

AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF REMEMBERING THE FASCIST ERA IN THE ISTRIAN COUNTRYSIDE – A CASE STUDY OF THE VILLAGE RAKITOVEC

Vida ROŽAC DAROVEC

Science and Research Centre Koper, Garibaldijeva 1, 6000 Koper, Slovenia
e-mail: vida.rozacdarovec@zrs-kp.si

ABSTRACT

Memories which are painful and do not correspond to one's current identity are buried because of unresolved past trauma and pressure. In my research of the Istrian countryside in the fascist era, I observed how memories of ordinary people were in (dis)accord with the official interpretations of the past and how individual memory is intertwined with the collective national representations of the past which are founded on a politically motivated black-and-white interpretation. The article is based on interviewees' memories of "the fascist era" in an Istrian village. On the face of it, their testimonies correspond to the national collective memory and refer to the denationalization-related pressure exerted by Italians and to Slovenes' resistance, whereupon they transmute into the discovery of grey zones of the non-addressed and traumatic past, which refer to various forms of collaboration with the fascist regime.

Key words: individual memory, collective memory, Istrian countryside, fascism, forgetting, trauma

L'ARCHEOLOGIA DELLA RIMEMBRANZA DEL PERIODO FASCISTA NELLA CAMPAGNA ISTRIANA – IL CASO DELLA VILLA DI RAKITOVEC

SINTESI

I ricordi dolorosi e incompatibili con l'identità attuale vengono relegati nell'oblio per il fatto che i traumi e le pressioni non sono stati risolti. Nella ricerca di storia orale condotta nella campagna istriana e incentrata sul periodo fascista ho perciò indagato sulla concordanza o discordanza dei ricordi della gente comune con le interpretazioni ufficiali del passato, ossia su quanto la memoria individuale sia intrecciata con le rappresentazioni collettive nazionali del passato basate su una politicamente motivata interpretazione in bianco e nero. L'articolo poggia su interviste di storia orale, ovvero su ricordi individuali dei testimoni del "tempo del fascismo" raccolti in un villaggio istriano. Le testimonianze che, inizialmente, riferendosi alle pressioni snazionalizzanti degli

italiani e la resistenza degli sloveni, coincidono con la memoria collettiva nazionale, in seguito passano alla scoperta di zone grigie di un passato sottaciuto e traumatico che si ricollegano a varie forme di collaborazione con il regime fascista.

Parole chiave: memoria individuale, memoria collettiva, campagna istriana, fascismo, oblio, trauma

INTRODUCTION¹

The case study is based on life stories that I collected in the Istrian village of Rakitovec over a long period of time. Presently populated by 114 inhabitants, Rakitovec is a small village on the border of Croatia and Slovenia. In the interwar period the village was part of the municipality of Buzet, Croatia, and later became part of the Republic of Slovenia after World War II.

My aim is to analyse the relationship between individuals' memories and the collective myth. Memories of everyday life during fascist period in the Istrian countryside are at the forefront of my historical and ethnographic research. As the editors of *The Politics of Everyday Life in Fascist Italy* (Arthurs, Ebner & Ferris, 2017) have pointed out, the study of everyday history traces the conjunctions and conjunctures, the encounters and interactions, between different levels of historical analysis. This conception contrasts with more unidirectional approaches, whether totalitarian pressures "from above" (as in much of cultural historiography) or social history's reconstruction of resistance "from below". The historiography of the everyday also embraces the complications and contradictions – the "messiness" – of historical experience that do not always emerge easily from analyses that privilege official policies or grand narratives of political, social, and economic transformations. In the context of dictatorship, this can mean capturing the interplay of rationality and irrationality, of subjectivity and emotion, that guides individuals' choices and beliefs, and recognizing the multiplicity of individuals' relationships to the regime. At different moments, and in myriad ways, Italians could be "inside", "outside", and "against" the state. People who were effectively supporters of, and participants

1 This article is the result of research activities in the research projects: *Oborožena meja. Politično nasilje v severnem Jadranu, 1914–1941* n. J6-7152, and *Antifašizem v Julijski krajini v transnacionalni perspektivi, 1919–1954* n. J6-9356, financed by the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS).



Fig. 1: An architectural detail of Rakitovec (photo by Darko Darovec).

in, the Fascist project could also become its “victims” and vice versa; this is perhaps most evident in the story of Italian Jews under Fascism, but as the contributions to this volume suggest, it equally shaped the lives of colonial settlers, soldiers, housewives, and schoolchildren. As pioneers of “history from below” long ago noted, ordinary people do not necessarily consent to an entire system of governance and all of its policies and their effects; on the contrary, they are more likely to be both perpetrators and victims, supporters and dissenters, participants and evaders. They could also change their minds, as well as their actions, over time. Consent and repression could co-exist, ebb and flow, according to changing circumstances and exigencies. Beyond the binaries that have characterized the study of Benito Mussolini’s regime – repression and persuasion, compulsion and enticement, perpetrators and victims, consent and resistance – the scope therefore exists for investigating the complex ways by which people lived and worked within this system, resisting it, appropriating it, accommodating it, ignoring it, and reproducing it (Arthurs, Ebner & Ferris, 2017, 9).

The discrepancy between the official and vernacular memory is a consistent feature in the process of nation-building, similar to how the regional, local, and individual identity – as expected – contrasts with the national one.

Because resistance to Nazi-fascism signifies one of the Slovenian nation’s central identification points in collective memory, it is an appropriate starting point for exploring the

theory and practice or the relationship between the collective and individual memories of Nazi-fascism. My research draws on the standpoints developed by the “Popular Memory Group” at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham, England, which has examined the interactions between “private” and “public” remembering, establishing that memory is a construction and that memories are constructed so that they help us feel relatively comfortable with our lives, which makes us feel appeased. If the traumas that we had experienced are left unresolved, the memories, painful and disharmonious with the current identity, would be suppressed to the back of our minds. In a way, we are constantly bringing in harmony our past, present, and future. The private process of “safe” remembering is, in fact, a very public one. Our memories can be very risky and painful if they are not adjusted to the official versions of the past (Johnson, 1982).

Due to the fact that memories are a social construction critics of oral history regard oral sources as irrelevant to historiography. This could be true if oral sources are used when assessing actual events taking place in the past. On the other hand, if we are interested in how the past affects our lives at present, oral testimonies are a crucial source for analyzing the relationship between the past and the present, but also between memory and mythology. Although the partial nature of everyday life sources can present difficulties, there are nevertheless ways in which historians can work around or mitigate gaps, recover fragments, and interpret documentary silences. So-called ego-documents – meaning source material “in which an author writes about his or her own acts, thoughts and feelings,” like diaries or private letters – are especially useful, though not without limitations of their own. They tend to be produced by individuals with the necessary literacy skills and cultural propensities to commit thoughts to paper, and they are also inherently subjective, presenting a partial and “curated” version of reality. One must therefore be careful to view them less as unmediated accounts of events and attitudes, and more as subjective, historically contingent expressions of how people made meaning of their lives (Arthurs, Ebner & Ferris, 2017, 10).

FASCISM IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

In my research, I have observed how ordinary people’s memories were in accord or discord with official representations of the past or how the individual memory is brought in line with collective national representations of the past.

A look at the Slovene historiography addressing the subject of fascism shows that the bulk of historiographical production deals with research into the fascist politics of denationalisation in the Julian March and the anti-fascist resistance.² A special issue of *Acta Histriae* (*Acta Histriae* 24, 2016, 4), which includes articles discussing ideational, cultural, and social aspects of border fascism (Verginella, 2016; Smotlak, 2016; Matajc, 2016), has shed new light on the subject. Egon Pelikan’s most recent studies on Tone

2 Milica Kacin Wohinz’s *Primorski upor fašizmu 1920–1941* (Kacin Wohinz & Verginella, 2008), which has to this day remained the most fundamental work, and her volume *Prvi antifašizem v Evropi* (Kacin Wohinz, 1990), along with works by Tone Ferenc, Jože Pirjevec, Branko Marušič, Milan Pahor, and Egon Pelikan.

Kralj's ecclesiastical paintings, which marked the Slovene ethnic border by means of iconography in the period of fascism (Pelikan, 2016 and 2018), should be mentioned, as should Borut Klabjan's study of the fascist marking of Trieste by means of monuments (Klabjan, 2014).

However, Marta Verginella pointed out that certain questions are still poorly researched; particularly the questions of "the form and support the fascist regime was given by individual strata of the population, but also the question of the social and economic impact of material benefits provided by Mussolini's authorities to the poor in the Littoral and elsewhere in Italy ..." Verginella argues that the reason for this situation is the "delicacy of questions, which even at the present level of knowledge does not allow for straightforward dividing lines between the fascist state and the Slovene society, and that does not draw an unambiguous line between Italians as fascists and Slovenes as antifascists." This means that it does not allow for a black-and-white representation of the Littoral's history, the only functional one in terms of the "ideal" national narrative (Verginella, 2008, 10–11).

Even a decade after the aforementioned work no significant shifts had occurred in this field, with the exception of Boris Mlakar's study *Fašistična stranka na Primorskem v tridesetih letih 20. stoletja in poskus predstavitve njenega slovenskega članstva* (The Fascist Party in the Littoral in the 1930s and an Attempt to Present Its Slovene Members) (Mlakar, 2016). Based mostly on the original archival material, Mlakar's writing shows the organizational structure of the Fascist Party throughout the Slovene ethnic territory of the Julian March in the mid-1930s. It highlights all *fasci*, their respective leaderships and number of members, touching also upon membership in individual segments of parties or affiliate organizations. Despite the unevenly preserved material, the article at the same time seeks to identify Slovenes in the leaderships of respective *fasci* or fascist organizations, but also their relative and absolute share in the party's membership. Mlakar's findings indicate that a large number of Slovenes joined fascist organizations in the Idrija and the Karst region, i.e. areas located in western Slovenia that became part of Italy with the Treaty of Rapallo. Darko Dukovski (1998) discussed the Istrian experience in *Fašizam u Istri* [Fascism in Istria] and also maintains that in Istria fascism entered all pores of political and social life without regard to nationality. Dukovski distinguishes between the "urban" and "agrarian" fascism, stating in terms of Istrian fascism that "[...] Istria is becoming an Italian province ravaged by prematurely flourished fascists squads organizations" (Dukovski, 1998, 264). In Istria, fascism was widely accepted in the first half of the 1930s, which coincides with the establishment of the fascist corporate state. However, as pointed out already by Miroslav Bertoša, "the interwar period in Istria was a period of the most basic survival, i.e. biological, national, cultural, moral, and human [survival]. Some managed to survive biologically but lost their national identity, others their cultural or moral identity, while some, as philosophers would put it, lived and died without having been born in the first place." The involvement of Slovene and Croatian peasantry in fascist organizations must be understood in this context (Dukovski, 1998, 267). It must also be kept in mind that the violent fascist politics intimidated the population with its squads, and it would be illusory to expect the impoverished Istrian



Fig. 2: A mailbox on the house located at 6 Rakitovec, which was an inn in the period of Italy (photo by Darko Darovec).

population to have successfully staged a revolt against the aggressive politics in the long run, particularly if we take into consideration certain benefits that the new regime offered in exchange for loyalty.

This subject is addressed by several fragmentary ethnographic studies that mention eyewitness testimonies on Slovenes' participation in fascist organizations. Here, I would like to mention Borut Brumen's work, who carried out fieldwork in the village of Sv. Peter. In his volume *Sv. Peter in njegovi časi* (2000) he maintains that the consensus with fascism among the villagers of Sv. Peter was to a great extent present due to the increased chances of survival, but also owing to "ideological brainwashing from kindergarten to the school of the "fascist avant-garde" (Brumen, 2000).

I primarily focus on eyewitness testimonies, on the "period of fascism", which holds a special place in the stories of their lives, as this is the period of their youth and socialization, in this particular instance in fascist society. The bulk of testimonies was gathered in 2003 and 2004, when several individuals witnessing that period were still alive, and, in fragments, the gathering has continued to this day.

Fifteen villagers over 65 were interviewed, all of whom were born and had lived in the village their entire lives. The men were for the most part "semi-proletarians" employed by the railway company as members of an untrained or trained workforce; they worked

the fields in their spare time. Their wives were mostly housewives who worked occasionally as housekeepers in Trieste.

Being a native of this area, I have been in regular contact with the interviewees, and they present me new stories in every conversation. Therefore, despite the difficulties arising from maintaining scientific distance and, at times, personal feelings of injury, I have managed to penetrate deeper into the subject matter. Gathering testimonies is like peeling an onion; from the sphere where memories were in complete harmony with the official interpretations of the past in the initial stage of my interest in the village's memory, dating back to 1989, it moved in the course of my systematic field research into the grey zone of the untold and suppressed individual and collective past, which probably does not differ from the Littoral average at all.

Luisa Passerini, who explored the historical experience of workers in Turin in the 1970s, pointed out that many eyewitness testimonies do not tell us much about the areas where consensus with the regime was believed to have been established, ascribing the "silence" to the impact of the official historiography (Passerini, 2008). The situation in terms of remembering was similar in the case of my interviewees. It is interesting to note that, in the villages to which I arrived in the capacity of a researcher, people did not want to talk about the aforementioned issue. It was only in my native village that I managed to penetrate deeper into the subject over a long period of time. I remember being a child and hearing people blaming each other in conflicts for having Italian surnames and similar things, which I did not understand at the time. When I began my systematic research, I ran across inconsistencies in interviewees' narratives, their avoidance of answering certain questions, etc., all of which aroused my interest. Since the interviewees told me the stories of their lives, they started by talking about their enrolment in Italian schools, where they were faced with a language that they did not understand, and about unfeeling, oppressive Italian teachers. These stories were completely in line with fascism-related memoiristics and historiography. At the symbolic level, the village was given a new name, namely Aquaviva della Venna. They spoke about not being allowed to speak Slovene, sing Slovene songs, and about the presence of the Italian *carabinieri* in the village. The village seniors had the most difficulties adjusting to the Italian presence and found it difficult to adapt to the new regime, expressing openly their nostalgia for the former Austro-Hungarian state.

In the family of one of the informants the distrust of the new regime went so deep that they refused to exchange Austrian currency for Italian money in 1919 and, consequently, a considerable amount of money was lost:

Our seniors couldn't stand Italians; as a result my grandfather lost a great deal of money because he refused to exchange it for Italian currency. He believed that it was all temporary, saying that Italian money was nothing but rags. Some other older villagers, Tripar and Mohor, refused to exchange it as well. I remember us finding that money in an old double-bottom chest, the money was lying there and it was quite a pretty penny (Milan, 2004).³

3 To ensure anonymity, I use pseudonyms when referring to interviewees. Milan is a pseudonym.

Although the Italians' arrival in 1919 was met with mixed emotions, the majority of the residents soon adjusted to the new political conditions. The Italian soldiers' arrival in the village was immediately followed by a range of activities aimed at improving living conditions. People were even paid to repair roads and retaining walls or regulate torrential waters. In those years the Italian authorities built the new road to Čičerija, mostly for military purposes. Additionally, a soup kitchen was organized in the village. All this convinced people to accept the new authority with greater ease:

When Italians came to the village, their policy was peaceable; there was a captain, they slept wherever there was room. The captain went to see the mayor Lisjak, saying that they wanted to do something in the village, as there was no road. Well, they paid people and walled up Lokev, mended roads, food was cooked at the Rijanovs', and people went there to fetch lunch. They blasted the road as far as the station and so our people were happy with them (Ivan, 2004).

There were a few minor incidents with Italian carabinieri, who often came to the village from the municipality of Buzet and spent the night at the village inn, where a room – the so-called carabinieri room – was reserved for them.

Some people quickly came to terms with that, but our elders, my grandfather for instance, was involved in a fight with a carabinieri member who married a young woman called Milka. His name was Paolo and he gave my grandfather a couple of slaps for speaking against Italy (Milan, 2004).

Initially, the interviewees avoided speaking about their consensus with the regime; however, when I specifically asked about their participation in fascist organizations, the informant Ivan provided the following explanation:

Nobody was exactly against fascists in our village; our people were peaceful and they accepted all of them, Austria, Italy, and Yugoslavia. What could we, poor souls, have done? Life had to go on. If you wanted benefits, you had to yield; that is how it was and always will be. That is why some people joined Balilla, others Partito Fascista, but they did not do anyone any harm. They were not like those squadristi around Trieste (Ivan, 2004).

Even though there was no organized resistance in the village, not all villagers joined fascist organizations, nor did they change their names and join the Italian imperialistic army as volunteers. One of the informants believes that that was the case with those who were more ambitious: "those who wanted a better life, a job, an inn", which can be understood as a strategy of survival. Their co-villagers did not particularly condemn such behaviour. With regard to the previously stated, I initially assumed that the adjustment to the new state and totalitarian regime did not pose great problems to the majority.

That the situation was not altogether unproblematic and that the period of the Italian presence in the village was traumatically imprinted in the community's memory was

hinted at by further testimonies about wartime. At first, I came to the conclusion that on-site misunderstandings did occur between Croatian partisans and the Slovene population in the border area, despite the ZAVNOH's (Zemaljsko antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Hrvatske – the State Anti-fascist Council for the National Liberation of Croatia) decision that Istria was to be included in Croatia. In order to settle operative issues with greater ease, the Slovene and Croatian liberation movement reached in Maliža on 10 February 1944 an agreement about the delimitation line, which extended from the mouth of the Dragonja River as far as the village of Topolovec, running to the southwest below the village of Pregara towards the east above Štrped before Buzet and in the direction of Vodice (Marin, 1992, 161). A report dated to 10 February 1944, which was written by Milan Javor, a representative of the Liberation Front in the Slovene part of Istria, reveals that the Croats intended to include settlements located in the linguistically mixed territory in their formations, even though the local population was believed to be opposed to that plan (Ostaneč, 1991, 281).

Rakitovec belonged to the Slovene side; nevertheless, Croatian partisans and activists from Čičarija pressured the villagers to mobilize young men and send them to Croatian partisan formations in Lanišče, in Čičarija. The question of why they responded to this pressure remained unanswered for some time. At first I was given the answer that the villagers had been intimidated by the Croatian Čiči, who had threatened to burn down the village unless their young men were sent to join the Croatian partisans. Eventually I was told by one of the witnesses, who is now deceased, that this was the result of fear of revenge, since many villagers were members of fascist organizations in the period of Italy; consequently, a mobilization was organized and in March 1944 young men from the village of Rakitovec were conscripted into the Croatian partisan army:

When the Italians capitulated and we went down to Šmarje Hill and then Germans arrived, we were frightened and things were quiet until December, in December a brigade was formed up in Čiči, and a villager [named] Keko, who played accordion at Brest and was in contact with Čiči, told us that we had to go. But they had no right to mobilize us because we were Slovenes. But our people offered to go themselves because they had been in the fascist party. And they were scared, so they organized a committee and made old Tarantin their president. Keko came and summoned everyone who had only sons and said 'my boys, what are you waiting for, why didn't you join the partisans, Čiči will set us on fire if you don't go.' And Šilar replied to him: 'Oh, well done, you have only women.' [...] And so we went and joined the partisans in March; I and some other people fell ill and came back, while others went to Gorski Kotar (Ivan, 2004).

The pressure exerted from Čičarija or Croatia, which stemmed from the attempt to include Rakitovec in the Croatian territory, was ended when the regional political leaders came to an agreement that Rakitovec was in fact part of Slovenia. The decision was confirmed by the arrival of the partisan activist Darko Peca from the neighbouring village of Dol, when the villagers organized a "committee" helmed by Anton Miklavčič – Tarantin,



Fig. 3: Graffiti sprayed on the house at 6 Rakitovec (photo by Darko Darovec).

who at the time was also the village mayor. After that several other young men were conscripted into the Slovene partisan army in June 1944.

It was not until recently, after several conversations with one of the informants, that I obtained an insight into untold deeper dimensions of the fascist presence in the village, which were distressing in many respects. On the one hand, the testimony is indicative of the general consensus or even the fascination with the regime that people experienced through the presence of Italian carabinieri in the village. It was precisely their presence that traumatically cut into the community and undermined the very foundations of its traditional familial relations. Members of the carabinieri namely had relationships with the local women, regardless of their marital status.

The carabinieri, who were in the village throughout the period of Italian occupation, had everything under control. But the worst thing was that they meddled with our women. Even with married ones and young girls (Ivana, 2018).

Having been asked how their husbands coped with that, the informant explained that their husbands had been rendered helpless due to the position of power that the carabinieri held. She added that the men had been unable to protect their honour, which left a deep scar on relationships within their families and the entire community that lasted for long after the Italians left:

Their husbands had to endure it and couldn't do anything. Because they were afraid of them. My uncle was beside himself and wanted to kill himself because of that. Some woman had a child with an Italian. Nothing could be done, it had to be endured. One of those husbands who fostered him left for Marezige to sell socks, so that he could baptize the child. He told my cousin that he was off to earn some money to baptize the "taxman" [the child of an Italian tax officer]. And then he kept the child as if it had been his own. Traditionally, our men didn't even let men from the neighbouring village near our women, but there nothing that could be done (Ivana, 2018).

Immediately after Italy's capitulation, political players from the period of fascism, as a rule, turned into fervent advocates of the National Liberation War and were not sanctioned by the new regime in any way. According to an opinion expressed by one of the witnesses, they had been better off than those who had not joined the partisans:

I was sent to the partisans in Gorski Kotar in 43. Those who had been fascists were in the 'committee' and were in command even after the war. Not a single committee member joined the partisans, they decided where everyone will go. When war veterans' pensions were given away, the fascists and those who had remained at home received higher pensions. They were handing out food stamps and ordered everyone in the village around [...] (Anton, 2004).

CONCLUSION

The events that unfolded in the village during the period of fascism, in modified political circumstances that saw not only the change of the regime but also that of the state, posed a burden to the community, not only in a political sense, but the invaders also trampled on traditional familial and interpersonal relations within the community. These relationships were marked by feelings of guilt, which accompanied them throughout the post-war period. However, can this really be understood as a lack of national sense? Ethnic identity in Istria, which for over a millennium has been located at the meeting point of three worlds, i.e. the Slavic, the Romance, and the Germanic, is to be understood in the context of fast and frequent changes in state frameworks. National identity, which usually stems from interactions between a centre and a periphery, was subject to pressure exerted by fascist Rome, which was merely a continuation of colonial relations in what was already a multicultural environment. Istrians' interests centred around their families and the immediate community, and everything that failed to contribute to the preservation of the community at hand was regarded as deviant. To them, national belonging was of secondary importance. They adjusted to each respective authority without exceptions; nonetheless, they kept a certain distance from it. It is therefore not surprising that they easily adjusted to each regime change. Yet, as far as fascism is concerned, the change of authority brought about specific traumas, which could be felt long after the fall of the regime.

ARHEOLOGIJA SPOMINJANJA NA ČAS FAŠIZMA NA ISTRSKEM
PODEŽELJU – PRIMER VASI RAKITOVEC

Vida ROŽAC DAROVEC

Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Koper, Garibaldijeva 1, 6000 Koper, Slovenija

e-mail: vida.rozacdarevec@zrs-kp.si

POVZETEK

Prispevek temelji na ustno-zgodovinskih intervjujih oz. na individualnih spominih pričevalcev na primeru ene od istrskih vasi na »čas fašizma«, ki prehajajo od spominov, ki sovpadajo z nacionalnim kolektivnim spominom in se nanašajo na raznarodovalne pritiske Italijanov in upor Slovencev, pa vse do odkrivanj sivih con zamolčane in travmatične preteklosti, ki se nanašajo na različne oblike sodelovanje s fašističnim režimom. Pri raziskavi na istrskem podežlju na čas fašizma sem zato zasledovala, kako so spomini navadnih ljudi usklajeni oz. neusklajeni z uradnimi interpretacijami preteklosti oz. kako se individualni spomin prepleta s kolektivnimi nacionalnimi reprezentacijami preteklosti, ki temeljijo na črno-beli interpretaciji in je v politični funkciji. Dogajanje v vasi v času fašizma je v spremenjenih političnih okoliščinah, ko se ni spremenil le režim, ampak tudi država, obremenjevalo skupnost, ne le v političnem smislu, ampak je potepalo tradicionalne družinske in medosebne odnose v skupnosti. Zaznamovali so jih z občutkom krivde, ki jih je spremljal ves poveljni čas. Toda ali to res lahko razumemo, kot pomanjkanje nacionalnega čuta? Etnično identiteto v Istri, ki je bila vseskozi na stičišču treh svetov, slovanskega, romanskega in germanskega, je potrebno razumeti v kontekstu hitrega in pogostega menjavanja državnih okvirov. Nacionalna identiteta, ki je običajno rezultat interakcij med centrom in periferijo je bila podvržena pritiskom fašističnega Rima, kar je bilo le nadaljevanje kolonialnih odnosov v takratnem multikulturnem okolju. V ospredju zanimanja istrskega človeka je bila njegova družina in ožja skupnost in deviantno je bilo vse tisto, kar ni prispevalo k ohranjanju te skupnosti. Pripadnost narodu je bila zanje drugotnega pomena. Brez izjeme so se prilagajali vsakokratni oblasti, vendar do nje ohranjali nekakšno distanco. Zato ne čudi, da so se lahko brez težav prilagodili vsakokratnim spremembam oblasti, ki pa je v primeru fašizma pustila določene travme in jih je bilo čutiti še dolgo po padcu režima.

Ključne besede: individualni spomin, kolektivni spomin, istrsko podeželje, fašizem, pozaba, travma

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anton (2004): born in 1924, interviewed in 2004.

Ivan (2004): born in 1925, interviewed in 2004.

Ivana (2018): born in 1934, interviewed in 2018.

Milan (2004): born in 1934, interviewed in 2004.

Arthurs, J., Ebner, M. & K. Ferris (2017): Introduction. In: Arthurs, J., Ebner, M. & K. Ferris (eds.): *The Politics of Everyday Life in Fascist Italy*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 1–19.

Brumen, B. (2000): Sv. Peter in njegovi časi. Socialni spomini, časi in identitete v istrski vasi Sv. Peter. Ljubljana, Založba /*Cf.

Dukovski, D. (1998): Fašizam u Istri 1918–1943. Pula, C.A.S.H.

Ferenc, T. (1977): Akcije organizacije TIGR v Avstriji in Italiji spomladi 1940. Ljubljana, Borec.

Johnson, R. et al. (eds.) (1982): *Making Histories: Studies in History writing and Politics*. London, Hutchinson, 1982.

Kacin Wohinz, M. (1990): Prvi antifašizem v Evropi: Primorska 1925–1935. Koper, Lipa.

Kacin Wohinz, M. & M. Verginella (2008): Primorski upor fašizmu 1920–1941. Ljubljana, Slovenska matica.

Klabjan, B. (2014): Fašistični Trst: tržaška kulturna krajina v času med svetovnima vojnama. *Studia Historica Slovenica*, 14, 2–3, 593–607.

Marin, L. (1992): Upravna in teritorialna razdelitev slovenske Istre v zadnjih treh stoletjih – drugi del. *Annales – Analiz Koprskega primorja in bližnjih pokrajin*, 2, 2, 159–174.

Matajč, V. (2016): Border Fascism in the Venezia Giulia: the Issue of »Proximate Colony« in Slovenian Literature. *Acta Histriae*, 24, 4, 939–958.

Mrakar, B. (2016): Fašistična stranka na Primorskem v tridesetih letih 20. stoletja in poskus predstavitve njenega slovenskega članstva. *Acta Histriae*, 24, 4, 787–800.

Ostaneck, F. (1991): Slovensko-hrvatska jezikovna meja v Istri. Gradivo za obdobje od leta 1860-1956. *Annales Koprskega Primorja in bližnjih pokrajin*, 1, 1, 213–222.

Passerini, L. (2008): Ustna zgodovina, spol in utopija. Ljubljana, Studia humanitatis.

Pelikan, E. (2016): Tone Kralj in prostor meje. Ljubljana, Cankarjeva založba.

Pelikan, E. (2018): Uncovering Mussolini and Hitler in Churches: The Painter's Ideological Subversion and the Marking of Space along the Slovene-Italian Border. *Austrian History Yearbook*, 49, 207–237.

Smotlak, M. (2016): Obmejni fašizem v perspektivi sodobne slovenske pripovedne proze v Italiji (1991–2015). *Acta Histriae*, 24, 4, 919–938.

Verginella, M. (2008): Uvod. In: Kacin Wohinz, M. & M. Verginella: *Primorski upor fašizmu 1920–1941*. Ljubljana, Slovenska matica, 9–14.

Verginella, M. (2016): Dokončni boj med »severnojadranskimi rasami« v irendentističnem in fašističnem diskurzu. *Acta Histriae*, 24, 4, 705–721.