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Pregled vsebine

PREDGOVOR	11
LJUBLJANA IN NJENI PREBIVALCI	15
<i>Leto 1935 in osnovanje t. i. velike Ljubljane</i>	17
<i>Poskus preobrazbe iz “dolge vasi” v mesto</i>	19
<i>Ljubljana v številkah</i>	23
<i>Struktura prebivalstva</i>	25
<i>Begunci</i>	28
PRELOMNICE V ČASU DRUGE SVETOVNE VOJNE	31
<i>Začetek druge svetovne vojne</i>	34
<i>Začetek vojne na domačih tleh</i>	37
<i>Okupacija in razkosanje Ljubljane</i>	40
<i>Ljubljana za žico</i>	45
<i>Kapitulacija Italije in nemška okupacija</i>	50
<i>Nevarnost iz zraka in bombardiranje mesta</i>	54

<i>Osvoboditev mesta in odstranitev žice</i> <i>26. maja 1945</i>	55
UPRAVA	59
<i>Pokrajinska uprava</i>	61
<i>Mestna uprava</i>	67
ORGANIZACIJA IN ZAŠČITA PREBIVALSTVA PRED ZRAČNIMI NAPADI	71
<i>Organizacija protizračne obrambe v 30. letih</i> <i>20. stoletja</i>	73
<i>Protiletalska zaščita v času vojne</i>	83
PRESKRBA	97
<i>Preskrba s hrano</i>	99
<i>Preskrba z ostalimi (osnovnimi) življenjskimi</i> <i>potrebščinami</i>	201
<i>Gospodinjska opravila</i>	244
PROMET, TRGOVINA IN DRUGE STORITVE	257
<i>Mestni promet</i>	259
<i>Trgovine</i>	267
<i>Česalnice in brivnice</i>	269
<i>Hoteli, restavracije, kavarne in gostilne</i>	271
<i>Pošta, telegraf, telefon</i>	273
SOCIALNE USTANOVE IN SOCIALNO SKRIBSTVO	277
<i>Socialno ogroženi</i>	279

<i>Mestna zastavljalnica</i>	282
<i>Pokrajinski podporni zavod/pokrajinski podporni odbor v Ljubljani</i>	285
<i>Ljubljanski podporni odbor/odbor za mesto Ljubljano</i>	289
<i>“Zimska pomoč”</i>	295
<i>“Socialna pomoč”</i>	299
<i>Odbor za preskrbo povratnikov in pribežnikov</i>	301
<i>Rdeči križ Slovenije</i>	304
<i>Ostale socialne ustanove</i>	312
ZDRAVSTVO	319
<i>Ljubljanske bolnišnice in zdravstveni zavodi</i>	324
<i>Zdravstvene razmere v Ljubljani</i>	335
ŠOLSTVO	345
<i>Šolstvo v letih pred okupacijo</i>	349
<i>Šolstvo od aprila do junija 1941</i>	356
<i>Šolsko leto 1941/1942</i>	362
<i>Šolsko leto 1942/1943</i>	367
<i>Šolsko leto 1943/1944</i>	369
<i>Zadnje šolsko leto pod okupacijo</i>	376
KULTURA	379
<i>Ljubljana je obnemela</i>	383

<i>Gledališče</i>	386
<i>Koncerti</i>	395
<i>Umetniške razstave</i>	398
<i>Tisk</i>	399
<i>Knjižnice in knjigarne</i>	401
<i>Radio</i>	404
PROSTI ČAS	411
<i>Kinematografi</i>	414
<i>Športno udejstvovanje</i>	419
<i>Sprehodi in promenada</i>	426
<i>Otroška igra</i>	430
PRAZNIKI IN PRAZNOVANJA	433
<i>Pust(ovanje)</i>	435
<i>Velika noč</i>	436
<i>Vsi sveti in ljubljanska pokopališča</i>	438
<i>Miklavž(evanje)</i>	440
<i>Božič(ni večer)</i>	442
<i>Silvestrovo</i>	444
<i>God in rojstni dan</i>	446
<i>Nedeljska maša, procesije in romanja</i>	447

POVZETEK	451
SUMMARY	459
VIRI IN LITERATURA	469
SEZNAM FOTOGRAFIJ	489
OSEBNO KAZALO	

Povzetek

Monografija opisuje življenje prebivalcev Ljubljane med drugo svetovno vojno, pri čemer nazorno pokaže, da se je nemški "fantom", ki je od aprila 1941 na prestolnico prežal že pri Šentvidu, v vsakdanje življenje vpletal veliko manj od italijanskega okupatorja. V času nemške okupacije so se v okviru neke vrste slovenske avtonomije na področju t. i. Ljubljanske pokrajine oblasti celo trudile, da bi izboljšale življenjski standard prebivalcev, vendar zaradi dolgotrajne vojne to ni bilo mogoče. Poleg spremembe vsakdanjika Ljubljančanov monografija prikaže tudi novo podobo samega mesta in razkrije, da na zunanji videz prestolnice niso vplivali le obvezna zatamnitev, policijska ura in drugi ukrepi okupatorja, temveč predvsem vsesplošno pomanjkanje. To potrjujejo dolge čakalne vrste pred trgovinami, spreminjanje mestnih parkov v njive, okrnjen promet, ki se je zaradi pomanjkanja bencina odvijal samo s kolesi, tema, v katero je bilo mesto ovito zaradi pogostih redukcij elektrike in še marsikaj drugega.

Ljubljana je v času med prvo in drugo svetovno vojno doživela znaten razvoj. Leta 1935 je na predlog ministrstva za notranje zadeve pod svoje okrilje sprejela precej primestnih občin s skoraj 20.000 osebami in tako z 80.000 prebivalci in več kot 17.000 gospodinjstvi na 6538 km² postavila temelj za novo "Veliko Ljubljano". Po združitvi se je mestna občina prizadevala za čim večji napredek vseh nivojev življenja v prestolnici, hkrati pa je skrbela za razvoj infrastrukture mesta in za njegovo

zunanjo podobo. Urejala je parke, sprehajališča, tržnico in Žale ter marljivo gradila razne objekte. Kljub trudu mestnih oblasti je univerzitetno mesto Ljubljana ob začetku druge svetovne vojne še vedno spominjalo na dolgo vas. Med pristinimi meščanskimi hišami so stale v strogem centru prave kmetije. Njive in vrtovi so zavzemali polovico mestne površine. Obdelovanje teh pa je bilo glede na podatke neuradnega popisa iz leta 1931 postranska dejavnost večine Ljubljančanov. Po popisu je bilo skoraj 60% Ljubljančanov zaposlenih, od tega malo manj kot 30% v industriji in obrti, skoraj 24% v javnih službah, svobodnih poklicih in vojski, 20% v trgovini in prometu, 25% oseb pa je bilo uvrščenih pod razdelek "ostalo", kar pomeni, da so bili rentniki ali pa brez poklica. Preostalo malenkost so tvorili tisti, ki so se deklarirali za poljedelce, živinorejce ali gozdarje. Ti podatki jasno kažejo, da je bila prestolnica kljub podeželskemu videzu povsem upravičena do naziva upravnega središča takratne Dravske banovine.

V drugi polovici 30. let prejšnjega stoletja se je s krepitvijo nacistične Nemčije in z njenimi pripravami na uresničitev ideje o "Veliki Nemčiji" oziroma z napadom Nemčije na Poljsko, ustvarjala vojna psihoza. V Ljubljani je bilo vojno čutiti še preden je bila Slovenija neposredno ogrožena. Že spomladi 1939 je bila izdana uredba o zaščiti prebivalstva v vojnem času in jeseni istega leta uredba o državni mobilizaciji. Septembra 1939 je bil pri ljubljanskem mestnem poglavarstvu ustanovljen XI. zaščitni urad, ki je bil zadolžen za zaščito pred napadi iz zraka, pa tudi za preskrbo rezervne hrane in podporo pomoči potrebnim družinam. Mesto je bilo razdeljeno na 11 rajonov z zdravstvenimi, gasilskimi in tehničnimi ekipami, ki so organizirale in vodile dnevne in nočne zaščitne vaje. Oblasti so si želele, da bi bilo civilno prebivalstvo na vojno čim bolj pripravljeno. Največje spremembe so se v času pred začetkom vojne pokazale v preskrbi. Poleg draginje je Slovence že spomladi 1940 pestilo pomanjkanje osnovnih življenjskih potrebščin. Tako je bilo kot neizogibno uvedeno t. i. dirigirano gospodarstvo. Med prvimi ukrepi je bil predpis o varčevanju z mesom in uvedba mesnih in brezmesnih dni. Sledile so uredbe, ki so določale prodajo moke in peko

kruha, kmalu pa še nakaznice za kruh in moko, ki so hkrati regulirale prodajo testenin in drugih izdelkov iz pšenične in ržene moke. Kljub že očitni stiski v letih 1939 in 1940 Ljubljanci lakote niso trpeli.

Po zasedbi je italijanski okupator pustil predvojno upravno-politično razdelitev skoraj nedotaknjeno in to tako na državnem kot tudi na mestnem nivoju, pri čemer je na vsa pomembna mesta postavil Italijane. Ljubljanski župan je bil sicer Slovenec, vendar je namesto njega dejansko odločal italijanski civilni oziroma visoki komisar. Krojil je politično, gospodarsko, kulturno ter celo socialno in družabno življenje prebivalcev Ljubljanske pokrajine oziroma Ljubljane. V oči bode tudi ukrep italijanskega okupatorja, ki je prestolnico celo fizično spremenil v neke vrste taborišče. Ljubljana je bila center odporniškega gibanja in so v njej potekali oboroženi spopadi, zato je bila zaradi lažjega nadzora februarja 1942 obdana z žico. Okupator je v tako zastraženem mestu izvajal čistke, aretacije in deportacije. Z mnogimi prepovedmi in zapovedmi je ujetnikom za žico življenje še dodatno okrnil.

Glede preskrbe so se Ljubljanci znašli v nezavidljivem položaju že prvi mesec okupacije. Takrat je nova državna meja odrezala od Ljubljane njeno gospodarsko zaledje na severu. Zadnjo vez z okolico pa je mesto, preplavljeno s tisoči beguncev, zgubilo po obžičenju. Organizacije, ki so za čim bolj urejeno preskrbo skrbele pred vojno, so v vojnem času pod novim imenom in nadzorom oblasti delovale dalje, ustanovljene pa so bile tudi nove – italijanske. V veljavi je ostala omejena prodaja moke, kruha in testenin, pa tudi predpis o peki kruha iz mešane moke. Sledila je omejena potrošnja mesa in mleka, čedalje več osnovnih življenjskih potrebščin se je dalo kupiti zgolj z živilskimi nakaznicami. Vsem potrebščinam, tudi racioniranim, so močno poskočile cene. Italijanski uradniki so obljubljali zaustavitev rasti cen oziroma dvig plač. Vse je ostalo le pri besedah. Prebivalci glavnega mesta so se lahko zanesli edino na lastno iznajdljivost. Na pomoč tistim, katerih obstoj je bil ogrožen, predvsem beguncem, so priskočile organizacije socialne pomoči. Ta je bila v mestu razvejana že nekaj let pred vojno, v času vojne pa je svoje delovanje

še okrepila, čeprav je bila v času italijanske okupacije dovoljena le dobrodelnost v sklopu fašističnih institucij oziroma pod budnim očesom države. Prisotnost italijanskega okupatorja pa je bilo občutiti še posebej v šolstvu in tudi v kulturi. Visoki komisar je že prvo leto okupacije z odredbo ukinil vse spominske dneve in šolske svečanosti, ki so bile do takrat stalnica v slovenskem šolskem sistemu. Znižal je starostno dobo za šolsko obveznost, tako so postali otroci šoloobvezni s šestimi leti. Predpisal je nove učne načrte, pri čemer k sreči ni poskušal črtati pouka slovenskega jezika oziroma je dopustil, da se je v tem jeziku celo poučevalo. Novi učni načrti so z urnika ljudskih in srednjih šol zbrisali srbohrvaščino in vpisali več ur italijanščine tedensko. Velike spremembe so bile storjene tudi na področju pouka zgodovine in zemljepisa, saj naj bi se učenci in dijaki skozi povečevanje fašizma in spoznavanje Italije poglobljeno seznanili s kulturo okupatorja. Univerza je bila odprta ves čas italijanske okupacije, vendar je bilo njeno delovanje, predvsem pa študenti, pod budnim očesom okupatorskih oblasti. Italijanska okupacijska oblast je pustila vrata osrednjih kulturnih in znanstvenih ustanov odprta, kar je izkoristila kot dovolilnico za nadaljnje vpletanje v njihovo delo. Prav tako se je vpletala v delo časnikarjev in publicistov ter s cenzuro dosegla obvladovanje informacij. Lotila se je tudi radijske postaje in njene posle predala italijanski radijski družbi. Ta je dovolila dnevno nekaj ur slovenskega programa, drugače pa je Radio Ljubljana predvajal jezikovni tečaj italijanščine, predavanja o Italiji, njeni zgodovini in kulturi, predvsem pa je prenašal koncerte, opere in poročila italijanskih postaj.

Po nemški zasedbi Ljubljane je postalo jasno, da vojne še ne bo konec. To je pri ljudeh povzročilo potrto in negotovost. Nekoliko so si oddahnili, ko so spoznali, da nemški okupator Ljubljanske pokrajine ne bo priključil k rajhu. Vrhovni komisar okupacijske cone "Jadransko primorje" Friedrich Rainer je izdal odredbo, s katero je na čelo Ljubljanske pokrajine postavil Leona Rupnika kot šefa pokrajinske uprave. Rupnikova uprava je bila takšna kot predvojna banska uprava, tudi mestna uprava se ni spremenila. Izstopali so le nemški svetovalci, od katerih so bili odvisni tako šef pokrajinske uprave kot

tudi vsi uradi. Rupnikova pokrajinska uprava je v času nemške okupacije v veliki meri odstranila sledove italijanske okupacije in na več nivojih poudarila slovenski značaj mesta. Razveljavljenih je bilo več prepovedi, ki jih je uzakonil italijanski visoki komisar. Dovoljena je bila vožnja s kolesi, smučanje, Ljubljančanom so bili vrnjeni celo radijski aparati, ki so od konca marca 1942 ležali v deponiji. Vsi uradni napisi in tiskovine, štampiljke ipd. so bili dvojezični, nemško-slovenski, na grbu se je, namesto dotedanjega italijanskega, šopiril kranjski orel, vzet iz grba nekdanje vojvodine Kranjske. Ulice, ki so bile v času italijanske okupacije preimenovane in so nosile imena predvsem italijanskih veljakov, so bile pod nemško okupacijo ponovno preimenovane, vendar je kar nekaj od teh dobilo predvojna imena. Žica, ki je obkrožala mesto, pa je ostala na svojem mestu do konca maja 1945. Prebivalce Ljubljane je vsak dan znova spominjala, da so le neke vrste vojni ujetniki.

V času nemške okupacije so v veljavi ostali vsi ukrepi v zvezi s preskrbo, ki so bili sprejeti že pred vojno oziroma za časa italijanske okupacije. Rupnikova uprava je zagrizeno spodbujala kmetijstvo in živinorejo ter podpirala samopreskrbo. Kljub temu je preskrba prebivalstva ostala problem številka ena. Osnovnih življenjskih potrebščin je bilo vse manj, bile pa so vse dražje. Na področjih, ki so bila od začetka vojne pod nemško okupacijo, je bil kontingent racioniranih živil višji kot na ozemlju, okupiranem od italijanskega okupatorja. Poskus izravnave je požel le kratkotrajen uspeh. V prvi polovici leta 1943 je dnevna količina živil na nakaznice znašala 246,5 g oziroma 771, 66 kalorij, konec istega leta pa 246 g oziroma 766,81 kalorij. V začetku leta 1944 je bilo zaznati rezultate truda oblasti, saj je bil posameznik dnevno upravičen do nakupa 315,46 g živil oziroma 888,73 kalorij. Zaradi onemogočene trgovine je bil že začetek leta 1945 v znamenju lakote. Posameznik je bil upravičen do 230,23 g živil na dan oziroma 674,85 kalorij. Premožnejši prebivalci Ljubljane zaradi pomanjkljive prehrane problemov z zdravjem vsaj do leta 1945 niso imeli. Poleg tržnice in slabo založenih trgovin so hranljiva živila in celo priboljške kupovali na črnem trgu, ki pa je nekaj mesecev pred koncem vojne zaradi vsesplo-

šnega pomanjkanja prenehal s svojo dejavnostjo. Hujših težav z lakoto niso imeli niti maloštevilni kmetje in polkmetje. Večina Ljubljčanov (nameščenci in delavci), ki so svoje mesto imenovali kar Revnograd, pa se je z lakoto dodobra seznanila. Posledice tega so se odražale v številu tuberkuloznih obolenj, ki se je grozeče dvigalo. Veliko je bilo tudi drugih obolenj, značilnih za vojni čas, nenazadnje tudi prehladov. Marsikdo se je prehladil zaradi pomanjkljive obleke in obutve, ki sta bili sicer racinirani, pa kljub temu le redko na policah ljubljanskih trgovin. Poleg hrane, obleke in obutve je primanjkovalo tudi kuriva. Po okupaciji so pošiljke revirskega premoga v Ljubljano prihajale neredno in redko. Premog iz reaktiviranih dolenskih rudnikov še zdaleč ni kril vseh potreb, zato je nemški svetovalec za gospodarstvo pri pokrajinski upravi izdal odredbo, s katero je ustavil prodajo premoga za ogrevanje in kuho. Ljudem je svetoval, naj premog nadomestijo z drvmi. To pa ni bilo mogoče, saj je od konca leta 1943 primanjkovalo tudi drv, ker je njihov dovoz izostal zaradi vse hujših vojnih razmer. Od začetka leta 1944 je bilo posamezno gospodinjstvo tako upravičeno le do 50 kg drv na mesec. Ta količina je bila odločno premajhna, zato so Ljubljčanji sekali in kurili staro pohištvo, lesene ograje, iz Tivolija so izginile celo klopi. Proti koncu vojne je bila omejena tudi poraba vode, plina in elektrike. Pri varčevanju je sodeloval celo ljubljanski tramvaj, ki se je za nekaj tednov umaknil v remizo. Vse več prebivalcev Ljubljane se je po pomoč obračalo na socialne ustanove. Uprava je morala mrežo pomoči razširiti. Posameznikom in družinam je poskušala pomagati z aktivnostjo novoustanovljenih institucij in raznimi dobrodelnimi akcijami. Pogosta je bila tudi samoiniciativa posameznikov ali raznih skupin. Ogroženim so s hrano, obleko in obutvijo, denarjem, iskanjem zaposlitve ali namestitve pomagala različna državna in cerkvena humanitarna društva in organizacije, pa tudi karitativne institucije narodnoosvobodilnega gibanja. Svoja vrata so imela odprta tudi zavetišča za odrasle in otroke.

Tudi med nemško okupacijo je šolstvo ostalo slovensko. Šolski sistem je bil v veliki meri podoben predvojnemu, predvsem kar se tiče praznikov. Izreden pomen,

ki ga je imela telesna vzgoja v času italijanske uprave, je usahnil. Nemški okupator se v strukturo in vsebinsko delo ljubljanskega šolstva ni spuščal. Zahteval pa je nove učne načrte, ki so se v glavnem tikali jezikov. Na srednjih šolah je namesto italijanščine v ospredje stopila nemščina. Za šolsko leto 1943/1944 je značilna uvedba protikomunističnih predavanj. V tem šolskem letu so bila z Rupnikovo odredbo zaradi vojnih razmer (novačenje v domobransko vojsko in delovno službo) ukinjena predavanja in vaje na univerzi, kar pa ni pomenilo, da je univerza zaprla svoja vrata. Izpiti in promoviranja so potekali nemoteno dalje.

Nemški okupator je na Ljubljance poskušal vplivati predvsem s pomočjo radijskega programa, zato je vsem lastnikom vrnil zaplenjene aparate, in s pomočjo cenzuriranega časopisja. Od opere in drame okupator ni imel večje koristi, kljub temu pa je dopustil, da sta nemoteno nadaljevali s svojim poslanstvom. Število prodanih vstopnic je pričalo, da so ljudje, ujeti za žico, potrebovali vsaj malo zabave oziroma duhovne hrane. Velik obisk so beležili tudi t. i. diletantski odri in kinematografi. Z delom so bili preobremenjeni tudi knjižničarji, ki so iz leta v leto izposodili večje število razno raznih knjig.

V prostem času se Ljubljanci niso udeleževali le na kulturnem in športnem področju temveč so se radi sprostiti tudi v lokalni obkolu vina ali pa na sprehodu, še najraje na popularni promenadi. Ob lepem vremenu so množično obiskovali kopališča, tako urejena (Ilirija in Livada) kot tudi divja: "Je pa toliko ljudi, da ne dobim prostora za ležati, pa sedim ob bazenu."¹⁴¹⁶ Zaradi obžičenja mesta je bilo onemogočeno kopanje in sončenje na Savi, zato je moralo mestno županstvo na vrat na nos urediti novo kopališče "Na Špici".

Kljub navidez vsakdanjemu življenju je bila ves čas vojne v Ljubljani prisotna nevarnost iz zraka, zato so odgovorni organi od njenih prebivalcev terjali upoštevanje obvezne zatemnitve zgradb in prevoznih sredstev, upoštevanje alarma in umik v za to ustrezno pripravljena zaklonišča. Uredili in celo gradili so javna zaklonišča.

¹⁴¹⁶ Pismo, naslovljeno na Martino Pogačar, 22. 6. 1944, osebni arhiv avtorice.

Za primer nesreče so organizirali gasilske in tehnične oddelke, postaje za prvo pomoč in krizna zbirališča. Ljubljancani, ki v začetku vojne opozoril pred napadom iz zraka niso jemali dovolj resno, so postali malo bolj osveščeni šele leta 1944, ko je nevarnost zračnih napadov postajala iz dneva v dan večja. Živčna vojna se je dotaknila prav vsakega, višek pa je dosegla 9. marca 1945, ko je bilo mesto bombardirano. Leta 1944 je bilo v prestolnici zabeleženih 200 alarmov, ki so trajali 17.359 minut oziroma 289 ur in 19 minut. V zadnjih mesecih vojne, od 1. januarja 1945 do 24. aprila 1945, pa so prebivalci glavnega mesta doživeli točno 100 alarmov,¹⁴¹⁷ ki so trajali skoraj 200 ur.

Prebivalci medvojne Ljubljane si v marsičem niso bili enaki. Razlikovali so se glede na socialno strukturo, na izobrazbo oziroma poklic in dohodke ter tudi glede na politično in versko pripadnost. Vsem pa je bilo skupno eno: vojna in s tem pomanjkanje, strah in trpljenje. Večina je okupacijo sprejemala z bolečino in jezo, vendar se je nanjo različno odzvala. In tako je tudi pod težo vojnih dni in okupacije življenje teklo dalje. Spremenjen in prilagojen vsakdan je bil zaradi prizadevnosti posameznikov do neke mere celo uspešen: "Pa se človek čudovito navadi vseh takih in podobnih nevšečnosti in življenje gre svojo pot, pa kaj hitro,"¹⁴¹⁸ pri mnogih tudi zato, ker "upanje na boljše čase raste vedno bolj."¹⁴¹⁹

¹⁴¹⁷ ARS, AS 199, f. 1001–1600, leto 1945, št. 1412–45.

¹⁴¹⁸ ZAL, LJU 439, t. e. 3, ovoj 30, pismo Dolžanovih, 22. 9. 1944.

¹⁴¹⁹ ZAL, LJU 439, t. e. 2, ovoj 11, IV, Dnevnik Zorke Bartol, datum vpisa 31. 8. 1941.

Summary

The monograph illustrates the life of Ljubljana inhabitants during WW II. It clearly shows that the German occupying authorities were much less involved in the every-day life of these inhabitants than their predecessors, the Italian occupying formations. The authorities, who operated within some sort of Slovene autonomous territory of the so-called Ljubljana Province, even tried to improve the living standard of Ljubljana's inhabitants during the time of the German occupation. However, the long-lasting war prevented the realization of this goal. In addition to a depiction of the changes made in the daily routine of the Ljubljana population, the monograph also presents the new, wartime portrait of Ljubljana. It reveals that various measures implemented by the occupying bodies, such as compulsory blackout and the police curfew, as well as the general shortages, together affected the overall outlook of Ljubljana. This was clearly reflected in the long queues at stores, the turning of city parks into cultivated fields, the reduction in traffic and the increase of bicycles due to the lack of gasoline, as well as frequent power blackouts that often eliminated lighting in the city.

Ljubljana developed significantly during the time between the two World Wars. In 1935, encouraged by the initiative of the Ministry for Internal Affairs, the city authorities decided to take charge of the surrounding municipalities with a population of almost 20.000; thus was established a new "Great Ljubljana", with 80.000

inhabitants and more than 17.000 households within an area of 6.538 km². Following the merge, the municipality strived to achieve the best possible city infrastructure, while at the same time it tended to the general image of the capital. The Ljubljana authorities arranged and maintained parks, walking areas, the market place and the Žale cemetery; furthermore, they assiduously carried on with the construction of various types of buildings. Despite the efforts invested in its outward appearance, at the outbreak of WW II Ljubljana still bore the image of a long, extended village. The very centre of the city, with its genuine urban villas, actually featured proper farms. Cultivated fields and gardens were covering half of the municipality area; and farming, as is evident from an unofficial census performed in 1931, represented a sporadic activity for the majority of Ljubljana inhabitants. According to the census, nearly 60% of the Ljubljana population was employed, whereby almost 30% of those employed worked in different crafts and industries, approximately 24% in public administration, freelance professions and military services, 20% in trade and traffic, and the remaining 25% were categorised as “other”, which meant they were either annuitants or not qualified for any occupation. The rest of the population comprised of people who declared themselves farmers, cattle breeders or foresters. This information clearly shows that the Slovene capital was, at that time, rightfully entitled to be marked as the administrative centre of the then Drava Province, regardless of its somewhat rural image.

In the late 1930s, with the rise of the Nazi regime in Germany and its preparations to implement ideas of a “Great Germany” – that is, the German attack on Poland – an atmosphere of wartime psychosis was being created. Tensions were present in Ljubljana even before Slovenia became directly endangered by the war. As early as the spring of 1939, authorities issued a decree on citizen protection during the war; this was followed by a decree defining general military conscription. The Ljubljana city authorities established the Protection Office XI in September 1939; it was responsible for air raid protection, spare food supplies, and support for families

in need. The city was divided into 11 zones, each featuring their own medical aid, fire protection and technical teams, all of which organised and managed protective training both during the day and by night. They all wanted to be prepared for the upcoming war as best possible. Shortly before the outbreak of WW II, the most drastic changes became evident in the supply of goods. Aside from the generally high prices, the Slovene population was troubled by constant shortages for basic living items. It seems that the so-called 'dictated economy' introduced by the authorities was more or less inevitable. The first implemental steps of this policy included a regulation for lowering the consumption of meat and the introduction of "meat days" vs. "meatless days". Further decrees, regulating the domain of bread production and flour consumption, were soon followed by the introduction of flour and bread coupons. The coupons also regulated the sales in pasta and other wheat and rye products. However, regardless of the obvious shortages, from 1939 to 1940, famine was not something the Ljubljana population would have had to endure.

After the Italian occupation, the occupying authorities left pre-war administrative and political arrangements virtually intact, both at the national as well as at the city level, the only difference being in that persons of Italian nationality were assigned to all the important positions. The Ljubljana mayor was a Slovene, yet all the important decisions were decided upon by an Italian High Commissioner who tailored the political, economic, cultural and even social life, and social gatherings of the Ljubljana province inhabitants. One regulation introduced by the Italian occupying authority physically changed the capital into a kind of war camp. Ljubljana was at that time a centre for the resistance movement, and as such the city also witnessed armed conflicts. Hence the Italians, in February 1942, encircled the capital with barbed wire to enable better control over the city. The occupying forces within the city itself, performed purges, arrests, and deportations and made living conditions even worse by enforcing several prohibitions and restrictions upon the people enclosed within the wired area.

As far as the goods supply was concerned, the Ljubljana population found itself in an unenviable position: the new state border cut the city off from its economic background at the north. Once barbed wire encircled Ljubljana, crowded with thousands of refugees, it lost its last connection with the surrounding area. The organisations that secured an optimal supply system before the war continued to operate during the war, only this time under new names and supervised by the new regime, with new establishments being founded by Italians. This system of flour, bread and pasta sales remained in force, as well as the regulation on mixed flour and bread production. Following these regulations was also the limited consumption of meat and milk, and an increasing number of living supplies could only be purchased by food coupons. Prices heavily increased for all types of goods, including the rationed goods. While Italian authorities promised that inflation would eventually settle down and that salaries would increase, this was never the case. The population of the Slovene capital could only count on their inventiveness. Social aid organisations worked to help those whose life existence was imperiled, especially refugees. A social care system had been established in the city already a few years before the war. And during the war, organisations of this type reinforced their efforts even though the Italian authorities only allowed charity to be performed by fascist institutions or under strict government control. The presence of the Italian aggressor was especially reflected in the schooling programme, as well as through culture. Already during the first year of the occupation the High Commissioner abolished all commemoration days and school celebrations; up until now, these had always been carried out within the school system. The Italians also lowered the school age for children, now requiring that they enter school at the age of 6. New curricula were prescribed; and it seems sheer luck that the Slovene language remained part of the agenda. Italians even permitted the native language to be used in other school subjects as well. However, in line with the new curricula, Serbo-Croatian no longer appeared on timetables in public and high/vocational schools. Extra

Italian language lessons replaced it. Substantial changes were implemented in the field of history and geography lessons: pupils and students were expected to learn about Italy and attain an in-depth understanding of Italian culture through the subjective lens of fascism. The city university continued to operate throughout the period of Italian occupation; however the occupying authorities enforced strict control over its activities and students. They kept the major cultural and scientific institutions open only to claim their title to further influence work in these establishments. The authorities were also involved in the work performed by journalists and publicists; through censorship they gained control over publicly presented information. The Ljubljana radio station presented no exemption. Its management was placed at the hands of an Italian radio establishment, which allowed only a few hours of radio time to be broadcast in Slovene. The rest of the programme comprised of lessons in Italian, as well as in Italian culture and history and, above all, concerts, operas and news broadcasts by other Italian radio stations.

After the Germans occupied the city, the inhabitants of Ljubljana were faced with a bitter reality: war was not to end any time soon. A depression imbued the people and an atmosphere of uncertainty reigned. The city inhabitants felt a slight relief when they realised the German occupying authorities did not intend to annex the Ljubljana province to the Third Reich. Friedrich Rainer (Supreme Commissioner of the Adriatic Littoral Operation Zone) passed a decree assigning Leon Rupnik in charge of the Ljubljana province as Head of the province administration. In its essence, the Rupnik administration preserved the characteristics of the pre-war administration, with the city administration preserving its pre-war organisation as well. One new feature was that German consultants controlled the Head of the province, the administration, and every administrative office. The Rupnik province administration, which was active at the time of the German occupation, for the most part removed signs left by Italian occupying forces and restored the Slovene image of the city on a number of different levels. A number of prohibitions legally in-

roduced by the Italian High Commissioner were abolished. Cycling and skiing were permitted, and radios, deposited and stored since March 1942, were returned to their rightful owners. All official signs, publications, stamps, etc. were bilingual - in German and Slovene - while the coat-of-arms was ornamented with the Carniola eagle symbol taken from the former Duchy of Carniola coat-of-arms, which replaced the Italian eagle. Streets, which had been assigned Italian names during the Italian occupation, were once again renamed, with quite a few of them receiving their pre-war names. The wire surrounding the city however remained intact until the end of May 1945. With the wire in its place, the Ljubljana inhabitants were daily reminded of the fact that they were, after all, merely wartime prisoners.

During the German occupation, all measures adopted and implemented by the Italian occupying authorities and in relation with supply, remained in force. The Rupnik administration strenuously encouraged farming and cattle breeding and supported self-sufficiency. Despite their efforts, supply to the inhabitants remained the most burning problem. Basic supplies were scarcer by the day, while inflation just continued to soar. Food rations were larger in those areas that fell under German control right from the very start of the war, as opposed to the territory that was first occupied by Italians. The attempt to equalize succeeded for only a short period. In the first half of 1943, daily rations obtained by coupons equalled 246.5 grams or 771.6 calories; by the end of that year, they amounted to 246 grams or 766.81 calories. In early 1944, the efforts of the authorities started to show actual results: every individual was now entitled to 315.46 grams of food or 888.73 calories per day. A decrease in trade marked the first signs of the nearing famine started to emerge in early 1945. Every individual was given 230.23 grams of food per day, which was the equivalent of 674.85 calories. Those Ljubljana inhabitants who were in a slightly better economic position had no health problems typical of starvation, at least not during the first years of war. In addition to visiting the market place and the poorly supplied stores, these inhabitants were also buying nutritious

foods and even deserts on the black market. However, the black market ceased to operate a few months before the end of the war. This was due to general shortages in supplies. Starvation did not present a major problem among the few professional or semi farmers either. However, most of the inhabitants of Ljubljana (contemporary residents and workers), who cynically referred to the city as Poorville (Slovene: Revnograd), became well acquainted with starvation, which resulted in a rising number of tuberculosis cases. There were several other types of typical wartime diseases present. Many people suffered from the cold or fell ill due to inadequate clothing and footwear, which were, though rationed, rarely found on the shelves of Ljubljana stores at all. Besides food, clothes and footwear, there was also a shortage in fuel. After Ljubljana was occupied, the supply in local coal was both scarce and irregular. The coal from the reactivated coal mines in the Dolenjska region did not nearly cover the needs. As such, the province's administrative German Consultant in Economics issued a decree stopping all coal sales for heating and cooking purposes. People were advised to replace coal with wood; this however was impossible, since by the end of 1943 there was also a shortage in wood. As wartime conditions flailed, supplies remained undelivered. From early 1944 onwards, every household was entitled to 50 kg of wood per month. Needless to say, this quantity was not nearly enough; therefore, Ljubljana citizens started to chop and burn old furniture, wooden fences, and even wooden benches, which disappeared from the Tivoli city park. As the war drew to an end, even consumption in water, gas and electricity was limited. Even the city tram - kept at the tram depot for a few weeks - was part of this economization project.

Increasing numbers of the Ljubljana population started to seek help from charity organisations. The authorities had to expand their charity network by trying to help both individuals and entire families through actively establishing new institutions and organising different charity events. Self-initiative was common among individuals and groups. This way, those facing the lack of food, clothing, footwear, money, employment, and

lodgings were helped by various national and church humanitarian societies and organisations, as well as charitable institutions founded by the National Liberation Movement. Shelters for children and adults also opened their doors.

The school system was not germanised during the German occupation. To a large extent, the system was similar to pre-war school programmes, especially as far as the holiday calendar was concerned. The extraordinary importance that was put on physical education during the Italian occupation lost its significance. The German occupying authorities did not interfere with the work structure and contents found in Ljubljana school programmes. They did, however, require the introduction of some new curricula, mostly that relating to foreign language teaching. In high schools and vocational schools, Italian language lessons were replaced by lessons in German. The introduction of anti-communist lectures was typical for the 1943/44 academic term. Rupnik issued a decree during the same term relating to wartime requirements (conscripted into the Home Guard army and work service), which terminated all university lectures and courses. However, this did not mean the establishment closed down all together; that is, exams and promotional activities continued to be conducted without obstruction.

The German occupying authorities attempted to influence the Ljubljana inhabitants through radio – this is also why all owners were returned their previously confiscated radios – as well as through censored newspaper publications. The city opera and drama theatres were of no significant use to Germans, yet the authorities permitted these institutions to continue their missions. The number of tickets sold proved that the inhabitants, captured within the limits of the wire, needed at least some form of entertainment or “food for the soul”. The so-called “dilettante” (amateur) theatres and cinemas also recorded high numbers among their audiences. Librarians were swamped with work as the number of books borrowed at libraries continued to grow year after year. The Ljubljana citizens did not only engage themselves in the realm of culture in their free time,

they also frequented pubs and cafes or went walking, preferably along the popular local promenade. Weather permitting, swimming areas were visited in masses, both those man-made (Ilirija and Livada swimming pool facilities) as well as those found in their natural surroundings: "There are, however, so many people there that I can hardly get a space to lie down, so I choose to sit beside the swimming pool."¹⁴²⁰ Due to the barbed wire fence surrounding the city, swimming and sunbathing along the Sava River were impossible. As such, the mayor's office had to act quickly and arrange a new swimming area; this one, named Na Špici, was located near the city centre, along the Ljubljana River.

Even though life in Ljubljana almost seemed to follow its usual course, there was an ongoing constant threat of air raids present throughout the war period; as such, the authorities demanded that inhabitants adhere to the rules relating to mandatory blackouts in buildings and means of transport, and to take shelter upon hearing the alarm signal. Public shelters were arranged and some were even constructed anew. Fire brigades and technical squads, first aid stations, and emergency areas were set up for the worst-case scenario. However, the inhabitants of Ljubljana alone seemed to show a little less responsibility, that is, most of them did not take the air attack warnings quite seriously enough at the beginning of the war. In 1944, when air raid threats became more intense day by day, the population became thoroughly familiar with the meaning of "psychological war", which affected each and every inhabitant and was at its peak on 9th March 1945, when the city was bombed. In 1944, the capital recorded 200 alarm warnings, which lasted 17,359 minutes or 289 hours and 19 minutes in total. During the last months of the war, from 1st January 1945 to 24th April 1945, the Ljubljana inhabitants experienced precisely 100 alarm warnings¹⁴²¹, which lasted almost 200 hours in total.

The WW II Ljubljana citizens differed in many re-

¹⁴²⁰ A letter addressed to Martina Pogačar, 22nd June 1944, author's personal archives.

¹⁴²¹ ARS, AS 199, f. 1001-1600, year 1945, no. 1412-45.

spects. Their social structure differed, as well as their education and professional careers, incomes, and their political as well as religious beliefs. Yet all of them had one thing in common: war and its subsequent shortages, fear and agony. Most of them accepted wartime hardships with anger, yet reacted to them in diverse ways. Life thus went on, despite the fact that the Ljubljana inhabitants had been struck by wartime deprivation and the occupation. The altered daily routine was somewhat successfully practiced due to cumulative efforts invested by every individual: “Well, people miraculously get used to all kinds of unpleasantness and life is quick to assume its usual course”¹⁴²², part of the reason being the fact that “hope for better times is growing stronger by the day”.¹⁴²³

¹⁴²² ZAL, LJU 439, f. 3, 30, A letter by the Dolžan family, 22nd September 1944.

¹⁴²³ ZAL, LJU 439, f. 2, 11, IV, Zorka Bartol Diary, entered on 31st August 1941.