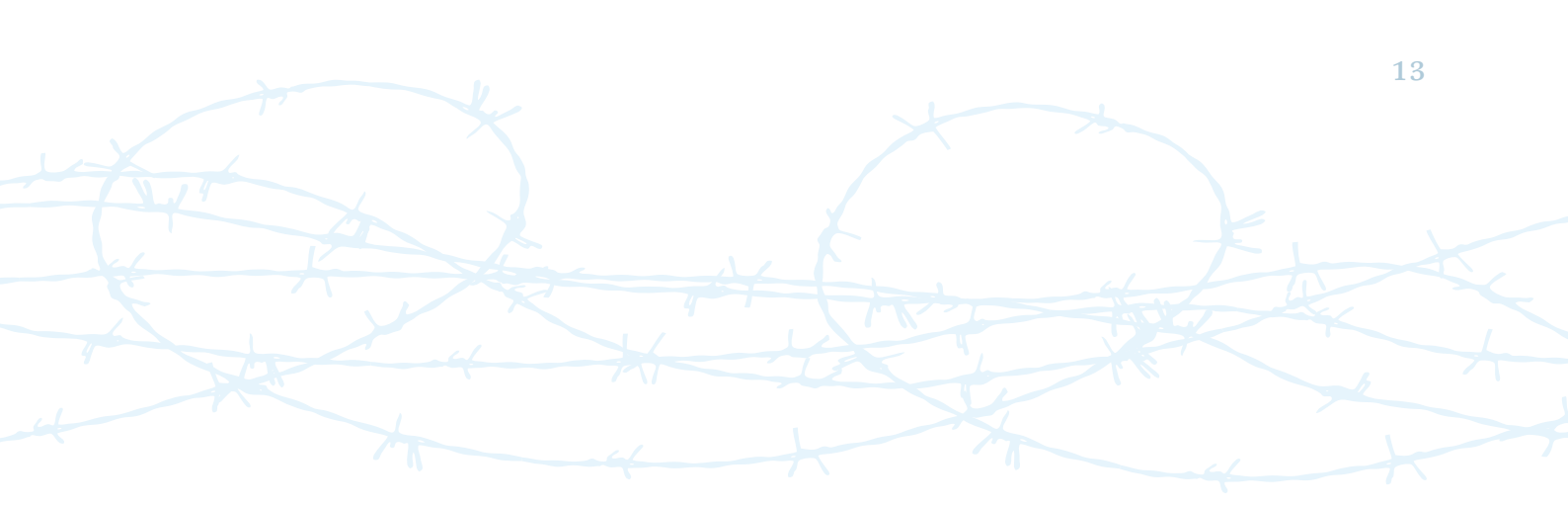
»Brutalnost, krutost brez milosti in hladen, industrijski značaj množičnih pobojev v času holokavsta so neverjetni. Medtem še vedno obstajajo korenine, iz katerih se je holokavst razvil. Zlohotno vsakdanji so še zmeraj rasno sovraštvo, gospodarske krize, človeške psihološke in moralne pomanjkljivosti, strinjanje ali sodelovanje posameznika v preganjanju bližnjih. Pogumni moramo biti, da se spominjamo, proučujemo in poučujemo o holokavstu. Ne glede na to, kako neprijetni so ti spomini. Kajti samo poučeni in moralno odgovorni posamezniki lahko preprečijo, da bi se holokavst ponovil. Preganjanje ljudi je zmeraj in povsod nesprejemljivo, delovanje proti temu pa je začetek upanja.« (Z razstave Holokavst 1933–1945 (Pogum, da se spominjamo), Sinagoga Maribor 2004–2005)

SLOVENIAN RIGHTEOUS BETWEEN OBLIVION AND REMEMBRANCE

Dr. MARJAN TOŠ

The idea of righteous non-Jews is older than the Holocaust. Earlier, the term righteous or 'ger toshav' and 'ger tzedek', respectively, signified those Gentiles who used to live in accordance with the seven moral commandments of the Talmud. Dr. Iael Nidam-Orvieto, director of the International Institute for Holocaust Research at Yad Vashem said the following about the project of collecting the names of those individuals who tried to prevent the Nazis from killing 11 million people within a combination with forced labour and mass murder: »From the beginning, the activists associated with Yad Vashem, insisted that one of the principal tasks of Yad Vashem should be the remembrance of the Righteous (Righteous Among the Nations). This is very interesting, if you think of the survivors of the Holocaust, who were able to run a research programme only a few years after the liberation. The essence of the programme was to remember with gratitude the help that they had received from non-Jews, along with remembering some positive moments during World War II. Those people were really exceptional. They were not only fighting for a new life, they also insisted on moral values, which should serve as guiding principles for future generations. Actually, this is the part of the Yad Vashem that brings a message of hope, telling us that in every situation there is the possibility of other behaviour that can change history«. Every single action counts, even if only to a very limited extent. Every life has equal value. Even a single one.

Amongst professionals and the general public there still prevails the belief that the lukewarm response of Europeans towards the Holocaust reached both the deepest depths of complete depravity and the highest peaks of heroism. There are well-known cases of Polish »szmalcownicy«, who sold fugitive Jews (as well as members of the resistance movement) to the Gestapo. On the other hand, it is of common knowledge that there were people who risked their own lives and the lives of their families to save persecuted Jews from complete bane. They can be found in virtually all European countries, including Slovenia, and most of them received in the Yad Vashem memorial centre in Jerusalem the title of the »Righteous Among the Nations«. Those were quite common, ordinary people who tried to do everything possible to save at least some Jewish lives, especially children and the youth. Amongst them were also some diplomats, such as the Swiss diplomat Carl Lutz. In Hungary he founded the legendary Glass House where the Jews were hidden, saving them from annihilation (last year a highly noted exhibition took place about it at the Maribor Synagogue). He helped thousands of Jews by organising their escapes, saving them from certain deaths. Another heroic story is about Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat in Hungary, who saved thousands of Jews and was »rewarded« for his noble deeds by disappearing after the Soviet liberation of Budapest. There are many more similar stories, of course. The Slovenian Righteous, for example, left behind finer but non-the-less precious stories. They rescued Jews wherever it was possible. Most of them operated on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and some of them in occupied Slovenia as well, such as Uroš Žun, the Maribor border police commissioner, Andrej Tumpej, the Styrian priest working in Belgrade, Zora Pičulin from the Slovenian Littoral, working in Macedonia, and the diplomat Franjo Punčuh in Warsaw, Poland. It is only now that we are beginning to realise their actions, worthy of all respect and lasting memory. The latest discoveries are coming to light from Prekmurje, where Prof. Boris Hajdinjak has found certain individuals who deserved the Righteous Among the Nations status. He has mentioned Aleksander Žilavec, along with Franc and Jožef Fartelj. These are the names that have also been confirmed by Erika Fürst from Murska Sobota, a living witness from the death camp, who survived Auschwitz. A proposal for recognition has already been sent to Yad Vashem, where it is being examined by Miriam Steiner Aviezer, one of the greatest experts on the Holocaust in the former Yugoslavia. Jurij Kontler is another name that comes from Prekmurje. Anyhow, his actions for the benefit of the Jews need further exploration.



The following names of the Slovenian Righteous are engraved on the Wall of Honour in the Garden of the Righteous Among the Nations in Yad Vashem: Uros Žun, Ivan Breskvar, Ivan and Ljubica Župančič, Zora Pičulin, Andrej Tumpej, and Franjo Punčuh (the last one being on the list in Serbia as well, similarly as Zora Pičulin, a Slovenian who is also on the list of Righteous in Macedonia, because she saved Jewish children in Skopje during WW II). Amongst our Righteous we can also include Olga Neuman Rajšek and Martina Marković Levec, who are included in the list of Croatian and Serbian Righteous Among the Nations. However, that does not change the noble actions performed by our Righteous, amongst whom will soon be a diplomat Ciril Kotnik, who saved the Jews in Rome, and Andrej Vendramin, a teacher from Solkan, who helped Jews in Nonantola near Modena. The names of the Slovenian Righteous are listed in the Avenue of the Righteous, which is one of the parts of Yad Vashem. For modern Jews this avenue has the largest symbolic meaning. Alongside the avenue, which cuts across the elongated underground Museum of the Holocaust, speaking about the fact that the good deeds of non-Jews were able to save the Jews even in the midst of Nazi rampaging mania of racial purification in Europe, there are trees, engraved with the names of those who had helped to save at least one Jew. Over the years a lot of names of good people have accumulated, so the rest of them have their plaques in a little more secluded Garden of the Righteous. Amongst them there are some Slovenians as well; Slovenians, who are still hardly known or almost unknown within our society. They are our, i.e. Slovenian Oscar Schindlers. There are only a few, so therefore their actions are valued so much the more and they negate an unacceptable thesis that it is nonsense to speak about the Holocaust in Slovenia, as it did not exist. This is quite simply a lie. The Holocaust happened amongst us, amongst our former compatriots, fellow citizens, it happened in Lendava, in Murska Sobota, in Beltinci, in Maribor, in Ljubljana, in Gorizia, in Trieste. We just did not want to know... or the genocide of the Slovenian Jews, being small in number, has simply been forgotten. The Slovenian Holocaust should be considered as a micro-story within an immense tragedy of the 20th century, which was the biggest and worst form of violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The rare Slovenian Righteous Among the Nations have contributed to the fact that a few more human lives were saved during this tragedy. We must not forget the fact that in the period between 1933 and 1945 the Nazis killed six million Jews and millions of others – Roma and Sinti, Slavs, people with other political views, homosexuals, prisoners of war, physically weak, and mentally retarded. The Nazi policy of racial hatred was cruelly spread using the propaganda of hatred and with mass killings, culminating in extermination of the European Jews and their culture.

»The brutality, merciless cruelty, and the cold, industrial character of the mass killings during the Holocaust are beyond belief. The roots from which the Holocaust was developed still exist: racial hatred, economic crisis, human psychological and moral shortcomings, agreements or participations of individuals in persecuting fellow-men and women are still wilfully malicious and quite common. We must be courageous in remembering, studying, and teaching about the Holocaust, no matter how uncomfortable the memories are, as only educated and morally responsible individuals can prevent the recurrence of the Holocaust. The persecution of people is unacceptable – always and nowhere. Acting against it is the beginning of hope« (from the exhibition Holocaust 1933–1945; The Courage to Remember, Synagogue Maribor 2004–2005).

KRISTJANI IN PREGON JUDOV: ZVESTOBA, SOVRAŠTVO TER ODPOR PROTI NACIONALSOCIALIZMU IN FAŠIZMU V SLOVENIJI IN NA HRVAŠKEM

DR. ANNA MARIA GRUENFELDER

Na begu pred preganjanjem v Hitlerjevi Nemčiji so se tako Nemci kot tudi Judje iz vse Srednje Evrope zakonito, najpogosteje pa nezakonito priseljevali v Jugoslavijo (v letih med 1933 in 1941 približno 55.000 ljudi). Na slovenskem Štajerskem, Koroškem in Kranjskem so bili že od leta 1933 dalje prvi centri za prisilne judovske emigrante. Z izzivom tega bremena – z nujno oskrbo judovskih beguncev iz nemškega rajha, Avstrije, Češkoslovaške in Poljske, v manjšem številu pa tudi romunskih in madžarskih Judov – sta se morala soočiti predvsem Maribor in Ljubljana.

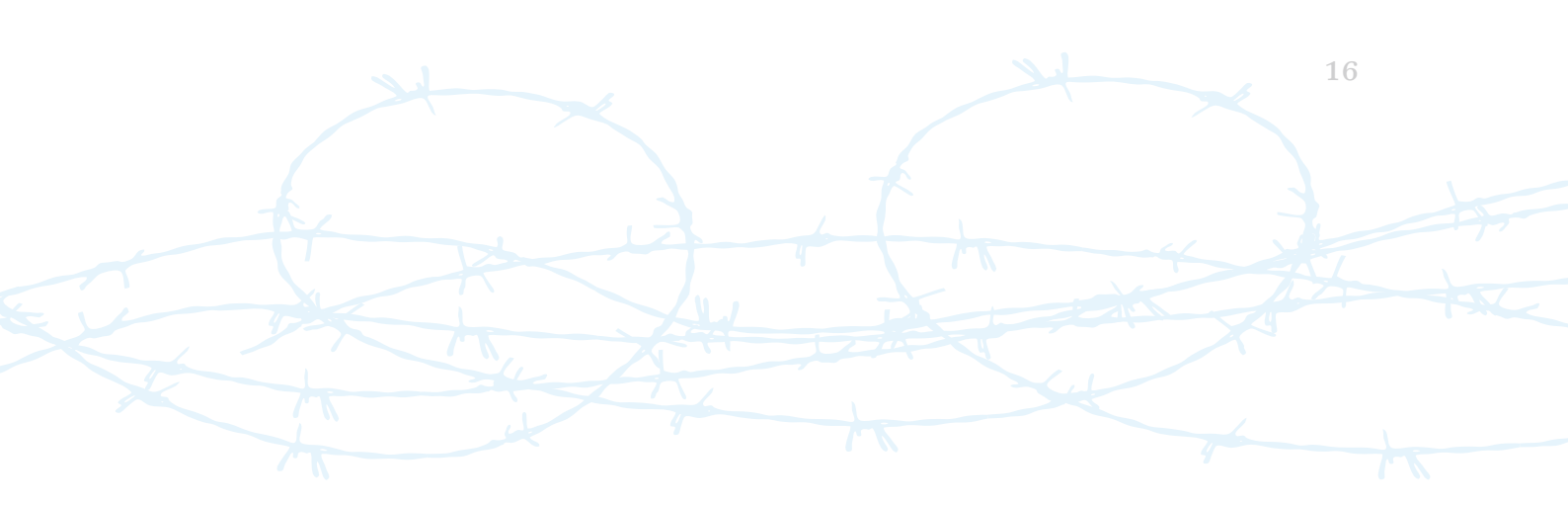
Ocenjujejo, da je bilo tistih, ki jim Jugoslavije ni uspelo zapustiti pred pričakovanim nemškim napadom na Kraljevino Jugoslavijo, okoli 5000. Nekaj sto ljudem od vseh, ki so doživeli nemško, italijansko, madžarsko ali bolgarsko okupacijo, sploh ni uspelo priti na svobodno ozemlje, preden je hrvaški ustaški režim začel z deportacijami v koncentracijska taborišča. V skladu s sklepi konference v Wannseeju so namreč ustaši leta 1942 judovske zapornike začeli izročati Nemcem, ti pa so jih nato pošiljali dalje v nacistična uničevalna taborišča na Poljskem. Usode več kot 800 judovskih emigrantov, ki so bili registrirani v hrvaških arhivih, ni bilo mogoče rekonstruirati. Hrvati verjamejo – ali pa hočejo verjeti –, da jim je uspelo pridobiti dovoljenje za vstop v katero od nevtralnih držav. A to so najverjetneje samo pobožne želje. Kolikim je dejansko uspelo prebegniti, lahko samo ugibamo.

Kako se je na pregon Judov odzvala največja krščanska cerkev, torej katoliki, v nekdanji Jugoslaviji? V tem prispevku obravnavam sodobna odkritja znanstvenikov z območja nekdanje Jugoslavije o priseljevanju Judov v to državo v obdobju med obema vojnoma in med drugo svetovno vojno. Moja raziskava se osredotoča predvsem na Slovenijo in Hrvaško, banovini, ki sta morali nositi glavno breme preskrbe judovskih beguncev in se obenem soočati z naraščajočim antisemitizmom med svojim prebivalstvom, z javnim neodobravanjem in vsesplošnim prepričanjem, da »je barka že prenatrpana«. Različne vidike raziskav cerkva kot institucionaliziranih verskih subjektov, kot utelešenja verskih nauk in norm, družbenega okolja in religioznosti vsakega posameznika – skupaj z njihovimi odnosi do »Judov« in »judovstva« sem preverila po njihovi politični, socialni in kulturno-zgodovinski plati.

O stališču Katoliške cerkve na Hrvaškem (še posebej v času Neodvisne države Hrvaške, NDH) je bilo doslej napisanega že veliko, v glavnem o ravnanju nadškofa Alojzija Stepinca (kot posledica njegove beatifikacije leta 1998 in trenutnega procesa kanonizacije). Delovanje škofov slovenskih škofij je bilo doslej bolj slabo raziskano. Ljubljansko škofijo je od leta 1930 dalje vodil nadškof dr. Gregorij Rožman, mariborsko pa dr. Ivan Jožef Tomažič, ki je bil leta 1933 imenovan za lavantinskega škofa. Enako velja tudi za škofa goriške in škofa koprške škofije. Zanimanje slovenskih in italijanskih raziskovalcev je vzbudil ljubljanski škof dr. Gregorij Rožman. Obsežna publikacija z dokumenti iz slovenskih arhivov o obsodbi škofa Rožmana – knjigo sta uredila Tamara Griesser-Pečar in France M. Dolinar, ter kontroverzne študije Spomenke Hribar vsebujejo tudi vire, povezane z ravnanjem škofa Rožmana pri pregonu Judov, za mariborskega škofa Ivana Jožefa Tomažiča pa ustreznih virov ni mogoče najti. Zgovoren bi lahko bil podatek, da njegova biografinja, italijanska zgodovinarica Ilaria Montanar, v svoji disertaciji, ki jo je leta 2007 zagovarjala na Papeški univerzi Gregoriana v Rimu, judovskega vprašanja sploh ni omenila. Tamara Griesser-Pečar in France M. Dolinar sta v svojem prispevku o škofu Rožmanu posebno poglavje posvetila njegovemu sodelovanju z nadškofom Alojzijem Stepincom iz Zagreba in njuni podpori judovskim beguncem, večinoma »katoliškim nearijcem« iz Hrvaške, ki sta jim pomagala prebegniti v Ljubljansko pokrajino, Sveti sedež pa obveščala o ustaških zločinih. Za škofa Rožmana in Tomažiča ni mogoče trditi, da sta za judovske begunce poskrbela enako kot zagrebški nadškof; ta je že leta 1938, takoj po »anšlusu« (priključitvi Avstrije Nemčiji), na glavni železniški postaji v Zagrebu ustanovil »nujno pomoč« za »nearijske kristjane«, vse katoliške organizacije, kot sta Karitas in Katoliška akcija, pa zadolžil, da poskrbijo za Jude ne glede na njihovo veroizpoved in državljanstvo. Oba slovenska škofa sta se takoj soočila s stisko judovskih beguncev, ki so našli zatočišče pri Marku Rosnerju, predstavniku palestinskega urada v Mariboru, in njegovih poslovnih partnerjih. V arhivu mariborske nadškofije o tem ni nobenih zapisov!

Za slovenske škofo je bil nacistični genocid nad Judi predvsem problem, ki ni vplival na njihov obstoj. V posebno težkem položaju je bil škof Tomažič iz Maribora. Nemški okupacijski režim na Štajerskem je z vso silo hotel ponovno germanizirati to več kot tisoč let staro nemško deželo in izgnati oziroma iztrebiti vse moteče negermanske dejavnike, škof pa je bil zanje glavni predstavnik »nezaželenega« slovenskega elementa. Škof Tomažič se je moral soočiti z izgonom duhovnikov, prepovedjo cerkvenih opravil v slovenskem jeziku in na koncu tudi z ukinitvijo vseh cerkvenih in pastoralnih dejavnosti. Nemogoče je bilo, da bi interveniral za kogar koli, ker ga nemški okupacijski režim ni sprejel kot enakovrednega pogajalca. Bil je v hišnem priporu in s tem mu je bilo prepovedano opravljati tudi vse dolžnosti.

Vzrok za to, da cerkvena oblast na Štajerskem Judom ni pomagala v smislu duhovniške zaobljube, je mogoče najti v brutalnih napadih Nemcev na Slovence in njihovo Katoliško cerkev. Učinkovitosti Nemcev pri iztrebljanju slovenskega in katoliškega življa na Štajerskem ne smemo podcenjevati. Pri tem je treba upoštevati tudi dejanske možnosti vpliva na politiko, ki so bile na voljo papežu.



Študije primerov s slovenskega in hrvaškega ozemlja, ki poleg teh problemov razkrivajo resnični spekter slovenske cerkve v primerjavi s hrvaškimi cerkvenimi oblastmi in organizacijami, zastavljajo tudi vprašanje o osebnem ozadju predstavnikov slovenskih cerkva, njihovega teološkega profila, socializacije in izobraževanja, pa tudi političnih okoliščin, v katerih so delovali. Je bila v Sloveniji kakršna koli katoliška, protestantska ali pravoslavna opozicija proti nacistom in njihovim domačim sodelavcem, so bili ti »sodelavci« res sokrivi za vse zločine? Je obstajala ekumenska »obrambna fronta«, ki je nasprotovala okupatorju? Je bila ločitev med duhovniki in laiki jasna?

Ista vprašanja je treba zastaviti tudi cerkvi pod italijansko oblastjo. Stiki škofa Rožmana z visokim komisarjem italijanske vojske v Ljubljanski pokrajini (povojna komunistična oblast je škofa obsodila zaradi sodelovanja in simpatiziranja s fašističnim režimom) so imeli za posledico celo izkazovanje popustljivosti in naklonjenosti. Če želimo oceniti škofov odnos do fašističnih in nacističnih oblasti, je treba upoštevati primarno dolžnost cerkve, tj. zagotoviti jamstvo za izvajanje svobodne pastoralne dejavnosti, in zaščititi neodvisnost cerkve od totalitarne države. Ta primarni interes tako Katoliške kot tudi Evangeličanske cerkve v Sloveniji je omejeval njun odpor in prepovedoval vsak poskus obeh cerkva, da bi sodelovali z odporiškim gibanjem. Škofje bi težko podpirali tiste, ki so nudili kakršno koli obliko odpora. Na Hrvaškem se je Katoliška cerkev sama pridružila kolaboracionističnemu režimu, s katerim je imela skupne cilje na področju veroizpovedi in domoljubja, obenem pa je poskušala zagotoviti distanco med hrvaško tradicijo in nemško svastiko. Na Štajerskem Katoliška cerkev sploh ni dobila priložnosti, da bi se z državnimi organi pogajala o pojmih identitete, kot sta narodnost in patriotizem. Tega ni bilo mogoče doseči niti pod italijansko oblastjo kljub manjši doslednosti italijanskih okupatorjev.

Ena najpomembnejših spremenljivk za cerkveno stališče do totalitarnih režimov je bil zavezujoč učinek »nacionalnega« povsod tam, kjer je bila cerkev steber ogrožene narodne identitete. Na Hrvaškem je ta zavezujoča nacionalna identifikacija ovirala odpor. Ustaštvo kot separatistično gibanje je prvič ponudilo možnost združevanja, kolaboracionistični režim pa je vsaj predstavil nacionalne

in verske cilje. V Sloveniji je identifikacija Katoliške cerkve s slovenskim nacionalizmom vsaj škofom in duhovnikom (v manjši meri tudi katoliškim vernikom) omogočila, da razvijejo podtalno opozicijo. Seveda pa pričujoče besedilo razkriva tudi širše tokove »sivih kompromisov«, za katere so se uveljavili izrazi, kot sta »sprijaznitev« in »prilagajanje«.

Drugi del opozarja na krščanske cerkve in njihovo glavno obvezo, tj. njihov prispevek k spopadanju z vojno po duševni in duhovni plati. Cerkve še niso bile pripravljene razpravljati o temeljni pravici države do vojskovanja. V njih je prevladovalo prepričanje, da je vojna služba izpolnitev glavne dolžnosti vsakega kristjana do države v vsem, kar je dovoljeno. Pogosto lahko zaznamo zaupanje v tradicionalne teološke in pastoralne modele, ki so vojno razlagali kot maščevanje in žrtvovanje. Tradicionalni načini razlaganja pomena besed narod in 'Volk', 'Reich' in domovina so bili še naprej religiozno obarvani.

Med verskimi smisli in pravo vojno izkušnjo je nastal opazen razkorak. Glede na dokaze lahko ugotovimo, da je brutalnost vojne v veliki meri uničila prepričevalno moč krščanskih interpretacij, in da se je pojavil »val duševne sekularizacije«. Motivacija za boj na tuji in domači fronti se je vedno bolj omejevala na eno samo spodbudo: na obrambo pred boljševizmom.

Najboljši izraz za ambivalenco in napetost v sporazumu med cerkvami in vladajočim sistemom je »antagonistično sodelovanje«. Tako Katoliška kakor tudi Evangeličanska cerkev sta svojim vernikom zagotavljali dušno pastirstvo in skrbeli za blagor vseh tistih, ki so bili preganjani kot tako imenovani nearijci. To skrb je treba upoštevati kot antagonistično sodelovanje med vojno. Stališče, da so cerkvena prizadevanja za pomoč nehote prispevala k izpopolnjevanju nacističnega uničevalnega aparata, temelji na enostranskem razumevanju zgodovinskih dejstev. Antisemitizem ni bil sestavni del krščanske vere, zato ne moremo govoriti o katoliškem ali protestantskem antisemitizmu, ker ne ustreza zgodovinski resnici. Po drugi strani pa ambivalentni odnos cerkva do antisemitizma dodatno osvetljuje njihovo ravnanje v zvezi z Judi.

Obravnavala bom tudi vprašanje, ali je okolje pod vplivom krščanstva zavarovalo posameznike pred izzivi totalitarnih režimov. V primeru Neodvisne države Hrvaške sem ugotovila, da je zavezujoči učinek politične lojalnosti prepovedal nasprotovanje državnih oblasti. Samo neupoštevanje standardov v danem okolju je omogočilo aktiven upor, vreden tega imena. To je pomenilo, da je razvoj stabilne veroizpovedne identitete zagotavljal aktivni odpor in obvezo glede preprečevanja in omejevanja totalitarne hegemonije. Osebnosti in krogi krščanskega odpora – med njimi zlasti katoličani –, so na splošno verjeli, da so njihove misli in dejanja v skladu s tistimi, ki jih priznava njihova cerkev. Seveda pa ni bilo vedno tako. Notranji razkol je omogočal, da se je odporniško gibanje razvijalo kljub nasprotovanju cerkvenega vodstva.

CHRISTIANS AND THE PERSECUTION OF JEWS: LOYALTY, ANTAGONISM, RESISTANCE TOWARDS NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND FASCISM IN SLOVENIA AND CROATIA

Dr. ANNA MARIA GRUENFELDER

Escaping from persecution in Hitler's Germany, Germans as well as Jews from all over Middle Europe emigrated – legally, more frequently however illegally – to Yugoslavia (approximately 55,000 between 1933 and 1941). The Slovenian Provinces of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola were the first areas for forced Jewish emigrants, as early as from 1933 onwards. Particularly Maribor and Ljubljana were faced with the challenge of shouldering the burden of emergency care for Jewish refugees from the German Reich, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, as well as a smaller number of Romanian and Hungarian Jews.

The number of those who did not succeed in leaving Yugoslavia before the (imminently expected) German attack against the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was estimated at up to 5,000. Several hundred of them who had been engulfed by the German, Italian, Hungarian and Bulgarian occupation, had not even reached a free country before the Croatian Ustasha regime began deportations into concentration camps. In 1942, implementing the Wannsee-decisions, the Ustasha rendered the Jewish inmates to the Germans, who then transported them into the Nazi-extermination camps in Poland. Yet, for more than 800 Jewish emigrants recorded in Croatian archives, it has been impossible to discover their fate. Croats believe – or would prefer to believe – that they probably succeeded in achieving permits for emigration to neutral countries. This is probably wishful thinking, however, how many were in fact saved is just speculation.

How did the largest Christian Church in former Yugoslavia, the Catholics, respond in the face of Jews being persecuted? The presented paper takes stock of recent researches of the scholars from the area of the former Yugoslavia on Jewish immigration to Yugoslavia during the period between the two world wars and the World War II. My research focused substantially on Slovenia and Croatia, the dual Banovines which had to bear the main burden of care for the Jewish refugees whilst, at the same time, facing the increasing anti-Semitism of their populations, with public disapproval and the widespread conviction that »the boat is already overloaded«. The various perspectives of research into 'The Churches' – as institutionalised religious entities, as the embodiments of religious teachings and norms, as social milieu, and as subjective religiosities – and their respective relationships to 'Jews' and 'Judaism' are examined within their political, social, and cultural-historical dimensions.

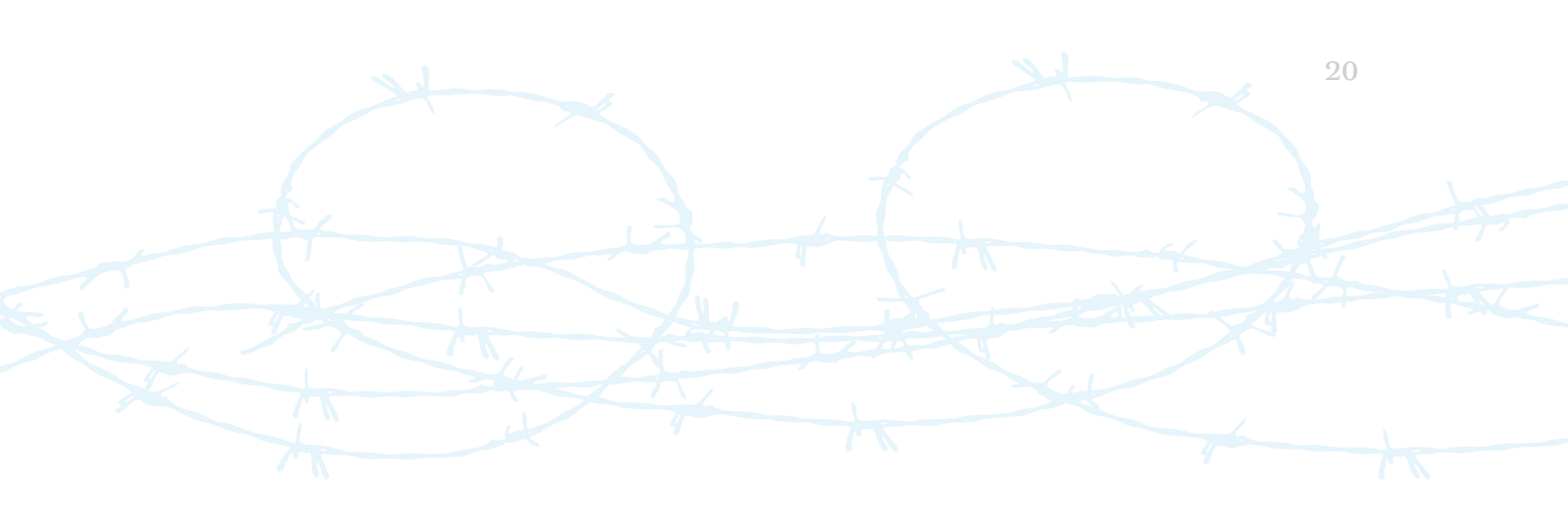
The approach of the Catholic Church in Croatia (particularly during the Independent State of Croatia, ISC) has until now produced several publications, mostly focused on the behaviour of Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac (as a follow up to his beatification in 1998 and the current canonisation process): The bishops of the Slovenian ecclesiastical dioceses – Ljubljana, shepherded by Bishop Dr. Gregorij

Rožman (from 1930) and Maribor (Suffragan of the Lavant diocese under Bishop Dr. Ivan Jožef Tomažič, from 1933) – and, at least, the Suffragan Bishops in Gorizia and Capodistria – have yet been adequately explored. Bishop Dr. Gregorij Rožman (Ljubljana) attracted certain interest from Slovenian and Italian researchers: The extensive edition of documents from Slovenian archives on the sentence against Bishop Rožman, edited by Tamara Griesser-Pečar and France M. Dolinar, and controversial studies (Spomenka Hribar) also contain sources concerning his conduct towards the persecution of Jews – whilst I did not succeed in detecting analogical sources regarding the Bishop Ivan Jožef Tomažič, Maribor: It might be indicative that his biographer, the Italian historian Ilaria Montanar in her dissertation presented to the Pontifical University Gregoriana, Rome, 2007, did not even mention the Jewish question. Tamara Griesser-Pečar and France M. Dolinar in their paper on Bishop Rožman's behaviour towards Jewish refugees dedicated a separate chapter to the bishop's cooperation with Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac from Zagreb on supporting Jewish refugees – mainly 'Catholic non-Aryans' – to escape from Croatia into the Province of Ljubljana and to inform the Holy See on the Ustasha's crimes. Whether bishop Rožman organised to care for Jewish refugees, in the same manner as the Archbishop of Zagreb, who as early as 1938, immediately after the 'Anschluss' in Austria, founded an 'Emergency Service' for non-Aryan Christians' at the Main Railway Station in Zagreb and obliged all Catholic organisations such as 'Caritas' and 'Catholic Action' to care for Jews, disregarding their confession and nationality, could not be confirmed for Bishop Rožman and Bishop Tomažič, who both immediately faced up to the plight of the Jewish refugees hosted by the representative of the Palestinian Office in Maribor, Marko Rosner and his business partners. Nothing can be found in the Archbishop's archive in Maribor!

For the Slovenian bishops, the Nazi genocide of the Jews was first and foremost an issue that did not affect their own existence. Bishop Tomažič from Maribor, in particular, was placed in a difficult position: The German occupation regime in Styria, eager to re-germanise this more than thousand year old Germanic country and to expel or exterminate all non-German disruptive factors, regarded the Bishop as the main representative of the 'undesirable' Slovenian element. The Bishop had to face the expulsions of priests, prohibition of ecclesiastical services in the Slovenian language and – in fact – abolition of all ecclesiastical and pastoral praxis. It was impossible for Bishop Tomažič to intervene for anybody, as the German occupation regime did not accept him as an equally suitable co-negotiator. He was kept under house-arrest and was thus prohibited from performing his duties.

The failing of each form of ecclesiastic commitment to the Jews by the ecclesiastical authorities in Styria could only, within a restrictive perspective shut out the brutal attacks of the Germans against the Slovenes by attacking their Catholic Church. The effectiveness of the Germans in exterminating the Slovenian and Catholic element in Styria can never be overestimated: the actual possibilities for political action available to the Pope must be taken into serious account.

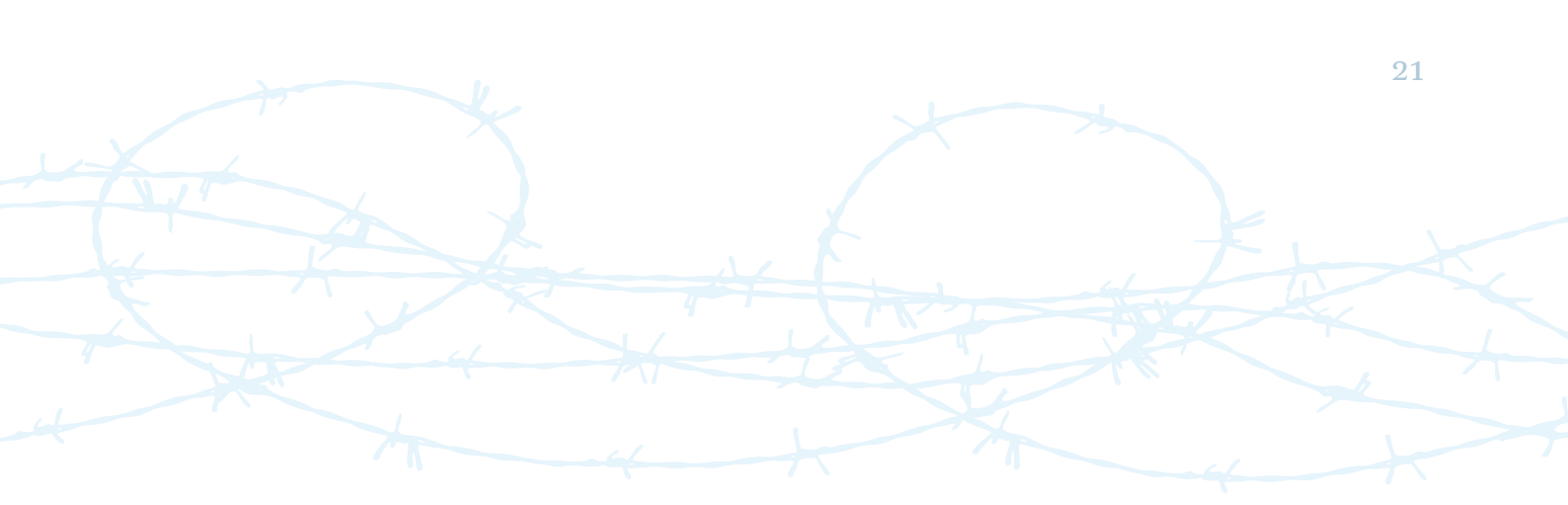
Alongside these questions, case studies from the Slovenian and Croatian territories presenting the real spectrum of the Slovenian Church, in comparison with the Croatian ecclesiastical authorities



and organisations, question the personal backgrounds of the representatives of the Slovenian churches, their theological profiles, socialisation and education, as well as the political circumstances of their actions: Was there in Slovenia any Catholic, Protestant or Orthodox opposition towards the Nazis and their domestic collaborators, were these 'collaborators' really accomplices of crime? Was there an ecumenical 'defensive front' that opposed the occupiers? Was there anywhere any clear distance between the clergy or lay-persons?

The same questions must also be presented to the Church under the Italian authorities: Bishop Rožman's contacts with the High Commissioner of the Italian Army in the Ljubljana province – the post-war communist regime sentenced the Bishop for collaboration and sympathising with the fascist regime – resulted even in some accused of compliance and goodwill. In order to evaluate the Bishop's conduct towards the fascist and Nazi authorities, the Church's primary commitment should be reflected: i.e. to ensure guarantees for free pastoral practice and to protect the freedom of the Church against the totalitarian state. These primary interests of the Catholic as well as the Protestant Church in Slovenia limited their opposition and forbade all possible collaboration by the Churches with the underground resistance. The Bishops could hardly support those who carried out any multi-activated struggle of resistance. In Croatia, the Catholic Church hitched itself to the collaborating regime, with which it shared confessional and patriotic goals, whilst trying to ensure distance between the Croatian traditions and the German swastika. In Styria the Catholic Church did not even get the chance to negotiate with the state authorities regarding identity interests such as nationality, patriotism – nor was this possible under the Italian regime, in spite of the more conciliatory Italian authorities.

One of the more important variables for ecclesiastical conduct towards the totalitarian regimes was the binding effect of the 'national' wherever the churches were pillars of a beleaguered national identity: In Croatia, this binding national identification hindered resistance. The Ustasha as a secessionist movement appeared to offer the possibility of unity, for the first time, national and religious aims were at least represented by a collaborating regime. In Slovenia, however, identification of the Catholic Church with Slovenian nationalism enabled at least the Bishops and the clergy (in a lesser manner the Catholic population) to build up an underground



opposition. Of course, the text here also reveals the broad currents of ‘grey compromises’, for which terms such as ‘acquiescence and accommodation’ have acquired currency.

The second part draws attention to the Christian churches and their main commitments: their contributions to mentally and spiritually coping with the war. For the Churches, the fundamental right of the state to wage war was not yet up for debate; in regard to both Churches dominated the conviction that wartime service was the fulfilment of every Christian’s principal duty towards the state and in all that is allowed. Frequently, one can detect a reliance on traditional theological and pastoral models, which interpreted war as retribution and sacrifice. Traditional ways of giving the semantic fealty of nation and ‘Volk’, ‘Reich’ and fatherland, a religious colouring continued to operate.

Between religious meanings and real war experience, a noticeable divergence developed. The evidence suggests that the brutality of war largely ruined the persuasive power of Christian interpretations and investigated a ‘wave of mental secularisation’. The motivation for combat at the front and the home front increasingly shrank to a single impetus: the defence against Bolshevism.

Ambivalences and tensions in the arrangement between the Churches and the regime can best be summed up under the term ‘antagonistic cooperation’. The pastoral care and welfare assistance that both Churches, the Catholic as well as the Protestant Church performed for their members who suffered persecution as so-called ‘non-Aryans’ must be considered in the context of wartime antagonistic cooperation. The notion that the Churches aid efforts inadvertently contributed to perfecting the Nazi extermination apparatus is based on a one-sided view of the historical facts. Anti-Semitism was not an integral element of Christian faith; to speak of a Catholic or Protestant anti-Semitism is therefore historically inaccurate. On the other hand, the Churches’ ambivalent relationship with anti-Semitism sheds additional light on their conduct regarding the Jews.

It will also be dealt with by the question as to whether a Christian-influenced milieu immunised individuals against the challenges of totalitarian regimes: Regarding the situation in the Independent State of Croatia, I found out that the binding effect of political loyalty prohibited opposition to state power. Only breaking with the standards of the milieu made possible an active resistance worthy of the name. This meant that the development of a stable confessional identity guaranteed active resistance, commitment to impeding and limiting totalitarian hegemony. The personalities and circles of the Christian resistance, particularly the Catholics amongst them, generally believed that their thoughts and actions accorded with those of their Church. However, this was not always the case: there, internal fissures ensured that resistance also developed in opposition to Church leadership.

GORIŠKA JUDOVSKA SKUPNOST IN PRVA SVETOVNA VOJNA

MAG. RENATO PODBERSIČ

Leta 2015 se spominjamo stoletnice vzpostavitve soške fronte, ki je močno zarezala med ljudi in kraje ob Soči. Na ožjem območju spopadov na tej fronti je pred vojno delovala le judovska skupnost v Gorici. Bila je pomemben člen mestnega življenja, vendar je v glavnem sprejemala italijanske narodne cilje in iredentistično gibanje. Prva svetovna vojna je globoko zarezala v goriško judovsko skupnost. Razdejanje in slabe gospodarske razmere po vojni ter odrezanost Goriške od Srednje Evrope, od koder so goriški Judje črpali moč in prirastek, so povzročili upadanje števila Judov v mestu.

Na Goriškem so bili Judje tretja pomembnejša verska skupnost v deželi. V nekdanjem getu blizu cerkve sv. Ivana so si že leta 1756 sezidali sinagogo. Leta 1915 je bilo v vsej deželi okrog 250 Judov, velika večina jih je prebivala v glavnem mestu avstrijske dežele Goriško-Gradiščanske. Za duhovno oskrbo goriške judovske skupnosti je od leta 1911 skrbel rabin Herman Friedenthal (1876–1927), po rodu iz Galicije. Zaradi soške fronte se je goriški rabin že junija 1915 umaknil na Ogrsko, kjer je ostal do leta 1919. Sledilo mu je več judovskih družin, ki so se umaknile v Trst ali v notranjost monarhije oziroma so izbrale pot v nevtralno Švico. Od vodilnih članov goriške judovske skupnosti je ostal le shamash Ben Zion Fink, ki je tudi poskrbel za umik sakralnih in dragocenejših predmetov iz Gorice v Trst.

Judovski vojaški obvezniki, ki so pred vojno večinoma podpirali italijansko politično stvarnost v deželi, so bili med vojno mobilizirani v avstro-ogrske enote, s katerimi so se borili na različnih frontah prve svetovne vojne. Nekateri so se v bojih odlikovali. Nekaj goriških Judov, sicer avstrijskih državljanov, je prešlo na italijansko stran. Najdemo jih med tistimi 187 prebivalci Goriške in Posočja, ki so se kot iredentisti borili za zmago Italije (Edgardo Bolaffio, Enrico Rocca, Bruno Luzzatto, Attilio Morpurgo).

Italijanske enote, ki so v Gorico vkorakale avgusta 1916 med šesto soško ofenzivo, je v mestu pričakalo samo še 28 Judov. Čeprav je »Il Vessillo Israelitico«, uradno glasilo italijanskega judovstva, pokazal veliko propagandno vnemo za »odrešene brate« v Gorici, vojaške zasedbene oblasti za preostale goriške Jude niso pokazale pretiranega zanimanja.

Sinagoga v Gorici je delila usodo porušenega mesta. Močno so jo poškodovala predvsem italijanska bombardiranja v letih 1915 in 1916. Ponovno so jo odprli leta 1920.

Prva svetovna vojna hkrati pomeni največjo koncentracijo judovskih vojakov na slovenskih tleh. Med številnimi vojaki avstro-ogrske in italijanske armade, ki so se borili na soški fronti, so bili tudi Judje. Nanje še danes spominjajo ohranjeni grobovi na nekdanjih avstro-ogrskih vojaških pokopališčih.

Danes goriške judovske skupnosti ni več, trpela je v času holokavsta med drugo svetovno vojno, dokončno pa je prenehala obstajati leta 1969.

THE GORIZIA JEWISH COMMUNITY AND WORLD WAR I

RENATO PODBERSIČ, MA

The centenary of the first Isonzo Front battle will be commemorated in 2015. These battles are still etched in people's minds and places along the Isonzo River. Prior to the war only the Gorizia Jewish community operated in the narrow stretch of land where the encounters took place along this front. The above-stated Jewish community was an important part of city life. However, it mostly embraced the Italian national goals and irredentist movement. World War I had a great impact on the Gorizia Jewish community. The devastation and poor economic conditions after the war, along with the isolation of Gorizia from Central Europe, where the Gorizia Jews drew power and increment from, caused the Jewish population to decline within the city.

Jews within the Gorizia region were the third more important religious community in the country. By 1756, a synagogue had already been built in the former ghetto near the church of St. John. By 1915, there were about 250 Jews throughout the whole country. The vast majority of them resided within the capital of the Austrian Princely County of Gorizia and Gradisca. From 1911, Rabbi Herman Friedenthal (1876–1927), a native of Galicia, provided spiritual care to the Gorizia Jewish community. In June 1915, he withdrew to Hungary due to the Isonzo Front, where he remained until 1919. He was followed by several Jewish families who withdrew to Trieste or to the central parts of the monarchy. Some of them moved to the neutral country of Switzerland. From the leading members of the Jewish community in Gorizia only Shamash Ben Zion Fink remained in the city, taking care of withdrawal of sacred objects and valuables from Gorizia to Trieste.

The Jewish conscripts, who prior to the war had mostly supported the Italian political reality in the country, were mobilized into the Austro-Hungarian armed forces. They fought within its units in different fronts of World War I. Quite a few distinguished themselves in battles. However, some of the Gorizia Jews, actually being Austrian nationals, went over to the Italian side. They can be found amongst those 187 residents of Gorizia and Posočje (the Soča Valley region) who fought as irredentists for Italy to achieve a victory (Edgardo Bolaffio, Enrico Rocca, Bruno Luzzatto, Attilio Morpurgo).

When the Italian troops marched into Gorizia during the 6th Isonzo battle in August 1916, only 28 Jews acclaimed them. In spite of the fact that »Il Vessillo Israelitico«, the official journal of the Italian Jewry, showed a great propaganda zeal for their »redeemed brothers« in Gorizia, the military occupation authorities did not show much interest in the rest of the Gorizia Jews.

The Synagogue in Gorizia, sharing the fate of the destroyed city, was heavily damaged within the years 1915–16, mostly from Italian bombing attacks. It was re-opened in 1920.

World War I also signifies the highest concentration of Jewish soldiers within the Slovenian territory. Amongst the troops of the Austro-Hungarian and Italian armies that fought along the Isonzo front were also Jewish soldiers. Their names are still remembered on the preserved graves of the former Austro-Hungarian military cemeteries.

Today the Gorizia Jewish community no longer exists. It suffered during the Holocaust within World War II, and finally ceased to exist in 1969.

MARGINALIZACIJA IN KRIMINALIZACIJA ROMOV V PRETEKLOSTI IN SEDANJOSTI

DR. VERA KLOPČIČ

Prevladujoče dojemanje Romov v preteklosti je bilo, da so »obremenjeni z dednimi negativnimi lastnostmi«, zaradi katerih so bili označeni kot »paraziti družbe« in kriminalci. V Evropi so oblasti sprejele številne ukrepe za učinkovit boj proti Romom, ki so jih označevali kot nevarne za družbo. Odnos do romskih skupnosti pred drugo svetovno vojno bi zato lahko opredelili kot »socialni genocid«, ki se je izražal v socialni izključenosti, izolaciji in segregaciji. Nedavna poročila mednarodnih ustanov potrjujejo, da je sindrom »parazitizma in kriminalitete Romov« v sodobni Evropi še vedno živ, in to kljub sprejetju strategij in politik vključevanja, razvoja izobraževanja in številnih projektov in programov za vključevanje Romov.

Avtorica izraža prepričanje, da posledice negativnega pristopa iz preteklih stoletij še vedno vplivajo na položaj Romov v Evropi in vodijo do razprostranjene diskriminacije pripadnikov romskih skupnosti v vsakdanjem življenju, ki se zrcali v zavračanju, marginalizaciji in kriminalizaciji teh ljudi. Po mnenju mnogih avtorjev je ravno rasizem glavni razlog za razkorak med deklariranimi in uresničnimi cilji na področju vključevanja Romov.

Med drugo svetovno vojno se je tak pristop, ki temelji na stereotipih, sovraštvu in nestrpnosti, stopnjeval do načrtov nacističnega režima o popolnem uničenju Romov. V zadnjih desetletjih je bilo njihovo trpljenje med drugo svetovno vojno opredeljeno in priznано kot genocid ali porajmos (v romskem jeziku). Toda ta genocid še ni bil v zadostni meri zajet v sodobnih družbenih in političnih razpravah, v kolektivnem spominu večinskih narodov pa je bil skoraj popolnoma prezrt.

Kot navaja prof. Acković, se pomen genocida pri Romih samih odraža v številnih literarnih in drugih umetniških delih. Romska himna »Djelem, Djelem« vsebuje tudi verze: »Včasih sem imel družino, vendar jih je ubila črna legija.« Ti verzi iz himne bolje kot kar koli drugega izkazujejo, kako globok je spomin Romov na genocid iz druge svetovne vojne. (Dragoljub Acković, »The Impact of the Genocide of the Roma in the World War II on the Literary Work of Roma and Non-Roma Authors«, avgust 2014, str. 3)

MARGINALISATION AND CRIMINALISATION OF THE ROMA IN THE PAST AND PRESENTLY

DR. VERA KLOPČIČ

Historical sources illustrate that the prevailing perception of the Roma people in the past was that they are »burdened by inherited negative characteristics«, and that they were labelled as »parasites of the society«, and criminals. Numerous documents were issued all over Europe for the purpose of efficiently fighting against them as a danger to the society. Therefore, attitudes towards the Roma before World War II could be qualified as »social genocide«, expressed within the social exclusions, isolations, and segregations of Roma communities. Recent reports of international monitoring bodies confirm that notwithstanding the adoption of inclusion strategies and policies, developments in education, and numerous projects and programmes for Roma integration, the »parasitism and criminal syndrome« is still alive within Europe.

The author presumes that the consequences of the negative attitudes from the past centuries still affect the situations of Roma in Europe, and lead to widespread discrimination of Roma in daily life, reflected in rejection, marginalisation and criminalisation of Roma people. According to many authors, racism is the main reason for the gap between declared and realised objectives within the field of Roma inclusion.

During World War II, such an approach, based on stereotypes, hatred, and intolerance, escalated into the plans of the Nazi regime for complete destruction of the Roma people. Over recent decades, the sufferings of the Roma during World War II have been recognised as the Roma Genocide or Porrajmos (in Romani). However, the Roma genocide has not been addressed regarding its whole complexity yet within contemporary social or political discourses, and is almost completely absent from the collective memories of the majority of nations.

As noted by Prof. Acković, the impact of the genocide for the Roma people is reflected in numerous literary and artistic works. Their anthem »Gelem-Gelem« also contains verses: »I used to have a family, but the Black Legion killed them«. These verses from the Roma anthem show better than anything else what an impression the genocide from World War II had on the Roma (Dragoljub Acković 'The Impact of the Genocide of the Roma in the World War II on the Literary Work of Roma and Non-Roma Authors', August 2014, p. 3).



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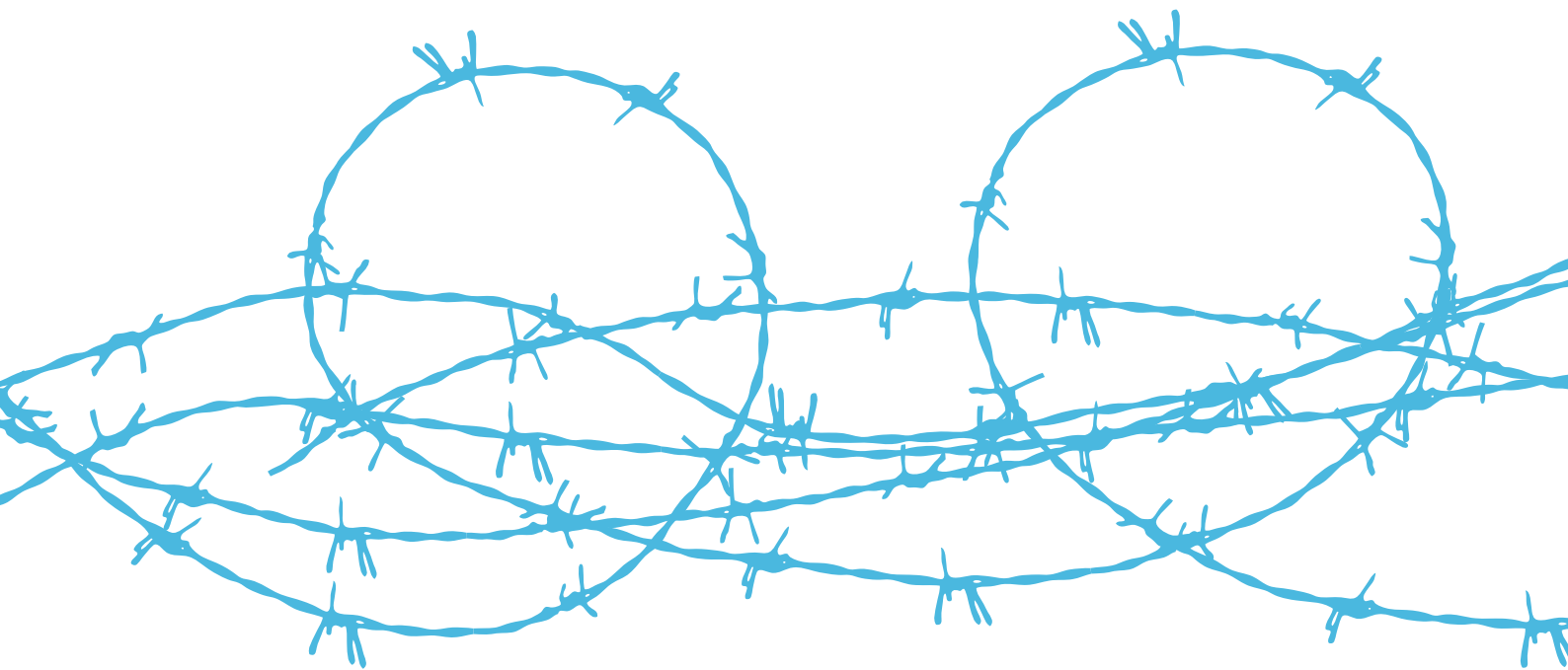


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