

HOLOCAUST IN YUGOSLAVIA



WITH BROCHURE
"A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE"



Jevrejska opština Zemun
קהילה היהודית זמון
Jewish Community Zemun

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INTRODUCTION

With the dismantling of Yugoslavia various established value systems observed up to then were also obliterated. Whether justifiably or not, only time will tell; a time when new generations will critically observe the existing novel interpretation and recording of events that took place only decades ago. In recent years in almost all ex-Yugoslav republics (and in some still today) there have been attempts to rehabilitate pronounced criminals and collaborationists of all kind and thus negate the values of the World War II anti-Fascist resistance movement and the battles fought jointly by all the peoples that at the time lived in Yugoslavia. We must note that despite weighty attempts made for such rehabilitations, in some ex-republics the official policy of state administrations has clearly chosen to uphold the achievements of the Peoples Liberation Resistance i.e. anti-Fascism, a basic value integral to the very foundation of modern Europe. It is interesting to find that even those who indubitably uphold traitors and collaborationist groups and fighters, also fervently uphold anti-Fascism and in doing so endeavor to convert Fascists into heroes of the anti-Fascist war. The rehabilitation of pronounced World War II criminals, collaborators who thoroughly assisted the installment of Hitler's "New World Order" is an insult not only to the victims, Jews condemned to the greatest extermination in their millennia old history, but also, to those who from day one of war operations fought inside the anti-Fascist alliance.

The goal of this exhibition is to show that even in the hardest of times during World War II there still existed people who endangering their own lives as well as those of their families, chose to save human life, the lives of people of another nationality who were pronounced guilty because of their faith, in this case Jews.

The museum of the Holocaust in Jerusalem, Yad Vashem, based on the law passed by the Knesset, Israeli Parliament, in 1953 presents written testimony and the Medal of the Righteous among the Nations award exclusively to non-Jews who saved Jewish lives during World War II. After the nineties breakdown of Yugoslavia Yad Vashem decided that all awarded Righteous among the Nations medals to that date, should be divided up among the newly founded states. The unique Yad Vashem recognition is not awarded to states but individuals and the fact that they performed their courageous feats as citizens of Yugoslavia must not be neglected. By awarding the Righteous medal to individuals in Yugoslavia, Israel, in a manner of speaking, was paying its respects to a state that came out of the World War II strife as a member of the victorious alliance. In any case, by misapprehension and a wish of all new founded states to have more Righteous than the next, divisions were made on a nationalistic basis foregoing the places where the rescues actually took place. We chose to speak of the good people who saved Jewish lives exclusively in the context of their extensive humanity and courage. Up to now Yad Vashem has recognized 299 Righteous from the territory of Yugoslavia. In the addendum to the catalogue we have printed a table with the names of the Righteous listed according to the place of rescue (within the new founded states).

In our wish to clarify and offer deeper knowledge of the times when the good people of Yugoslavia saved Jewish lives we have asked eminent historians and publicists to write individual texts aimed to direct the attention of exhibition viewers to events that took place prior to and after the occupation of 1941, as well as to events that led up to the almost total extinction of the Jewish population of Yugoslavia. To that extent the first six panels are an attempt to tell in short the story of the persecution of Jews in Yugoslavia from the advent of Fascism and Nazism up to the end of World War II. The remaining 16 panels are dedicated to those good, and above all, courageous people who despite the odds, valued life far above, and regardless of, nationality.



HOLOCAUST AND PRESENT

Within two days of the establishment of the Dachau concentration camp by Nazi Germany in March 1933, the Belgrade press carried the news about Dachau. Soon, a photograph was also printed stating details about the three rows of barbed wire surrounding the camp "through which a flow of electric current was switched on at night" and noting how the camp's function was to incarcerate persons "deterrent" to state interests. That same year the general public was also informed that each day Jews were incarcerated first and foremost in camps, along with Communists. Thus such a phenomenon as the Holocaust, which by its very criminal nature was unparalleled in modern history, and which marked the twentieth century in numberless ways, was at its very onset known to contemporaries not only in Germany but throughout Europe, including Yugoslavia. Its genesis developed before the eyes of the whole world. It had been announced publicly and the ideology from which it stemmed was known to all who took an interest to know; there were daily reports on the way it functioned and all actions undertaken were done before the eyes of the public. On 1 April 1933, the entire international community was abreast of the Nazi state prescribed boycott of Jewish shops; it was regularly informed of their everyday mass expulsion from work, of the homicide of individuals that went unpunished, of the public degradations and of the suicide of Jews horrified by the idea of what lay in store for them. Two years later, the contents of the Nuremberg laws were publicized to the international community and another three years later reports on the "Crystal night" were exchanged worldwide, and how from that day on the number of murdered Jews rose drastically. Anti-Fascists demonstrated in all major world towns demanding boycott of Nazi Germany ... All of the above stated (except for the last item) applied also to the Yugoslavian public.

When Hitler came into power in Germany and became its ruler, he also safeguarded the rise of Fascism into a worldwide movement. Soon almost all European countries had their own Fascist groupings and measures against Jews, threatening their elementary rights, even in territories where Fascists were not in power, multiplied by the day. Restrictions for allowing entry to Jews, who in the face of Nazism were leaving Germany, and the introduction of numerus clausus for Jewish pupils and students were initial anti-Jewish measures exercised in some European countries. Yugoslavia was no exception to this trend. The state's government was not immune to the amplification of Fascist organizations and anti-Semitic propaganda and by the end of the thirties contributed to the restriction of Jewish rights. In 1938 the head of the Ministry of education, remarking on the "Jewish question", maintained that as such it did not exist in Yugoslavia as "Jews are fully protected by law", but in the instance of settlement of Jewish immigrants, "no country in today's circumstances appreciates any increase of their minorities" and that "this sensible standpoint" was supported by Yugoslavia as well. Very soon initial anti-Jewish regulations were adopted. At its session held in September 1939 the Council of Ministers passed the Regulation on measures referring to Jews vis-à-vis engagement in businesses dealing with food provisions and human nutrition and the Regulation on enrollment of persons of Jewish descent into universities, educational institutions in the rank of Universities, colleges, high schools, teacher training and other professional schools. These discriminatory regulations concerning Jews were printed and publicized in the Official Gazette in October 1940.

Today in Serbia nobody (in public) negates the Holocaust. It is general knowledge that in the self-same country its Jewish population was almost completely annihilated as early as mid 1942. However, the admittance of these two facts is in general as far as contemplation regarding the tragedy of Jews in World War Two goes. Everything that follows on the subject in modern argumentation serves for the most part to obscure historical facts rather than highlight them. The reasons lie in the nationalistic need of the predominant ideology to minimize and even discharge any responsibility of "domestic" inhabitants for this grueling outcome. In the contemporary concept Nazi ideology and the German occupation have become an



JEVREJSKA POSLA

Even today certain historians rationalize how "Jewish capital" incited Serbian anti-Semitism

isolated phenomenon and thus solely and exclusively guilty for such an outcome. Everything referring to "domestic" engagement is either negated or relativized, which by definition leads to presenting the times and the processes in question as warped mirror reflections; presenting such reflections produces in their consumers (the young generation) a total misunderstanding of facts. Such minimizing and tempering of past events in this very case has even resulted in a contemporary questionable acknowledgment of some parts of Nazi argumentation in defining reasons for the mass murder of domestic Jews, which is neither here nor there. Thus, today one can read that the horrors of the Holocaust in the territory of Serbia were caused by acts undertaken by anti-Fascists. Such statements negate the very nature of Nazi anti-Semitism, since its very ideology, needed no incentive "to strike back" by killing Jews. By such argumentation part of the responsibility, which is never admitted to in correlation with collaborationism, is conferred to anti-Fascist Partisans implying that had it not been for their resistance movement, no Holocaust would have ensued. Today one frequently comes upon writings about the influence of "Jewish capital" inside the country and of its fair share in the advent of anti-Semitism, whereby the Nazi argumentation that Jews were exploiters and that the Holocaust was a "necessary precaution" becomes unconsciously/consciously acceptable; however, in reference to "Jewish capital", the fact that the rich and the poor were both destined for extinction, and that their fate was solely determined by nationality, i.e. by being Jewish, is tellingly discounted. In today's perception of those pre-war and war years it is indicative that, there is no mention of any other "national" capital, and so, as a maxim, it is reserved for Jewish capital only - exactly like eighty years ago. The third tendency of curtail- ing the focal point of the Holocaust stems from



Milan Nedić, delivering a speech in the presence of a German officer

the statement that, conceptually, the Nazi perception to effectively exterminate Jews ultimately differed little from that of exterminating individuals of other nationalities (especially one's own). Once again, such bias implicitly refutes the fact that, in essence, the concept of racist anti-Semitism was pivotal to National Socialism's ideology.

As apparently certain "arguments" of Nazism itself are put to use in rationalizing the Holocaust, so contemporary accounts interpreting the incidence of Quislings in Serbia, necessitous for the justification of their existence, in replication, pronouncedly apply Quisling "argumentation". Therefore the suppression of the role of Quislings in the predicament of Jews is indicative, and if it is mentioned at all, then it is taken as an exception to the maintained standpoint and is personified either by naming Dimitrije Ljotić as an ideologue, or certain prominent policemen as executors. Today, Milan Nedić and his complete political, intellectual and military apparatus are principally tacitly passed over.

Only a few months after the proclaimed 3 June 1941, Order referring to Jews and Gypsies by the Military Command in Serbia, the government of Milan Nedić passed a series of regulations containing anti-Semitic issues. Although they were signed by all ministers, headed by Nedić, these very regulations are those not spoken of today, and the role of the government in the matter is reduced to and only commented as a "noble" aspiration to preserve "the biological substance of the Serbian nation". Contrary to such contemporary construing of imagined "noble" aspirations, there stands the true-life Milan Nedić as a symbol of Quisling ideology, who among other, also signed the following regulations: 21 October 1941, Basic regulation on universities stating in paragraph 27: "Jews and Gypsies cannot attend University lec-



Front page of Ponedeljnak paper in print during World War Two

tures"; 16 December 1941, Regulation on introducing a national service for the reconstruction of Serbia stating in Art.3 that from the mandatory national service "Jews, Gypsies and other persons stripped of proper civic rights" are exempted; 3 March 1942, Regulation on the Founding of the Serbian State Guards which specified that a guard and noncommissioned officer of the Serbian state guards must fulfill the condition that "he is of pure Arian descent"; 28 August 1942, Regulation on appropriation of Jewish property where the first paragraph stated: "that the property of those Jews who on 15 April 1941, were citizens of the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia or were without citizenship, if located in Serbian territory, directly belongs to Serbia without any right of compensation";

23 February 1943, Regulation on organizing filming business which stated that "Jews and Gypsies, as well as persons married to Jews and Gypsies, cannot obtain permits for running cinema shows", and furthermore that "Jews and Gypsies, as well as persons married to Jews and Gypsies, cannot be employed in cinema theatres"; 16 May 1944, Regulation on national service for reconstruction work in Serbia which stated that "Jews and Gypsies have no right to serve in the National service of reconstruction work in Serbia"... All these and many other regulations were signed by Milan Nedić personally. His ministers and high ranking officers signed the following decisions: 29 January 1943, Advertisement for employment of assistants for political-administration work in the Serbian state security offices. Candidates were required to include among other "evidence on racial status (that there was no one in their or their wife's family) of Jewish or Gypsy descent";

30 January 1943, Advertisement for applicants for the post of officials of the Serbian borderline guards Conditions for candidates included that they were "of pure Arian descent – without any Jewish or Gypsy blood". As evidence a certificate issued by the appropriate county office was mandatory. 27 February 1943, Advertisement for applicants for the post of clerks novices skilled in post- telegraph-telephone operation Candidates were required to submit evidence of "racial descent", "that there were no family members either in their or their wife's family of Jewish or Gypsy descent"; 5 March 1943, Decision on renaming Belgrade streets: Avramova street renamed Senjanin Tadija, Israelite street renamed Mika Alasa, Jewish street renamed Dorćolska...

Today it is commonplace practice to say nothing of and simply dismiss public speeches made by Milan Nedić, (as well as those of his ministers and intellectuals) in some of which he expressed that "there shall be no place in the new Serbian society for international sharks, as is the case with Jews and others of dubious descent of whom nothing is known of their roots or the blood that flows through their veins"; that Bolshevism was "a corrupt idea that stemmed from the satanic Jewish mind", that the Partisans were "led by Jewish-Bolshevik scum"; that on their brow they wear "the Jewish five-pointed star"...

The Holocaust is a universal problem of twentieth century history. Millions have perished in various wars throughout the century, but it is only in the case of National Socialism and the Second World War that a conceptual idea was previously defined and subsequently revealed, with regard to the total annihilation of a whole nation. Therefore today the question of the maturity of a society is not only in its acceptance of the fact that a crime had been committed, and to furthermore, identify (foreign) ideology and the forbearers who concocted and carried it out, but also to rise above nationalistic interests to construe a "beautiful" and "glorious" national history when in fact the case in question is a collaboration with the greatest evil conceived in the history of mankind. In the presently prevailing para-scientific interpreting necessitated by daily ideological demands, everything that had a "national" prefix was, by definition, of "positive" bearing with "proper" goals, "involuntarily" engaged and "innocent" vis-à-vis the perpetuated crime. Once this fragile self-serving nationalistic rhetoric is discarded, what remains is a brutal picture of collaboration and its role in the Nazi driven murder of domestic Jews. Denial leaves without an answer the question of who and why spoke, wrote and signed the following: "Tomorrow on Spasovdan, the day of the city's patron saint, the Municipality of Belgrade shall distribute to Belgrade's poorest, free food and bread. The right to this food is given to all except Jews and Gypsies."



Spasovdan, Belgrade city patron saint day, Belgrade 1938

THE GENOCIDE OF JEWS INSIDE THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA

In the genocide of Jews in the Independent State of Croatia from 1941 to 1945 some 75% to 80% of the Jewish Community membership living in the territory of today's Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina was murdered. In other words, just one out of five Jews was alive in 1945.

There were few signs in Croatia's history to indicate that a crime of such magnitude could happen inside its territory. It is true that in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century some anti-Semitic pamphlets were published and there were incidents and even certain political parties with anti-Semitic tendencies in their ideological program, but anti-Semitism never reached any of its extreme forms – pogroms and murder – as in Russia and Poland.

The Ustashi movement was, in its roots, anti-Serbian and from its formation in 1932/3 disseminated hatred mainly towards Serbs. As Ustashi ties to German Nazis grew stronger and the Ustashi ideology approached that of the Nazi by the day, it eventually reached the point when the Ustashi accepted racist anti-Semitic argumentation. By the end of the thirties anti-Semitic altercations in the Croatian Right-wing newspapers became more frequent and the greater number of their authors later joined the Ustashi movement. Undoubtedly, the growing strength of German Nazism prompted the emergence of an anti-Semitic ambience. The Yugoslav Royal government gave way under its pressure and passed "two regulations on the restriction of Jewish rights" by which the number of Jews enrolled in high schools and universities had to correspond to the percentage of Jews in the total population count; wholesale trading of foodstuffs was practically banned to companies of Jewish ownership, partnership or with Jewish holdings.

In keeping with the practice of Nazis, from whom they frequently received instructions, into their plan for killing Serbs the Ustashi now further adjoined much harsher measures for Jews. Everything was planned ahead and greatly resembled German plans for it consisted of three phases: excommunication, concentration and extermination.



"Article of law regarding the protection of Arian blood and the honor of the Croatian people"

Only a few days upon his arrival in Zagreb on April 20, the newly appointed Minister of Interior, Andrija Artuković made an announcement to the *Der Deutsche Zeitung* in Kroatien newspaper that the government of the Independent State of Croatia "will soon resolve the Jewish question in the same manner as the German government had done," pointing out "that strict measures will be taken to oversee the prompt and precise application of racist laws." At the beginning of May Ante Pavelić made a similar statement to the same newspaper: "the question of Jews shall be resolved radically according to race and governmental policy." In the meantime, on April 30 the Official Gazette published "Articles of law as regards the protection of Arian blood and the honor of the Croatian people" by which marriages between Jews or other persons of "non-Arian" descent with persons of "Arian descent" were proscribed. Unlike the Serbs, who could become Catholics by accepting the new faith, Jews could not evade these acts of law since their position was clearly defined by legal acts defining racial lineage. All Jews from the age of 6 years and on had to wear the yellow sign in public and their movement within their place of residence was restricted.

In June the "department of race politics" was established within the Ministry of Interior. Its main goal was to determine racial lineage, especially in "dubious cases". Concurrently, by the "Act of Law on the protection of national and Arian culture of the Croatian people", Jews were prohibited "participation in the operation of organizations and institutions relevant to social, youth, sports and cultural venues of life of the Croatian nation in general, most particularly in literature, the press, painting and music arts,

urbanism, theater and films.”

Almost from the very beginning of the establishment of the Ustashi State government the system kept a keen eye on Jewish (and Serbian) assets. Thus, special “legal regulations” were adopted by which Jewish holdings (movables and fixed assets) were pronounced, i.e. transformed into “state property.” In other words, plundering of property was endorsed by, and executed in the name of the State. Transformed into practice, a much more blatant mode of pilfering was set in motion. Although on occasion voices were raised declaring that such action was “illegal”, the regime apparently took no action to prevent it; on the contrary, it even instigated and perpetuated it. A drastic example was the extortion of 1,004 kilos of gold which the Jews of Zagreb were obligated to collect in May 1941 in order to save their lives. It helped only a few; something of the same nature happened in Osijek as well.

Arrest of Jews began within the first days of the Ustashi government. At first only individual arrests were made, primarily of the most prominent members of Jewish communities. In May arrests of larger groups were in progress and during June the numbers grew substantially larger. For instance, on June 21 all members of the Zagreb “Maccabee” were arrested. From then on the campaign was intensified and heading for the “final solution”. It was conducted under the motto “there is no place for Jews in the ISC”. At the end of June Pavelić declared in the “Special legal act and order” that “Jews were spreading false news ... they were disrupting and endangering the supply of provisions for the general public and, furthermore, were collectively responsible for these hardships, therefore action should be taken against them in lieu of criminal- corrective accountability by incarceration in concentration points in the open.” It was a signal for mass arrests throughout the ISC and deportation to camps, including women and children. By the end of July Jews were incarcerated in Koprivnica, Karlovac and Varaždin.



Adolf Hitler, Ante Pavelić and Hermann Goering

The Ustashi regime had carefully planned this final phase of “the solution to the Jewish question”. It had set up some thirty “interim camps” or “gathering camps” into which arrested Jews were provisionally placed awaiting deportation to concentration or death camps which had concurrently been established. The first such camp was Danica near Koprivnica – opened in April. By summertime camps were set up in Gospić and in Jadovno on mountain Velebit, as well as Metajna and Slana on the island of Pag.

Inside the two last mentioned camps mass murder was already underway in July; however, the camps were soon abandoned since on learning of the crimes committed inside them, the Italians, engaging their armed forces, occupied the territory. For this reason in the fall of 1941 a new camp site was erected in the area of Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška. It served its purpose right up to the end of the war. The majority of Jews from northern Croatia and Bosnia – some 17 to 18 thousand were killed inside these camps.

Arrests and execution by firing squads of hostages was yet another mode for killing Jews. When groups antagonistic to the current regime undertook a diversion or killed a state civil servant, “Jews” and “Communists” already held in prison were as a rule executed by firing squads as “intellectual originators”



Notice of obligatory marking of Jews with the letter Ž (Zidov/Jew)

Varaždin was declared the first city “purged” of Jews. Only those who were able to flee the city or go into hiding managed to escape incarceration. It gave Pavelić cause to unmistakably declare towards the end of August that “regarding Jews... they shall be finally eradicated in the shortest possible period. The nature of the Jewish question was very serious. Only in Zagreb there were 18,000 of them; of this number a mere 4,000 remained and they too will be sent to slave labor or concentration camps.” (Whether on purpose or not, Pavelić was mistaken; prior to the war there lived 12,000 Jews in Zagreb.)

of the act. Thus, by the end of September 1941 counting only Zagreb, some hundreds of Jewish hostages lost their lives.

Ustashi crimes were often far more brutal and bestial than those of Germans (sadistic torture, massacres by cold steel, hurling into chasms).

Thus Croatian and Bosnia-Herzegovina's Jews were among the first victims of the "final solution" which came at exactly the same time as mass murder of Jews began in the territories of the USSR occupied by Nazis in the summer/autumn of 1941.

The Gestapo's report from Zagreb composed in May 1942 assesses that the Ustashi, despite their brutality, had yet to fundamentally carry out the "final solution" in the territory of the ICS. According to the same report there were still some 5,000 Jews at large living in the territory under Ustashi control due to personal and family ties, corruption and the covert involvement of the Catholic Church in Zagreb regarding persons in mixed marriages and their children, as well as various other individuals. The first German direct engagement in deportations in the ICS happened in August 1942 and in May 1943. After the Ustashi police captured around 6,000 Jews, all were handed over to the Nazis and transported to Auschwitz.



Ante Pavelić and Benito Mussolini



Concentration camp Slana – Pag island

Only a few Jewish inmates managed to survive Jasenovac and Auschwitz camps. The number of Jews who managed to survive in territories under direct Ustashi government is slight. Their chance survival came about only through their exceptional ingenuity or the resourcefulness of the people in their surroundings. Round 800 people managed to survive in Zagreb, mainly due to their mixed marriages. In other parts of the ICS a mere hundred to two hundred. The Archbishop of Zagreb, Alojzije Stepinac, managed to save 55 inmates of the Jewish home for the old and ailing who lived in Zagreb or its vicinity throughout the entire war. However, in mid 1943 Danijel Crljen declared that it was "resolved with tenacity and solidity, which must gravely concern all those whose paths are at crossroads with the Ustashi State revolution."

In the past 50 years researchers have determined the basic facts pertinent to the genocide of Jews in the territory of the ICS, and within this area, that in today's Croatian territory. There exist censuses of all Jewish Communities memberships: prior to the war, 38-39 thousand Jews lived in the territory of the ICS; only 9,000 lived to see the end of the war. Data referring to certain areas approximately give an identical number: of the 14,000 Jews in Bosnia and Herzegovina, only 4,000 survived, i.e. some 30 %; of the 25,000 Jews living in north Croatia, Slavonija and Srem, only 5,000, i.e. round 20 % survived. The state of affairs in Dalmatia was somewhat better, but only 400 Jews lived in the territory, of which 250 survived the war.

A percentage of Jews managed to survive by escaping to the Italian zone inside the ICS and to those parts of Croatia under Italian occupation and eventually some who reached the Apennine peninsula. Among them was a substantial number of Jews from Serbia.

The standard adage that peace "heals the wounds of war" does not refer to Jewish communities in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. These wounds are caused by the loss of four fifths of the membership and thus cannot become less painful over time. The Croatian Jewish Community could not be restored; the greater number of the pre-war communities could not continue their activities upon 1945. The majority of synagogues do not function, cultural events are scarce and social life frail, sport activities have almost ceased to exist. The people who planned the genocide of Jews have basically achieved their goal and for this reason the new generations of Croatian Jews find it hard to free themselves from the overwhelming burden of memories of life under the Ustashi terrorizing regime.



Rehabilitated Roman-Catholic Archbishop of Zagreb Alojzije Stepinac with Ante Pavelić. "Historians" also rehabilitate his collaboration with the 'Ustashi' state

THE FATE OF JEWS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

By the time of the assault on Yugoslavia on 6 April 1941, anti-Semitism and racism, as crucial elements of National-socialism and Fascism had already overstepped the boundaries of Germany and taken root in many European countries, instigating great material loss and devastation to and of human lives. The anti-Jewish "street" clashes were well drilled and effective; the discriminatory and terrorist administration of enemy (occupation) government systematized and incorporated in the legal regulatory system. However, mass murder had not yet begun. Thus, in the newly occupied country it became the primary issue to start from. At the inception of the Fascist aggression there were about 12,000 Jews living in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The majority of the Jewish population, the Sephardim, had settled in the country from the time of their relocation in the XVI century and the smaller population of 2,000 Ashkenazi had arrived after 1878. The amalgamation of Jews in Sarajevo numbering 9,000 souls was by far the largest, not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but in the entire country. In a sense it embodied the global center of the Sephardic tradition. The remainder, numbering some 2,000 Jews, lived in Banja Luka, Bihać, Bijeljina, Brčko, Derventa, Doboj, Mostar, Sanski Most, Rogatica, Travnik, Tuzla, Višegrad, Vlasenica, Zavidovići, Zenica, Zvornik and Žepča, all towns with instituted Jewish Communities. Out of the remaining forty smaller towns inside Bosnia and Herzegovina there were not many that did not have a few Jewish families living inside them.

The last influx of Jewish settlers came right before the Fascist assault on the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Similar to their predecessors, these settlers were also escapees. This time they were fleeing from countries already immersed in Nazi terrorism: Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia was not a democratic state; notwithstanding the fact, Jews retained their already gained civil rights after 1918, the country's founding. In the second half of the thirties Fascism was already taking roots at home and soon the state's first anti-Semitic laws became a reality. Such conditions, in conjunction with the foreseeable threat of the country's occupation, or its accession to the Tripartite Pact, plus the existing campaigning of the Zionist movement, triggered the emigration of a segment of the Jewish population, including Jews from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The stagnating economy dating from 1918 and right up to 1941 had already caused the relocation of a large number of Jews from Bosnia and Herzegovina to towns inside Yugoslavia with better prospects for enterprise (Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana), or to cities in other countries. With the exception of some five to six peripheral counties, after the April onslaught and subsequent invasion, Bosnia and Herzegovina was in whole, overrun or traversed by German troops. Therefore such circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as in other territories where police departments and security services were taking action in accordance with the RSHA Book of persons wanted, correspondingly led to the incarceration of certain numbers of Jewish emigrants from Germany and other occupied European countries; in Sarajevo and some other places attacks on Jewish stores and establishments were carried out jointly by Volksdeutsche, the Ustashi and the city's lowlife.



Mostar

Although Hitler's General Plan dating 3 April 1941, and the previously established 12 April 1941, guidelines for the division of Yugoslavia envisaged Italian implementation of Bosnia and Herzegovina's political administration, at the 21 and 22 April Vienna conference of Axis Foreign ministers the territory was included in the so-called Independent State of Croatia, following the acquired, pre-conference acquiescence of Mussolini.

In the wake of the collapse of the Yugoslav King's Army resistance Italian troops advanced into Bosnia and Herzegovina's territory initially from Dalmatia and then from Montenegro. From April 16 to 23, they invaded the peripheral counties

of south-west Bosnia and Herzegovina excluding Prozor and Konjic. By May 9, they took over the remainder of the occupation territory designated to them. Although Italy was also anti-Semitic, the Italian occupation doctrine regarding Jews was, in comparison to that of Germany's, considerably more lenient. Already, during this early stage of occupation, the rate of Jews absconding from German occupation territory to that of Italy was manifest. Among the first to take flight were Jewish émigrés from Germany and the previously occupied countries, who had managed to lie low and stay unidentified right through German Secret service initial activities. It is assumed that there could have been several hundreds of them who were successively received by Jewish Communities on Sušak, in Split, Dubrovnik and Boka.



The old Jewish temple (today Jewish Museum) where Sarajevo Jews were rounded up in 1941.

The Italian occupation zone in Bosnia and Herzegovina numbered 27 counties covering an area of 22,112 km² and a population of 1,026,420 inhabitants. In this territory there were only three Jewish Communities: Bihać, Sanski Most and Mostar with a membership of 300 Jews. Additionally, in Trebinje and Bileća there were five to six families who belonged to the Dubrovnik Jewish Community.

Two thirds of all Bosnia and Herzegovina Jews under Italian occupation were located in Mostar. As regards economic standing they were most prosperous, and being well connected to the National Liberation movement, already from April onward operated as a prominent transit location for Jews absconding Sarajevo and other places, in an attempt to reach the Adriatic coast and come under Italian occupation authority. The greater part of all Bosnia and Herzegovina Jewish escapees sought shelter in Split, Dubrovnik and Boka Kotorska. From there some of them even managed to reach the Italian mainland.

Although Italian occupation authorities tolerated their arrival to a certain degree, their further advance into Italian mainland was rarely allowed. In July a concentration camp was established in Gacko for Jews that had escaped from Germany; 117 persons were placed inside the camp which was literally without any means of accommodation. By this time all transit over the newly founded border between ISC and Italy was prohibited so that new escapees were forced to remain inside the demilitarized zone where they were exposed to measures taken by the Ustashi government, mainly maltreatment, imprisonment, expropriation of shops and so forth. Thus by September 1941 the number of Jewish escapees in Dubrovnik rose to 1,600 of which number 800 were from Bosnia.

Nearing the end of the year once again in a comprehensive action of deportation into the ISC, Germans exerted pressure on Italian occupation authorities to hand over all Jewish escapees for their deportation to the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška concentration camps. Such action was bound to impair Italian international prestige. In order to evade such measures, the Italian occupation authorities pulled out all Jews from Herzegovina, even those from the concentration camp in Gacko. They set up a new camp in Kupari, near Dubrovnik, where beside Jewish escapees from Germany, 800 Bosnian Jews were placed. They furthermore set up a camp on the nearby isle of Lopud to situate Jews from Mostar and other parts of Herzegovina. The majority of Bosnian Jews, who in the first months of occupation reached the "annexed" part of the Italian occupation territory, (some 400) were relocated into the "interior" of the Split province – the island of Korčula. During 1942 by various channels some 300, mainly Bosnian Jews, managed to reach the Italian occupation zone. However, the decision brought on Lake Wannsee – "On the final solution to the Jewish question" at the start of 1942, initiated prolonged, strenuous pressure on all German allies, satellites and other collaborationists, inevitably Italy as well.

While the persecution of Jews in April 1941 – effected in the first ten days of occupation (from April 13 to 24) upon the entry of German troops - was directly organized by bodies of the German occupation authority, once Bosnia and Herzegovina became part of the Independent State of Croatia, the Croatian State's collaborationist authorities, especially the police, militia (oružnici), and the Ustashi became increasingly engaged in oppressive activities, backed by some concomitant establishments set up in Zagreb and Banja Luka. The initiative, planning of measures and their scope was handled by German security

services while the German secret state police – the Gestapo - was charged with their implementation; policemen, gendarmes and Ustashi were designated for arrests, incarceration and guarding of transport, security of concentration sites. At times of man-power shortage, certain units of the Wehrmacht were called in.

The south-west parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina were under the authority of the Italian occupation zone. Being areas with a poorly developed economy, there were only a few Jewish communities, of which only Mostar and Travnik numbered a membership of more than two hundred all in all, adding up to a total of approximately one thousand Jews in the region. Jews in this part of the Italian occupation zone were the first to feel the brunt of anti-Semitic measures. Such circumstances befell them as early as May and June 1941, almost immediately after the Italian occupying authorities handed over the civilian administration to the Ustashi. For this reason Jews from abandoned Italian garrisons inside this area converged to the few remaining ones, mostly those in Dubrovnik and Mostar, where they found some kind of protection provided by occupation troops stationed there, as well as material aid from local Jewish communities. A portion of them managed to transfer to the “annexed” parts of Dalmatia and Boka, mainly Sušak, Split and Herzegovina, and others into Albania, i.e. Italy.



Dubrovnik – safe haven for Jews from Bosnia and Herzegovina

Although Dubrovnik was not “annexed”, because of the strong Italian garrison stationed in the city at the start of the war, it became a center for Jewish refugees (round 700), not only for those from other parts of the Italian occupation zone, but, to a greater extent, from the German occupying zone in Bosnia. Among them were also Jewish émigrés from Europe; thus by the middle of 1941 the number of Jews in the Italian occupation zone in the territory of Yugoslavia more than doubled, which economically burdened Italian occupation authorities, and due to the difference in the treatment of Jews, the very relationship between the two Fascist powers.

The assault on the Soviet Union coupled with German propaganda focusing on equal persecution of Jews within the whole European battleground by stressing their relation to Marxism and Communism, caused Fascist Italy to apply substantially fiercer anti-Jewish measures in all of Italy's occupation zones, as well as in Italy itself, from the summer of 1941. Acting on such policy change, the first to be arrested and incarcerated in concentration camps were Jewish émigrés from European countries occupied in the early stages of Germany's Fascist aggression. Thus already in July 1941 a number of concentration camps were set up, among them the one in Gacko, where 117 Jews escapees from Germany were incarcerated from the moment of its activation, and there must have been at least one in the Croatian coastal towns of Kraljevica or on Pag, i.e. the annexed part - Korčula. In every one of these camps there were also Jews from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It should be noted that there were other anti-Jewish measures: all further influx of Jewish fugitives who were fleeing from the increased terrorization inside the German occupation territory was prevented and a leniency toward the Ustashi persecution of Jews who had not left the demilitarized zone was introduced.

Inside the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina under authority of the ISC, as well as in other occupied territories, Jews had been stripped of all human and civil rights. They had to wear the yellow band on their sleeve or the yellow star on their chests; a whole series of sanctions had been passed: bans on abandoning the place of residence, on using public means of transportation, on visiting public restaurants and attending shows, proscribed moving along certain streets; they were further banned from receiving medical treatment in public health institutions, from leaving their dwellings during curfew; banned from practicing medicine, working in pharmacies and lawyer practice. Apart from this all, Jews were discharged from state and public services.

Although anti-Jewish measures were in practice immediately upon the formation of the ISC, physical liquidations in Sarajevo began on 1 August 1941, when in the old Sephardim cemetery on the slopes of Trebević the first group of 20 hostages – prominent Serbs and Jews – was shot (on the spot today there stands a memorial with the names of the 13 identified victims and the remaining 7 victims listed

as unknown). From then on up to the end of December 1941, Jews were arrested and incarcerated in a number of locations inside the city (the DES building on the Strand, the Old temple – today the Jewish Museum, the basement of the La Benevolencia - today's Ministry of Interior of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the building of the Beledija beside today's Town Hall). From these places they were transported to camps throughout the ISC – a larger group of women and children to the camp in Đakovo, then to Gradiška and Lobargrad, from where they were finally transported to the ill-famed camp of Jasenovac and murdered. In August 1941 a smaller group was taken to camp Kruščica near Vitez where they were all killed.



Jewish Cemetery in Djakovo

In September 1941 a dispute with the Ustashi authorities regarding delineation and competence of mandate of the Italian occupation administration within the territory of the ISC produced more lenient anti-Jewish measures in the demilitarized zone which provoked a new wave of Jewish refugees to the zone. Thus the number of Jews in Dubrovnik by the end of the year rose to 1,600 and the majority of them were from Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the course of this period Jews inside the German occupation territory had already been incarcerated, so that the number of newly arrived escapees was only some three hundred during 1942. This number does not include Jews from Višegrad (some 110) who, nearing the end of the year, relocated to Sandžak.

As early as the beginning of 1942 a decision was brought in Berlin concerning the final solution for the Jewish question, so that during the year Germans intensified pressure on all allies and satellites to act correspondingly, or hand the Jews over to the Third Reich. Within the year, Italy initiated harsher anti-Jewish measures intermittently at which point Jews were interned in concentration camps mainly situated in the annexed part of Dalmatia and along the Croatian coast, i.e., within Italy's mainland and in Albania. Living conditions inside these camps were much better than in German concentration camps; however, although stationed in Italian camps, once Italy capitulated the inmates fell into the hands of the Gestapo so that at least five thousand of them eventually met their death inside the camps of Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen, Sajmište and Jasenovac.

The procedure had an almost set pattern. Initially in March 1942 Jews escapees from Austria and Czechoslovakia, together with those who had fled from Serbia, were handed over to the Gestapo. In May that same year all men aged 14 to 65 (out of the total 400 together with their wives and children) were arrested and incarcerated in camp Berat in Albania. In July a concentration camp was set up on the island of Rab where Bosnia and Herzegovina's Jews settled in camps in Dalmatia and the Croatian coast were taken and incarcerated soon after.

Inside Montenegro only Jews escapees from Bosnia were incarcerated inside camps Kavaja and Šiljak in Albania while those settled in the territory were left alone. The greater part of them who managed to survive, were Jews located inside the camp on Rab, where out of the 15,000 prisoners, there were some two to three thousand Jews. The organization of the National Liberation Movement inside the camp managed to disarm the Italian guards and the local garrison on 11 September 1943, and the very next day formed the Rab Partisan brigade (900 fighters).

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FASCIST LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS IN OCCUPIED SERBIA

From the very onset of the occupation of Serbia a rigorous regime was instituted aimed to frighten the population and so discourage the development of any modes of resistance or combatant uprisings, as well as to completely isolate and subsequently annihilate the entire Jewish population. The established organization of the military and civic administration was governed by the "seven slack military-political and economic centers of the German Power" whose authorities overlapped, and were frequently even directly confronted. The central position in this intricate apparatus was held by the military commandant who governed through territorial, county and local command posts (Feldkommandanture, Kreiskommandanture and Ortskommandanture). During 1941 the post of the military commandant was held in succession by a number of high military officials i.e. generals Helmuth Förster, Ludwig von Schröder, Heinrich Danckelmann, Franz Böhme and Paul Bader.

As early as May 1, the occupation authorities had also set up the civic administration for Serbia which consisted of a Council of commissars headed by Milan Aćimović, the former interior minister in the government of Milan Stojadinović. It is indicative that Germany did not permit the establishment of the Foreign Affairs Ministry thus encumbering the constitution of Serbia as a separate entity in international relations. Very soon, the pre-war administrative apparatus organized through the territorial units "banovine" (The Danube, Morava, and Drina banovina), county councils and municipal administrations once again became operative. During the month of May the gendarmerie was instated as well as the judicial and court systems; the same applied to the tax administration. Discontented by the widespread uprising in Serbia during the summer of 1941 the occupation authorities established on August 29 the "Government of National Salvation" replacing the existing Council of Commissars. General Milan Nedić headed the new Government. Throughout the course of war the Quisling government was an active body within the system of repression. By passing a series of orders, decrees, regulations and decisions it legitimized the ideology of National Socialism and by extending police and military assistance to the armed forces of the Third Reich enabled the existence and functioning of the Nazi regime in Serbia. Apart from those people who took a pro-active part in the operation of the collaborationist government, Aleksandar Cincar Marković (the one-time foreign affairs minister of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and a signatory to Three Partite Pact ascension) and Dimitrije Ljotić, the leader of the Fascist organization Zbor played a prominent role in backing the collaboration with the occupier.



Milan Aćimović



Aleksandar Cincar Marković



*Milan Nedić visiting Adolf Hitler,
1943*

The installed system of coercion which encompassed the entire population within the first days of occupation limited daily mobility, prohibited public gatherings and anticipated shooting of hostages in retribution for attacks on German soldiers. The right of civilians to retain their savings accounts and deposits made prior to 18 April 1941, was proscribed. Beside general repressive regulations which applied to all inhabitants of Serbia, Nazis installed special measures for Jews and Roma. Only four days after the entry of German troops, on 16 April 1941, an order was issued for mandatory registration of all Jews and Roma, followed three days later by the enactment of their obligatory wearing of the yel-

low band and David's star, i.e. the word "Gypsy" in public. By July 13 there were 9,435 registered Jews and 3,050 Roma in Belgrade. As on 1 January 1941, there were 11,780 Jews living in Belgrade, it can be deduced that 2,345 people did not obey the Nazi registration order. Concurrently, in the territory of the once Moravska banovina 843 Jews were registered of which 177 were immigrants, while in Banat the number was roughly 4,000. In Kosovo there were 550 registered Jews. At the same time the Quisling authorities were instructed to draw up so-called "Gypsy lists", which would clearly differentiate Roma with permanent residence, from nomad ones.

During the spring of 1941 all Jews and Roma were compelled to forced labor duty, initially to clear the debris and ruins of the April bombardments. They were simultaneously forbidden to have any contact with "Arians", which entailed their admittance to theaters, cinemas, museums, parks, trams and market places to a strictly proscribed time schedule; the same applied to medical treatment in hospitals where the Jewish doctors, medical personnel and patients were separated from the other citizens. Furthermore, they were denied access to and use of radios, telephones and refrigerators. By a decree issued on May 30 they were required to report their entire property whereupon they were stripped of all civic rights. In less than a month from the start of the war, Jews and Roma found themselves in a unique "wall-less ghetto" under the constant surveillance of the police/security apparatus. The key role in the implementation of the initial ousting was performed by the Operative group of the Security Police and Security Service (Einsatzgruppe Sipo und SD, abbreviation EG), headed by SS Colonel Dr. Wilhelm Fuchs.



Forced labor for Jews in Belgrade, 1941



Banned for Jews - a Belgrade tram, 1941

In the same time period initial incarcerations and killing of political opponents began. In Banat, they were implemented against persons suspected of organizing the March 27 demonstrations and carried out in accordance with instructions of General Wilhelm Canaris and Reinhard Heydrich relevant to the elimination of the British intelligence network in Serbia. The exposure, internment and control over Communists was hampered; after the establishment of the government of Dušan Simović, Communist collaborators inside the cabinet of Dr. Srđan Budisavljević managed to destroy all membership card files diligently kept and updated by the Anti-Communist division of the pre-war police.

Thus, detailed dossier archives gathered over a long period of surveillance and persecution of Communists remained out of reach of the Nazis. Despite the proposal for immediate arrest of Spanish war freedom fighters and their internment, as well as the launched initiative to reconstitute the State Protection Court, the effective agreement between the Third Reich and the Soviet Union prevented implementation of any drastic measures. Upon June 22 departments for surveillance of Communists and Masons were given special prominence within the repression apparatus and systematic arrests were set in motion immediately.

Jews had lived for centuries in Macedonia as far back as the period of antiquity. Archeological findings of synagogues dating from the 3rd and 4th century A.D. have been excavated. The characteristics of the Jewish people were their migration cycles, but also exposure to purges and tragic events that beleaguered the nation; such historical circumstances predisposed their adaptation to new conditions of living. The crucial migration that brought Jews to the territory of the Balkans happened in 1492 at the time of the Spanish Inquisition. Many Jews found shelter within the Turkish Empire at the time of Bayezid II. In the 17th and 18th century beside Sephardic Jews, Ashkenazi Jews came to live in these parts as well. However, upon the First World War, Jews stricken with poverty, the bulk of them from Bitolj, left Macedonia in mass; then again, Jews were also leaving other parts of the Balkans. Many of them left for the Palestine, as well as France, America, Chile...

Prior to the Second World War, during the economic recession, and then, with the coming of Hitler into power, migrations of Macedonian Jews were once again renewed. By December 1939 over a thousand Jews left Bitolj. 429 of them set off for Israel; however, the number would have been much greater had the British issued a sufficient number of permits for immigration to the Palestine. In 1940 there were 737 Jewish families living in Bitolj numbering 3,246 family members, in Štip 140 families with 550 family members, in Skopje 1,181 families with 3,795 members. Prior to the war there were in total around 8,000 Jews living in Macedonia.

Upon Germany's attack on 6 April 1941, and the ensuing capitulation of Yugoslavia, Macedonia was divided among Bulgaria, Italy and Albania already by the end of April. In the initial bombardment raid Skopje was also hit, and on April 7 German occupiers were already marching into Jewish houses. They plundered everything that caught their eye from shops, warehouses and homes alike. Truckloads crammed with Jewish valuables were transported to Germany.

The major part of Macedonia was given to Bulgaria (as well as parts of Serbia and Greece). From the beginning of the occupation in 1941 till the end of 1942 Bulgarian occupiers adopted 48 laws, orders, instructions and measures against Jews. All in all, their economic system was completely destroyed; there were no jobs to be had that could provide for any means of living, and everything was prohibited. All organizations, religious services, meetings, gatherings, cultural events, life outside the ghetto, socializing, restaurants, theaters, cinemas, venturing out after a certain time of day, all of this was proscribed by the new administration. The children stayed at home without any prospect of education, they could not enroll for crafts; in the streets of the ghetto they sold roasted pumpkin marrow and pumpkin seed. Jews were obligated to wear the yellow star. Consequently Jews, citizens of Yugoslavia, lost their citizenship and become strangers, foreigners. Concurrently the incarceration and deportation of both Macedonians and Jews was under way. The masses had welcomed the Bulgarian occupiers with flowers and singing; however, the Fascist occupiers immediately began a process of assimilation and denationalization of Macedonians forcing them to become Bulgarians, with the exception of the Jews. They were denied Bulgarian citizenship.



Tsar of Bulgaria Boris III and Adolf Hitler

From the very first days of the 1941 occupation and the arrival of Bulgarian Fascists it was evident that the Jews could expect nothing but hardship. The Hashomer Hatzair, Thelet lavan and other Zionist organizations were banned, their operation terminated. Around 800 members of these organizations placed themselves at the disposal of the resistance movement. At the time 25 groups with over 150 members were formed and instructed to organize groups of young men and women, workers, intellectuals, students, tradesmen and others in resistance warfare. Taking great care to keep their actions covert they managed to continue so right up to 1943. Entire families upheld their efforts, helping in the protection, care and accommodation of fighters and resistant movement leaders. According to statements made by resistance leaders, Jewish houses were the safest. It soon transpired that Jews were competent and courageous members of the resistance movement. They participated in

many clandestine actions. The police, with its agents and collaborators, which rose in numbers enormously in 1942, managed to arrest a group of highly active Jews in April 1942. It was the beginning of court procedures followed by hangings. By the end of July 1942 for the first time Fascist Bulgarians condemned members of the resistance movement: nine were sentenced to death by hanging while 10 were sentenced to long term impris-

onment. In April 1942 on mountain Baba Planina the first detachment, a military formation of Partisans from Bitolj, named "Pelister" was formed. With just a few weapons and no military experience the Partisans charged against a professional army, rested and well equipped. They were surrounded in no time and the detachment was struck down. During the encounter a Jew, Pepo Pesko, was captured, tortured and finally killed. The Fascist occupation was gaining in ferocity by the day, as numerous citizens were arrested and deported to Bulgaria. All illusions and false contentment enthused at the start of the occupation when Macedonians welcomed the Bulgarians with songs and flowers were dispelled.

New Partisan detachments were in the process of formation; the "Damjan Gruev" in July 1942, and in September detachment "Jane Sandarski". The number of Jews joining up in the detachments was growing. The Bulgarian occupiers launched an assault against the Partisans. The Partisan units were transformed into smaller groups while members of the resistance were left to lookout for themselves. The message that passed down the lines was: "Every man is to seek shelter for himself wherever possible, in Greece or Albania, or inside towns, if there is time to do so!" The fact that the Bulgarian government had reached an agreement with the Germans to deport 20,000 Jews was also revealed. More than 600 Jews members of the resistance movement found themselves stranded and left to find a way out of their predicament on their own. The greater part of them fled to Greece and Albania. Other Jews still believed that they could join up with Partisan units. In a letter written by Strahil Belov on 9 March 1943, and addressed to the command of the "Jane Sadarski" detachment the fact that the unit cannot take in Jews is accentuated. Belov's sharp tone of address and his request for the immediate acceptance of Jews into the Partisan unit did not help.



Deportation of Macedonian Jews to camp Treblinka, 1943

On 11 March 1943, only two days later, the rounding up of Jews began at 3 a.m. The towns of Skopje, Bitolj and Stip were teeming with Bulgarian occupiers soldiers and police. Bulgarians, who in the meantime had spread false information that only the young would be rounded up for work on road construction, burst into homes yelling and tearing people out of their beds; none were spared, husbands, wives, children, the ailing and the old. They screamed at the top of their voices for everyone to be outside in ten seconds. Jews were instructed to take their money and jewels and everything else they could carry with them as they were to be resettled in Bulgaria. The people were scared and confused. At the time no one could fathom that what was going on was a plan to exterminate the whole Jewish nation. Before being pushed into wagons like herds of cattle, they were thoroughly searched and all items of value were confiscated. The building of the "Monopol" in Skopje was prepared for the short period of incarceration of Jews from Macedonia.

According to the agreement made with the Germans, Bulgarian occupiers undertook the obligation to hand over to the Nazis 11,500 Jews from the occupied territories of Macedonia, the south of Serbia, and northern part of Greece and another 8,500 from the territory of prewar Bulgaria. All Jews from the territory of Macedonia apprehended by the Bulgarian police and army were transported to "Monopol" awaiting transport to camp Treblinka in Poland. Camp Treblinka was set up in September 1941 beside a railway station. The first inmates were Polish Jews. In 1942 the German Nazi leadership passed the decision to annihilate all Jews living in Europe. Ten furnaces for the incineration of human bodies were built in Treblinka.

Living conditions of Jews imprisoned inside the "Monopol", which was temporarily turned into a camp, were abominable. However, some of the Jews, round 150 managed to save themselves or break out from the camp. The transport of Jews by way of Bulgaria to Treblinka was carried out in three phases. The last train to leave Skopje on 29 March 1943, arrived in Treblinka on April 5 at 7 a.m.; by eleven o'clock, the train was empty. As soon as the train arrived, the victims were directly thrown into the furnaces, incinerated and suffocated. It was as late as November 1943 that the order was given to close down and dissolve the camp. The furnaces were destroyed and the ground ploughed over so that no evidence could be found of the criminal deeds committed on the site. Not a single Jew from Macedonia transported to Treblinka managed to survive.

In Bulgaria the situation was somewhat different. When the time came for 8,500 Jews to be prepared for transport to Treblinka, voices against the act were raised by government opposition politicians, the leading priests of the church, intellectuals, as well as ordinary citizens. Emperor Boris II had to retract the issued order. The majority of Bulgarian Jews were saved. During World War Two 7,148 Jews, i.e. 98% of the Jewish Community in Macedonia perished.

SLOVENIAN JEWS AND HOLOCAUST

Before the attack of Axis alliance on Kingdom of SHS in April 1941 the majority of Jews in Slovenia had lived in the area of Murska Sobota and Lendava, but some had also lived on the country side of the Prekmurje Region. According to the official statistics data for 1921, 64.159 Jews lived in the Kingdom of SHS, 860 of them lived on Slovenian territory. Slovenian Jews have been very influential in economic circles and recognized for their cultural creativity. In 1931, according to public census data in Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 820 Jews lived in Drava Banate (Dravska banovina, Slovenian territory in Yugoslavia); the majority lived in Murska Sobota (269) and Lendava (207). A bigger number of Jews also lived in Ljubljana (95), Maribor (81), Ptuj (32) and Celje (30). Data for 1939 is even more interesting, although it is not consistent with the actual number of Jewish residents. At this point it has to be pointed out, that the official statistics data about the Jewish community in Slovenia before World War II and statistics data from various researchers are very different. According to the last official population census in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1931, 820 persons of Jewish religion were stated to live on Slovenian territory (Drava Banate). The Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia stated that in 1938 Jewish communities in Slovenia (Drava Banate) had 760 members. According to some other data of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia there were two communities on Slovenian territory in 1940 that had 845 members; community in Murska Sobota had 711 members and community in Lendava 134. Those data are almost consistent with each other; therefore we can assume that around 800 Jews lived in Slovenian part of Yugoslavia in the 1920's and 1930's.

During the Kingdom of SHS and later Kingdom of Yugoslavia, that is during the period between the world wars, Slovenian Jews were first joint to the Zagreb Jewish Community in 1921, and later, in 1929, to the Israeli Jewish Community Murska Sobota. At that time Slovenian Jews had a significant role in economy, since Jewish capital had a powerful influence in many companies, among others in Union Brewery and Coal mining Company in Trbovlje (Premogokopna družba). The number of Jews was slowly, but apparently, decreasing. A good example of that is Lendava (Dolnja Lendava at the time), where only 143 Jews had lived before World War II, that is 4,2% of the entire population. A similar fact can be observed in Murska Sobota, where by the end of 1930's, numerous Jewish inhabitants started converting to Catholicism and Evangelicalism and changing their last names to more "Cristian" ones, out of fear of violence over Jews, spreading all-around Hitler's reich. After the Axis alliance attack in April 1941, Slovenian territory in Yugoslavia (Drava Banate) has been divided between Italian and German invaders. The latter have also occupied Prekmurje for a few days, but left it to Hungary on 16 April 1941. The violent Nazi persecution of Jews began with the occupation on 6 April 1941. The persecutions began most aggressively in Lower Styria (Spodnja Štajerska) and the Gorenjska Region; regions that were under German occupying government. Italians have occupied most parts of the Dolenjska Region, Notranjska Region and Ljubljana. The Prekmurje Region, as already mentioned, belonged to Hungarians.



Disrupting railway tracks in Slovenia, 1941

Even before they arrived to Slovenia, Jews, living in Lower Styria and Gorenjska, had already been victims of different kinds of persecutions, which stimulated them to leave their home with no intention of returning. By that time they have been robbed of their citizens and human rights, as well as their economic existence in Germany, Austria and the Czech Republic.

Andrej Pančur emphasizes, that the German conquering marches around Europe brought Jewish persecutions also to occupied territories after 1939. In occupied Polish territory even their lives were more and more in danger. Rigorous Anti-Semitic laws, which drastically limited the rights of local Jews, had been accepted before the war, not only in Germany, but also in its alliances. The same happened in neighbouring countries Italy and Hungary, which limited citizens' rights and the possibility of free economic engagement soon after 1938. From this point

of view, Yugoslav Jews were connived with restrictions until 1940, when Yugoslav government issued two Anti-Semitic regulations. With one of them the government intended to restrict matriculation of Jewish students at universities, colleges with university status, high schools, teaching schools and other professional schools. The number of Jewish students should be proportional with the number of Jewish inhabitants in towns where those schools were seated. With the second regulation Jews were forbidden to open food wholesales shops and to those that already owned a shop license could be suspended or a commissary to run the business could be put in position. Especially the latter regulation had affected many Jewish merchants. On the other hand, introduction of "numerus clausus" for Jewish students hasn't been valid long enough to show its true meaning, which would be visible especially in areas with higher concentration of Jewish population. Due to this regulation many Jewish students were forced to leave the Murska Sobota high school.

Those two regulations predicted a very uncertain future for the Yugoslav Jews, which turned out to be even worst with the occupation and dismemberment of the Yugoslav territory. It is not surprising that many Jews from Styria decided to flee even before the Germans reached their hometowns. One of them is Henrik Weinberger, an industrial from Celje. Others left their hometowns a few days later, before they would get arrested. A factory owner from Kranj, Artur Heller, and his family simply took the train to Ljubljana on 27 April 1941; since Ljubljana was under Italian govern. By the end of August 1941 there were more than 400 Jewish refugees from territories occupied by the Germans in Ljubljana; some were from Germany and Austria, but many of them from Croatia. Some of them had even received an official permission from the German authorities to leave Lower



Styria. At the end of April 55 Austrian and German Jews, from refugee centre in Leskovec pri Krškem, arrived to Ljubljana. The estimated number of Jewish refugees that arrived to Ljubljana until May is 108. Jewish refugees from other countries represent only a small number of refugees in Ljubljana. A major part of refugees came from Slovenian territory occupied by Germans. Italian persecution of Jewish residents hasn't been as violent as the anti-Semitic persecution and violence of Nazi Germany, at least until 1943 when Italy capitulated. At the time of Italian capitulation there were not many foreign Jews living in Ljubljana. Some of them were Jews with former Yugoslav citizenship and many of them have been Christianised or have lived in mixed marriages. After German occupation of central and north Italy the situation in Ljubljana and its wider area drastically changed. A radical persecution of Jews in Trieste and Goriška area began (the aftermath of the persecution were fatal for both communities, 764 Jews from the Trieste area and 45 Jews from the Goriška area lost their lives in the holocaust). In September 1944 the last 32 Jews and their non Jewish relatives from Ljubljana were arrested and sent to concentration camp.

A lot is still unknown about the faith of Jews living in Maribor before the war. Although most of them left Maribor in time, those who stayed unfortunately became holocaust victims. Only lives and faiths of two families, Singer and Kohnstein, have been investigated. Most of their assets have been taken away soon after the German occupation of Maribor and in the beginning of September 1941 both families were expelled out of Lower Styria. At first they found refuge in Medžimurje in Hungary, where Emil Kohnstein and his family lived since 1935 (Emil was Arnošt Kohnstein's brother). They faced the Final solutions aftermath already in 1941: in July or August Ustashes killed Nicola, Eugen Steiners son, in Jadovno in Lika. Vilijem, who moved to Prague after 1937, was deported to Terezin Ghetto in November. Nevertheless a majority of both families' members survived until the arrests in April 1944, when mass eliminations of Jews all over the territory occupied by Hungary began. Kohsteins and Singers were arrested and imprisoned in Nagykanizsa ghetto on 26 April 1944 and deported to Auschwitz in the middle of May, probably on 21 or 22 May 1944. As soon as they arrived to Auschwitz a flagrant selection began - to the right for working camp and to the left for gas chambers. At that point, due to the numerous arrivals of Hungarian Jews, 75% of all arrivals went straight to the gas chambers. Arnošt, Olga, Rudolf and Milica Kohnstein and Marija, Erna and Milan Singer shared the same sad destiny. Their bodies were cremated on the day of their arrival. Jewish Cultural Heritage Centre Sinagoga Maribor has organized a laying of Stumbling Stones in memory to both families, holocaust victims from Maribor. The final ceremony of Stumbling Stones has also been visited by Danilo Türk, Slovenian president at the time.

Spring 1944 brought mass deportations of Jews, not only in Hungary, but also in the Prekmurje Region, which was under Hungarian administration at that time. It has to be pointed out, that even though Hungary was executing anti-Semitic politics and measurements, holocaust was not executed until 1944. The situation changed radically after German troops entered Hungary on Thursday 19 March 1944 and a government sympathetic to Germany was established. The new government immediately started the systematic persecutions and terminations of Jews on Hungarian territory. This resulted in an almost complete destruction and elimination of Jewish community in the Prekmurje region. On 26 April 1944 first arrests of the Prekmurje Jews happened, when the majority of Jews from Murska Sobota and Lendava were deported. It was followed by a much smaller wave of arrests in May and another one in October. In April 1944 Hungarian government arrested and deported 387 Jews, first they were deported to a temporary Jewish ghetto in Nagykanizsa via Čakovec and from there to Auschwitz – Birkenau. On November 1944 the last and smaller group of Prekmurje Jews was arrested, but wasn't sent to Auschwitz – Birkenau. All arrests and deportations were executed under control of gendarmerie i.e. Hungarian police force, investigations and property confiscations were under German competence. Hungarian police and Hungarian fascists participated in arrests with cooperation of Slovenian gendarmes, who were in positions of Hungarian gendarmerie. Several members of Kulturbund also participated in robbing Jewish property. As Oto Luthar cites many of them were from Turopolje, a suburb on the west side of the town. On the other hand it can be claimed with certainty that Slovenes did not participate with Hungarians in massacres, or at least no proof has been found for such claims. Slovenian participation in arrests and deportation of Prekmurje Jews ended with deportation to Čakovec. The extent of their responsibility for destruction and confiscation of Jewish property after their deportation will be very difficult to define. There are only general reports of such actions available with no actual descriptions or proof.

It can be said that in this part of Slovenia (that is the Prekmurje Region) deportation and holocaust were the most successful, since Hitler's demand of complete elimination of Jews was almost completely fulfilled. This was just the first step towards final elimination of the Prekmurje Jews from public and social memory. »Endlösung« in Prekmurje means efficient act of elimination of Jews. Due to the high efficiency of mass deportations in the last two years of the war, Slovenia belongs to "successful" countries regarding "Endlösung", since 86,6% of all Jewish population was eliminated. For Slovenia, holocaust means disappearance of Jewish communities in Prekmurje and the Goriška Region. The second act of elimination from historical memory is a responsibility of history and historians – in this case elimination is a synonym for concealment, ignorance, insensitivity – for "unmemory". If it is German

fault for Slovenia to be "Judenrein", it is Slovenian fault for eliminating holocaust from memory. We can agree that the Prekmurje Jews, and actually all Jews in Slovenia, were eliminated and set aside of historical memory after 1945. Authorities that came to power after the war helped the elimination, especially with nationalization of property, which wasn't a question of nationality, religion or race, but a question of class. The property of Jews, killed in concentration camps, should be inherited by their lawful or testimonial heirs, but since there weren't any it automatically belonged to "general public property", that also included properties that exceeded land maximum after the agrarian reform law. Due to a regulation of AVNOJ, some Jewish property was also confiscated because they were identified as people of German nationality, because of their German sounding last names, including those who have moved to Israel after 1948. We can add assimilation of Jewish population, concealed Jewish identity in public life, as well as a relative small Jewish community, and mostly ideological stigmatization of war victims of the Communist Party after 1945 to all of the above mentioned facts.



*Edvard Kardelj (wearing glasses) and other associates
with Marshal Tito*

So far, 558 holocaust victims have been determined in Slovenian territory, 481 of them died in concentration camps, from that 430 in Auschwitz, and as Vida Deželak Barič cites, there were 69 children among all victims. 392 of all holocaust victims in Slovenia were from Prekmurje.

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Aleksandar Nećak,
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JEWES IN THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION WAR 1941-1945

The monstrous Nazi project named "the final solution for the Jewish question" condemned the entire Jewish nation to total extinction. The very core of Nazi logic was terrifying: annihilation of all individuals of Jewish descent notwithstanding their political beliefs, status, social position and esteem, financial standing, merits for country and state, gender, medical condition, age... The fact that one was a Jew was reason enough to annihilate any physical evidence of his or her existence. No one was spared, from the ailing old to newborn children. Even the unborn were massacred. The Nazi resolve to stamp out Jews to the very last had its roots in demonic superstitions dating back to the dark ages.

The fact that we still exist today and that we belong to a proud and prosperous fourteen million Jewish family is best evidence that the "final solution" was unachievable and that all aggression based on ideological and racist hate, no matter what peoples are in question, can cause dreadful slaughter and pain, but cannot ever prevail for the very reason that it is born of evil.

A great many of us perished. A few of us managed to survive.

We persevered and survived in numerous ways, such as each one of us at a given moment in time was able and managed to do, dictated by circumstances, good fortune and, I wish to point out specially, assisted by some very good people who in their "ordinariness", were quite extraordinary and who at the risk of their own lives took us into their homes, hid and saved us. They helped us selflessly and tremendously. In times of ruling enemy bestiality, when the persecuted were totally helpless, the spark of love and compassion for human lives did not peter out. In their benevolent mission our saviors almost took on the role of Godly guardians.

Our holy scriptures say **"He who saves one life, has in effect saved the whole world."** In order to preserve the memory of these highly moral people-giants who, in the darkest hour of European civilization's history, were a pillar of support and furthermore to chisel into the consciousness of the Jewish nation a lasting memorial to those who saved destitute Jews, the Knesset (Israeli Parliament) in Jerusalem passed the Act on establishing a national institution, Yad Vashem, on 19 August 1953. By this Act the state of Israel, among other, undertook the obligation to eternally cherish and preserve in memory the **Hasidei Umot HaOlam (Righteous among the Nations) who risked their lives to save the life of a Jew.** Also, many Jews managed to survive persecution by joining up and taking an active part in the people's liberation war. Indeed, all Jews who participated in the people's liberation war were not in general communists. In order to better understand the decision made by a large number of Jews to take a proactive role among Partisan fighters in their battle against Nazism and the occupation of their country, it is essential to assess the general social and political climate and events that took place in pre-war Yugoslavia.



*Partisans in Bor 1944
right first in row Pavle Šosberger, Novi Sad Jew*

Notwithstanding the act of gaining citizen equality which, in itself, should have abolished the practice of dependency and restriction of rights, Jews were in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia still exposed to discrimination and attacks, in the most part in newspaper articles and printed media. The ruling social-political circumstances on the one hand, coupled with the very strong influence of socialist clubs in Vienna and Prague where the young usually went to study in colleges and universities, and on the other the profound impact of the Zionist movement which was quickly gaining ground in our own country, greatly influenced and shaped the development of the Jewish national awareness. Under the motto "our future is in the very same place where our history lies," which had its stronghold especially among the younger population, the idea that for Jews as a nation, the one possible solution was to renew the Jewish state in the

Palestine, on the land where it had once existed. In all cities where there were a sufficient number of Jewish residents, various sports, cultural and humanitarian as well as other organizations were founded; all such groups were based on Jewish national identity and aimed to preserve Jewish tradition and culture. One of the most prominent organizations was the Hashomer Hatzair. This organization gave birth to a large number of Zionist activists, leftists and active members in the fight against Nazism and the occupation of Yugoslavia.

Based on data from the Booklets of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia, historian Dr. Milan Koljanin maintains that in historiography the position of the Yugoslav state toward Zionism can be interpreted as a mutually implicit and ideological partiality, which proved to be beneficial to both sides, and was primarily instigated for the political interest that all Jews in Yugoslavia should be united and so distanced from influence of centers outside state borders. One must also bear in mind that Zionism had its support in the policy of Great Britain, which had mandatory rule in the Palestine and was a war ally of Serbia. Naturally, British support was in compliance with its own interests. Therefore it can be concluded that foreign political factors did have influence in Yugoslav state's standpoint toward Zionism and to its Jewish citizenship.*

On the other hand, it is essential to point out the fact that by the end of 1939 and in 1940 Great Britain exerted strong political pressure on the government of Yugoslavia to prevent the influx of and deny essential services to Jewish exiles from central Europe and thus preclude their passage to the Palestine. One such case that speaks best and at the same time most dramatically depicts effects of such British policy is the perishing of Jews from the so-called Kladovo transport. It was evident that Great Britain as the mandate force in Palestine was set against a mass immigration of Jews into Palestine.

When we speak of the social and political climate and events in prewar Yugoslavia which had great impact on the Jewish community two periods stand out, from 1919 to 1923 and 1933 to 1941.



Victors – Winston Churchill and Josip Broz Tito

In the first period, under the influence of ideas and information gained during studies in Vienna and Prague, the national identity of young Jews was rapidly forming and maturing. Also a major role in the process can be attributed to the founding of the Federation of Jewish religious communities in Yugoslavia and many other Jewish organizations, the strengthening of the Zionist movement and, correspondingly, the sense of uncertainty and foreboding due to the emergence of an anti-Semite climate. With the increase of national Jewish consciousness, a large number of Jews came to acknowledge and join the International labor movement and soon become esteemed leaders like Mosha Pijade, Oskar Davidović, Albert Vajs, Stjepan Policar and many others. Concurrently, the state government and the Karadjordjevic Court supported Zionist organizations both in the country and internationally. High-ranking Yugoslav medals were awarded to Zionist leaders and esteemed Jews. The planting of the forest of King Petar I and King Aleksandar I in the Palestine additionally reflected the relations of the government of Yugoslavia and the Karadjordjevic Court toward the Jewish Community of Yugoslavia.

The second period is defined by the ever gaining presence of Nazi ideology, resulting from important political and organizational changes in Germany, which were best reflected in the synchronized operation of political, police and intelligence work with the aim to achieve efficient results and fulfillment of set goals. During the mandate of Milan Stojadinović cooperation between the Yugoslav and German police was established. Clandestine agreements were made, the Kulturbund as a major actor of the German military intelligence service was set in place in Yugoslavia. Volksdeutsche massively took part in the operation of the German military intelligence service and many became members of secret diversionist groups. From then on Volksdeutsche would play a significant part in gathering relevant information about Jews, citizens of Yugoslavia, for the German intelligence services, as well as in "the final solution to the Jewish question" in Yugoslavia. Of equal importance to the German intelligence service was the movement Zbor, led by Dimitrije Ljotić (the one formation which the occupier unconditionally accepted



*Rehabilitated – Prince Pavle Karadjordević.
"Historians" are attempting to rehabilitate his
policies*

as a sound collaborator) as well as a whole series of other collaborationists (whose naming would take up too much space) important people from the political, cultural and public sphere of life in Yugoslavia who became active members of Kraus's intelligence network (SS-Major Karl Kraus, founder of the chief intelligence center for Yugoslavia).

By the end of this period the Government adopted anti-Jewish regulations. Anti-Jewish propaganda, financed by various German institutions in Yugoslavia, was mounting by the day and manifested itself in all conceivable forms. Beside newspapers and magazines containing anti-Jewish subject matter, the book "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" was printed together with many similar editions. It stands that there was a norm banning the distribution of this most famous forgery, but, notwithstanding the fact, at that time the book could be bought in many bookstores. (Today there is a similar ban in existence, but now, as then, the sale of the Protocols in "better" bookstores throughout Serbia is unchecked).

The government of Milan Stojadinović, as well as that of Cvetković – Maček, tolerated and even sanctioned the forming and operation of various Nazi organizations and Volksdeutscher Nazi activity.

This was the time of initial persecution of Jews in Austria, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and many Jews fleeing Nazism, in the hope of saving their families, became refugees.

A large number of Jewish refugees came to Yugoslavia on their way to the Palestine and other safe destinations. They were received and taken care of by the Federation of Jewish Religious Communities in Yugoslavia. For some politicians and also part of the contemporary Yugoslav public the influx of this large number of refugees was reason enough for creating an anti-Jewish atmosphere and organizing various anti-Jewish manifestations. With the advent of growing Nazism in Austria and Czechoslovakia, Jewish students were forced to return to Yugoslavia. The spreading of ideas gained during their studies in Prague and Vienna, mainly that the achievement of socialism will also render a solution for the Jewish question, their return home, coupled with prevailing circumstances greatly influenced Yugoslav Jews to recognize this political option. The Communist party and the revolutionary labor movement were the only organizations willing to openly take a stand and engage in an uncompromising battle against Nazism. Jews, bound for total annihilation by Nazi ideology, pledged their trust in Communism and the mentioned revolutionary labor movements, recognizing in their campaign and ideology elements of freedom, equality and equal opportunity, the Jews' centuries long dream, and furthermore, a promise of a brighter future, for them and other citizens of Yugoslavia in a future country for which they were fated to fight for. In that prewar period a great number of Jews already joined the revolutionary labor movement.

Immediately upon the capitulation of Yugoslavia on 17 April 1941 measures for the total annihilation of Jews according to an already prepared procedure were set in motion. The procedure had proved successful in all other occupied countries where Jews lived: initial registration, obligatory marking, appropriation, deportment and finally, their slaughter. The exceptionally swift breakdown of Yugoslavia created among its citizens a grave feeling of disorganization and disorientation. Beside the sense of uncertainty and fear inherent to all warfare, Jews were instantaneously faced with the gravest possible trials resulting from generally approved Nazi ideology measures.



*Chetnik ID dated November 1941 printed in Serbian in German
language to improve cooperation with occupier*

The Communist party of Yugoslavia which, at that time, had a mere 12,000 membership, in its wish to gain and organize masses for an uprising against the occupier, released a call to all citizens, irrelevant of their political, national and religious affiliation to join in a united resistance front against the enemy. Such wording of the proclamation called on Jews, who were not communists, to join up and was recognized by them as such, so they answered the summons. By now living in very dire circumstances, since all Jews were already registered with the German police, and again in restricted conditions of mobility, because of the installed curfew, coupled with fear of retribution on families left behind, Jews nevertheless joined the resistance movement. All stated reasons unquestionably had an impact on the extent of their numbers in the resistance movement.

It should also be noted here that Colonel Dragoljub Mihailović had initially proposed a reorganization of the Yugoslav army which in principle would be composed of military units regimented by nationality. Mihailović's resistance concept was determined by nationalistic ideology and political perspective, planned in the tradition of Chetnik warfare. The Chetnik Serbian nationalistic approach restricted the field of their resistance effort to Serbia and regions with a predominant Serbian population.**

According to the 1931 census, 68,405 Jews lived in Yugoslavia. Computations, application of statistic methods, coupled with data contained in Jewish communities and data from other available sources produced a count of 77,485 Jews who lived in Yugoslavia right before the war. However, in the book of Dr. Jaša Romano the number stated amounts to 82,000 Jews. Whichever the case, the population of Jews was below 0.5% (0.46%-0.49%) of the total population of Yugoslavia. The contribution of this exceptionally small Jewish population in the battle against Nazism and the liberation of their homeland Yugoslavia, was extraordinarily significant.



Dragoljub Mihailović – Courts in Serbia deliberating decision whether he too shall come to be an anti-Fascist

A total of 4,572 Jews actively participated in Partisan units. 1,318*** gave their life for victory. The number as it stands may not seem significant. But taking into account the total number of Jews who lived in Yugoslavia, and then again, the small number who managed to escape incarceration and deportation, their count in the people's liberation war is significant. The Partisan movement was the first organized combat and enemy engaging resistance force in occupied Europe. It should be noted with pride that the small Jewish community produced ten ordained war heroes, fourteen generals and 150 bearers of the 1941 Partisan decoration.

There exist two completely divergent views concerning the reasons of Jewish participation in the Partisan units. One is that Jews joined up into the people's liberation warfare in order to save themselves from genocide and stay alive. Others believe that Jews chose to fight Nazism and engage in the battle for the liberation of the country for ideological and moral reasons, as citizens fighting for their country. As substantiation that Jews joined in the battle against Nazism and the liberation of the country for moral reasons, it has been stated that a great number of Jews were imprisoned and convicted at the very onset of the uprising and that the largest number of Jews who took part in the uprising were by conviction already confirmed prewar communists. Furthermore it is a fact that a large number of Jews were directly engaged in the actual organizing of the uprising ***

Notwithstanding the above mentioned viewpoints, the fact that the contribution in the battle against Nazism and the liberation of the country was an honored privilege is undisputable. Even today, as then, our moral, civic and social obligation is to side and participate in line with those who preserve and defend anti-Fascist values; our votive obligation is to fight against lurking Nazism, an evil which almost wiped our entire nation off the face of the world, and do everything possible to prevent its reemergence ever again in any place on this planet.

* Dr. Milan Koljanin, *Jevreji i antisemitizam u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji 1918-1941.*

** Valter Manošek: *Holokaust u Srbiji, Vojna okupaciona politika i uništenje Jevreja 1941 - 1942*

*** Dr. Jaša Romano: *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941 – 1945 Žrtve genocida i učesnici narodno oslobodilačkog rata.*

A LIST OF THE RIGHTEOUS FOR EACH REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA stating the year of the Righteous medal award

SERBIA

1. Andeselić Marija - 1993.
2. Andeselić Natalija - 1993.
3. Andeselić Vera - 1993.
4. Arandelović Čoaš Vera - 1991.
5. Arsenijević Ljubivoje - 2000.
6. Arsenijević Vujka - 2000.
7. Arsenijević Milje - 2000.
8. Baić Klara - 2007.
9. Benčević Antun - 1994.
10. Blendić Đorđe - 1992.
11. Blendić Mitra - 1992.
12. Blendić Jovan - 1992.
13. Blendić Nikola - 1992.
14. Blendić Nikolica - 1992.
15. Bogićević Mijajlo - 2009.
16. Bogićević Milica - 2009.
17. Bondžić Borivoje - 1980.
18. Bondžić Grozdana - 1980.
19. Botić Radovan - 1989.
20. Bradić Sava - 1994.
21. Bradić Jovana - 1994.
22. Čvijović Mira - 1994.
23. Čanadi Mariška - 1995.
24. Dudaš Paljo - 1995.
25. Dudaš Ana - 1995.
26. Đonović Radovan - 1983.
27. Đonović Rosa - 1983.
28. Đošević Adanja Dara - 1998.
29. Đurković Aleksandar - 1999.
30. Glavaški Jelena - 1987.
31. Gligorijević Milan - 1996.
32. Imeri Mihaljić Hajrija - 1991
33. Jakić Ana - 2001.
34. Janošević Katica - 1964.
35. Jovanović Bogdan - 1968.
36. Jovanović Desanka - 1968.
37. Jovanović Nemanja - 1968.
38. Jovanović Nada - 1968.
39. Jovanović Danica - 1993.
40. Jovanović Olga - 1993
41. Jovanović Mileva - 1993
42. Jovanović Dušan - 2006.
43. Jovanović Pero - 1993.
44. Jovanović Stanko - 1967.
45. Jovanović Ljubinka - 1967.
46. Jovanović Tihomir - 1992.
47. Jovanović Milka - 1992.
48. Kamenko Raca (dosije 11905)
49. Kirec Miroslav - 1990.
50. Knežević Slobodan - 1980.
51. Knežević Milenija - 1980.
52. Knežević Vojislav - 2013.
53. Kostić Ljubomir - 1997.
54. Kostić supruga? - 1997.
55. Kostić Dragoslav - 1997.
56. Kostić Bosiljka - 1997.

57. Kovanović Divna - 1999.
58. Kozarski Julis - 1994.
59. Kozarski Stevo - 1994.
60. Kozarski Bato - 1994.
61. Kozarski Olga - 1994.
62. Kudlik Bela - 1987.
63. Kudlik Katarina - 1987.
64. Lepčević Mileta - 1978.
65. Ljubičić Lazar - 1994.
66. Ljubičić Mila - 1994.
67. Macašović Ana - 1998.
68. Macašović Ištvan - 1998.
69. Mandušić Ljubica - 2007.
70. Marinković Đorđe - 1996.
71. Marinković Stanka - 1996.
72. Marković Levec Martina - 2000.
73. Milenković Ljubo - 1999.
74. Milenković Svetozar - 2002.
75. Milenković Vida - 2002.
76. Milharčić Lujza - 1985.
77. Mladenović Biserka - 1999.
78. Mladenović Vladimir - 1999.
79. Nikolić Raša - 1995.
80. Novaković Krsta - 2003.
81. Panić Dr. Svetozar - 1993
82. Panić Angelina - 1993
83. Pašćan Nadežda - 1994.
84. Pejić Dr. Mirko - 1986.
85. Pejić Nevenka - 1986.
86. Pejić Aleksandar - 1986.
87. Petrović Aleksandar - 2002.
88. Petrović Kosa - 2003.
89. Popović Đorđe - 1999.
90. Popović Marija - 1999.
91. Popović Predrag - 2001.
92. Prica Spasenije - 1991.
93. Protić Simeon - 2009.
94. Protić Miroslava - 2009.
95. Puncuh Franjo - 2004.
96. Ranković Jelica - 2007.
97. Rašić Veljko - 2006.
98. Rašić Helena - 2006.
99. Reznicić Arslan - 2008.
100. Sagmajster Laslo - 1988.
101. Sagmajster Julijana - 1988.
102. Stamenković Jelenko - 2005.
103. Stamenković Ljubica - 2005.
104. Stefanović Mile - 1992.
105. Stefanović Svjetlić Mileva - 1992.
106. Stojadinović Dr. Miloslav - 1966.
107. Stojadinović Zora - 2001.
108. Stojanović Andrei - 2001.
109. Stojanović Katarina - 2001.
110. Stojanović Đorđe - 2000.
111. Stojanović Randel - 2009.
112. Stoković Dragutin - 1996.

113. Stoković Živka - 1996.
114. Stoković Vasović Radmila - 1996.
115. Tabaković Dr. Pavle - 1978.
116. Todorović Mita - 1995.
117. Todorović Kruna - 1995.
118. Todorović Živojin - 1995.
119. Todorović Radmila - 1995.
120. Tomić Marija - 2009.
121. Tošić Milorad - 1978.
122. Trajković Dragoljub - 2009.
123. Tumpej Andrej - 2001.
124. Zdravković Predrag - 1980.
125. Zdravković Stana - 1980.
126. Vasić Predrag - 1994.
127. Veljković Zlata - 1999.
128. Veljković Miroslav - 1999.
129. Veljković Cila - 1999.
130. Žamboki Pal - 1995.

CROATIA

131. Antunac Ivan - 1999.
132. Barić Nevenka - 2001.
133. Bartulović Dragica - 1965.
134. Bartulović Olga - 1965.
135. Bauer Branko - 1992.
136. Bauer Čedomir - 1992.
137. Bedrica Mate - 1989.
138. Belajec Ivana - 2003.
139. Belić Jozefina - 2004.
140. Beritić Gina - 1994.
141. Beritić Tihomil - 1994.
142. Buterin Mate - 1984.
143. Car Karlo - 1997.
144. Car Marija - 1997.
145. Carnelitti Alfred - 1984.
146. Carneluti Mario - 1984.
147. Carneluti Vera - 1984.
148. Črndić Anka - 2005.
149. Čargonja Bela - 1999.
150. Dolinar Boris - 1993.
151. Dolinar Žarko - 1993.
152. Ercegović Miho - 1997.
153. Ercegović Velimir - 1997.
154. Filipović Krista - 1975.
155. Filipović Marjan - 1975.
156. Fuchs Ruža - 1989.
157. Fulgosi Ante - 2001.
158. Gjerek Agata - 2000.
159. Guina Marica - 1995.
160. Hocenski Franjo - 1999.
161. Hocenski Milica - 1999.
162. Horvat Pavao - 1965.
163. Hrnkas Jozo - 2011.
164. Hrnkas Katica - 2011.
165. Jagodić Jozo - 2011.
166. Janković Stjepan - 1997.

167. Jerbić Milan - 2011.
 168. Jesih Dragutin - 1992.
 169. Jurić Andrija - 1989.
 170. Jurić Nikola - 1989.
 171. Jurin Cecilija 1989.
 172. Jurin Karitas - 1989.
 173. Kalogjera Ante - 2001.
 174. Kalogjera Jakša - 2001.
 175. Kohn Anka - 1999.
 176. Kovačević Ana - 2001.
 177. Kovačević Franjo - 2001.
 178. Kovačević Katarina - 2001.
 179. Kovačević Katarina - 2001.
 180. Kovačević Marija - 2001.
 181. Kovačević Pavao - 2001.
 182. Kovačević Petar - 2001.
 183. Kovačić Hedviga - 2001.
 184. Kovačić Vinko - 2001.
 185. Krtić Frano - 1998.
 186. Kumrić Ivka - 1998.
 187. Kumrić Toma - 1998.
 188. Lang Ljubica - 2003.
 189. Lončar Darko - 1999.
 190. Lončar Ankica - 1999.
 191. Malčić Juca - 1988.
 192. Merlić Tomislav - 2008.
 193. Neumann Olga - 2002.
 194. Obradović Ida - 1992.
 195. Obradović Olga - 1992.
 196. Oružec Đuro - 2004.
 197. Oružec Kata - 2004.
 198. Oštrić Anka - 1984.
 199. Pavlović Amadeja - 2008.
 200. Peternel Đurda - 2004.
 201. Podolski Štefanija - 2006.
 202. Pirović Marija - 1989.
 203. Poklepović Andrija - 1996.
 204. Prašek Calczyńska Bronisława - 1985.
 205. Prašek Vlado - 1985.
 206. Pribilović Josip - 2001.
 207. Radonić Ankica - 1989.
 208. Radonić Jakov - 1989.
 209. Roić Boris - 2004.
 210. Roter Rudi - 2004.
 211. Rousal Vera - 1994.
 212. Roth August- 2001.
 213. Roth Branka - 2001.
 214. Roth Duška - 2001.
 215. Schmidlerher Drago - 2011.
 216. Schmidlerher Draga - 2011.
 217. Silobrić Mihovil - 1996.
 218. Sopianac Franjo - 1995.
 219. Sopianac Ivan - 1997.
 220. Sopianac Lela - 1997.
 221. Šiljeg Pera - 2001.
 222. Šiljeg Stanko - 2001.
 223. Štefan Luj - 1992.
 224. Štefan Živković Ljubica - 1992.
 225. Taborski Emanuel - 1995.

226. Taborski Mandica - 1995.
 227. Ujević Mate - 1994.
 228. Valentinčić Ludvig - 2003.
 229. Valentinčić Vera - 2003.
 230. Vranetić Ivica - 1970.
 231. Vuković Dane - 2003.
 232. Vuković Ante - 2003.
 233. Žagar Ljuba - 1994.

BOSNIA

234. Begić Mauricette - 1991.
 235. Begić Midhat - 1991.
 236. Beširević Zekira - 2000.
 237. Blagojević Ljubo - 1998.
 238. Božić Marko - 1989.
 239. Brkić Anđelka - 1996.
 240. Deletis Ratimir - 1989.
 241. Eberhardt Rozika - 1995.
 242. Eberhardt Josip - 1995.
 243. Fazlinović Hasija - 1980.
 244. Fazlinović Sulejman - 1980.
 245. Griner Franjo - 1992.
 246. Griner Lidija - 1992.
 247. Hardaga Bachrija - 1984.
 248. Hardaga Izet - 1984.
 249. Hardaga Mustafa - 1984.
 250. Hardaga Zeineba - 1984.
 251. Hatibović Rezak - 1984.
 252. Habitović Sulejman - 1984.
 253. Jakovljević Anđa - 1992.
 254. Kapetanović Šemso - 2001.
 255. Kapetanović Esma - 2001.
 256. Kapetanović Hasna - 2001.
 257. Kapetanović Vasva - 2001.
 258. Kapetanović Sultanija - 2001.
 259. Komljenović Borislav - 1995.
 260. Komljenović Borjana - 1995.
 261. Komljenović Ljeposava - 1995.
 262. Korkut Derviš - 1994.
 263. Korkut Serveta - 1994.
 264. Kraljević Ada - 1992.
 265. Kraljević Ivo - 1992.
 266. Kuković Olga - 1994.
 267. Latal Andrija - 2006.
 268. Milosević Vid Andrija - 1997.
 269. Milošević Anto - 1997.
 270. Perkušić Gavro - 1999.
 271. Pozder Salih - 1996.
 272. Pozderac Nurija - 2013.
 273. Pozderac Devleta - 2013.
 274. Ristić Risto - 1994.
 275. Sadik Ahmed Saralop - 1984.
 276. Saračević Elza - 1994.
 277. Saračević Ferid - 1994.
 278. Saračević Sead - 1994.
 279. Saračević Emira - 1994.
 280. Števanović Bogoljub - 1998.
 281. Šebek (Krajina) Zora - 1995.
 282. Šober Dragoje Roza - 2000.
 283. Till Adam - 1995.

SLOVENIA

284. Breskvar Ivan - 1998.
 285. Žun Uroš - 1975.
 286. Zupančič Ivan - 2001.
 287. Zupančič Ljubica - 2001.

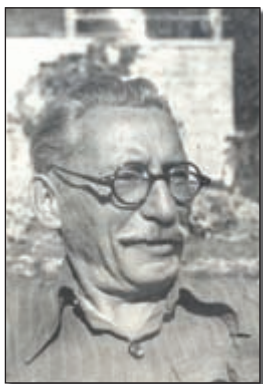
MACEDONIA

288. Altiparmak Boris - 1989.
 289. Altiparmak Vaska - 1989.
 290. Čekada Smiljan - 2010.
 291. Hadži Mitkov Todor - 1976.
 292. Hadži Mitkov Pandora - 1976.
 293. Pičulin Zora - 1975.
 294. Ribarev Trajko - 1976.
 295. Ribarev Dragica - 1976.
 296. Siljanovski Bogoj - 1989.
 297. Todorov Aleksandar - 1980.
 298. Todorov Blaga - 1980.

MONTENEGRO

299. Zanković Petar - 2006.

JEWS NATIONAL HEROES OF YUGOSLAVIA



Moša Pijade



Drago Steinberger Adolf



Robert Domani



Voja Todorovic Lederer



Nisim Albahari



Ovadija Estreja



Pavle Pap



Isidor Isa Baruh



Pavle Steiner



Elijas Engel

GLOSSARY

- Auschwitz - death camp in Poland
- Banjica - concentration camp in Belgrade
- Bergen-Belsen - concentration camp in Germany
- Chetnik - member of voluntary armed forces under the reign of Turks in Serbia. Sadly, the glory of the name was tarnished by crimes committed, among other on Serbs, and the collaboration with the German occupier during World War Two.
- Crveni krst - concentration camp in Niš
- Cvetković Dragiša - Prime Minister of the Serbian government who signed the blasphemous regulations limiting the rights of Jews; also co-signatory of the Tripartite Pact with Germany
- Fifth column - enemy collaborationists of all colours
- gas truck - a special vehicle used to transport Jews to grave sites. In Belgrade Jews were transported from the Sajmište camp to Jajinci. During the journey they were gassed to death by exhaust gasses led into the truck body
- gendarme - member of the police force
- Gendarmerie - section of the police force
- Gestapo - the official secret police of Nazi Germany
- HaNoar HaCioni - Zionist Youths
- Hashomer Hatzair - heb. The Young Gaurdsmen, Zionist movement for relocation to the Palestine
- ISC (NDH) - the so-called Independent State of
- Croatia (NDH), a Fascist state founded in the occupation of Yugoslavia by Germany in 1941
- Jasenovac - most brutal death camp in Europe situated in the territory of the Independent State of Croatia
- Juden Frei - free from Jews the dictum used by Germans during World War Two, to report to the Command in Berlin that all Jews had been killed in certain countries. Serbia was second in proclaiming a "Juden frei" state
- Kosovo and Metohija - southern Serbian region
- Kreiskommandantur - the county head-quarters of German authorities during World War Two in occupied territories
- Kulturbund - cultural-education society founded in 1920; it turned into a Nazi Germany spy nest within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia
- Lazarist - name derived locally from the missionary society founded by St.Vinko Paulski, born 1581 in France. The name "Lazarene" comes from their seat in Paris (Home of St. Lazarus)
- Ljotićevci - armed troops of the Serbian pro-Fascist Ljotić, commonly known simply as ZBOR
- Mauthausen - death camp for Jews in Austria
- Nedić Milan - Prime Minister in occupied Serbia responsible for arresting Jews and their deportation to camps run by or under German control
- NOB - People's Liberation Movement led by Josip Broz Tito
- Numerus Clausus - restrictions stripping Jews of certain civic rights
- Partisan - member of the anti-fascist guerilla force,
- Pavelić Ante - Prime Minister of the Ustashi fabrication, the Independent State of Croatia from 1941 to 1945. (NDH)
- Red Army - the military forces of the Soviet Union
- redarstvo - police in ISC
- Sajmište - the camp on the Zemun bank of the river Sava where Jews were deported
- Srem front - the last front in the territory of Yugoslavia where intense battles with German troops in
- retreat from its territory were fought
- SS - armed members of the Fascist Nazi party of Adolph Hitler
- Stara Gradiška - a camp in ISC, a section of the Jasenovac camp complex. Mostly women and children were imprisoned in the camp. There are no survivors from the camp
- Topovske šupe - concentration camp for Belgrade Jews located in the part of Belgrade known as Autokomanda
- Tripartite Pact - pact made between three countries: Germany, Italy and Japan
- Ustashi - members of the Fascist movement in Croatia
- Užička Republic - the first liberated territory in subjugated Europe. It was established by Tito's Partisans
- Volksdeutscher - a name for indigenous Germans living in the territory of Vojvodina.
- Wehrmacht - the German army from 1935 to 1945.
- yellow band - a band worn by Jews during World War Two to mark them out from the rest of the population
- ZBOR - Fascist movement of Dimitrije Ljotić founded in 1935. During the war the movement collaborated with Germans. By the end of the war they joined up with other collaborationist formations: the Draža Mihailović Chetniks, Pavelić Ustashi, Nedić police and other traitors

BROCHURE
"A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE"





A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE

Mounting of anti-Semitism in Yugoslavia



Adolf Hitler, the newly appointed chancellor, greets German president Paul von Hindenburg. Berlin, 30 January 1933

WITH HITLER'S COMING INTO POWER IN GERMANY (1933)
ANTI-SEMITISM WAS GROWING IN THE
KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA

In January 1935 the pro-Fascist and explicitly anti-Semitic movement "ZBOR" was founded under the leadership of Dimitrije Ljotić based on the ideological influence of Nikolaj Velimirović



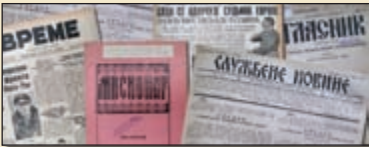
"All modern European mottos have been composed by Jews who had Christ crucified: like democracy, and strikes, and socialism, and atheism, and tolerance of all faiths, and pacifism and total revolution, and capitalism and communism. All of these are innovations of Jews, i.e. of their devil father".

N. Velimirović: "Words addressed to the Serbian nation through a prison window"



The Führer is leading a battle that is an honor to all mankind. God has sent to the German people the farseeing Führer. We believe in the sincerity of his spoken words."

Patriarch Varnava on Hitler's battle against "international Jewry", "Gazette of the Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate", 1937



Inspired by such rhetoric, completely forgetting the significant contribution of Jews in Serbia's victory in the First World War, the rate of anti-Semitic articles in Yugoslav newspapers grew by the day.

Yugoslav Foreign Secretary, Anton Korošec, stated in September 1938, that "The Jewish issue did not exist in Yugoslavia.... Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany at this moment are not welcome here."

The only Jewish member of Senate, Rabbi Isaac Alkalai was dismissed from the Senate at the express request of Prime Minister Milan Stojadinović.



Milan Stojadinović, Aca Stanojević, Anton Korošec, Mehmed Spahić



PRIOR TO THE BEGINNING
OF WORLD WAR TWO YU-
GOSLAVIA WAS INCREAS-
INGLY DRAWING NEARER
TO GERMANY

*Pavle Karadorđević
and
Hermann Goering
June 1939*

*Pavle
Karadorđević
and Adolf Hitler
July 1939*



A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE



Mounting of anti-Semitism in Yugoslavia

ANTISEMITIC REGULATIONS, BELGRADE,
5 OCTOBER 1940



ZAGREB, Friday, 11 October 1940
Declaration

The King's Government has passed two Regulations referring to Jews. One regulation restricts the rights of Jewish children, because they are Jewish, to enroll in high schools and colleges. The second regulation gives the authorities the right to exclude Jews, because they are Jews, from a sector of economy.

[...]

Nothing in this world, in the eyes of those whose feelings and thoughts are just, and who see no crime or inferiority in the origin of any man, can diminish nor degrade the Jewish community.

THE FEDERATION OF JEWISH RELIGION COMMUNITIES OF YUGOSLAVIA

President: Fridrih Pops, Vice Presidents: Dr. Marko Horn, Dr. Elemir Kalmar

THE RABBI SYNOD OF THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA

Head Rabbi: Dr. Isak Alkalaj, Chief Rabbi: Dr. Gavro Schwarz Chief Rabbi: Dr. Moric Levi



Based on the proposal of Prince Pavle and the Crown Council the Government passed the resolution to sign the Tripartite Pact.

THE REVOLT OF THE PEOPLE PROVOKED BY THE SIGNING OF THE TRIPARTITE PACT AND THE ENSUING MILITARY COUP



The demonstration in front of the German Cultural center – "Kulturbund", Belgrade, Pozorišni trg, 27 March 1941



People in the streets of Yugoslavia's capital Belgrade following the military coup

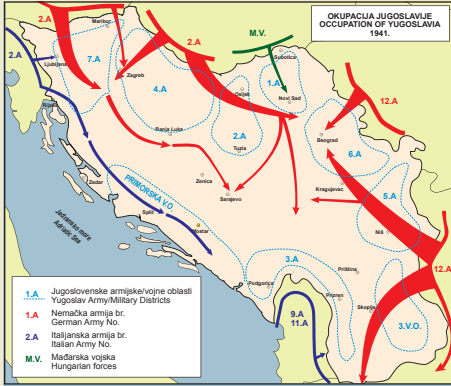




A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE

Occupation of Yugoslavia

As an act of reprisal for toppling the Government which signed the Tripartite pact, Germany and Italy attacked Yugoslavia on 6 April 1941 without a declaration of war.



The Germans and Italians began their aggression against Yugoslavia by bombing Belgrade and Split on 6 April 1941.



Belgrade in ruins



The demolished building of the National bank in Split



Maribor



Zagreb



Vinkovci



Niš

In the general mayhem that overran the Yugoslav army throughout Serbia, the German soldiers defeated the King's army units. Over 200,000 soldiers and officers were taken as POWs and transferred to prison camps. While the army was laying down arms throughout Yugoslavia, the King and Government were staying in Nikšić, Montenegro, where on 13 April, the last session of the Government Cabinet was held before they fled the country.



The surrender of arms and equipment, Kosovo Mitrovica, April 1941



Vehicles probably left behind during the flight to Nikšić. Village Rogatica, Bosnia



King Petar II Karađorđević who in the darkest hour of his people's history left the country.

In 1941, subsequent to the creation of the Independent State of Croatia, Nazi Germany installed as its governing party the "Ustashi - the Croatian Liberation Movement", a pro-Fascist movement linked to Italian Fascists and the Vatican. The movement was founded by Ante Pavelić in 1929.

The rest of Yugoslavia was divided up between Germany, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria.



A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE



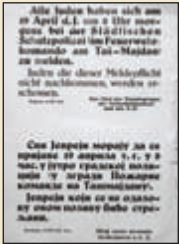
The first measures against the Jews



Ustashi Command – Dubrovnik
Dubrovnik 25 June 1941
ORDER

...2. All Jews and Serbs are barred from the streets and obliged to keep their stores closed from 7 p.m. to 7 a.m. ...

FOR HOMELAND - READY!
Commander Ivo Rojnica



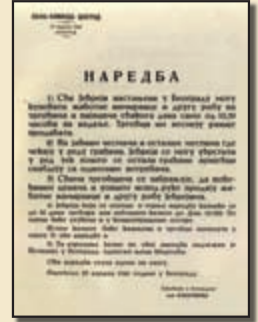
All Jews must report on April 19, current year, at 8 a.m. to the city police (in the building of the Fire brigade headquarters at Tašmajdan). Jews who do not respond to this summons shall be shot to death by firing squad.
Chief of police security group and S.D.

BELGRADE MILITARY HEAD-
QUARTERS
25 April 1941
ORDER

1) All Jews living in Belgrade can buy food and other provisions in the open market-spaces and squares each day only after 10.30 and then on. Traders are forbidden to sell goods to them before the stated hour.

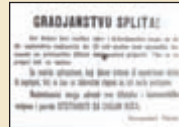
2) In queues before water taps, as well as other places for general public use where citizens queue up, Jews are allowed to join the queue only after other citizens, Arians, have obtained required supplies of the article in question...

...So ordered in Belgrade, 25 April 1942
Colonel and Commander von KAISENBERG



JEWS ARE OBLIGATED TO WEAR THE JEWISH SIGN

Notice of the branch office of the Ustashi Agency-department for jews, Zagreb, 22 may 1941 officer Božidar Cеровski



CITIZENS OF SPLIT

All Jews, irrelevant of religious conviction or nationality must register by 28 September no later than 12 o'clock-midday with the German Command on the pier (Hotel Ambasador). Failure to register will result in hanging.

City Commander



Instructions for individuals of Jewish descent
Mandatory registration point

The County Police Administration informs all individuals of Jewish descent arriving from neighboring or other countries and living in the territory of Skopje as of 6 April 1941 without residential status, to report as ordered, to the County Police Administration by 30th inst.

All those who fail to report shall be punished in accordance with current legislature.



ATTENTION - Entrance forbidden to
Jews - Bačvice beach SPLIT

ARTICLE OF LAW

On the State's right of ownership of Jewish property and Jewish enterprises

In the aim to revive the nation's economy the State Ministry for reconstruction can, by its decision, nationalize the property of any Jew as well as any Jewish enterprise with or without compensation in the name and to the favor of the ISC or in favor of the State Ministry for reconstruction...



THE REGULATION ON THE APPROPRIATION OF JEWISH PROPERTY BY SERBIA

The property of Jews, who, on April 15, 1941 were citizens of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia or were without citizenship but residing in territories belonging to Serbia, is appropriated to Serbia without any compensation...

26 August 1942 Belgrade, President of the Ministerial Council, Milan Đ. Nedić



FORCED LABOR FOLLOWED BY INTERNMENT IN CAMPS THROUGHOUT YUGOSLAVIA



Senta, Beograd, Zemun





A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE

Deportation of Jews into camps



Crveni krst, Niš



Jasenovac



*Stara
Gradiška*



*Judenlager Semlin
(Zemun)*

THE RESCUE OF JEWS

Facing systematic extermination Jews sought shelter in the Italian occupation zone, or by joining the Partisans, fleeing to Budapest, finding hiding places in territories under occupation...

THE RESCUE OF JEWS FROM DEPORTATION TO CAMPS WAS AIDED BY GOOD PEOPLE THROUGHOUT YUGOSLAVIA, FUTURE AWARDEES OF THE DISTINGUISHED ISRAELI MEDAL – RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS.

Geršon Kapon fled to Split with a fake high school registration card which he obtained from the director of the First Belgrade Gymnasium, Mr. Spasenije Prica.



Spasenije Prica

Members of the Hashomer Hatzair, the Jewish socialist youth organization joined up with the Partisan movement en masse; Sarajevo, Zemun...



*Dr. Roza Papo (in the middle),
the first woman to become
General of the Yugoslav
People's Liberation Army,
Guča 1944*

*Member of the
Hashomer Hatzair
Danilo Fogel, bearer of the
1941 Partisan decoration, 1944*



Upon the capitulation of Italy in 1943 inside the camp on island Rab Jews single-handedly disarmed the Italian camp guards. The camp inmates formed the Rab Partisan brigade



*Mutual contentment: Jews
in front of the camp with the
Italians – their former jailers*

THE MAJORITY OF JEWS DID NOT ESCAPE EXECUTION



*Map of Subotica in 1943 (detail, Historical archive of Subotica,
Map Collection 3-2-1-40) Marked streets which entered the
ghetto area.*



*The Novi Sad raid,
January 1942*



*Deportation of Macedonian
Jews to Treblinka, Skopje –
Monopol, March 1943*



A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE



The escaping of collaborationists



*Bleiburg: Ustashi, Chetniks,
Home guardsmen,
White Guardists - justice
without trial*

By the end of 1944 when the fact that Germany was defeated became apparent, in their wish to hand themselves over to the Allied forces and escape responsibility for crimes committed during the war, collaborationists fled to the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral. The Allies gave refuge to many, but the majority was handed over to the new leadership.



*Lav Rupnik and Ervin Rösener
(condemned to death in 1946) and
Gregorij Rožman*

THEY ESCAPED RESPONSIBILITY



"Anglo-American occupation authorities do not hand over the greatest war criminal Pavelić to Yugoslavia claiming that he cannot be found. -Mr. Pavelić, you could at least try to be less seen when you know that I have strict orders not to find you." (Cartoon by Pjer, 9/3/1947)



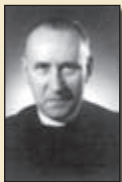
The Ljotich fighters and Chetniks, Slovenia 1945.

*The "Ljotič" bid
farewell to Bishop
Nikolaj Velimirovića
and Momčilo Đujić*

*on their way to Gorica, where on 24/4/1945 Dimitrije Ljotić
was buried after a fatal car crash near Ajdovščina the
day before. The eulogy to Ljotić was delivered by Bishop
Nikolaj*

RATLINES AND THE VATICAN

*The organizer of fake
documents dispensing Father
Krunoslav Draganović*



*The Pontifical Croatian College of St. Jerome
in Rome under the jurisdiction of the Vatican
issued false documents to the Ustashi upon
the war and so enabled them to avoid court
trials for war crimes.*



LIBERATION OF YUGOSLAVIA



Slavko Goldstein (left)

In the Peoples Liberation war a total of 4572 Jews fought against the enemy. 1318 died. In terms of percentage, their participation was greater than any other ethnic or religious group in Yugoslavia. Ten Jews were proclaimed War Heroes while 150 were awarded the 1941 Partisan decoration.



Marshal Tito and Moshe Pijade





A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE

SERBIA

Pal Zsámbóki - Marija Csanádi



Once Belgrade was occupied in April 1941, Saul BenAvram and his son Hajm were assigned forced labour duty on a daily basis. However, there came a day when they did not return home; they were murdered inside Banjica camp. In December 1941 Saul's wife Ester received the order to report to the Special police for Jews together with her two children, Rosa and Joseph. As they were starting off for camp Judenlager Semlin (Staro sajmište), their friend Pal Zsámboki came to say goodbye. He managed to persuade Ester to leave Roza and Joseph behind promising that he would care for them. He was soon reported to the Gestapo and had no other option but to take the children out of Belgrade without delay.

He left the twelve-year-old Rosa with his niece Mariška Čanadi in Novi Kneževac. The Čanadi family took care of Roza right up to the end of the war. Pal took the ten-year-old Joseph to Kanjiža. He registered Joseph with the authorities as his son. Out of respect and gratitude for the man who rescued him, Joseph kept the name Zsámboki for life.



Pal Zsámboki and Marija Csanádi
both awarded a Righteous among
the Nations in 1995



The Protić and Bogićević families

Isak and Rena Papo, and their two daughters, Lea and Rahela, lived in Raška. The moment German troops invaded Sandžak in 1941 they had to go into hiding. It was the beginning of a rescue operation that involved many villages throughout the neighbouring countryside. The threat that all those harbouring Jews would share their destiny, i.e. be killed, did not frighten the family of Simeon and Miroslava Protić. They kept the Papo family in hiding in the hamlet of Protića, situated below the peak of mountain Željina for more than six months. Once their hiding place was exposed the Papo family found a new safe place in village Drenča. There they stayed with Mijajlo and Milica Bogićević right up to liberation.



**Miroslava and Simeon Protić,
Milica and Mijajlo Bogićević**
all awarded a Righteous among
the Nations in 2009



A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE



SERBIA

Martina Levec

Escaping arrest and deportation of Zemun Jews to camps Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška on 27 July 1942, three Jews: the Beherano brothers, Benko and Josip, and Danilo Fogel found refuge in the house of Martina Levec.

They could not believe that they had been placed in the attic of a two-flat villa where, living as tenants, were also four high-ranking German officers, of whom one was the Chief Commander of the Zemun airport.



Martina's brother had been deported to Germany as a forced labourer, while she was obliged to serve German officers. However, her wish to give shelter and keep the three Jews safe was unaffected by her existing circumstances.

Benko was the first to leave the shelter; once in possession of fake documents he went into hiding in Belgrade. After spending three months with Martina, Danilo and Josip managed to transfer themselves to the nearest Partisan unit.

Sometime before the end of the war Martina's underground activities were disclosed and she was immediately transferred to a Partisan unit.



Israeli Ambassador in Belgrade Yoram Shani presents the medal to Martina Levec



Martina Levec, married Marković
awarded a Righteous among the Nations in 2000

Antun Benčević - Mira Cvijović



Together with his mother and grandmother, Antun Benčević lived in Zemun at 26, Sindelićeva Str. Also living with them at the time of her studies was Antun's cousin, Mira Cvijović.

At the beginning of July 1942 an agent of the Resistance movement, Evica Frlog, employed undercover in the Ustashi Police quarters, informed Mira Cvijović that preparations were underway for mass arrests of Jews and their deportation to the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška camps. Evica further managed to steal a number of stamped passes bearing the German seal. Mira Cvijović, a pre-war member



of the Communist Party Youth organization, immediately summoned a group of activists and distributed the passes among them. They were to hand them over to certain Jews. Braca was given one such pass. He offered the pass to the Belah family. The Belahs decided they would save their male heir, Pavle. Subsequently, father, mother and the two sisters were sent to camp, from which none of them returned. Antun took Pavle to 5, Nikolajevska Str. to the house of Mirjana Uglješić. The house served as shelter while liaison with Partisans was made. Inside Mirjana's house Antun, nicknamed Braca, filled in the pass giving Pavle an alias, Hinko Hilić; he then forged the signature of the chief of police sprawling it over the seal. After staying at Mirjana's a couple of days, Pavle was transferred to his unit.

Antun Benčević and Mira Cvijović
both awarded a Righteous among the Nations in 1994





A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE

SERBIA

Petar Jovanović

Eugen and Elsa Hohberg, with their daughter Mirjam and relative Adela, tried to reach Italy by way of Kosovo and Albania with the help of fake documents acquired in the name of Hadžić. They came as far as Prizren and from there could go no further.

In Prizren, they rented a part of the house belonging to the Jovanović family. Living inside the modest house, the Jovanović family counted father, mother and six children. Petar Jovanović, the eldest son, took responsibility for the refugees. However, Eugen's stash of savings was soon spent. The thought of throwing the Hohbergs into the street never crossed the Jovanovićs' mind. They would simply continue to stay with them. They had become family.



Petar Jovanović
awarded a Righteous
among the Nations
in 1993



At the beginning of 1944 someone denounced the Jovanovićs for providing shelter to a Jewish family. The Germans came and arrested Eugen, Elisa and Adela. Little Mirjam found refuge in the arms of Petar. The following day Petar was arrested, too. The Germans suspected that there was still a Jewish child inside the house. Beating upon beating, Petar stubbornly contended that Mirjam was a Serb. In the end, her blue eyes turned out to be the decisive factor. A Jewess can only have dark eyes, the soldiers concluded and finally let Petar go home.

Marija Tomić

Prior to WWII Marija Šanc lived in Novi Sad. At the time she was married to Ljubomir Tomić. Encountering problems in his business transactions, Ljubomir, a Jew by birth, had changed his surname Kon to Tomić. Ljubomir had a large family and many friends in Belgrade. Marija resolved to save them. By birth a German, she managed to persuade a German Army driver to help her transfer a group of Jews from Belgrade to Novi Sad. That first trip was the hardest. Notwithstanding the initial trepidation, the German driver continued to transport Jews from Belgrade to Marija and Ljubomir's flat, from where the pair organized their transfer further on, to Budapest.

The mission Marija had undertaken ended in her imprisonment in Ravensbrück camp at the end of 1944. Ljubomir, who had joined the Partisans, fought battles right up to liberation. Succeeding to survive internment, Marija returned to Novi Sad.



Marija Tomić
awarded a Righteous among
the Nations in 2009



A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE



SERBIA

Andrej Tumpej



Andrej Tumpej, a Lazarist from Slovenia, came to Belgrade in 1929. He was appointed first vicar of the new church dedicated to St. Cyril and St. Methodius.

Antonija Ograjenšek, herself a Slovenian, married Avram Kalef in the late nineties of the previous century. By marrying Kalef, she accepted the Jewish faith. Soon they had two daughters, Matilda and Rahela.



Once it transpired that all Jews would be transported to camps Antonija approached vicar Tumpej for help. She had kept her old birth certificate evidencing that she was Slovenian. However, she dared not show her children's documents to anybody. Andrej Tumpej was aware that the girls' parental lineage was Jewish. A goodhearted man, he could do nothing less than supply them with fake christening papers. One day word got round the neighbourhood that the vicar was arrested. Only then did it transpire that the vicar had helped other Jews, too.

After spending a number of months in Gestapo prison, Andrej Tumpej was released.



Andrej Tumpej
awarded a Righteous among the Nations in 2001

Ljubica & Jelenko Stamenković

Upon the capitulation of the Yugoslav Army in April 1941, Jelenko Stamenković, a notary from the village of Sesalac near Soko Banja, came across Majer Kalderon, lieutenant in reserve, traversing the neighbouring woods. Kalderon had fled from the line of POWs destined for camps in Germany. Jelenko took him to his home where he lived with his parents, wife Ljubica and their two children, Vukosava and Vidosava. Majer also had a wife and two children. Deeply concerned for his family Kalderon returned to Belgrade in August 1941. As ordered, he registered with the authorities for forced labour duty; however, Majer was sent to the Topovske šupe camp immediately. Before long he was taken from there to an execution plot and shot dead.

Learning of his friend's ill fate Jelenko Stamenković set off for Belgrade to find Kalderon's family. He brought Majer's wife Ester and children Mirijam and Josif to Sesalac where he took care of them right up to the end of the war.



Ljubica and Jelenko Stamenković
both awarded a Righteous among the Nations in 2005





A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE

SERBIA

The Knežević, Bondžić and Zdravković families

Ladislav and Julija Dajč completed their medical studies in 1937. In 1939 they were both given a post in the small town of Aleksandrovac, county Župa. In June 1941, the instated enemy authorities gave both of them notice; on top of losing their jobs, they were simultaneously thrown out of their home. At the time, a group of officers of the King's Army had set up camp on neighbouring mountain Željín. Desperately in need of a physician, they persuaded Ladislav, whose life was by now genuinely endangered, to join up with them. From then on Borivoje Bondžić was entrusted with the care of Ladislav's wife, i.e. doctor Julija. He kept moving her incessantly from one safe place to another. She spent the winter in hamlet Boturiča with Predrag Zdravković. In the village of Latkovac, staying in the home of Slobodan and Milenija Knežević, Julija gave birth to son Ilan in 1943. Throughout the war the populace of neighbouring villages took an active part in the concealment and rescue of the Dajč family. Finally, as liberation came, all their efforts proved successful.



Grozdana and Borivoje Bondžić, Milenija and Slobodan Knežević, Stana and Predrag Zdravković,
all awarded a Righteous among the Nations in 1980

Hajrija Imeri Mihaljić

In Kosovska Mitrovica, at the time under Wehrmacht occupation, the Jewess Bukica gave birth to a daughter she named Stela. In their endeavor to escape German persecution, both father Blagoje and Bukica set off to join Partisan troops. They left Stela with her grandmother Ester. Before long the enemy rounded up all Mitrovica's Jews for transportation to death camp Sajmište in Belgrade. Hajrija used to help grandmother Ester round the house. On hearing that grandmother and baby Stela had been incarcerated she went inside the prison where Jews were being held taking her own children with her. On leaving the premises she managed to pass by the gate guard with Stela in her arms as the guard had omitted to count the number of children she had had with her on entry. When the war finally ended, a quarrel with her next door neighbor resulted in his threat and actual accusation to the police that Hajrija had a Jewish child in her house. Hajrija could not accept the fact that she had to give up the child she had raised as her very own. Stela was taken to Belgrade and placed in a home for parentless children. Hajrija had no knowledge that Bukica had managed to survive the war. By a chance of fate Bukica had been appointed as a nurse in the very home Stela ended up in. Thus mother and daughter were reunited once again.



Stela Ester



Hajrija Imeri Mihaljić
awarded a Righteous among the Nations in 1991



A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE



CROATIA

Ivica Vranetić

When Italy capitulated in 1943 and before the Germans occupied the territories lost by the Italians, for a short period of time they were in the hands of the Partisans. Within that period all Jews incarcerated in Italian camps on Adriatic islands were transferred to the mainland. Younger people joined up with the Partisans while the children and the old had to be placed somewhere relatively safe. They were taken to villages near Otočec and Topusko. Ivica Vranetić stood out among those who offered help. First of all he took Erna Montiljo with her baby, sister and old mother to his home and gave them shelter. Ivica ceaselessly helped Jewish refugees more than once saving them from the onslaught of the German army. Apart from that, Ivica also fell in love with Erna whose husband had perished in camp Jasenovac. When Erna decided to marry Ivica, her mother protested so that after the war Erna ended up marrying a Jew from Sarajevo. After immigrating to Israel she bore two more children. However, once the children reached maturity she separated from her husband and after 20 years finally married Ivica.



Ivica Vranetić
awarded a Righteous among
the Nations in 1970



Jakša Kalogjera



When World War Two began eng. Jakša Kalogjera, a descendant of the old patrician family, found himself a victim of anti-Semite regulations although he was not a Jew. He used to visit a relative of his who lived with a Jewess, Nada Eisler, in Garešnica. Nada was a member of the Resistance movement and soon the entire group was located and arrested. All who had any connection with Nada Eisler were incarcerated among them Jakša also. Jakša was sent to camp Jasenovac, while Nada and a friend from her group were shot to death by a firing squad. Jakša's brother Marko, a renowned international lawyer, managed to save Jakša from a certain death.

Once he was out of Jasenovac, Jakša returned to Zagreb. A friend of his, Lili Moravetz, a Jewess married to Handler, a Jew, lived in Zagreb. Circumstances surrounding the Jewish population of Zagreb were becoming perilous so Lili left her husband and with a pass obtained by Jakša, went off to Split. In Split Jakša's sister Ivica took Lili in and looked after her. In Split Lili married a Croat and thus lived to see the end of the war.



Jakša Kalogjera
awarded a Righteous among the Nations in 2001





A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE

CROATIA

Rudi Roter

Prior to the beginning of World War Two Rudi Roter worked as a journalist in Sarajevo. He had many friends among the town's Jewish population. When the Germans entered Sarajevo, he realized what would shortly happen to Jews and managed to persuade his friend Abo Koen to leave town with his family and move to Potomje on the Pelješac peninsula. Abo agreed to leave for Potomje, Roter's birthplace, and very soon they all found themselves living there. Roter was a well respected citizen of Potomje and he managed to arrange a meeting with the town's people to ask them to safeguard the Koen family from the enemy, to which they all agreed. However, the situation soon worsened and they could no longer hide in Potomje, so they moved to Trpanj from where the Koen family entered the freed territories and joined the Partisans. Avdo worked in the ZAVNOH in the sector for information and was killed in 1944. His wife Lota and daughter Mira managed to survive the war.



Rudi Roter (left)

Rudi Roter
awarded a Righteous among
the Nations in 2004



Čedomir & Branko Bauer



Čedomir Bauer



Branko Bauer



When in 1941 the persecution of Jews began in Zagreb, Ljerka Freiburger's surname was Mikac - that of her first husband. Notwithstanding the fact, at the insistence of her father, Ljerka converted to another faith hoping that this would solve all problems. But circumstances at the time were against her as the Ustashi did not recognize documents issued later than April 20, 1941. Ljerka was employed in the company Unitas where she had made friends with Ida Obradović. Very soon she was forced to seek refuge in her friend's flat. So as not to further endanger the Obradović family, whose surname suggested Serbian origin, she moved into the house of Čedomir Bauer. Two other Jewish families were already living there and one day both families were taken to a place unknown. Ljerka confessed to Čedomir and his son Branko, who was in liaison with the Resistance movement that she too, was a Jewess. They were both well aware of the fact and told her she should not worry. However, after experiencing another unpleasant incident with the Ustashi, she decided to seek shelter once again with Ida and her sister Olga where she stayed up to the end of the war.



Ljerka Freiburger

Čedomir and Branko Bauer
both awarded a Righteous among the Nations in 1992



A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE

CROATIA



Žarko & Boris Dolinar



Boris and Žarko

Gloriously famous after winning third place at the World Championship for table tennis held in Cairo in 1939, on returning to Zagreb, Žarko Dolinar, although still very young, decided he would make tennis his profession. He taught and trained youngsters in table tennis clubs who, thanks to his endeavors, became very popular. Thus he came to the Jewish club Maccabi where he made many friends. With the invasion of the German armed forces everything changed overnight and the persecution of Jews was set in motion. Žarko's popularity was so great that he soon managed to get inside police offices from where he obtained passes/papers for his friends. Soon word got out that he was willing and could help. Nevertheless, although he obtained countless passes from the police, he could not acquire the numbers needed. It was then that he decided to start making false papers for persecuted Jews in the basement of his house in Primorska 4 together with his brother Boris. Many were saved through the efforts of the Dolinar brothers.



*Žarko Dolinar,
(recent photo)*



Žarko and Boris Dolinar
both awarded a Righteous among the Nations in 1993

Gina & Tihomil Beritić

On opening the package that an unknown man had brought to the Jewish Community in Zagreb, placing it on a table and then leaving abruptly, all present gasped for breath once they looked inside; in the package was a tiny baby. On a piece of paper found beside it were the baby's name, Dina Blucher, date of birth 1940 and additionally refer to Blanka Furst or the Gerber family. Branka Furst took the baby. The baby had been taken to Loborgrad camp together with its mother and grandmother. Both the mother and grandmother had ended up in a transport from Loborgrad to Auschwitz. Dina's father Dragutin had previously been taken to camp Jasenovac from which he never returned. By what means the baby had reached Zagreb remained a secret. However, despite all endeavors Blanka Furst could not keep the baby with her for long since she was also under Ustashi surveillance. She was told there was a woman who took care of children in exchange for money. Blanka went to join the Partisans but asked her friend Gina Beritić to visit little Dina from time to time. On visiting the child Gina found her in poor condition, neglected, all in sores and the clothes that she had come in gone and sold by the woman who supposedly cared for her. Gina asked the woman if she could take Dina for a walk and once out of the house she never returned. Gina and her husband Tihomil looked after Dina keeping her safe right up to the end of the war. Once the fighting was over, Blanka Furst returned to Zagreb and adopted Dina.



Dina i Gina

Gina and Tihomil Beritić
both awarded a Righteous among
the Nations in 1994





A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE

CROATIA

Anka Crndić



Anka Crndić



In the law offices of Rikard Steiner in Koprivnica Anka Crndić was responsible for all administrative affairs. Rikard was married to Silvija; they had two sons Smiljan and Marijan. When the first large Ustashi concentration camp was opened close to Koprivnica, the Jewish family Steiner was apprehended and transported to the camp at the beginning of July 1941. From there Rikard was transported to camp Jasenovac where he was killed. Silvija and the children were transferred to Loborgrad. Typhoid raged inside the camp and all stricken were taken to a hospital in Zagreb. The boys were successfully removed from the hospital and placed in hiding with a Zagreb family.

Anka devised a plan to save Silvija. Since the transport of typhoid patients required accompaniment, Anka told Silvija to register for the task. Once the truck drove down the path near the river, the driver, whom Anka had previously bribed, slowed down so that Silvija managed to jump into the river while Anka stood waiting for her on the other bank. Soon Silvija, together with her children, reached Sušak and from there they reached Trieste where they remained up to the end of the war.



Silvia Steiner

Anka Crndić
awarded a Righteous among
the Nations in 2005

Agata Jaga Gjerek



Agata Gjerek, called Jaga by everyone who knew her, a bright peasant girl from Banski Kovačevac, in the vicinity of Karlovac, began working in the house of the renowned Karlovac intellectual Ivo Goldenstein back in 1932. Ivo and Lea Goldstein had two sons, Slavko and Danko. Even before war broke out Jaga sensed what fate awaited Jews and suggested to Ivo that he take refuge in her village, staying with her brother until one could fathom what was going to happen. While the Goldstein thought things over together with Jaga, uncertain whether they should really take to the village, the Ustashi came to their door and took Ivo Goldstein to the prison house. After a short period he was taken to mountain Velebit to the camp Jadovno from where he never returned. Shortly after their first visit, the Ustashi came to the Goldstein house once again looking for Lea and Jaga. Both of them were arrested and taken to prison while the children remained at home alone. Friends and relatives came to give them a hand and somehow managed to take care of them. First to be released from incarceration was Jaga and she was taken back to the village. Soon Slavko was there, too. At the time Danko was staying with his grandfather in Tuzla. When Lea was released from prison she went to Kraljevica which was under Italian occupation. In a while she managed to bring her sons there as well and together with them joined up with the Partisans where they stayed up to the end of the war.

Agata Jaga Gjerek
awarded a Righteous among the Nations
in 2000



A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA



Mauricette & Midhat Begić



Midhat Begić, born in Koraja near Brčko, during his PhD studies in Paris fell in love with a Parisian, Mlle. Mauricette Silero. They got married in 1939 and returned to Sarajevo. They had two children, Midhat and Selma. They lived in a house next to the family of Juda Leon Papo, who also had two children, Zlata and Buena- Kača. At the onset of the 1941 war, Midhat was recruited into the Croatian Army. He, at the same time, made contact with the Resistance movement. At the beginning of 1942 Juda Leon Papo was transported to camp Jasenovac from which he never returned. During this period Georgina Papo and Mauricette Begić, helped each other through the hardships of occupation. Georgina sent her elder daughter Buena into a cloister to the care of the nuns. In order for Georgina to go to work, Mauricette used to look after Georgina's baby. All of a sudden Georgina fell ill. At the time Jews were forbidden medical treatment in state hospitals. However, at Midhat's intervention she was eventually hospitalized. In a very critical condition, fully conscious that she was going to die, just before the end, she begged Mauricette to care for Zlata. The Begić family took Zlata in, watching over her as if she were there very own. After the war ended they legally adopted Zlata and moved to France.



Mauricette and Midhat Begić

both awarded a Righteous among the Nations in 1991

Ljubo Blagojević & Bogoljub Stevanović

On the eve of World War Two, Aron Hajon and his wife Sofija, with their four children moved from Zvornik to Belgrade. In Belgrade he held the restaurant "Složna braća". The first to feel the brunt of the new German occupation authorities were Jews. Aron's sons, Emil and Isidor were executed in retribution, as hostages near Šabac, in 1942. Realizing that soon all of them would be arrested, Aron tried everything he could to remove the rest of them from Belgrade. One way to accomplish this was to procure false identity cards as Bosnian refugees. He had to find a Bosnian citizen who would vouch for him and confirm his false identity. Aron's daughter Matilda remembered her school friend from Zvornik, who had also managed to move to Belgrade with her family right before the war. Her friend's father, Bogoljub Stevanović was willing to testify at the police head office that the Hajon's were refugees from Bosnia. At the office for refugees, he and his friend Ljuba Blagojević, also from Zvornik, testified that they were acquainted with the refugee Aca Marković. Aron, his wife Sofija and daughters Julijana and Matilda obtained necessary papers in the name of Marković and moved to Niš where they remained up to the end of the war.



Lj. Blagojević



B. Stevanović



Ljubo Blagojević and Bogoljub Stevanović

both awarded a Righteous among the Nations
in 1998





A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Mustafa, Zeineba, Izet & Bahrija Hardaga



Izet Hardaga



Bahrija Hardaga



Zeineba Hardaga

Zeineba and Mustafa, Bahrija and Izet Hardaga were long time residents of Sarajevo. In their backyard Josef Kabiljo had built a pipe making factory which soon became one of the leading of its kind in Yugoslavia. Their friendship, which had developed through many years of bonding, was to be exposed to the toughest possible test after the bombardment of Sarajevo in April 1941. Zeineba immediately went to look for the Kabiljo family and see what had happened to them. The Kabiljo house had been bombed and was in ruins. She took the entire family, Jozef, Rivka and the children, Benjamin and Tovar, to her house. Their house was right across from one of the town offices of the Gestapo. Josef, fully aware of the danger the Hargada family was exposed to managed to send off Rivka and the children to Mostar. Josef was arrested and taken to the labor camp in Sarajevo. After two months he managed to escape and join his family in the Italian occupation zone. After the war ended the entire Kabiljo family immigrated to Israel. In the unfortunate year of 1994 when civil war raged throughout Bosnia, at the invitation of the Government of Israel the Hargada family set out to make a new life there. The Kabiljo family was of immense support to them in Israel. But Zeineba died within a year. Her daughter Aida Pećanac converted to Judaism. Aida, today Sara Pećanac, is employed as one of the directors at Yad Vashem.



*Zeineba Hardaga and
Rivka Kabiljo,
Sarajevo 1941.*

Mustafa, Zeineba, Izet and Bahrija Hardaga
all awarded a Righteous among the Nations in 1984



Vid & Anto Milošević



Anto



Vid

The brothers Vid and Anto Milošević lived in Sarajevo where they owned a carpet store in the very center of the city. Right next to them, Leon Altarac also had his own carpet store. They were very good friends. By the proclaimed occupation authorities regulation all Jewish stores were closed down for business. The Milošević brothers offered Leon to come and work with them. Soon their store became a hideout for many Jews. The Ustashi got word of what was going on and came to warn them that it was illegal to hire Jews as workers. The Milošević brothers paid no heed to these portent threats. In November 1942 the Ustashi stormed into their shop, arrested both Milošević brothers and together with them all the Jews that had been hiding there. As a sanction of police retribution for refusing to renounce their Jewish friends, Vid and his brother, together with the Jews they had been hiding, were deported to camp Jasenovac. After 13 months spent in Jasenovac, on the eve of the New Year, they were released on 13 December 1943. Unfortunately, Leon could not be saved.

Vid and Anto Milošević
both awarded a Righteous among the Nations in 1992



A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA



Serveta & Derviš Korkut



The Sarajevo Haggadah

The entry of the German army into Sarajevo in April 1941 was accompanied by the "Einsatzstab Rosenberg", the organization for confiscating Jewish cultural and art treasures. During a visit to the National Museum they asked Dr. Joze Petrović, Museum Director to hand the famous Sarajevo Haggadah dating from the fourteenth century over to them. Instead of handing over the treasure, he replied that German soldiers had taken it into possession a little before them. They believed him. Once they left, Dr. Petrović entrusted Museum custodian Derviš Korkut with the safekeeping of

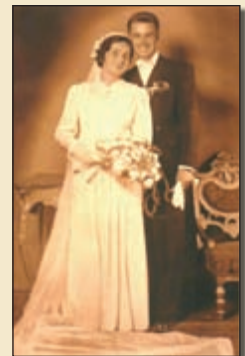
the Haggadah. Donkica Papo, a Partisan, was forced to return to Sarajevo. Looking for a safe house she approached a friend who had worked with her father in the National Museum. At his request Derviš Korkut took Donkica into his own house. His wife Serveta dressed Donkica up in traditional Muslim women's wear and introduced her to all neighbors as a Muslim friend. After five months spent with the Korkuts and with their help she managed to move to another town where her relatives lived. Soon she joined up with the Partisans once again. Upon liberation, alongside Donkica, and the effort of Derviš Korkut the Haggadah, once again, saw the light of day.



Serveta and Derviš Korkut
both awarded a Righteous among
the Nations in 1994

Josip & Rozika Eberhardt

Josip Eberhardt and his wife Rozika worked in the silk and wool production factory in Sarajevo. The owner of the factory was Leon Kabiljo. In April 1941 when the Germans reached Sarajevo, they ordered Josip to put on their uniform since he was of German origin. Following Leon's advice in order to save himself from death, he accepted their offer and was soon employed as an interpreter in the Gestapo. At the beginning of September 1941 Josip took Leon and his wife and their two children to his own house once he learned that they were all to be arrested. They hid there for two months. He managed to secure false identity papers for them and helped them to reach the Italian occupation territory. They first stayed in Split where Josip managed to send the Kabiljo family packages and money by way of Knin. They left Split and reached Dubrovnik where they were interned in Kupari. From there they were eventually transferred to a camp on the island of Rab. Upon the capitulation of Italy they moved to the free zone controlled by Tito's Partisans. They returned to Sarajevo at the beginning of May 1945 to learn that Josip had been arrested and was awaiting trial. Leon immediately set off to testify in his favor. Gratifyingly, many Serbs from mountain Romanija had also come to testify to Josip's credibility, so that he was finally acquitted of charges and set free.



Josip and Rozika Eberhardt
both awarded a Righteous among the Nations in 1995





A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE

SLOVENIA

Uroš Žun

Recha Freier, founder of the Youth Aliyah in Germany, organized the relocation of a group of 16 Jewish girls from Germany and Austria to Yugoslavia. In January 1941 Žun Uroš was chief of the borderline police in Maribor. The guides responsible for handling the girls to Yugoslavia simply took flight once the borderline policemen appeared so that the girls ended up in Žun's office. Fully aware that he would be condemning the girls to death if he were to send them back over the border, Žun contacted the local Jewish Community which took charge of the girls and for the time being placed them in the nearby hotel. Žun also disregarded the very clear-cut directives of the state authorities that Jewish refugees should be denied entry into Yugoslavia. With the backing of the general public view, Žun managed to convince the Government in Belgrade of the integrity of his decision. After a fortnight consumed in debating, he finally sent the group to the refugee camp Krško. Soon a large group of Krško refugees was transferred to the Italian zone in Lesno brdo near Ljubljana. A year later the group moved further on to Nonantola in Italy. After the capitulation of Italy in 1943, once again the group's lives were threatened and they had to seek refuge. This time they managed to cross over into Switzerland where they remained up to the end of the war. After the capitulation of Yugoslavia in 1941, Uroš Žun joined the Partisan movement and fought with them right up to liberation day.



Uroš Žun
awarded a Righteous among
the Nations in 1987

Zora Pičulin



Zora Pičulin
awarded a Righteous among
the Nations in 1975

Prior to the war Zora Pičulin worked in Skopje as nanny to the Gatenjo family. She took care of their son Shaul. In March 1943 the Bulgarian occupying forces rounded up and incarcerated all Jews in the Skopje tobacco warehouse. Little Shaul became seriously ill and his mother obtained a special permit to take him to the hospital. Zora agreed to look after the baby. That same night Zora took Shaul out of the hospital. For a short time she hid inside a monastery in Skopje. However, fearing that they could be discovered there, she left the monastery and continued to hide in the mountains of Skopska Crna Gora. Wandering through the woods she came up to monastery Letnica, some 30 kilometers from Skopje. In return for shelter for the two of them, Zora offered to cook, clean and tend to the monastery's inmates. Together with Shaul she spent two years there. After liberation she learnt that the parents of the then five year old Shaul had perished in Treblinka. Zora wanted to adopt little Shaul and submitted a request for adoption. However, the right to adopt the child was given to his close relatives Ester Biti and her husband Hananya. All this was very hard for little Shaul who in his short life had only known Zora. In order to make it easier for Shaul to accommodate to his new family Zora came to live with them. The Biti family immigrated to Israel in 1948. Little Shaul never forgot his "Mummy".



A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE

MACEDONIA



Aleksandar & Blaga Todorov

Aharon Behar and his wife Rebeka lived in Skopje. Right before the Second World War Aharon was employed as an agent for the German company Siemens. He had chosen his good friend Aleksandar - Cane Todorov for his partner in the agency enterprise. When in 1939 baby Betty was born, the ties between the two families became even closer. With the capitulation of Yugoslavia, as spoils of war, Bulgaria occupied Macedonia and a part of Serbia. At the onset of occupation the Bulgarian authorities did not undertake any significant measures in the persecution of Jews but by the end of 1942, Cane assessed that it was time for his friends to flee to a less vulnerable territory.



Aleksandar and Blaga Todorov with their son and Betty Ezuri



*Cane Todorov
and
Aharon Behar*

He managed to provide fake documents for Aharon and Rebeka which would enable them to cross over to and hide in Albania. Betty remained with Aleksandar and his wife Blaga who Betty had always looked upon as her second mother. Aharon, doubting that they could reach Albania with the fake documents they had, decided to return to Skopje. Instead of living in safety in Albania, they were incarcerated in the provisional camp for Jews "Monopol" in Skopje in March 1943. Convinced that they were being sent to Germany as slave laborers they maintained that they should take their daughter with them. However, seeing how Betty was deeply disturbed by everything that was happening round her, they finally decided that she should remain with the Todorovs. Aharon and Rebeka were deported with all the other prisoners to camp Treblinka, from which no one ever returned.

When she turned 12, Betty caught up with the stories about her parents and background. She went to the Jewish Community and there heard everything there was to know about herself and her parents. She found a note in her parent's bequest saying: "Bijenvenita - Betty Behar shall remain with Aleksandar Todorov until we return. Signed by: Aharon Behar". Betty Behar immigrated to Israel in 1952.

Aleksandar and Blaga Todorov

both awarded a Righteous among the Nations in 1980



Vaska & Boris Altiparmak

Right up to March 1943 Jews in Macedonia were spared from deportation to concentration camps. However, it was then that Germany pressed Bulgaria to deport all Jews from Yugoslavia's territories under occupation to Treblinka concentration camp in Poland. The so-called "Big raid" began on 11 March 1943. The home of the Altiparmak family was in the very center of Bitola. Fleeing from the raid Solomon (Mo) Sadikario knocked at their door. Boris Altiparmak and his wife Vaska were members of the Macedonian resistance movement. Although they had up to then already been hiding two Jews, fully aware of the danger they were exposing themselves to, they took Solomon in without any reservation. Half an hour later his younger brother Sami also knocked on the same door. He too, was taken in and stayed with them. In the meantime Boris was trying to reach his co-combatants in the resistance movement as communications had temporarily broken down. In the next couple of days he managed to transfer them all to the Partisan units.



*Boris and Vaska
Altiparmak
with their son*

Vaska and Boris Altiparmak

both awarded a Righteous among the Nations
in 1989





A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT GOOD PEOPLE

MONTENEGRO

Petar Zanković

When Yugoslavia capitulated in 1941, Milan Rihter and his family sought shelter with their friend in Sutomore. In Zanković's house they found their friend from Belgrade, Eliza Piliš and her son, already living there. Once the Italians occupied Montenegro the family left the Zanković home and moved to a hotel in the seaside village Petrovac. The Rihters were arrested there and transported to camp Klos in Albania. At Petar's intervention, his close friend, the bishop of Bar, managed to release the Rihters from the camp. The Rihter family returned to Zanković's home where they were looked upon and treated as family members. In 1943 Italy capitulated and the Germans entered their territory. In the aftermath of the German search for remaining Jews the Richter family was found in 1944 in a village they had been living in. From there they were deported to Bergen-Belsen camp. Upon liberation, during their transport to Belgrade, Milan, enfeebled by typhoid, died in Budapest. His wife Adela and their three children returned home.



Petar Zanković



Milan Rihter



Petar Zanković
awarded a Righteous among
the Nations in 2006

Arslan Rezniki

SERBIA - KOSOVO AND METOHIJA



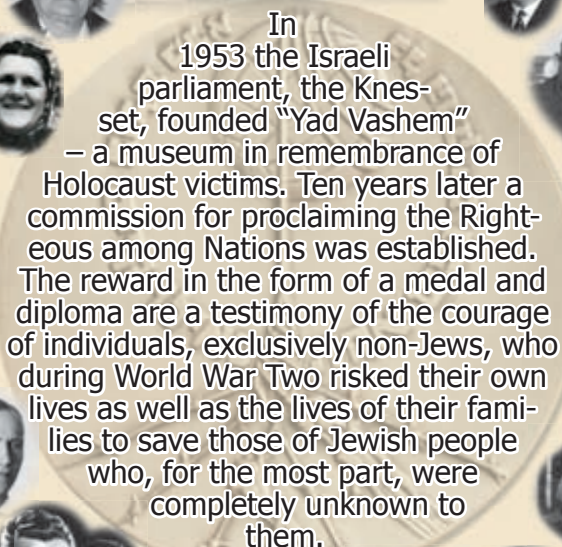
Arslan Rezniki
awarded a Righteous among the Nations
in 1989

With the advent of the persecution of Jews in Europe, even before the beginning of World War Two, three Jewish families had already found shelter in the home of Arslan Rezniki in Dečani. Once Yugoslavia capitulated, Dr. Haim Abravanel from Skopje came to live there, too. Actually, Dr. Haim had been mobilized when the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was attacked. In the short-lived April war his entire unit was captured and was awaiting the long journey to Germany and POW camps. The Jews in Arslan's house alerted their host of the doctor's capture. Arslan's children had been bedridden with typhoid; they had been treated erroneously and when Arslan set off to look for Dr. Haim, already three of them had died of typhoid. At first Dr. Haim refused to flee from the Fascists and find shelter with Arslan. Eventually he agreed and moreover managed to bring back to health Arslan's stricken children; he also spared himself from imprisonment. During his stay with Arslan, Dr. Haim tended to the town-folk of Dečani, healing them of various complaints. He refused to take any money for his effort. In return Fatima, Arslan's wife and Arslan took care of the doctor up to his return to Skopje and the safety of his home. On their way to Albania and Italy many Jews either stayed or just passed through the home of Arslan and Fatima. Arslan guaranteed for their safe passage and all who set off from Arslan's household reached their destination alive.

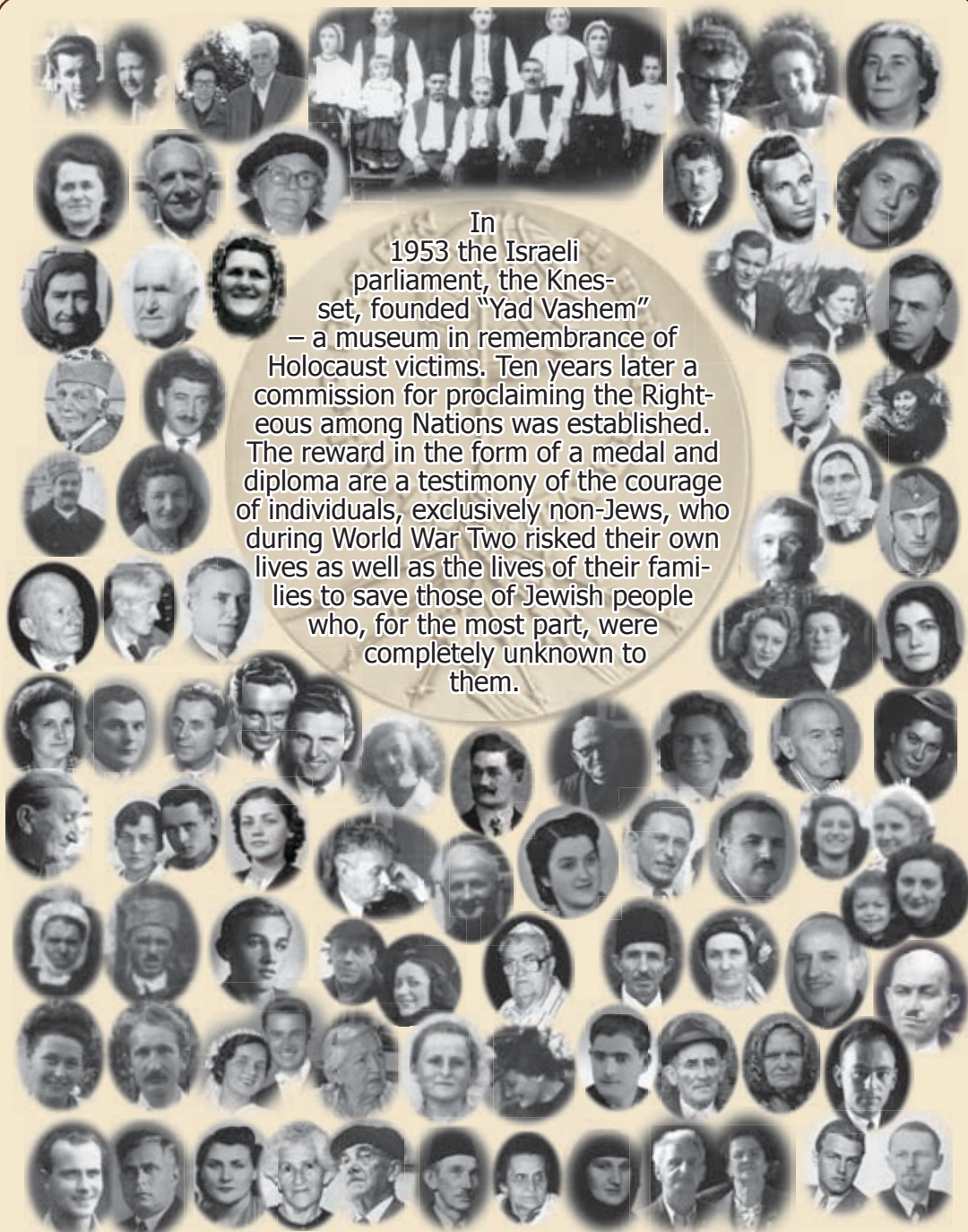




The Righteous



In 1953 the Israeli parliament, the Knesset, founded "Yad Vashem" – a museum in remembrance of Holocaust victims. Ten years later a commission for proclaiming the Righteous among Nations was established. The reward in the form of a medal and diploma are a testimony of the courage of individuals, exclusively non-Jews, who during World War Two risked their own lives as well as the lives of their families to save those of Jewish people who, for the most part, were completely unknown to them.



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