



ZBORNİK RADOVA

ESKALACIJA U HOLOKAUST

Od streljačkih vodova do gasnog kamiona koncentracionog logora na Sajmištu:
Dve odlučujuće faze Holokausta u Srbiji

SELECTED WORKS

ESCALATING INTO HOLOCAUST

From execution squads to the gas van of the concentration camp at Sajmište:
Two defining phases of the Holocaust in Serbia



www.arhiv-beograda.org/holokaust



ZBORNİK RADOVA

**ODABRANI RADOVI, PREZENTACIJE I PREDAVANJA PREDSTAVLJENI TOKOM JAVNIH MANIFESTACIJA
U OKVIRU PROJEKTA "ESKALACIJA U HOLOKAUST"**

SELECTED WORKS

**PAPERS, PRESENTATIONS AND LECTURES PRESENTED DURING THE PUBLIC EVENTS
IN THE FRAMES OF THE PROJECT "ESCALATING INTO HOLOCAUST"**

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Sadržaj

Table of Contents

O projektu	10
The Project	14
Rezultati projekta	19
Project outcomes	19
Database of the Sajmište Camp Victims	21
<i>Jelena Jovanović, Senior Archivist; Tijana Kovčić, Archivist; Vladimir Mijatović, Senior Archivist; Jelena Nikolić, Senior Archivist</i>	
Ester: Teaching Material and Graphic Novels about Life in Pre-War Serbia and the Holocaust Victims of the Sajmište Concentration Camp	29
<i>Miško Stanišić, Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novi Sad</i>	
The Exhibition "October 1941"	38
<i>Nikola Radić Lucati, Milovan Pisarri, Center for Holocaust Research and Education (CHRE)</i>	
1. Deo: Upporedne perspektive sećanja na Holokaust u Evropi	41
Part 1. Comparative Perspectives of Holocaust Remembrance in Europe	41
Remembrance of the Roma Genocide (1941–1944) in Contemporary Ukraine	43
<i>Mikhail Tyaglyy, Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies</i>	
Sajmište and the Archival Holdings of the International Tracing Service	59
<i>Akim Jah, International Tracing Service (ITS) in Bad Arolsen</i>	
It's All About Inclusion: The Work of the National Committee for 4 and 5 May	67
<i>Niels Weitkamp, National Committee for 4 and 5 May</i>	
The Trains of Life and Death	77
<i>Nevena Daković, University of Belgrade</i>	
2. Deo: Nova istraživanja o Holokaustu u Srbiji	87
Part 2. New Research on the Holocaust in Serbia	87
Istorijska pozadina holokausta u Srbiji i koncentracionog logora na Beogradskom sajmištu	89
<i>Milan Koljanin, Institut za savremenu istoriju</i>	

The Holocaust in Serbia in the European Context: Using Experiences From Other Countries for the Persecution of Jews in Serbia <i>Susanne Heim, Institute of Contemporary History Munich - Berlin</i>	98
The Holocaust in Serbia in the European Context: the Serbian Case as a Part of a Shared European Past <i>Sanela Schmid, Researcher in Editionsprojekt "Judenverfolgung 1933–1945"</i>	106
Uloga i mesto Odeljenja specijalne policije u okupacionom aparatu, 1941-1944. <i>Rade Ristanović, Filozofski fakultet Novi Sad</i>	118
A Walk Through Jewish Inter-war Belgrade <i>Čedomila Marinković, Independent Scholar</i>	123
Racija u Novom Sadu <i>Petar Đurđev, Istorijski arhiv grada Novog Sada</i>	134
3. Deo: Muzeji i izložbe o Holokaustu	145
Part 3. Museums and Exhibitions on the Holocaust	145
The Holocaust in the Museum: Memory and Representation <i>Erik Somers, NIOD</i>	146
Muzeji kao mesta memorije: Analogije u baštinjenju traumatične prošlosti na primerima u Izraelu i Srbiji <i>Silvija Krejaković, Narodni muzej Kraljevo</i>	152
Sećanje na holokaust i muzej Crvenog krsta u Nišu <i>Nebojša Ozimić, Narodni muzej Niš</i>	161
Rad na formiranju jedinstvene baze podataka za stradale zatočenike niškog koncentracionog logora i zatvora <i>Aleksandar Dinčić, Narodni muzej Niš</i>	166
Rad na promociji zbirke predmeta zatočenika logora na Crvenom krstu u periodu od 2013. do 2016. godine <i>Ivana Gruden Milentijević, Narodni muzej Niš</i>	171
Deo 4. Međunarodne manifestacije "Eskalacija u Holokaust"	177
Part 4. "Escalating into Holocaust" Event Reports	177
BEOGRAD/BELGRADE 20-22. 04. 2016 <i>Vjeran Pavlaković, University of Rijeka</i>	178
NIŠ 22.06.2016 <i>Tijana Kovčić, Historical Archives of Belgrade</i>	185
AMSTERDAM 21-22. 08. 2016 <i>Andreja Lekić, for University of Rijeka</i>	190

KRAGUJEVAC 19-20. 10. 2016	206
<i>Nevena Bajalica, Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novi Sad</i>	
STOCKHOLM 07. 12. 2016	214
<i>Igor Dimitrijević, for University of Rijeka</i>	
NOVI SAD 25. 01. 2017	218
<i>Miško Stanišić, Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novi Sad</i>	
Lista učesnika	226
List of Participants	226



0 Projektu

Koncentracioni logor Sajmište bio je logor smrti za jevrejske i romske žene, decu i starce iz okupirane Srbije. Za samo šest nedelja, u aprilu i maju 1942, jevrejski zatočnici Sajmišta bili su sistematski ubijani u gasnom kamionu, koji je za tu namenu bio specijalno dopremljen iz Berlina. Smatra se da je u logoru Sajmište nastradalo preko 6000 Jevreja.

Više od 70 godina nije bilo detaljnijih podataka o žrtvama logora. Međutim, nedavno su arhivisti Istorijskog arhiva Beograda otkrili, prilikom revizije fondova, neobrađenu arhivsku građu, koja sadrži dokumentaciju i prijave smrti za više od 3000 beogradskih Jevreja ubijenih u logoru Sajmište. Motivisan ovim otkrićem, Istorijski arhiv Beograda inicirao je široku međunarodnu saradnju sa ciljem da se istraže savremena iskustva i metodologije, kako bi se pronađeni materijal obradio i predstavio javnosti na najbolji i najefektniji način.

Međunarodni projekat pod vodstvom Istorijskog arhiva Beograda

Osnovne aktivnosti projekta koji je realizovan od septembra 2015. do februara 2017. godine fokusirale su na saradnju i razmenu znanja i iskustava sa institucijama i vodećim stručnjacima širom Evrope u okviru polja kulture sećanja, istraživanja i edukacije o Holokaustu.

Polazeći od Holokausta u Srbiji kao neodvojivog dela zajedničkog evropskog iskustva i narativa o Holokaustu, posebna pažnja posvećena je evropskoj dimenziji Holokausta, te istorijskim poukama iz kojih su kasnije izrasle osnovne evropske demokratske tekovine poštovanja i čuvanja tolerancije, raznolikosti i ljudskih prava.

Poseban akcenat stavljen je na razvijanje međunarodne saradnje sa relevantnim stručnim institucijama sa ciljem uspostavljanja dugoročne razmene iskustava iz oblasti komemoracije, istraživanja i edukacije o Holokaustu, kao i predstavljanja istorije Srbije u Drugom svetskom ratu, koja je van uskih stručnih krugova još uvek uglavnom nepoznata širom Evrope.

Šest međunarodnih manifestacija u Srbiji, Holandiji i Švedskoj

Kroz seriju od šest javnih manifestacija su od aprila 2016. do februara 2017. u Srbiji, Holandiji i Švedskoj održane konferencije, stručni seminari i radionice, na kojima su vodeći srpski i inostrani eksperti prezentovali i diskutovali različite aspekte kulture sećanja, istraživanja i edukacije o Holokaustu, kao i aktuelne izazove sa kojima se Evropa danas suočava: antisemitizam, antiromizam, rasizam, diskriminacija, netolerancija i ksenofobija, nacionalizam, istorijska revizija, širenje neonacizma i ekstremne desnice.

	datum	mesto održavanja
Beograd	20-22.04.2016	Palata Srbija i Istorijski arhiv Beograda
Niš	22.06.2016	Univerzitet u Nišu, Muzej Logor Crveni krist, Galerija Sinagoga
Amsterdam	21-22.09.2016	Institut za studije rata, Holokausta i genocida NIOD, Muzej otpora, Muzej Holokausta i Kuća Ane Frank
Kragujevac	19-20.10.2016	Spomen-muzej "21. oktobar"
Stokholm	07.12.2016	Studijska asocijacija Sensus i Forum za živu istoriju
Novi Sad	25.01.2017	Istorijski arhiv grada Novog Sada

U okviru ovih manifestacija predstavljena je i nova baza podataka o zatočenicima logora na Sajmištu, izložba "Oktobar 1941" kao i edukativni materijali "Ester".

Holokaust u Srbiji kao neodvojivi deo evropskog narativa

Svaka manifestacija organizovana u okviru projekta obrađivala je dve glavne teme: jednu koja se odnosi na Holokaust u Srbiji, i drugu koja tretira Holokaust u širem evropskim kontekstu. Pored stručnih skupova održane su i javne debate, radionice i predavanja.

Dani sećanja i mesta stradanja u Srbiji predstavljeni međunarodnoj javnosti

Mesta i datumi održavanja međunarodnih manifestacija u Srbiji u okviru projekta su odabrani imajući na umu dane sećanja i mesta stradanja od posebnog značaja za Srbiju, koji su još uvek uglavnom nepoznati široj evroskoj publici. Tako su aktiviteti projekta bili usmereni na dva cilja: da doprinesu svojim sadržajem obeležavanje dana sećanja, i da stručnjacima iz inostranstva predstave istorijske događaje, spomenike, mesta sećanja i datume važne za istoriju Srbije u Drugom svetskom ratu.

Evropski kontekst Holokausta i aktuelni izazovi

Projekat je doprineo širem sagledavanju Holokausta u evropskom kontekstu i daljem istraživanju njegovog ključnog uticaja na stvaranje univerzalnih vrednosti u posleratnoj Evropi, uključujući i izazove rastućih tendencija netolerancije, diskriminacije, antisemitizma i antiromizma sa kojima se Evropa danas suočava.

Može se reći da je Holokaust u Jugoistočnoj Evropi, kada izuzmemo šačicu istraživača koji su se time bavili, Terra Incognita - ne samo za širu javnost, nego čak i za kolege istoričare koji se bave Holokaustom.

Hoću da naglasim, da je veoma važno i potrebno pozivati istoričare, radnike institucijama i javnim ustanovama koje se bave Holokaustom, nastavnike, arhiviste i druge multiplikatore iz zapadne, centralne i istočne Evrope da dođu na jugoistok ovog našeg kontinenta da nauče više o Holokaustu ovde. A preko toga da nauče više i o istoriji ovog područja. Kroz manifestacije i stručne konferencije u okviru projekta "Eskalacija u Holokaust" svi su dobili priliku da mnogo nauče: oni izvan Srbije o Srbiji, o Holokaustu u Srbiji, a u okviru stručnih poseta arhivima, muzejima i spomenicima, sa izvrsnim vodičima, naučili su ne samo o tome kako se Holokaust odvijao u Srbiji, nego i o srpskoj istoriji uopšte.

Ostaje mi još da naglasim ono najvažnije: ostvareni su novi kontakti i započete su nove saradnje, razmenjena su iskustava na naučnom nivou. Učesnici su razgovarali o tokovima i pravcima istraživanja Holokausta u raznim delovima Evrope. Osim toga, razmenjena su iskustva i u praktičnom smislu: kakve probleme srećemo u raznim zemljama i kako se sa njima borimo, kako se sećamo i odajemo poštu žrtvama, i kako poučavamo o Holokaustu.

Sanela Schmid, istoričar, Nirnberg, Nemačka

(iz govora sa poslednje, šeste manifestacije u okviru projekta "Eskalacija u Holokaust" u Novom Sadu 25. januara 2017.)

Pored Srbije, u programima manifestacija i aktivnostima projekta "Eskalacija u Holokaust" bili su uključeni stručnjaci i institucije iz:

(po abecednom redu)

Austrije, Belgije, Bosne i Hercegovine, Holandije, Hrvatske, Italije, Izraela, Mađarske, Makedonije, Nemačke, Poljske, Švedske, Ukrajine i Velike Britanije



Budućnost Sajmišta kao mesto sećanja

Od završetka Drugog svetskog rata do danas, na mestu bivšeg logora nikada nije sagrađen memorijalni centar niti muzej. Dugo vremena je mesto na kome se nalazio logor zbog nebrige bilo u veoma lošem stanju.

Skupština grada Beograda je nedavno najavila plan izgradnje Memorijalnog kompleksa na mestu bivšeg logora. Muzej žrtava genocida u Beogradu i novoosnovana Komisija za utvrđivanje koncepcije programa Memorijalnog kompleksa Staro sajmište pripremaju koncept budućeg Memorijalnog kompleksa.

Dovođenjem koncentracionog logora Sajmište u centar pažnje domaće i međunarodne stručne javnosti, kreirajući prostor za razmenu iskustava između vodećih srpskih i svetskih stručnjaka, i stvaranjem materijala koji će budući Memorijalni centar moći da koristi u svom radu, projekat "Eskalacija u Holokaust" je dao podršku i doprinos ovom važnom zadatku.

The Project

The Sajmište concentration camp was a death camp for Jewish women and children from German occupied Serbia, most of them, about 5,500, from Belgrade. A number of Roma women and children were also interned there. In six weeks, April-May 1942, the inmates at Sajmište were systematically murdered by the use of a mobile gas van dispatched from Berlin especially for that purpose.

For 70 years there were no detailed data about the victims, until recently, when archivists of the Historical Archives of Belgrade discovered six boxes among old unsorted piles. The boxes revealed unprocessed and unlisted documentation about more than 2,000 Belgrade Jews killed at the Sajmište concentration camp. Motivated by this discovery, the Historical Archives of Belgrade initiated a wide international partnership with the aim to explore the best contemporary experiences and methodologies, as well as the most productive, sustainable and effective outcomes in processing such material.

An International Project Initiated By The Historical Archives Of Belgrade

Through a series of six public events in Serbia, Sweden and the Netherlands, the project gathered international experts to present and discuss the broader European aspects of the Holocaust, and exchange experiences and best practices in the fields of Holocaust research, commemoration and Holocaust education.

By taking the Holocaust in Serbia as a starting point, in order to further discuss the Holocaust as a shared European narrative that defines European values of diversity, tolerance and Human Rights, the discussions and public debates during the six international events reflected upon the current European challenges in facing intolerance, anti-Semitism, anti-Romanyism, xenophobia, nationalism and rising far-right movements.

In addition, the project's outcomes include a new **online database of prisoners of the Sajmište camp**, the **exhibition "October 1941"**, **educational material "Ester"**, this publication, and the project's website. In particular, the new database of prisoners of the concentration camp at Sajmište opens new opportunities for research and education about the Holocaust in Serbia.

Also, many new international contacts were established, already resulting in new initiatives and partnerships.

Project partners

From the beginning the project “Escalating into Holocaust” was structured in a specific way in order to create space for broad European multidisciplinary and cross-sectoral exchange in the fields of Holocaust research, remembrance and education. The project partnership included both **public institutions** and **independent NGOs** - each with its specific expertise and approach towards different aspects of research, remembrance or education.

Five **project partners from “opposite corners” of Europe** (North, West, South and Southeast, and from European societies with different historical experiences and backgrounds) recognized the importance of approaching the subject of the Holocaust from a broader European perspective as a starting point to explore shared narratives, historical experiences and lessons learned in the aftermath of the Second World War, which resulted in European values of diversity, democracy and human rights.

	date	venues
Belgrade	20-22.04.2016	Serbia Palace, Historical Archives of Belgrade
Niš	22.06.2016	University of Niš, Museum “Concentration Camp Red Cross”, Synagogue Gallery
Amsterdam	21-22.09.2016	Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies NIOD, Dutch Resistance Museum National Holocaust Museum, Hollandsche Schouwburg, Anne Frank House
Kragujevac	19-20.10.2016	Memorial Museum “21. October” Kragujevac
Stockholm	07.12.2016	Study Association SENSUS, The Living History Forum
Novi Sad	25.01.2017	Historical Archive of the City of Novi Sad

Six International Events in Serbia, the Netherlands and Sweden

A series of six international events were held from April 2016 to January 2017. As part of the international events held in Serbia, Sweden and the Netherlands there were conferences, expert meetings, presentations, panel discussions, public debates and/or workshops that engaged various audiences: from experts and scholars, archivists, museum professionals, teachers, NGO activists, students and youth, to decision makers and representatives of the Jewish and Roma communities.

Each event focused on two main themes: one related to the Holocaust in Serbia, and the other involving a broader European context, presented and discussed by international experts.

During the events the new online victim’s database, exhibition “October 1941”, and the educational material “Ester” were presented to a wider Serbian and European audience.

Dates and places of memory

In order to contribute to the commemorative activities, and to present the lesser known events and sites of the Holocaust in Serbia, the project events in Serbia were scheduled in relation to particular Memorial Days, and at important places of memory.

The Importance of cross-border dialogues among the former Yugoslav countries

While the participation of scholars from Western European countries who have dealt with the difficult past of the Holocaust was crucial in sharing the latest methodological and theoretical research, the involvement of scholars, students, practitioners and activists from other former Yugoslav countries was important in developing a more empathetic culture of remembrance in the region.

Since the collapse of socialist Yugoslavia, narratives of the Second World War not only became nationalized but were actively subjected to political manipulation in order to justify new cycles of violence in the region. But projects such as this one enable cross-border dialogues which are extremely vital in ensuring future stability, peace and an atmosphere of tolerance.

Although each Yugoslav successor state has the right to create its own commemorative culture and remembrance practices for its victims, an understanding of other victims, as in the case of Holocaust commemoration and education, needs to reach beyond the borders created in the 1990s. Sharing the experiences, challenges, and new research on the Holocaust and other traumatic events of the Second World War in a constructive and collaborative way as facilitated by this project is the way to prevent the next generation from repeating the mistakes that lead to the terrible wars of the 20th century.

European context and the current challenges

The project has contributed to expanding the view from local to European perspectives and further examining the Holocaust and its defining impact on the common European values in post-war Europe, including current European challenges.

With exception of the handful of researchers, the Holocaust in Southeastern Europe is still Terra Incognita - not only for the general public, but even for fellow historians who deal with the Holocaust.

I would like to emphasize that it is absolutely necessary to invite historians, workers in public institutions that deal with the Holocaust, educators, archivists and other relevant individuals from Western, Central and Eastern Europe to visit the south-east of our continent and learn about the Holocaust here. And in the same time, to learn more about the history of this area. Through the activities and conferences within the project "Escalation in the Holocaust" we all could learn a lot: those from abroad could learn more about Serbia, the Holocaust in Serbia, and particularly through the expert visits to various archives, museums and memorials, with excellent guides, we have learned much more not only about the particularities of the Holocaust in Serbia, but also about the Serbian history in general.

I would like to highlight the most important outcomes: the project has generated many new contacts and new partnerships. It was a great opportunity for experience exchange on academic level. The international participants presented the current trends of the Holocaust research in various parts of Europe. But also, we discussed practical issues: the challenges and problems we encounter in different countries, remembrance and commemoration practices, and Holocaust education.

Sanela Schmid, Historian, Nuremberg, Germany

*(excerpt from the speech at the final event of the project "Escalating into Holocaust"
Novi Sad 25th of January 2017)*

Beside Serbian participants, the events and activities in the frames of the project involved the participants or/and institutions from:

(in alphabetical order)

Austria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Israel, Macedonia FYR, Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, Ukraine and United Kingdom



Future of Sajmište as a place of remembrance

No memorial centers or museums have ever been built on the former site of the concentration camp. For a long time the area where the camp was located was in a very poor condition as a result of disuse and neglect. In spite of the important place that it occupies in the history of the Holocaust, in the post-war era, Sajmište was rarely recognised as a site of Holocaust remembrance. In socialist Yugoslavia, the suffering of Jews tended to be interpreted as a manifestation of the broader ‘reign of terror’ instituted by the Nazis against the civilian population.

Recently, the Belgrade City Council announced the plans of building a permanent Memorial Center at the site. The Museum of Genocide Victims in Belgrade and the newly established Memorial Center Committee are now making plans for the Memorial Center and Museum, with aim to start the project in 2017.

By putting the Concentration camp at Sajmište in focus, bringing together Serbian and international scholars and experts, and by creating materials that could be used at the future Memorial, the project “Escalating into Holocaust” aim to contribute to this important task.

Rezultati projekta

Project Outcomes



Old Belgrade
By Jelica [CC BY-SA 4.0], via [Wikimedia Commons](#)

Database Of The Sajmište Camp Victims

Jelena Jovanović, Senior Archivist; Tijana Kovčić, Archivist; Vladimir Mijatović, Senior Archivist; Jelena Nikolić, Aenior Archivist

Summary:

This paper presents the results of the research conducted by the Historical Archives of Belgrade within the international project “Escalating into Holocaust”. The online database of the Sajmište camp victims for the first time gathers all the victims of this Nazi camp in one place. At the same time, the database contains archival records created before the Second World War, reconstructing pre-war life of some victims based on the material preserved in the archives.

Key words:

Holocaust, Jews, Concentration Camp, Sajmište, Database, Pre-War Life

The Historical Archives of Belgrade is a public cultural institution, founded in 1945 under the auspices of the Council of the Municipality of the City of Belgrade with a task to protect, collect, classify, process, and publish the archival documentation it holds. With thirteen linear kilometers of archival material that covers the period from 18th to the 20th centuries, it is one of the most important archives in Serbia. The most important part of the Archive's work consists of research, education, exhibition, and publishing activities. Since 2009, the Archives have been undertaking several projects related to the Second World War and the Holocaust.

Within the project “Escalating into Holocaust”, the main task of the Historical Archives of Belgrade was to review and analyze unprocessed archival material and to create a database of victims killed in the Sajmište concentration camp. The names of the victims killed in this camp are gathered in one place for the first time and available to the general public.

The first phase of the project was to research the funds and collections created after 1944. The most important were those of the District People's Committees, since they were the first authorities in liberated Belgrade after the Second World War. Soon after the liberation, the new authorities began to collect data on victims and war damage. The War Damage Commission was established in April 1945, and for the next two years the commission gathered data on material damage caused during the war as well as data on people killed in the war. Providing information on the war damage was a duty of all citizens, institutions, and the state.

Подносилац пријаве _____
Mejsilević S. Mejsile
 Занимање trg. zast.
 из Beograda, Strah. Bana 11

Образац бр. 6

ПРИЈАВА

ЛИШЕНОГ ЖИВОТА ИЛИ НЕСТАЛИХ ЛИЦА

А. Подаци о лицу лишеног живота или несталим

Презиме, оцаво име и име лишеног живота или несталиг лица	Године старости	Занимање	Ворванште	Народ- ност	Да ли је лишени живота или несталим, грађанск аце или борац Југос. је и, НОВ-а, ПОЗ-а и Југ. армије	Смрт несталим			Сума коју би примерно		које био окупатор у време лишеног живо- та — несталим Немачка Италија Бугарска Мађарска	Понеуро- вање
						Како	Где	Када	Полупала пријавила	Полупала Судска комисија		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Mejsilević Mejsile Samiile	12	učen.	Bgrad.	jevr.	starij.	osvođen Rajaište 1941	4,000.000	1,500.000	немачка			

Б. Подаци о лицу која су била на терету лишеног живота — несталим

Ред. број	Презиме, оцаво име и име	Године старости	Занимање	Ворванште	У ком је случају са лишеним жи- вота — несталим	Примерна сума за одштету од дана смрти — несталим (полупала)		Трошкови лечења и сахране (полупала)	
						полупала пријаве	Средња комисија	полупала пријаве	Средња комисија
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	<i>Mijazirabut Mijaziro</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>učen.</i>	<i>Starij.</i>	<i>starij.</i>				

у Beogradu
18 septembra 1945 год.

Подносилац пријаве
 (својеручни потпис)
Mijazirabut Mijaziro

IAB-42-K 419 425.

For example, this form states that Samuilo Mojsilović, a twelve-year-old pupil, was taken to the Sajmište concentration camp in 1941, based on the testimony of his father Mojsilo Mojsilović, who signed this form. The facts provided in claims such as this represent the basic material used for constructing the database. Moreover, claims from 1950, submitted to the War Veterans Alliance, were also processed. The facts stated in these claims were proved to be less accurate during the data verification process.¹

During the research, archivists processed more than 29,000 records and over 4,000 claims on Sajmište victims. In the verification process we realized that some persons had been reported killed two or even three times. The victims had been reported by relatives who survived, by friends and neighbors, by the Jewish Community, and also by the People's District Committee. Thus, there were instances when multiple claims were submitted for one person.

One interesting situation encountered in the research was that several people registered as victims in the database actually survived the war. For example, the 1st District People's Committee of the City of Belgrade submitted a claim stating that Doctor David Kadmon-Levi, son of Jakov, was taken to the Sajmište camp in 1941. The claim was submitted on 25 August 1945. In May 1946, Doctor David Kadmon-Levi, clearly still alive, submitted a war damage claim caused to his property, his apartment, and doctor's office in Belgrade. At the time he submitted his claim he had permanent residence in the city of Modena, Italy.²

¹ Jelisaveta Gere submitted two claims testifying on her mother's death in 1945 and in 1950. In 1945 she claimed that her mother was sixty in the moment when she was killed, and in 1950 she claimed that she was sixty-six.

² IAB-42-K 414 340, IAB-42-K 408 64.

After the researchers removed all of the multiple instances of names, the total number of victims in the database was reduced to 3,505 individuals. The database provides following information for every person: **first and last name; fathers' name; profession; age; nationality; hometown and in some cases pre-war address; name of the person who submitted the claim; and code references of all documents from various archival funds found for that specific person.** Besides personal data, the database also contains fragments of the victims' pre-war life. This was the second phase in the research project, in which we tried to reconstruct pre-war life of victims from the Sajmište concentration camp.

Београд, 29 јануара 1940.

Doc. 1
IAB-1069-K100/a

Удружењу трговаца мануф. - текстилне и
помодне робе
БЕОГРАД.

У смислу Уредбе са законском снагом о легитимацијама (пословним књижицама) рад-
ника и намештеника од 24/III 1938 год. и Правилника о извршењу те Уредбе, молим Удружење
да ми изболи издати прописану пословну књижицу.

• { До сада нисам имао посл. књижицу, што обим јамчим.
Ранија посл. књижица по гор. Уредби нестала ми је, о чему прилажем посебну изјаву.
Ради управљања Удружења дајем следеће податке:

I) Мој лични опис и занимање:

1) Стас Мали (у расту)
2) Лице Правилно
3) Коса Смеђа
4) Уста Правилна
5) Нос Правилан
6) Очи Смеђе
7) Бркови _____
8) Брада _____
9) Особени знаци: _____
10) Главно занимање: трговачки ученик
11) Споредно занимање: _____

II) 1) Рођен сам 30 новембра 1925 год. (дан, месец и година)
2) Место рођења: сеоце — заселак Београд
општина _____
срез _____
бановина Управа града Београда
3) Презиме и име оца (код банбр. деце мајке): Албахари Хајим-Мика
4) Име и девојачко презиме мајке: Роза, рођ. Бурлан

For example, the document 1. (IAB-1069-K100/a) is David Albahari's application from January 1940, which he submitted to the Association of Merchants seeking a business license. Only sixteen years old at the time, Albahari was taken to Sajmište in 1941 where he was killed the following year, according to the testimony of his sister Bojana.

ОБРАЗАЦ 2 (уметак) за гимназије — OBRZAAC 2 (umetak) za gimnazije		РОДИТЕЉ — RODITELJ (отац или мати) — (otac ili mati)		СТАРАТЕЉ — STARATELJ		ДОМАЋИН — DOMAĆIN (код кога је у стану) (kod koga je u stanu)	
Бр. 9	УЧЕНИК — UČENIK						
Презиме и име: Prezime i ime:	Зарца Харил	Презиме и име: Prezime i ime:		Зарца Милош огу			
Рођен: Rođen:	28. јуна 1925.	Занимање: Zanimanje:		ученик			
Место рођења: Mesto rođenja:	Београд	Становање: Stanovanje:		Книћанински пут бр. 8			
Народност и поданство: Narodnost i podanstvo:		Јеврејин, југословенско		Напомена: Досељен? отсељен? исписао се? отпуштен? полагао испит по одлуци (увећ навести број деловодника)?			
Вероисповест: Veroispovest:		муслиман		Напомена: Досељен? отсељен? исписао се? отпуштен? полагао испит по одлуци (увећ навести број деловодника)?			
УСПЕХ ИЗ ПОЈЕДИНИХ ПРЕДМЕТА — USPEH IZ POJEDINIH PREDMETA							
ПРЕДМЕТИ — PREDMETI	ПОЛУГОДИШТЕ POLUGODIŠTE		Годишња оцена успеха и владања Godišnja ocena uspeha i vladanja	Оцена поправног испита Ocena popravnog ispita	Оцена тежајног испита Ocena tečajnog ispita	Оцена поправног тежајног испита Ocena popravnog tečajnog ispita	Где је и шта пре тога учио? Gde je i šta pre toga učio?
	I	II					
Веронаука Vernauka	добар (3)	добар (3)	добар (3)				II разред Гимназије "Јанко Веселиновић" Математички одсек у овом разреду 24. јуна 1936. 2. пр. 715
Српскохрватскословеначки језик Srpskohrvatskoslovenski jezik	добар (3)	добар (3)	добар (3)				
Француски језик Francuski jezik	добар (3)	добар (3)	добар (3)				
Немачки језик Nemački jezik	/	/	/				
Латински језик Latinski jezik	/	/	/				
Грчки језик Grčki jezik	/	/	/				
Земљопис Zemljopis	добар (3)	добар (3)	добар (3)				
Историја Istorija	/	/	/				
Природопис Prirodopis	слаб (2)	добар (3)	добар (3)				
Физика Fizika	/	/	/				
Хемија Hemija	/	/	/				
Математика Matematika	добар (3)	добар (3)	добар (3)				
Нацртна геометрија Nacrtna geometrija	/	/	/				
Основи филозофије Osnovi filozofije	/	/	/				
Уметност Umetnost	/	/	/				
Хигијена Higijena	/	/	/				
Чртање Crtanje	добар (3)	добар (3)	добар (3)				Издано му: Izdano mu:
Писање Pisanje	добар (3)	добар (3)	добар (3)			уверење uverenje	
Певање Pevanje	добар (3)	добар (3)	добар (3)			дупликат уверења duplikat uverenja	
Гимнастика Gimnastika	добар (3)	добар (3)	добар (3)			сведочанство svedočanstvo	
Ручни рад Ručni rad	/	/	/			дупликат сведочанства duplikat svedočanstva	
Владање — Vladanje	ограничено (5)	ограничено (5)	ограничено (5)	Кривнице и казне: врста кривнице, казне, чија је, дан и број одлуке. Krivice i kazne: vrsta krivice, kazne, čija je, dan i broj odluke.			
Изостаци — Izostanci	опрвадани neopravdani	-	-				
Напомена о овом ученику: — Напомена о овом ученику:							
Учење: — Учење: добар, одређен успех							
Владање: — Владанје: много							
Телесни недостаци: — Telesni nedostaci: нема							
Прилике под којима се школовао: — Prilike pod kojima se školovao: одређене							

Doc. 2
IAB-269-knjiga 39

The document 2 (IAB-269-knjiga 39) is a Class register book of the First Male Gymnasium in Belgrade for the school year 1936/1937. It lists the grades of Hajim Darsa, a student from Belgrade. In our database, Hajim Darsa was a sixteen-year-old student when he was killed in the Sajmište camp in 1941, as reported by the merchant Heskija Darsa.



Among the most interesting archival material discovered by the researchers include forged identity cards of Jewish citizens. The document shown above is a forged ID of Matilda Bahar, who used the Serbian name Mileva Žunić. The record also contains a Special Police report which describes how and where the police discovered Matilda. In Sajmište database, the victim Matilda Bahar was a worker, forty-five years old when she taken to the camp in 1941.

Matilda's sister Roza Bahar had the same destiny. She was also a worker, twenty-nine years old, and was caught with a forged ID with the name Roksanda Žunić. The death of both sisters was reported by Rahamim Bahar from Belgrade.

Citizens' registration cards are among the most important pre-war documents available to researchers, since they functioned as registration certificates of permanent residence for Belgrade citizens. The card shown on the next page (document 4.) is Jakov Abinun's certificate of permanent residence. According to the testimony of his granddaughter Sarina Altarac, he was

killed in Sajmište in 1941.³ This card provides all of Jakov's personal data, as well as all of addresses he had changed over the years. Thanks to the facts in these cards, we managed to identify his wife and children and to connect them in our database.

СОПСТВЕНИК КУЋЕ
SOPSTVENIK KUĆE
ХОТЕЛ
HOTEL

ЊЕГОВ СТАН
NJEGOV STAN

ПРИЈАВА — PRIJAVA
ПРИЈАВЉУЈЕ СЕ: — PRIJAVLJUJE SE:

Док. 4
IAB-42-K 417 531

Улица, број, сират — Улица, број, сират

Име породично и рођено. За удату или удовицу и рођено име мужа и девојачко породично име
Име породично i rođeno. Za udatu ili udovicu i rođeno ime muža i devojачко породично име

Занимање — занимање

Држављанство — Državljanstvo

Дан, месец и год. рођења — Dan, mesec i god. rođenja

Место рођења, срез, земља — Место rođenja, srez, zemlja

Завичајна општина, срез, земља — Zavičajna opština, srez, zemlja

Брачно стање — Брачно stanje

Вера — Vera

Рођено име оца и мајке, и мајчино девојачко презиме
Rođeno ime oca i majke, i мајчино девојачко презиме

Ранији стан у Београду: улица и број, или у ком другом месту: село, срез, Бановина
Raniji stan u Beogradu: ulica i broj, ili u kom drugom mestu: село, srez, Banovina

Султиска 2
Августин Јаков
Јаков
Јаков
11 III 1871
Београд
Српски
Јаков
Исок

ЖЕНА И ДЕЦА ИСПОД 18 ГОДИНА — ŽENA I DECA ISPOD 18 GODINA

Рођено име и девојачко породично име жене Rođeno ime i devojачко породично име жене i rođeno ime dece	мушко muško	женско žensko	Дан, месец и година рођења Dan, mesec i godina rođenja	Место рођења Mesto rođenja
Буча Хосан			22 II 1872	Београд
Хосан			25 XI 1895	"
Савина			8 VII 1905	"
Милица			6 III 1905	"
Савина			7 V 1909	"
Радмила				

НАПОМЕНА: Жена пријављена 15-11-41
NAPOMENA:

Станар — Stanar

(датум)
(datum)

(место)
(mesto)

Власник куће-управитељ-станованац
Vlasnik kuće-upravitelj-stanodavac

³ IAB-42-K 417 531.

Current statistics of the database:

The database contains 3,505 names; 1,828 of the victims are female and 1,627 are males. The youngest victim of the Sajmište camp was Trivo Jovanović's baby boy, only six months old⁴ at the time of his death, while the oldest victim was ninety-four year old Neti Ester Mašijah.⁵

Age	Male (number / %)	Female (number / %)	TOTAL (number / %)
Children 1 - 18 years old	433 / 12.35	354 / 10.1	787 / 22.45
Yung people 19 - 39 years old	356 / 10.16	644 / 18.37	1000 / 28.53
Middle-aged people 40 – 59 years old	643 / 18.35	682 / 19.46	1325 / 37.81
Elderly people 60 +	212 / 6.05	181 / 5.16	393 / 11.21
TOTAL	1644	1861	3505

⁴ IAB-1006-K32-364.

⁵ IAB-42-K 415 096.

Ester.RS



Ester: Teaching Material and Graphic Novels about Life in Pre-War Serbia and the Holocaust Victims of the Sajmište Concentration Camp

Miško Stanišić, Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novı Sad

Abstract

Ester is a collection of novels and a teaching material, its most important part being a series of dramatized illustrated stories about the Jewish victims killed in the concentration camp at Sajmište. It is available online in English and Serbian. This article explains its concept and the educational methodology.

Key Words

Holocaust, Education, Teaching material, Teaching concept, Graphic Novel, Dramatization of History, Serbia, Sajmište

Ester is a collection of novels and a teaching material, its most important feature being a series of dramatized and illustrated stories about the Jewish victims killed in the Sajmište Concentration Camp (Judenlager Semlin) near Belgrade in the beginning of 1942. The stories focus on young victims and their families, their pre-war lives, and their lives under the German occupation and during the Holocaust. The stories are based on true historical events and the people who experienced them.

In the course of creating this program, experts from Serbia, Germany, the Netherlands and other countries were consulted, while a team consisting of expert historians, teachers, specialists on Jewish culture and tradition, Holocaust survivors, as well as a group of illustrators from Serbia and the Netherlands who were working together on its implementation.

Ester consist of four novels:

- A Story About the Red Race Car (*available in Serbian and English*)
- The Archivists and the Forgotten Boxes (*available in Serbian and English*)
- The Running Shoes (*available in Serbian*)
- The Family Photo (*available in Serbian*)

Ester is available on the website **www.ester.rs**

Dramatization of History

The events depicted in the Ester novels are true, documented events corroborated by relevant historical sources, testimonies of survivors, witnesses, and other documentation. While creating the novels, one of the important goals was to find the correct balance between a certain degree of necessary liberty between the dramatization and the historical facts.

Ester graphic novels were created as a reconstruction and dramatization of history based on available fragments of personal stories, keeping in mind a certain target and age group. Taking this approach, while keeping historical events and facts as central in the stories, we placed the main focus on the human aspects, feelings, and thoughts of the main characters, with the aim of engaging students on a different level by creating a purposeful tool for teaching and learning about the Holocaust. Particular segments of the stories were created specifically to better present the Jewish culture and traditions and the pre-war Jewish life in Serbia.

In some cases we used experiences of several different individuals and families by blending them into one single story. For instance, it might have been another father who, just a few days before he was shot, gave his cap to his son during his son's last visit to the Topovske Šupe Concentration Camp. But it is a matter of historical fact that there really was a father who did it.



In order to present specific aspects or subjects, such as collaboration, resistance, helpers, refugees, looting of Jewish property, etc., some otherwise historically accurate details are implanted into the stories, usually by placing some of the main characters at a particular location and time. For instance, in one of the novels, one of the main characters is present during the Volksdeutsche march through central Belgrade in September 1941. We cannot know if this boy was there that day, but - he might have been. On the other hand, the event itself is a well-documented historical fact, and it was important to present it to the students. Having in mind the educational purpose of the novels, we believe that such adaptations were justified.

It is important to emphasize that all interventions and dramatizations were made in accordance with historical sources and under the supervision of expert historians in order not to jeopardize the crucial and important historical facts.

Methodology - An Overview

The concept consists of several elements, which allow a flexible approach to the work while leaving space for creativity both for students and for teachers.

1. 1. Stories about the Holocaust through the language of graphic novels

The storytelling of Ester novels is based on illustrated scenes. Each novel consists of 12 to 15 scenes. Each scene combines the visual language of illustrations with the narrative text, additionally enriched with the relevant historical photographs and maps, confirming in that way the veracity of the illustrations and emphasizing the historical accuracy of the story itself. For many reasons (time limitations, availability of teaching materials, etc.) when teaching about the Holocaust, the segments related to everyday life before the persecutions are often not sufficiently presented to students despite the fact that it is an inseparable part necessary for better understanding of the Holocaust. Storytelling based on illustrations provides students with better insight into the everyday life of Jews, simple and common situations, family life, dwellings, clothing, food and cuisine, fun, traditions, religion, etc. Particularly in the case of Serbia where the Jews were well- integrated into mainstream society, this helps students to recognize the elements of everyday life, similar and shared among the Jews and other groups, and more easily identify with the main characters.

Graphic novels are attractive for students, and as an art form of storytelling they stimulate students' curiosity and creativity. Also, their spirit of enquiry is encouraged in this way.

2. Recognizing well known locations, landmarks and sites

The storyline is set at well-known locations in Belgrade and other Serbian cities. The illustrators were instructed to pay particular attention to depict the city landmarks, significant buildings, and familiar public spaces in such way that students would easily recognize them. By learning about the lives of the main characters and the historical events at very familiar places, recognizing the landmarks and streets of their own cities, the students become aware

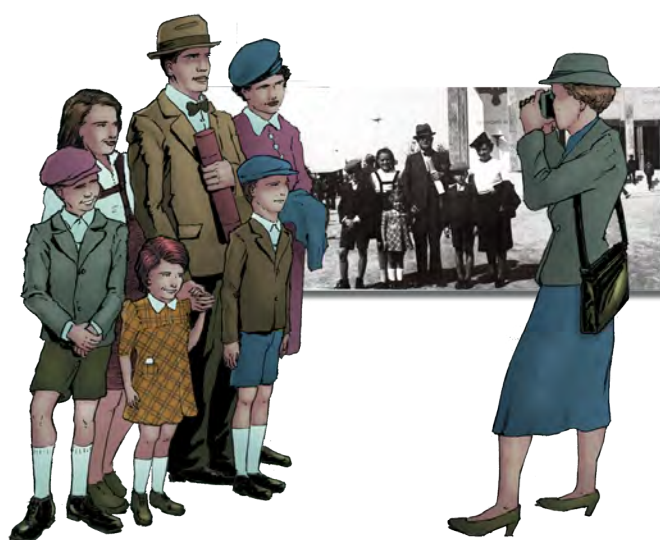
that the Holocaust happened *right here*, that the people described in the stories used to live *right here* - among us, and that these historical events are an inseparable part of our own history with an everlasting impact on the present and visible traces that could be recognized here and now.

3. Time, Date, Location marked on each scene

Each scene is marked with the exact time, date, and location (address), and the location is also presented on the enclosed map. Besides serving as an additional interface to track the timeline and places, it brings another layer of accuracy and credibility to the story, as well as further perspectives on the fact that the historical events presented in the novels took place *right here*.

4. Historical Documentation: photos, historical newspapers, archival documents

Among additional materials there are historical photographs as well as the other documentation and archival material which were used for reconstruction of the scenes and events presented in the stories.



From the novel "The Family Photo", www.ester.rs

5. Investigating tasks for students

Each scene is accompanied with a range of investigating tasks prepared for students to work on individually or in groups. Most of the tasks propose research of available online databases of historical newspapers and archival materials, or a visit to the location where the scene took place.

6. Glossaries - lesser-known words

Glossaries - alphabetical list of lesser-known terms or words, usually related to Jewish tradition, culture, and religion are added to several scenes.

7. Educational exercises based on illustrations

Illustrations are used as a main resource for educational exercises in several ways:

► HIDDEN "PUZZLES" ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustrations were designed having in mind particular educational exercises. Certain visual details were intentionally added to create small "puzzles." Students are familiar with similar storytelling and problem-solving settings from video games. As soon as students realize that there are important "hidden" elements placed in the illustrations, they start to pay more attention, recognizing and discovering even more details. Many of the prepared investigating tasks for students are based on such details.

► ANALYZING ILLUSTRATIONS

By carefully studying the illustrations, students can find the information that refers to the characteristic aspects of a given historical period. Their search can focus on gathering data, detecting the layered shades of details and reading the information presented in the illustration, purposely not explicitly elaborated in the textual narrative that accompanies the illustration. What is happening? What are the different characters doing? How do they feel? Where are they? What is written on that poster on the wall?

► OTHER CHARACTERS THAT APPEAR ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Certain characters are reappearing in several illustrations, having an active role in the story even though they are not part of the textual narrative of the novel. For instance, the Roma shoe-cleaner appears in several illustrations but is not mentioned in the text. Also, the same Serbian gendarme appears in several illustrations, while he is mentioned only at one scene in the text. Students can follow and analyze these characters, their roles, and their destinies as a separate layer of the story.

► SMALL HISTORICALLY ACCURATE DETAILS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

Many features of the illustrations are based on specific time-typical and accurate historical details. For instance, each poster on an advertising pillar on the street, each billboard at the car exhibition, every front page of the newspapers held by people in the crowd, all such elements depicted in any of the illustrations are accurate historical details of that place and time. Many of these elements seem to be unimportant details. However, many of the investigating tasks for students involve further research of these details, revealing further layers of important and relevant historical facts.

For instance, in one of the illustrations there is a poster announcing an art exhibition of a famous Serbian painter, Sava Šumanović, who was later killed by Croatian fascists. This groundbreaking exhibition historically took place exactly at the same time as a particular scene in the novel. One of the tasks for the students is to research more about this painter and his destiny.

Another example: in one of the illustrations depicting a scene dated May 1940, a person in the crowd is holding a daily newspaper. There is an article on page 11 about Charlie Chaplin who is currently “in great secrecy” filming his new movie and describing difficulties he had while filming “a complicated scene about a long speech.” The Students’ task is to investigate, by reading the original article in the historical newspaper archive and using further sources, what was the movie Charlie Chaplin was filming, and what was that “long speech” about? Obviously, it was “The Great Dictator” - a political satire comedy-drama about a ruthless fascist dictator and a persecuted Jewish barber. Such students’ tasks open many possibilities for further discussion in the classroom and in the follow-up tasks.

► INTRODUCTION TO HISTORICAL RESEARCH

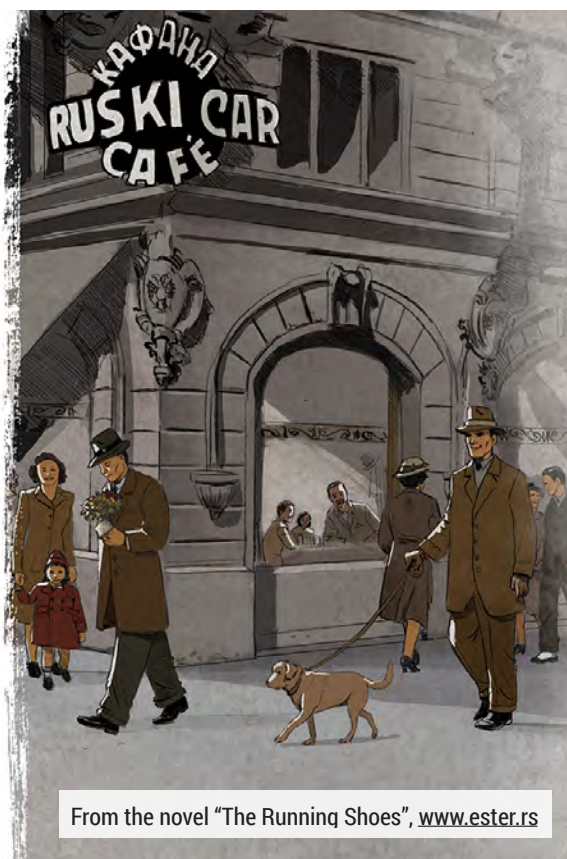
Through these tasks students are introduced to historical research, available databases of historical documents, and other resources. At the beginning, this research focuses on simple topics, such as fashion, sports, technology, music, movies. This also serves as an introduction to the historical period and to life in Serbia at that time. But later, as the stories develop, the tasks are increasingly focused on the war that is already ongoing in Europe, the worsening situation for the Jews and Jewish refugees that are coming to Serbia from other countries, growing antisemitism, and finally - declarations and orders issued by the Nazis in occupied Serbia.

► DISCOVERING HISTORICAL SOURCES USED FOR CREATING THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Many times during the research tasks, students will discover historical photographs that were used as sources for creating the illustrations. Also, students will find information about some of the characters as well as certain details about their lives. This will corroborate and further confirm that the novels accurately describe the historical events and people in the stories.

► COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: SAME LOCATION - DIFFERENT TIME

Comparative examination of the illustrations of identical places in different periods is similar to the familiar format of a “spot the difference” exercise. The focus is usually on the same characters, illustrated at the same locations, but at different times and under different circumstances. For instance: analyzing an illustration of a Shabbat dinner in a Jewish home in



From the novel "The Running Shoes", www.ester.rs

Belgrade before the war - and then again during the Nazi occupation, opens many possibilities for further discussion in the classroom.

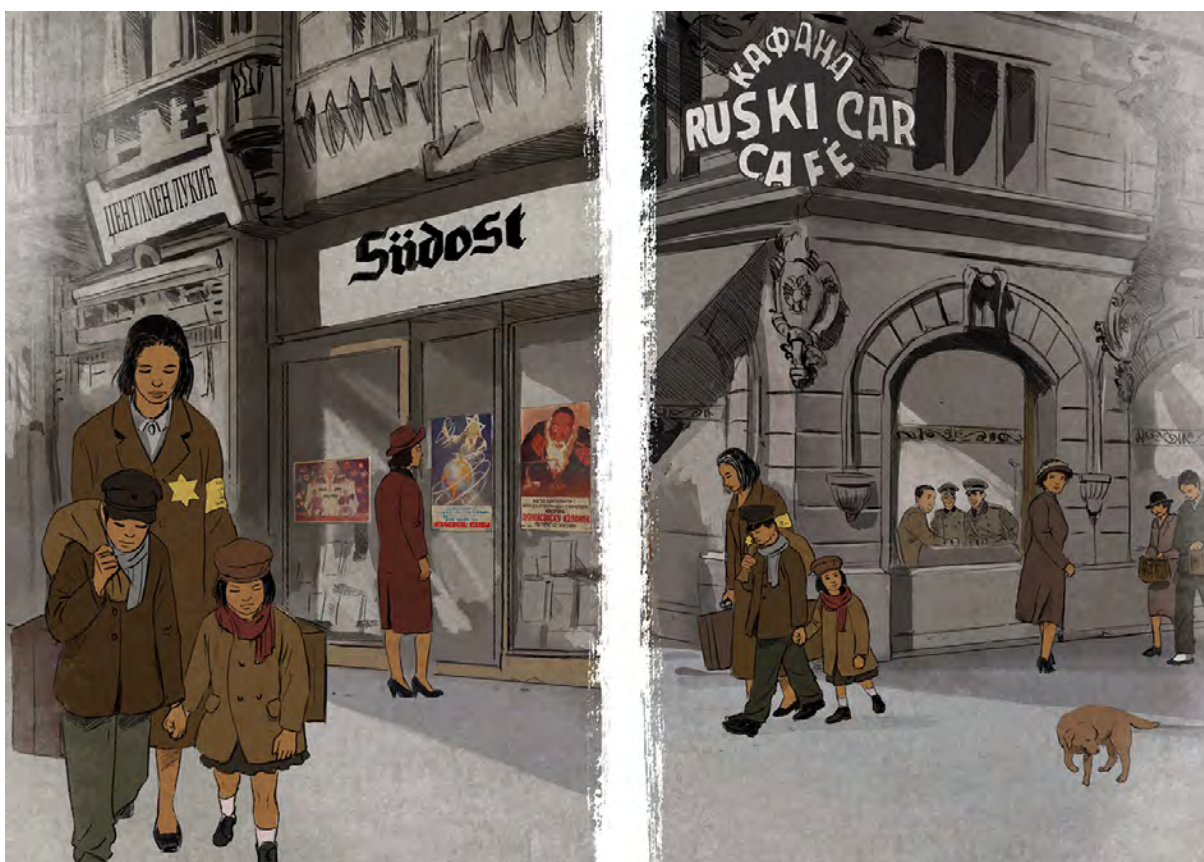
► COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL SITES AND THE ILLUSTRATIONS

One of the research tasks for the students is to analyze the historical sites in their current state and compare these with the illustrations that depict the same places during different times. What has changed? What remained the same? Are there recognizable traces of pre-war Jewish life, the war, the Holocaust? Is there a memorial plaque, a monument, or a sign of acknowledgment of what happened or what used to be at this site?

This opens a path for interesting investigative tasks that can include making photographs, videos, and interviews with passers-by about their knowledge of historical events that took place at that location. Further on, it brings to light the question and further awareness about unmarked or endangered historical sites

8. Parallel timelines: Europe and Serbia - the wider historical context

Parallel timelines¹ of historical events in Europe and in Serbia are available on a separate page. The aim is to present, follow, and compare relevant events in Germany, in Europe and in Serbia in order to help the students to better understand the historical context of the stories,



¹ The timelines were created by expert historians Dr Milan Koljanin from Belgrade (Serbia), and Dr Sanela Schmid from Nuremberg (Germany). Both are contributors to this publication as authors.

putting the events depicted in the stories in juxtaposition to the events that happened simultaneously at other places in Serbia, Germany, and Europe.

When creating investigative tasks for students we took into account other important historical events that took place elsewhere in Europe. For instance, one scene takes place on 30 September 1941 at the Topovske Šupe Concentration Camp just a couple of days before the mass shootings of the Jewish inmates were to begin. One of the tasks for students is to investigate one of the worst massacres of WWII that took place on that very same day, far away in Ukraine. This way the students will learn about the massacre in Babi Yar, and be introduced to broader perspectives of the Holocaust setting the Holocaust in Serbia within the framework of a wider European context.

9. Various Formats

The teaching material is prepared for digital presentation on a large projection screen in the classroom, or to be used online on a computer, iPad/tablet, or saved in a PDF format suitable for printing. All formats are available for download on the website.

10. Teaching and learning at the Historical Locations - or “walking the story”

Schools are encouraged to organize group visits and teaching at the important historical sites presented in the novels. Also, with the maps available in the material, there is an option to “walk the story” - visiting all the places depicted in one of the novels, starting from the pre-war living locations and then finishing the tour at the site of the Sajmište Concentration Camp.

11. Other Resources and Articles on the Website

There is a comprehensive introduction to the material, rich with maps and infographics, covering subjects such as:

- ▶ Why do we remember the Holocaust and learn about it?
 - ▶ A historical overview:
 - The Belgrade Fairground,
 - The occupation of Serbia,
 - The history of the concentration camp at Sajmište and its victims,
 - Jewish victims in Europe, Yugoslavia and Serbia,
 - Collaboration, Resistance, Helpers;
 - ▶ Remembrance, Memorial Days and future Memorial Center at Sajmište;
 - ▶ The role of historians and archivists in revealing the history of the Holocaust in Serbia;
 - ▶ A list of selected teaching materials about Holocaust available in Serbia;
 - ▶ Instructions for teachers; Use of graphic novels in teaching;
- The article “A Walk through Jewish inter-war Belgrade” by Dr Čedomila Marinković is also presented in this publication.

Who is Ester?

Ester is one of the characters that appear in two of the novels as a young Jewish girl from Belgrade's Dorćol neighborhood. Most of the main characters in the novels are real people we learned about through research of the archival and historical documentation. Ester represents all the victims whose names and other details about their lives we do not know.

In the novel "The Family Photo," Ester is present among many guests during the Shabbat dinner at the Demajo home in November 1940. In the novel "The Archivists and the Forgotten Boxes," Ester emerges from a pile of the forgotten documents in the Historical Archives of Belgrade, saying to the archivists: "Halo, my name is Ester, and I waited patiently for 70 years to tell you that once I used to be alive!"

Ester is our homage to all the nameless victims of the Holocaust.

By bringing Ester to the novels we wanted to make students aware that there are many more untold personal stories of numerous people who once used to live right here among us before they were destroyed together with all traces of their very existence.

Among other aims of the educational concept is to present the students with the roles of archivists and historians, their work and tasks in the frames of Holocaust research, commemoration, and education in order to promote these professions as crucial for saving all unknown people and their untold stories from fading into oblivion.

Who is Ester? Can you tell us more about her? The answer is: no, we cannot. We don't know anything about her. But in order to find out more about Ester we need more historical research.

Our hope is that some of the students will become inspired to continue this work as a next generation of historians, archivists, or in some other roles, carrying on future Holocaust research, commemoration, and education.

More information about the Terraforming network is available on www.terraforming.org



The Exhibition “October 1941”

Nikola Radić Lucati, Milovan Pisarri,
Center for Holocaust Research and Education (CHRE)



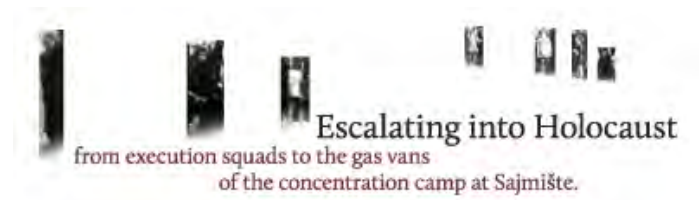
The idea for an educational exhibition on the Holocaust, Porajmos and genocide in WW2 Serbia, in itself, was not new. Although rare, there were such projects by state ministries and historical institutes in 2011 and 2015. However, the wide topic and a long and eventful timeline could not permit the in-depth, detailed engagement of Nazi occupation and quisling regime, that is so badly needed in the current climate of rehabilitation of quislings in Serbia. Our response was to use our segment of the overall project, and contribute the factual basis for the interpretation of the war, by focusing on a single-month of occupation, the very period of escalation of atrocities, which coincided with the rise of the quisling government in Serbia.

CHRE has produced and curated an exhibition in the form of a visual diary, in which each day of the month had its dedicated panel, with 25-30 reproduced documents, photographs, newspaper articles, testimonies, public orders, posters and even advertising. The selected documents (approximately 900), were photo-reproduced, bilingually annotated, placed in mutually contextualizing relations, and accompanied with a text on a chosen topic for each day and its panel.



More details about the development of the exhibition, the research process, concept, printing and production, audio-visual elements, catalogue, exhibition openings and public presentations in the frames of the project “Escalating into Holocaust”, media links, as well as the future plans, are described in a separate publication available on the website www.arhiv-beograda.org/holokaust

More information about the CHRE is available on www.cieh-chre.org



1. Deo: Uporedne perspektive sećanja na Holokaust u Evropi

Part 1. Comparative Perspectives Of Holocaust Remembrance In Europe



III. 1. Monument to the victims of the genocide of the Roma, by Anatoly Ignashchenko, created initially to be located in Babyn Iar, and situated finally in Kamianets-Podilskyi, 2008. Source: © Erud/ Wikimedia Commons/ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kamyanets_Podilsky_Kibitka.JPG

Remembrance Of The Roma Genocide (1941–1944) In Contemporary Ukraine ¹

Mikhail Tyaglyy, Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies

Summary:

Among the hundreds of thousands of Roma who fell victim to the Nazi persecution and extermination politics prior and during the Second World War, more than 20,000 Roma perished in Ukraine. The article seeks to explore how the contemporary Roma community in Ukraine, as well as Ukrainian society more broadly, remember the fate of the Roma who perished during the German and Romanian occupation of Ukraine.

Keywords:

Roma genocide, Politics of memory, Memorials, Holocaust, Memory culture, Ukraine, Babi Yar, Nazi occupation

Among the hundreds of thousands of Roma who fell victim to the Nazi persecution and extermination politics prior and during the Second World War, more than 20,000 Roma perished in what today is the independent state of Ukraine. Although this subject is still extremely understudied, the preliminary historical research available shows that in many regions of the German-occupied Soviet Union, particularly Ukraine, the Roma communities were murdered unmercifully by Wehrmacht, Sipo-SD, gendarmerie, and other units, often with the assistance of the local administrative and police forces. This annihilation of the Roma took place in big cities as well as remote villages, with the peak of the extermination policies in spring-autumn of 1942. The article presented seeks to explore how the contemporary Roma community in Ukraine, as well as Ukrainian society more broadly, remember the fate of the Roma who perished during the German and Romanian occupation of Ukraine.

There are a number of questions related to the strategies of remembrance, or lack thereof, at various levels of society. Firstly, are there any consistent politics of memory regarding the Roma Genocide (for short I will use RG) run by the Ukrainian government? How does the state support,

¹ The article is written in the frames of the project “The Genocide of the Roma during the occupation of Ukraine (1941–1944): Research, Teaching, and Commemoration” which is being run by the Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies with the support by the German “Erinnerung, Verantwortung und Zukunft” Foundation (EVZ). This publication is updated version of the article appeared in Anna Mirga-Kruszelnicka, Esteban Acuna C. and Piotr Trojański (eds.), *Education for Remembrance of the Roma Genocide. Scholarship, Commemoration and the Role of Youth* (Cracow: Libron, 2015), 97–119.

if at all, RG research and commemoration? Is there any historical information present on the subject in school curricula and textbooks? Secondly, how were/are civic society and non-governmental organizations involved into this process? Thirdly, how do the Ukrainian Roma themselves remember what happened to them during the Second World War? Is the memory about wartime suffering being preserved and transferred to the younger Roma generation? Finally, if taken altogether, are all these efforts sufficient for the RG to be adequately remembered? To answer these questions, one has to start by considering the overall situation in the culture of memory and the national memorial politics dominating contemporary Ukraine. Particularly, does the memory of the RG have room within contemporary visions of the past that exists in the Ukrainian society?

According to the ideology and politics of memory that existed in the Soviet Union, the Second World War (or rather, the part that took place from 1941–1945 and was called The Great Patriotic War) was considered to be among the greatest moments in the history of the USSR. As many scholars have noted, the victory by the USSR functioned almost as a cult, and was seen as the best tool to legitimize the Stalinist regime and Communist party power generally.² This ideology promoted the view that all Soviet people, disregarding their ethnic background, heroically defended their socialist Motherland together. The Soviet regime condemned the few exceptions as “bourgeois nationalists” or “betrayers of the Motherland.” As a result, there was no room in official Soviet memory for the research and remembrance of some particular groups exterminated on the basis of racial ideology. This applied more generally for any explicit research and commemoration of ethnic victim groups of either the National-Socialist or Soviet regimes. Thus, the Holocaust was downplayed, the special fate of the Roma (as well as the Jewish) victims was neglected, and those victims were instead enumerated as among the Soviet martyrs of the struggle against fascism. The authorities officially considered the Nazi genocide victims to be part of the broader Nazi plan to eliminate the entire population of the USSR. They forbid any attempts by Roma individuals, as well as informal Roma communities, to commemorate their relatives by erecting monuments; no memorials specifying the ethnic background of the victims existed.

Even after gaining independence in 1991, Ukraine was never a monolithic society: pro-European (mostly in the Western part of the country) and pro-Russian (mostly in the Eastern areas) sentiments competed with each other. Following these lines of division, perceptions of the past differed as well. When the Communist rule failed and the process of constructing a national narrative started, most politicians and historians adopted a moderate nationalistic rhetoric and tended to present the Ukrainian past as a pattern of suffering inflicted by external powers (Russian Empire, Soviet Union, Communism, etc.).³ The majority of historians easily abandoned their Marxist-Leninist concept of the historical process, adopting instead one that emphasized nation-building and state-building as the most important tasks and the core of the historical processes.

² For further reading regarding the role of the “Great Patriotic War” in postwar Soviet ideology and place of the Holocaust in it, see, for example, Amir Weiner, *Making Sense of War: The Second World War and the Fate of the Bolshevik Revolution* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), 416.

³ For detailed analysis, see Andrii Portnov, “Velyka Vitchyzniana viina v politykah pamiati Bilorusi, Moldovy ta Ukrainy: kilka porivnialnyh sposterezhen,” *Ukraina Moderna*, vol. 15, no. 4 (2009), 206–218.

Within these frames, most historians believed the ethnic Ukrainian nation to be the heart of that process and the only subject deserving mention in the emerging grand-narrative.⁴ Another main feature differentiating memory politics in Ukraine was its “regionalization”. While being unable to formulate a united national vision of the past that would satisfy all regions of Ukraine, the authorities allowed the local models of the past to prevail in their regions. If it was impossible to avoid clashes between contradictory visions at the national scale, these questions were simply being concealed or silenced by the central government.⁵ In addition, Ukrainian perceptions of the Second World War underwent some “humanization” (compared to Russian and Belorussian examples), which shifted the focus of educators and memory agents from “the mass heroism of the Soviet people” to the life and suffering of average people under occupation.⁶ This shift also assisted the integration of traumatic memories of particular ethnic minorities into a general narrative of the Second World War.

However, in the situation of competition and, sometimes, opposition to alternative memories, there is little room for memories of traumas like those the Roma suffered under the Nazis. Both memories – the post-Soviet one and the nationalistic one – tend to marginalize it. For those who support the post-Soviet vision of the past, the Roma do not constitute a separate group targeted by the Nazis for total extermination; they are regarded and commemorated only as an active part of all-Soviet resistance to the “German-fascist invaders,” or as “peaceful Soviet citizens killed by the occupiers.” For those adhering to the nationalistic visions, the RG does not constitute a particular subject to be commemorated, since the core of the Ukrainian liberation movement implied a pursuit for ethnic homogenization of the historical space, both physical and symbolical.

One more obstacle from preventing RG from being taught and commemorated was that the consensus in the scholarly literature was absent about the essence of Nazi politics towards the Roma. In other words, scholars had failed to fully study this aspect of the Second World War. The key monographs by Western scholars (like Michael Zimmermann’s book *Rassenutopie und Genozid*) have never been translated into local languages. Research by local scholars was absent as well. The Roma were never singled out as a subject for historical explorations of their fate in Soviet and post-Soviet monographs. In this situation, an opinion among the scholars and wider audience was prevailing for a long time (and still prevails) that the Roma, when killed on a mass scale by the Nazi Germans, suffered because they were considered by the perpetrators to be “asocial elements”, an opinion that implied transferring guilt on the victims. Post-Soviet, particularly Ukrainian, historiography and popular literature still needs to reach out to readers in

⁴ For an analysis of conceptual and historiography developments in Ukrainian academic scholarship after the collapse of the USSR see, for example, Mark von Hagen, “Does Ukraine Have a History?”, *Slavic Review*, vol. 54, no. 3 (Autumn, 1995), 658–673. For a more recent analysis of Ukrainian historiography and historical politics, see Georgii Kasianov, “Sovremennoe sostoianie ukrainskoi istoriografii: metodologicheskoe i institutsionalnye aspekty,” *Ab Imperio*, vol. 2 (2003), 491–519; idem, “Istoricheskaia politika v Ukraine: 2000-e gody,” *Russkii vopros*, no. 2 (2012) (accessed 14 October 2015 from: <http://www.russkiivopros.com/index.php?pag=one&id=457&kat=6&csl=58>).

⁵ Portnov, “Velyka Vitchyzniana viina,” 215.

⁶ Andrii Portnov, “Istorii dlja domashnego upotrebleniia,” *Ab Imperio*, vol. 3 (2012), 309–338.

order to show them the racial nature of the Nazi persecution of the Roma.⁷ In 2000, following the Stockholm International Forum, the Ministry of Education of Ukraine recommended that universities provide courses on Holocaust history.⁸ In 2006, Holocaust history (as well as the term itself) was introduced into school curricula, though very briefly, and into the list of questions for examination in secondary state schools.⁹ However, most writers evaluate these innovations as formalistic and insufficient, covering only a very small part of the school audience.¹⁰

Paradoxically enough, in 2004 the Ukrainian parliament (*Verkhovna Rada*) created the legal ground for RG commemoration in Ukraine. On initiative of two parliament members from the Communist party, the Parliament passed a separate law introducing annually 2 August as the day for commemorating the RG in Ukraine.¹¹ The very title of this law, as well as how it was introduced, shows that it was adopted without careful expert preparation and with no intent by the authorities to keep an eye on its implementation. The memorial day proposed by this act was called “The International day of the Roma holocaust” (sic!). The historical preamble of the act states that “During the Second World War, Hitlerite fascists, together with their accomplices, fulfilling the racial politics of ethnocide, deported about 500,000 Roma from the occupied countries and burned them in the concentration camps.”¹² Despite some factual and terminological mistakes in the text, this act obligated the Cabinet of Ministers, along with regional authorities, “to elaborate actions directed to researching the scale, number of victims, and sites of the Hitlerite ethnocide of the Roma during the Second World War, as well as to commemorate the deported and murdered representatives of this ethnic minority.” However, closer examination of how that law was implemented shows that almost no systematic activities recommended and prescribed by the act were carried through in the following years. Despite the fact that this memorial day exists in the official state commemorative calendar, and would therefore require an annual address from state

⁷ It is only recently that the situation has begun to change. See, for example, contemporary works that stress the racial nature of the Nazi persecution of the Roma in the occupied Soviet territories: Martin Holler, *Der nationalsozialistische Völkermord an den Roma in der besetzten Sowjetunion, 1941–1944* (Heidelberg: Dokumentations- und Kulturzentrum Deutscher Sinti und Roma, 2009); Alexander Kruglov, “Genotsid tsigan v Ukraini v 1941–1944 gg. Statistiko-regionalnyi aspekt,” *Holokost i suchastnist. Studii v Ukraini i sviti*, vol. 2, no. 6 (2009), 83–113; Mikhail Tyaglyy, “Nazi occupation policies and the mass murder of the Roma in Ukraine,” in Anton Weiss-Wendt, ed., *The Nazi Genocide of the Gypsies: Reevaluation and Commemoration* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), 120–152. However, only a few of these publications are available to a wider audience in Ukraine.

⁸ Anatolii Podolskyi, “Aktualnist ta stan vikladannja istorii Holokostu v suchasni Ukraini,” *Uroki Holokostu*, vol. 14, no. 2 (2008), 2–4.

⁹ Anatolii Podolskyi, “Ukraïnske suspilstvo i pamiat’ pro Holokost: sproba analizu deiakih aspektiv,” *Holokost i suchastnist. Studii v Ukraïni i sviti*, vol. 1, no. 5 (2009), 47–59.

¹⁰ For instance, the experienced Kievan schoolteacher and methodologist Iurii Komarov estimated in his brief survey that Ukrainian teaching plans and textbooks dealing with the Holocaust remain behind those of Europe and do not reflect the European experience. Furthermore, he pointed out that the Ukrainian Ministry of Education does not realize the universal messages and teaching potential of the Holocaust, which he blames on the fact that some Ukrainian historians still prefer to cultivate the ethnocentric paradigm of history based on the history of ethnic Ukrainians. See Iurii Komarov, “Formalni mozhlivosti: mistse temy Holokostu v navchalnykh kursakh MON Ukraini,” *Uroki Holokostu*, vol. 2, no. 14 (2008), 4–6.

¹¹ See <http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2085-iv> (accessed: 14/10/2015).

¹² Ibid.

officials, it was only on 2 August 2009 that the president of Ukraine (at that time – Victor Yushchenko) delivered public address to the Roma community. No media, excluding *Forum of Nations* (a small monthly newspaper published by the NGO “Congress of National Minorities of Ukraine”) reported this event.¹³ In 2011, the Ukrainian Institute for National Remembrance included this day in the “Calendar of outstanding and memorial dates for 2011,” but this institute organized no event on that day. Since then this date has been absent in the Institute’s calendar.¹⁴ The practice shows that, in most cases, the activities prescribed by this law to the regional authorities to foster research and education were mostly left on paper.¹⁵ The local authorities prefer only to join memorial building, commemorative ceremonies, and public events which are typically initiated and organized by NGOs, and do that only if the latter hold responsibility for the organization of events of this kind.¹⁶ In 2013, the Strategy and Action Plan on the protection and integration into Ukrainian society of the Roma minority for the period up to 2020 was adopted and signed by the president of Ukraine (at that time Victor Yanukovych), but nothing was included into this document regarding teaching and commemorating the RG.¹⁷ The same is true when considering the field of education. Is RG being taught at schools? To what extent is the information about RG present in teaching curricula and history textbooks? Over the last twenty-five years, textbook writing in Ukraine has experienced some development, and the state of affairs one can see in this field now is ambiguous.

Several years ago Oleksandr Voitenko, a Ukrainian expert in the field of formal and informal education, observed in his article specifically devoted to the RG teaching that in Ukrainian textbooks and teaching manuals multiculturalism and the multi-ethnic character of the country are hardly represented. ... And the Roma, judging from the analysis of educational textbooks in history textbooks for junior and senior schools, have never been present in Ukrainian history. So, how are the Roma represented in school teaching materials? The only mention of the Roma in the context of Nazi racial policies is found in textbooks on World History and History of Ukraine for the 10th grade. But from these textbooks we do not see why Jews were persecuted? Why the Roma? Why

¹³ Address by the President of Ukraine on the occasion of the International Day of the Roma Holocaust, <http://www.forumn.kiev.ua/2009-08-87/87-04.html> (accessed 14 October 2015). Later, in 2013, only one more public address was issued on that memorial day, signed by the first deputy of the head of the Ministry of Culture in Ukraine, see <http://mincult.kmu.gov.ua/mincult/uk/publish/article/336250;jsessionid=4C686292653E8BCC86DD2300BBCB10A2.app6:2> (accessed 14 October 2015).

¹⁴ See <http://memory.gov.ua/page/istorichnii-kalendar> (accessed 14 October 2015).

¹⁵ Systematic web-monitoring made by the author shows that local administrations included plans in their annual agendas or issued “methodical recommendations” for the administrative bodies and educational institutions subordinated to them in only four regions (out of twenty-five) in Ukraine – Lviv, Mykolaiv, Odessa and Zakarpattia oblasts – about how to mark the “International Day of the Roma Holocaust.”

¹⁶ In his recent article exploring contemporary commemoration of the RG in Ukraine, Swedish scholar Andrej Kotljarchuk provides about twenty examples of sites in various parts of Ukraine where the monuments to the murdered Roma were erected recently. See Andrej Kotljarchuk, “Natsistskii genotsyd tsygan na territorii okkupirovannoi Ukrainy: rol sovet'skogo proshlogo v sovremennoi politike pamiati,” *Holokost i suchasnist'*. *Studii v Ukraini i sviti*, vol. 1, no. 12 (2014), 24–50. However, a closer examination of these cases shows that almost all of them were possible due to the initiatives of the NGO sector (primarily Roma organizations, but also other groups), while the role of the state was limited usually to granting permission for the public activists to build a monument and taking part in the dedication ceremonies.

¹⁷ See <http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/201/2013> (accessed 14 October 2015).

were they “chosen” as victims? And where from do they appear in Ukraine, if they have not been mentioned in earlier schooling? Roma history, their culture, and contributions to the culture of Europe and Ukraine, the history of their national movement, integration issues, etc., must be included in history classes in the schools. Information on the Roma genocide in the Second World War must be embraced by the school curricula. It must not be “separated” from the context of Roma history in Europe and Ukraine.¹⁸

Has the situation changed since 2009? No standardized textbook exists for Ukrainian students of every grade, but instead there is a range of textbooks annually recommended by the Ministry of Education to be used in classrooms, and individual school administrations can choose the ones they consider to be most appropriate. History is being taught in Ukrainian schools within two courses: “World History” (for which five textbooks were available last year) and “History of Ukraine” (for which five textbooks were also available last year). The period of 1939–1945 is covered in the beginning of the last (the 11th) grade of each course. All textbooks published in 2010–2013 for “World History” course (in which the Second World War is presented in the context of global and European perspective) contain the term “Holocaust” and its definition within the lesson about the Nazi occupation regime in Europe or the Nazi “New Order”. But each textbook offers a different definition for this concept. In most textbooks, one can see the statement that “the Holocaust means the extermination of the Jewish people during the Second World War.” However, this definition is always accompanied with the information about the Nazi “New Order”, which presents it as a consistent policy pursued by the Nazis to eliminate “inferior people” like Jews, the Roma (or Gypsies), and the Slavic population on the basis of racial ideology. In this context, one can see that the term “Roma” is present in all the textbooks, although in most cases Nazi racial policy is misinterpreted by the authors as something that had genocidal intentions, also in regard to the Slavic people, and the fate of the Roma is mentioned in them quite briefly. One textbook, however, stands out,¹⁹ since it presents quite a nuanced and explicit explanation of the “genocide committed in regard to the Gypsy people (Sinti and Roma),” although it also states inaccurately that the Roma were persecuted by the Nazis as thieves, “fortune-tellers, and kidnappers,” thus neglecting the racial grounds for the Nazi persecution of the Roma.²⁰

As for the textbooks on the history of Ukraine (where the Second World War is given a Ukrainian context and focused geographically on the territory of contemporary Ukraine), they give similar picture. Out of five textbooks under consideration, four contain the term “Holocaust”, which is formulated as the destruction of the Jews by the Nazi regime (while the remaining one mentions information about the mass murder of Jewish people without using the term). However, only three out of the five contain a brief hint that the Roma were also the subject of the Nazi extermination policies. One can conclude that the tragic fate of the Roma is still externalized in the Ukrainian

¹⁸ Oleksandr Voitenko, “Genotsid romiv u navchalnykh kursakh MON Ukrainy ta neformalni praktyky uvichnennia tragedii v osvitianskomu protsesi,” *Holokost i suchasnist’*. *Studii v Ukraïni i sviti*, vol. 2, no. 6 (2009), 141–147.

¹⁹ Ihor Shchupak, *Vsemirnaia istoriia. Noveishii period (1939–2011)*. *Uchebnoe posobie dlia 11 klassa obshcheobrazovatelnykh uchebnykh zavedenii* (Zaporizhzhia: Premier, 2011), 272.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 33.

teaching narratives: it is rather regarded as a part of the general history which happened elsewhere but was not really a part of the Ukrainian historical past. One more conclusion out of the analysis of textbooks is that in most cases, even when dealing with the RG, the authors mention it very briefly, in passing, and do not actually emphasize the racial nature of the Nazi policies towards the Roma.

When trying to interpret the reasons why the RG-related (as well as the Holocaust-related narrative) is present in the textbooks in different degrees, it might be helpful to have a look at the personal professional background of the authors. It reveals that the more each author was involved in the activities initiated by NGOs working in the field of informal education, the more detailed narrative about this subject can be found in his/her textbooks. Several NGOs today are focused on the promotion of Holocaust education among governmental education structures and schoolteachers. The central ones are the Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies in Kiev²¹ and “Tkuma” Institute for Holocaust Studies in Dnepropetrovsk;²² both include RG history in their agenda and run educational workshops for schoolteachers and school administrators. Ihor Shchupak, the Director of the “Tkuma” Institute for Holocaust Studies, compiled the above-mentioned textbook, which contains an entire passage on the RG. The textbook *Together on the Same Land: A Multicultural History of Ukraine*, published by the NGO “Nova Doba” Association of Teachers of History and Civics in Lviv, covers the RG (and Roma history more generally) and provides information about the various ethnic groups of Ukraine.²³ Therefore, it would not be going too far to say that NGOs introduce memory of the RG into the official curricula and textbooks and classrooms. The governmental bodies remain clumsy and inert in accepting this approach, though they do not prevent it from being integrated into the curricula. Having appeared originally on the margins of the state educational system, education about the RG is still there, with some occasional attention of a symbolical nature provided by the governmental structures.

However, some important developments can be observed: (1) the more effective activities of NGO sector; (2) the “humanized” image of the Second World War; (3) the prevailing regional memories over the national ones; and (4) also some European integrationist rhetoric and practices used to a different extent, but by all Ukrainian presidential administrations. While the Holocaust has been in the focus of educators for already more than twenty years, the RG became a focus only recently.

Comparing this situation with that of Russia and Belorussia, one can see that the general history and memory politics there makes it more difficult for the RG to be included into the national

²¹ See <http://www.holocaust.kiev.ua> (accessed 14 October 2015).

²² See <http://tkuma.dp.ua/> (accessed 14 October 2015).

²³ See *Razom na odnii zemli. Istoriiia Ukrainy bahatokulturna. Posibnyk dlia uchniv* (Lviv: ZUKTs, 2012), particularly the chapters *Roma History* and *Jewish and Roma Genocide*. See <http://www.novadoba.org.ua/ukr/together-on-the-sameland-book> (accessed 14 October 2015).

memory canon.²⁴ This can be indirectly confirmed by the total absence of publications attempting to reflect on RG education, or at least methodological suggestions and recommendations for the teachers on that subject. As for Ukraine, polycentrism and pluralism in the process of shaping the national historical narrative made it possible for such efforts to appear (though primarily as NGO initiatives). In this process, as mentioned above, initiatives by the Roma communities and other non-Roma groups and the civil society actors are intertwined.

The NGO activities dealing with RG remembrance in Ukraine can be divided into three broad categories, although in most cases these initiatives are the result of mixed interrelations and cooperation and not such clearly defined groups.

The first category includes research and educational initiatives of local actors supported financially by international or foreign foundations. In this case, the initiatives belong to the local NGOs, which are successful to secure funding of their projects. In 2008, the Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies (UCHS) organized the first scholarly conference in Ukraine focused specifically on the RG thanks to the support of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. A year later, the German Embassy in Ukraine funded the publication of the conference proceedings.²⁵ The UCHS in Kiev is currently running a four-year project combining research and educational activities, which was initially supported by the “Mutual Understanding and Tolerance” Foundation and then by the EVZ Foundation.²⁶ Due to this support the UCHS was able to publish a map with 113 killing sites of the Roma in the German-occupied area of Ukraine identified on the basis of available archival documentation. This map (which continues to be updated, since the project is still in progress) could become a base for the nation-wide registry of the Romani victims.

The second category consists of initiatives carried out by local branches of international institutions, which include RG-related education. In this case, international institutions in Ukraine find local partners from the civic sector to fulfill a particular project. For example, the Ukrainian

²⁴ As for Belorussia, see Andrej Kotljarchuk, “World War II Memory Politics: Jewish, Polish and Roma Minorities of Belarus,” *The Journal of Belarusian Studies*, vol. 1 (2013), 7–37. As for the Russian Federation, no critical examination of this subject, even by international scholars, has been published at the time of this writing.

²⁵ See http://holocaust.kiev.ua/news/chasopis_2010.html (accessed 14 October 2015).

²⁶ See www.romagenocide.com.ua (accessed 14 October 2015). In the autumn of 2013, the UCHS launched a three-year research and education project, *The Genocide of Roma (Gypsies) during the occupation of Ukraine (1941–1944): Research, Teaching and Commemoration*. The aims of the project include promoting research into documentary sources and introducing them into scholarly use, recording oral history accounts pertaining to the fate of the Roma living in the Ukrainian territories occupied during the Second World War, and facilitating research by local historians on these subjects. Educational goals consist of increasing the cooperation of researchers and teachers from educational institutions, encouraging the involvement of students in research activities, recording memories of the witnesses of the genocide against the Roma, identifying Roma mass murder sites during the Second World War and their present-day condition, developing methodological materials for teaching purposes, and assisting students in preparing research papers for the annual *The History and Lessons of Holocaust* contest run by the UCHS. The UCHS launched a new website to promote the interaction of all those willing to work on this subject, as well as to create an online resource that will assist in making reference materials and the recent literature on the subject more readily available. This page offers visitors updates on the latest developments within the project, a bibliography and full-text publications of Ukrainian and foreign researchers of Roma history and the genocide of the Roma, guidance papers regarding research activities (such as oral history methodologies and student paper guidelines), and a forum to enable the exchange of opinions about the state of the art and future developments for the project.



III. 2. Memorial sign in Babyn Yar (Kyiv) saying "On this site a memorial will be erected to the victims of the Roma Holocaust". Photo by Mikhail Tyaglyy, 2009

branch of the International Renaissance Foundation in Kiev has a Roma program initiative,²⁷ which mostly focuses on Roma-related social and legal issues but also embraces humanities and, particularly, conferences and teaching courses on Romani Studies, including the RG.²⁸ This foundation established a one-year program on Romani Studies at the National University “Kiev-Mohyla Academy” in 2012–2013,²⁹ and more recently an agreement was signed to establish the Romani Studies Program at Uzhgorod National University and Chernihiv State University.³⁰ At the same time, this organization paid the travel costs for several Ukrainian students of Roma and non-Roma origin to attend the annual ceremony of commemoration on 2 August in Cracow-Auschwitz, and now is discussing the possibility of adapting into Ukrainian the recently published Council of Europe’s textbook *Right to Remember*.

The final category includes initiatives developed by the Roma community and its various individual and collective parts, which realized independently or in cooperation with state bodies and/or the non-governmental sector. Without a doubt, present-day Roma ethno-cultural organizations and their leaders are the main memory agents interested in commemorating the RG, sharing this traumatic experience with the broader society and introducing this knowledge into the Ukrainian historical narrative, both on academic and public levels. Compared to the situation of the post-war or late Soviet period, their memory is no longer “muted.” As Polish scholar Sławomir Kapralski demonstrated in regard to the Roma community in Europe, particularly in Poland,³¹ the Ukrainian Roma today are becoming increasingly involved in public commemoration ceremonies and the “invented tradition” process, as far as the resources allow them to do so.

This is especially true for a younger Roma generation, which is on the way to integrating into the wider society. It is impossible yet to evaluate and give a representative picture of which level the RG is in the historical background of the Roma community, since the research on this subject has never been completed. However, some indirect tools to measure this awareness can be used, such as an analysis of essays written by young Romani students applying annually to the Roma Education Fund for the fellowships. One of the chapters in the application form, which they need to complete, is the so-called “Essay on Roma Issues”, which expects them to deliver their vision, limited to five hundred words, on what it means to be Roma in individual and social dimensions.³² The instructions for this section ask, among other questions, the following: What does it mean to be a young Roma? Or, do you see a need to strengthen this identity – and if so – how? As one can

²⁷ See <http://www.irf.ua/en/programs/roma/> (accessed 14 October 2015).

²⁸ For the conference proceedings, see http://issuu.com/irf_ua/docs/roma-2014-1/1?e=2879057/7849618 (accessed 14 October 2015).

²⁹ See <http://pritsak-center.com/en/about-roman-studies> (accessed 14 October 2015).

³⁰ See <http://www.uzhnu.edu.ua/uk/news/v-uzhnu-zapratsyuyut-romski-studiji.htm> (accessed 14 October 2015).

³¹ See, for example, Sławomir Kapralski, “The Holocaust in the Memory of the Roma: From Trauma to Imagined Community?”, in L. Stillman and G. Johanson (eds.), *Constructing and Sharing Memory: Community Informatics, Identity and Empowerment* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 114–123.

³² I am grateful to the Roma Education Fund, particularly to Stela Garaz, for giving me permission to use this data from the application process.



III. 3. Memorial sign in Babyn Yar (Kyiv) vandalized.
Photo by Mikhail Tyaglyy, 2011



III. 5. The Roma Caravan Memorial returned to Kyiv and inaugurated in 23 September 2016.
Photo by Mikhail Tyaglyy, 2016



see, this guidance, though indirectly, leaves some space for a respondent to expound one's personal feeling of identity in the terms he/she prefers. Some young Roma applicants used what we can call "historical discourse" (particularly the notion of the RG and its implications) when explaining what it means for them to be a Roma.

Year	Total number of essays considered	Number of essays where the Holocaust (genocide, Nazi victims, Nazi racial ideology, victims of the Second World War) discourse is present	% to total
2012	93	3	3,2
2013	131	10	7,6
2014	133	10	7,5
2015	181	13	7,1
2016	145	14	9,7

This demonstrates that, for reasons yet to be researched, the percentage of Roma students aware of this tragic aspect of their identity doubled in 2013 compared to the previous year. This discourse was present in approximately 7% of applications since 2013, and increased to almost 10% in 2016. In my opinion, the fact that they used the notion of the RG in their self-representation can be interpreted not only as awareness of this past, but also their readiness to use this knowledge actively in their personal and social life, particularly when facing present-day instances of discrimination or intolerance. However, this also demonstrates that the overwhelming majority of young Roma people (90%) are reluctant or unable, when speculating on the present-day situation of the Roma community, to perceive themselves as being part of historical process and to see the connection between potential discrimination nowadays and the persecution that occurred in the past, in order to learn lessons from it. In other words, for the overwhelming majority of young Roma, the meaningful past is still not considered as a possible resource for shaping the future by most of the students.

As mentioned above, over the last two decades Roma communities and individuals were the main memory agents interested in commemorating the RG in Ukraine, particularly active in erecting monuments and memorial signs on mass graves where the Roma perished. Perhaps the long story of erecting a memorial to the murdered Roma in Babyn Yar (Kiev) is the most symbolic example of Roma initiatives that had to interact with state authorities and public actors. Babyn Yar in Kiev is a place known for its tragic history, a site where German forces murdered primarily Jews, but also Roma, Soviet POWs, Ukrainian nationalists, Orthodox priests, Soviet resistance

members, mentally disabled persons, as well as all those believed by the occupiers to be “suspicious” and “undesirable” elements, in great numbers in the years 1941–1943.³³

As early as in 1995, the Roma organization “Romanipe” in Kiev, in cooperation with the well-known architect and sculptor Anatoly Ignashchenko, projected a monument to the Roma killed in Babyn Yar in 1941. The monument, made of iron, was created in the form of the Roma nomad tent. In 2000, after the pedestal was completed and the monument was about to be installed, the city administration suddenly prohibited this action, arguing that the new monument “does not fit the area of the secured landscape.”³⁴ Despite attempts by the architect to overcome the prohibition, the monument was erected in another location, Kamianets-Podilskyi, a remote, suburban part of the city above a ravine that is difficult to visit (see ill. 1). Thus, the position of Kiev city bureaucracy prevented the erection of the monument despite the support of the Roma community and public opinion for this project. In 2006, the National Reserve “Babyn Yar” was created by a decision of former President Yushchenko, but in fact this organization existed on paper only.³⁵ For several years there was no monument to the Roma in Babyn Yar, until 2009, when the Roma community again collected funds and erected a small memorial plaque with an inscription promising that “On this site a memorial will be erected to the victims of the Roma Holocaust.” (see ill. 2)

In June 2011, unknown persons destroyed this small monument in Babyn Yar, and police investigation brought no results. For some time the site remained without any memorial plaques (see ill. 3), but the Roma community eventually put one more small monument with another inscription, which this time did not contain any promise of building a future memorial. The new monument merely states “In memory of the Roma shot in Babyn Yar.” (see ill. 4)

This story remains completely incomprehensible for an outside observer without some extra attention paid to the context, but it becomes quite clear when the role and activities of both governmental and non-governmental organizations involved are considered. The area of Babyn Yar, or rather what remained of this huge area after the attempts by the Soviet authorities to erase and reshape this part of Kiev in 1950–1960s, became – during the independence period – a tasty morsel for numerous commercial companies and the nouveau riches who had their lobbyists in the city administration responsible for maintaining city territory. For more than two decades, city authorities were making decisions in a completely non-transparent manner, ignoring civic initiatives directed to creation of the united site of memory in Babyn Yar, which would shape the common space of memory for various victim groups murdered there. In 2003, the Civic Committee for Commemoration of Babyn Yar Victims was established, and it elaborated a project to implement the model of the memorial site. This memorial site would represent the fate of every group of victims and create a symbol of the national past, uniting victims of different backgrounds

³³ For the most detailed research on Babyn Yar, see T. Evstafieva, V. Nakhmanovych (eds.), *Babi Yar: chelovek, vlast, istoriia. Dokumenty i materialy. Kniga 1: Istoricheskaia topographiia. Khronologiia sobytii* (Kiev: Vneshtorgizdat, 2004). The book is available for download at <http://www.kby.kiev.ua/book1/> (accessed 14 October 2015).

³⁴ See <http://www.forumn.kiev.ua/2009-08-87/87-04.html> (accessed 14 October 2015).

³⁵ See <http://babyn-yar.gov.ua/> (accessed 14 October 2015).

around one commemorative space.³⁶ But initiatives like that were ignored. Instead, at least three initiatives by various private Jewish organizations (controlled or supported by the Ukrainian businessmen of Jewish origin) were discussed, and were nearly accepted to build a museum in Babyn Yar devoted exclusively to Jewish victims.³⁷ It would not be going too far to assume that Ukrainian civil servants responsible for the state of affairs of this memorial area were obtaining some unofficial and indirect means to meet the above-mentioned initiatives in quite a friendly and positive way; another explanation can be their absolute ignorance of the history of Babyn Yar and its present-day symbolical meaning. It is not surprising that to those who associate themselves today with the other victim groups (Ukrainian nationalists, Orthodox church, etc.), the initiatives listed above seemed to be totally inappropriate, as they did not include memory of “their” groups in a common memorial narrative. This situation resulted in the so-called “memory wars” in Ukrainian society. Particularly, the most recent conflict happened in 2011, when the Ukrainian parliament approved a decree “On the 70th anniversary of Babyn Yar.”³⁸ This document contained a list of measures to be implemented in order to hasten activities of the National Reserve “Babyn Yar” (created in 2006) and to commemorate the victims of the massacres. This time the reason for discord was that the Committee for preparing and organizing the events devoted to the 70th anniversary of the massacres in Babyn Yar was formed exclusively of the representatives of Jewish organizations. Both Ukrainian and Roma ethno-cultural organizations addressed the Ukrainian prime minister (at that time Mykola Azarov), criticizing this decision and demanding to have their representatives included in the Committee.³⁹ No public reaction followed these criticisms, and the effect of these addresses remained unknown. For a long time, the Babyn Yar territory remained a kind of cake, sliced into several chunks, and every victim group (or, rather their descendants associating themselves with any victim group) enjoys its own chunk, i.e., visits a particular part of Babyn Yar territory on their own commemorative dates with no regard to the other victim groups. One memorial site that could unite and consolidate present-day Ukrainian society by means of the common tragic fate thus failed to be created.

More recently, on the 75th anniversary of the massacres in Babyn Yar, the Ukrainian government introduced a number of events and invested efforts and funds towards the creation of a common

³⁶ See <http://www.kby.kiev.ua/> (accessed 14 October 2015).

³⁷ The most prominent scandal occurred in 2002–2004 that included an initiative by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (and supported by part of the local Jewish leaders) to construct Jewish Community Center in Babyn Yar. This inappropriate idea was confirmed by the authorities with no public discussion on this issue, and was canceled only after polemics spread beyond the Jewish community and involved the wider Ukrainian intelligentsia. See <http://babiyar-diskus.narod.ru/Index.html> (accessed 14 October 2015).

³⁸ See <http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/3560-vi> (accessed 14 October 2015).

³⁹ For the statement by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, see <http://www.istpravda.com.ua/columns/2011/09/26/56627/> (accessed 14 October 2015). For the statement by the Roma organizations, see <http://www.unian.ua/society/517746-romi-vimagayut-vid-azarova-vshanuvati-vbitih-u-babinomu-yaru.html> (accessed 14 October 2015). Remarkably, the appeal by the Ukrainian circles refers only indirectly to the composition of the Committee, saying that “some particular civic organizations are undertaking one more attempt to cross out historical truth and national fairness, above all in regard to the death of the thousands of Ukrainian patriots, who had struggled for Ukrainian independence during the war.” The letter by the Roma organizations was much less politically correct: “[The fact that the Roma are not represented in the Committee] gives us a ground to consider the Plan of Events proposed by the Committee as a business plan for money-laundering of the budget funds through the Jewish institutions.”

memorial space. Particularly, markers with historic information were established in the area, a building for the museum was finally given to the National Reserve, and, with the support of the Ministry of Culture, the “Roma Caravan” monument was brought back to Kiev by the Roma community members and inaugurated in Babyn Yar on 23 September 2016 (see ill. 5). On 4 October, NGOs and governmental institutions in Kiev organized a scholarly conference on the “Genocide of the Roma of Ukraine during the Second World War: Research, Education and Commemoration.”⁴⁰

In conclusion, the RG is remembered and commemorated in a specific and ambiguous way in present-day Ukraine. The memory is being preserved and transferred to younger generations, but insufficiently. In the context of inconsistent and ambiguous politics of memory, and in the situation of constant struggle between “post-Soviet” and “nationalistic” discourses of history, the dynamics of spreading RG-related memory is generally positive, but this is mainly due to the efforts of non-formal education and commemoration activities developed by NGOs, covering only small sectors of society. Besides, as the scholar Tetiana Portnova noted, the wider Ukrainian society is not ready to discuss sensitive and painful questions related to involvement in the Holocaust.⁴¹ The same can be said for the position on the RG. Education on the RG in the former Soviet Union (FSU) space still remains in its early stages and relies on the actions of a few memory agents, such as Roma community activists and NGO educators. Compared to the situation in the FSU states, Ukrainian FG education has been more successful despite the problems discussed above. This is because of the more active role the NGO and civic sector play in shaping pluralistic visions of history, and the law the Ukrainian parliament passed in 2004 to create a legal framework where civic initiatives, particularly commemorative ones, can be implemented.

⁴⁰ See <http://romagenocide.com.ua/data/files/anonsy/konf0410pressa.pdf> (accessed 10 October 2016).

⁴¹ Tetiana Portnova, “Holokost v ukrainskikh obrazovatelnykh praktikakh,” online publication, see <http://urokiistorii.ru/learning/edu/51948> (accessed 9 December 2015).

Sajmište and the Archival Holdings of the International Tracing Service

Akim Jah, International Tracing Service (ITS) in Bad Arolsen

Abstract

The archive of the International Tracing Service (ITS) in Bad Arolsen comprises approx. 30 million documents on the Holocaust, persecution during the time of National Socialism and Nazi forced labor, as well as files of Displaced Persons (DPs) who survived Nazism, and correspondence files of the ITS itself. Among the holdings are also documents concerning victims of the Holocaust and Nazi persecution, who were incarcerated in Sajmiste during the different phases of the camp.

The ITS uses the documents of the archive for its educational work of historical learning. In exploring and discussing both Nazi documents and post-liberation documents, participants of workshops and students can learn about the Holocaust, the bureaucracy of Nazi persecution, the life of suffering of the victims and the Allied care after liberation.

Keywords:

International Tracing Service, Sajmište, Displaced Persons, Tracing and Documentation files, Historical education, Archival pedagogy, Anhaltelager Semlin

In August 1945 Brandeis Lav, the longstanding President of the Jewish community in Zemun, made the following statement in front of the “Enquête Commission for Ascertaining the Crimes in Camp ‘Sajmište’ in Zemun”:

“Witnesses, at least Jewish ones, to what took place in Camp ‘Sajmište’ do not exist. Everything that was in Camp Sajmište is gone. – All we saw was that one day, in the middle of that terrible winter of 1941/42, Jews – women and children – were put in the wooden barracks of the fairgrounds (Sajmište) [...]. There, these women and children were subjected not only to the piercing cold, but also to systematic starvation; moreover, every single day, in storms and bad weather, at 30° below zero, they had to carry wooden clubs (logs) from

one end of the frozen Save river to the other [...] The situation started becoming increasingly desperate, illness was rampant, more and more people were dying, and taking food into the camp was strictly forbidden. [...] One morning they were all gone, and since then there have been no traces of them. – All that is known is that they left, together with very old and sick people from the Jewish hospital in Beograd. All of them in big, sealed-up trucks. – It is said that these trucks were used for ‘gassing’, i.e. were equipped with poisonous gas.”¹

A German-language version of this early testimony on the genocide of the Jews from Serbia, given just a few months after the end of National Socialism, was passed on to the archive of the International Tracing Service (ITS) in Bad Arolsen in Germany. After the liberation from the Nazi regime, the documents of the ITS were collected together to help in the task of reuniting families, as well as to clarify and document the fates of the victims of persecution. The collections comprise over 30 million documents on the Holocaust, persecution in National Socialism and its aftermaths. These include registries, lists and other person-related documents from the concentration camps and other Nazi prison sites and offices, as well as documents on forced labor. The collections from the time period after the liberation contain – in addition to material on former places of persecution, as in the statement from Brandeis Lav – documents and registries of the Allied aid organizations *United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration* (UNRRA) and the *International Refugee Organization* (IRO) from the early post-war period, including registrations of Displaced Persons (DPs) and applications for support, also children’s files and emigration lists as well as lists of the names of survivors and murdered victims. Also to be found in the post-war holdings are the correspondence files of the ITS itself, in which the tracing requests from family members as well as requests for documentation of persecution sent by survivors, family members, and authorities are recorded. As of 2007 the collections are accessible for research and historical education; a majority of the documents have been digitized and can be accessed at the ITS work stations in Germany as well by copyholders at various institutes in their respective countries. In keeping with the original function the documents had for the ITS, many of these papers refer to specific individuals, i.e. former victims of persecution, and can be searched quite easily using the person’s name. However, as exemplified in the statement from Brandeis Lav, the collections also include subject-related documents on the Holocaust, on persecution in the Nazi Regime, on forced labor and on the situation of Displaced Persons. Thus, place-related searches on sites of persecution as well as on persecutees from specific areas are possible, something which is significant not only for (local) historical research, but also opens up possibilities for historical education.

¹ Translation of: Protokoll der Enquetten-Kommission zur Feststellung der Verbrechen im Lager „Sajmište“ in Zemun am 28. August 1945, 1.2.7.23 / 82204858 / ITS Digital Archive, Bad Arolsen. (Protocol of the Enquête Commission for Ascertaining the Crimes in Camp “Sajmište” in Zemun on 28 August 1945). In fact, in spring 1942 the SS killed thousands of Jews, who were incarcerated in Sajmište in a gas van, which was brought from Germany (see XXX paper in this publication).

T- 488 168.

() Stichtagsbescheinigung (X) Auskunft u. Auswanderung
() Auszug v. Krankenpapieren (X) Sterbeurkunde
() Fotokopie
() Identifizierungsbescheinigung ()

Name: .. Musafia, frueher Milinovic... Maedchenname: .. Deutsch.....
Vorname: .. Gordana..... Religion: .. juedisch.....
Evtl. im KZ zur Tarnung verw. Namen:.....
Geburtsdatum: 2.1.1922..... Geburtsort: ... Sappok, Russland....
Familienstand: led. verh. verw. gesch. Beruf: .. Sekratarin.....
Name des Vaters: .. Alexander. Deutsch.. Name d. Mutter: .. Alexandra. Geb.. Vasilie
Staatsangehoerigkeit: Jugoslawisch. dan. / USA.....
frueher Statelos heute
Ehegatte - Name (Maedchenname) Vorname u. Adresse: .. Sal. J.. Musafia...
.. 150. East. 93. Street., New York., N.Y., USA.....
Ort u. Datum der Eheschliessung: ... 11.7.1952 in. Fort. Lee., New Jersey., USA
Letzter Wohnort vor Einlieferung i.d. Konzentrationslager: Belgrad..
.. Jugoslawien.....
Angaben ueber verschiedene Aufenthalte in Konzentrationslagern:
Gef. Belgrad Okt. 1941 bis Feb. 1942
KZ Sajmiste (Jugoslawien) Feb. 1942 bis Feb. 1942
Gef. Metlika (Jugoslawien) Maerz 1942-Juli 1942
KZ Ferramonti (Italien) Juli 1942, bis Sept. 1943

Nur fuer zwangsverschleppte Personen ausfuellen:
DP-Nummer: Aufenthalte in DP-Lagern:

E: 21. APR 1959	
Int.	Todeserkl.
	Sterbeurk.
	Suchantr.
	Fotokopie
	ok.-Auszug

Eingewandert in USA mit Schiff.... Henry Gibbins.... am: ... Jan.. 1946.....

Anschrift der zustaeendigen
Wiedergutmachungsbehoerde **77. 421**
.....
Bezirksamt
für Wiedergutmachung
Trier
.....
Dem I.T.S. Arolsen in zweifacher
Ausfertigung kurzer Hand uebermit-
telt, mit der Bitte Abschrift an
mich zu senden:
ADOLF HAMBURGER, Attorney at Law
745 Fifth Avenue, New York 22, NY
USA

Image 1 (Abb. 1): Information about emigration, Trier district office for reparations, concerning Gordana Musafia, who, being Jewish, was imprisoned in February 1942 in Sajmište (Auskunft ü. Auswanderung, Bezirksamt für Wiedergutmachung Trier, TD-file 488168, Gordana Musafia, 6.3.3.2 / 100554570 / ITS Digital Archive). From there she was deported via Metlika to Camp Ferramonti in Italy, where she was liberated in September 1943 shortly after Mussolini had been overthrown. In 1946 she emigrated to the USA. Musafia is one of the few Jews who survived Sajmište.

A search in the ITS Digital Archive on Sajmište results in references to over 1,000 people who were incarcerated there during the various phases of the camp, in particular references to the murdered Jews and political “protective custody prisoners”, who, in the time following the murder of the Jewish prisoners in the summer of 1942 when Sajmište was run as “Concentration Camp Semlin”, were deported from there to other camps. These documents are primarily correspondence files with inquiries sent to the ITS where they were then processed. Incarceration in Sajmište can often only be presumed from indications in the request made for pertinent information. Insofar as information about the person in question was found at the ITS, these files also contain “Certificates of Incarceration”, which were sent to survivors or their families as documented proof of the internment. In one case a correspondence file contains a completed “questionnaire about medical experiments conducted on prisoners”, in which a survivor of Sajmište describes the camp as a place where medical experiments were carried out on the inmates.² Of the documents available from the Nazi period, only a few concern the former prisoners inquired about. These papers include registration documents from concentration camps Buchenwald, Mauthausen and Flossenbürg, where the prisoners in question were transferred to from Sajmište. For a large number of the former prisoners, however, there are no sources available; this is primarily the case for the Jews murdered in Sajmište. Original documentation from this camp is not archived at the ITS.

The documents archived in Bad Arolsen form the foundation for the historical educational work of the ITS.³ In the following I will present as an example the persecution story of a Sajmište prisoner and briefly discuss the pedagogical work with the documents.

Svetislav Jovanović was born on March, 3rd, 1908 in Boljevc, now a part of Belgrade and located only a few kilometers south of Sajmište on the river Sava. On June, 3rd, 1943 by order of the Sipo (German security police which comprised the Gestapo) Belgrade, he was taken via Camp Banjica to Sajmište, where he was presumably interned for approx. three months. On September, 6th, 1943 the SS deported him to Auschwitz-Birkenau where he was forced to work on the railway lines and in road construction. In the course of the Wehrmacht being pushed back by the Red Army, Jovanović was transferred on October, 1st, 1944 from Birkenau to Buchenwald, where he was assigned to satellite camp Plömnitz in Naumburg/Saale; in April 1945 he was liberated.

In the ITS archive, information about Jovanović is found in so-called individual documents in the collection of the Concentration Camp Buchenwald, which include prisoner registration cards from Birkenau and Buchenwald. These cards provide not only personal details, but also the mentioned information about the work deployment. The reason for Jovanović being sent to the concentration camp is given as “politi[ischer] Kroate” (political: Croatian), as he was a resident of the territory

² Fragebogen über durchgeführte medizinische Versuche an Häftlingen, TD-file 956440, Cokic Radivoje, 6.3.3.2 / 109053290 / ITS Digital Archive, Bad Arolsen (Questionnaire on medical experiments conducted on prisoners).

³ See Akim Jah, Elisabeth Schwabauer and Margit Vogt, „NS-Verfolgung und das Leben nach dem Überleben. Pädagogische Zugänge zum Weltdokumentenerbe am Beispiel des neuen ITS-Workshopkonzeptes“, in *Freilegungen. Wege, Orte und Räume der NS-Verfolgung* (Yearbook of the International Tracing Service, # 5) ed. Henning Borggräfe (Göttingen: Wallstein, 235-247).

1288
KL: Birkenau

Kroat
Häft.-Nr.: 90848

Häftlings-Personal-Karte

Fam.-Name: Jovanovic Überstellt am: 29.4.40 an KL. Buchenwald

Vorname: Svetislav am: _____ an KL. _____

Geb. am: 15.2.08 in Beljevac am: _____ an KL. _____

Stand: vh. Kinder: 4 am: _____ an KL. _____

Wohnort: Beljevac, K. Zemun. am: _____ an KL. _____

Strasse: Adolf Hitlerstr. 6746 am: _____ an KL. _____

Religion: orth. Staatsang.: Kroatien am: _____ an KL. _____

Wohnort d. Angehörigen: W.9. Ehefr. am: _____ an KL. _____

Milica J. Beljevac am: _____ an KL. _____

Eingewiesen am: 6.9.43. am: _____ an KL. _____

durch: Sipo Belgrad am: _____ an KL. _____

in KL.: Birk. am: _____ an KL. _____

Grund: Pol. Kroat. Entlassung: _____

Vorstrafen: _____ am: _____ durch KL.: _____

mit Verfügung v.: _____

Personen-Beschreibung:

Größe: 170 cm

Gestalt: stark

Gesicht: ov.

Augen: br.

Nase: gradl.

Mund: norm.

Ohren: anl.

Zähne: voll.

Haare: schw.

Sprache: dtisch.kroat.

Bes. Kennzeichen: _____

Charakt.-Eigenschaften: _____

Sicherheit b. Einsatz: _____

Strafen im Lager:

Grund:	Art:	Bemerkung:

KL/5/4. 43-500000

Folien Nr. 306

Image 2 (Abb.2): Prisoner registration card on Svetislav Jovanović from Auschwitz-Birkenau (1.1.5.3 / 6201936 / ITS Digital Archive). The imprisonment in Sajmište is not mentioned in the document. The card belongs to the collection of Concentration Camp Buchenwald, where Jowanowic was deported to from Birkenau.

occupied and annexed by Independent State of Croatia, and the cards are marked with the corresponding red triangle. The information on the prisoner registration cards was not provided by the prisoners themselves, but results from entries and classification systems defined by the SS. This applies in particular to “personal description”, in which information not only about size and weight was noted, but, in a patronizing and humiliating manner, about the shape of the face, the eyes, and the nose, too.⁴

There is also a correspondence file concerning Jovanović with an inquiry of the Yugoslavian Red Cross from 1964 as well as the corresponding “certificate of incarceration”, issued by the ITS, documenting and certifying Jovanović ‘s suffering.⁵

The documents from the concentration camps are suitable in many ways for use in historical education and/or history lessons: As a basis for discussion about the registry of the perpetrators and how they viewed the victims as well as the system of the concentration camps, about the “grounds for arrest” and the different prisoner categories, and about the Nazi race ideology, the eliminatory anti-Semitism and resistance towards Nazi Germany. After all, these documents form a foundation for learning more about those persecuted, for example in the form of an additional biographical search carried out in other archives.

⁴ Prisoner registration card Svetislav Jovanovic, 1.1.5.3 / 6201935-6201936 / ITS Bad Arolsen.

⁵ Certificate of Incarceration, TD-file 732244, Swetislav Jowanowic, 6.3.3.2 / 105158217 / ITS Bad Arolsen.

The provenance, form and purpose of the correspondence files, as well as the documents of the Allies on Displaced Persons, differ markedly from the collections of the concentration camps. These files and documents were created to support the survivors and/or the family members of those murdered and to draw attention not only to how Nazi-history was dealt with after the liberation, but also to “life after survival”. Thus, the inquiry from the Trier district office for reparations printed above (image 1) shows that the former Jewish Sajmište-prisoner Gordana Musafia emigrated to the USA after her liberation and assumed US-American citizenship there. For educational work these documents provide a rare opportunity for a source-based analysis of the post-war history and the repercussions of Nazi crimes.

Contrasting both types of documents by working pedagogically with the prisoner registration cards and documents from the post-war period can be especially instructive. By comparing the various documents on one person, attributes become clear and specific details can be critically scrutinized and/or discussed regarding the source: sometimes the information recorded about age and occupation differs – for example when prisoners gave a different age in order to increase their chances of survival in the concentration camp. The self-definition of former victims of persecution as well as how they were treated by the Allies can be recognized as diverging from the attributes listed in the documentation of the perpetrators, which opens up further educational opportunities.

This archival-pedagogical approach, which the ITS practices in its workshops and provides to interested educators as printed handouts, is all about research-based learning, in which the participants and/or the pupils, using copies of original documents, deal with a specific place or an aspect of Nazi persecution. Such cases can be approached biographically, i.e. using documents on a specific person or group of persons. Oftentimes it suffices to have simply one or two documents that, at first glance, may seem to contain very little information. Nevertheless, this approach has its limitations when one addresses the biographies of the Jews murdered in the extermination centers, for whom there is very little, if any, documentation from the Nazi period. Thus, working with documents from the post-war period which provide information not only about how the Holocaust was addressed but also about the murdered victims themselves seems all the more important, and could be a starting point for further pedagogical research questions. The cards found in the Belgrade City Archive of the Jews murdered in Sajmište most definitely offer this potential.



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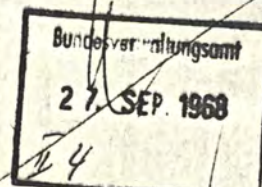
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Mor.

Téléphone: Arolsen 434 - Télégrammes: ITS Arolsen

Arolsen, den 24. September 1968

An das
Bundesverwaltungsamt5 KÖLN - 1
PostfachUnser Zeichen
(bitte angeben)
T/D - 966 890 - 193 251Ihr Zeichen
II 4 - 34 407Ihr Schreiben vom
13. August 1968Betrifft: Entschädigung von Nationalgeschädigten;
VASIC, Miodrag, geboren am 7.12.1901
Zeuge OBRADOVIC, Stanko

Sehr geehrte Herren!

In Erledigung Ihres Schreibens vom 13. August 1968 teilen wir Ihnen mit, daß in unseren Unterlagen über die Inhaftierung des Zeugen OBRADOVIC, Stanko keine Angaben enthalten sind. Dieses ist darauf zurückzuführen, daß uns keine Namenlisten vom Konzentrationslager Sajmiste bei Belgrad zur Verfügung stehen.

Zu Ihrer Information geben wir Ihnen über Sajmiste noch folgendes bekannt:

Auf dem Platz des Messegeländes von Belgrad in Zemun (deutsche Bezeichnung Semlin) - 1942 Königreich Kroatien-Slowenien-Dalmatien, 1962 opstina: Zemun (Beograd), Srez: Beograd, N.R. Srbija (UZA) - war ab September 1941 ein Ghetto. Im Dezember 1941 wurde das Ghetto umgewandelt in das Lager "Sajmiste" (Gestapo-Lager, Anhaltelager, Gefangenenlager des SD, "DULAG F 172" und "Kommunisten-Lager"), das dem Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei Belgrad unterstand. Die Bewachung erfolgte durch Feldgendarmarie. Das Lager wurde im Oktober 1944 geschlossen.

Wir hoffen, Ihnen mit unseren Ausführungen gedient zu haben.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung

Im Auftrage:

G. Pechar

Image 3 (Abb. 3): Letter ITS to Bundesverwaltungsamt (Federal Administration Office), 24.8.1968 (TD-file 193251, Miodrag Vasic, 6.3.3.2 / 87748686) with a characterization of camp Sajmiste

Jom HaShoah commemoration in the Hollandsche Schouwburg, Amsterdam, 8 April 2013. Photo: Dirk P. H. Spits / DPHOTO



It's All About Inclusion: The Work Of The National Committee For 4 And 5 May

Niels Weitkamp, National Committee for 4 and 5 May

Summary:

The 4th and the 5th of May in the Netherlands are the two national days on which the Dutch remember their war dead and celebrate their freedom. Both days are related to the history of the Second World War. The National Committee for 4 and 5 May gives form and content to commemorative and celebratory activities, and organizes the national events marking these days.

Key words:

Commemoration, Holocaust, Remembrance Day, commemorative tradition, Netherlands

The 4th and the 5th of May in the Netherlands are the two national days on which the Dutch remember their war dead and celebrate their freedom. Both days are related to the history of the Second World War. The National Committee for 4 and 5 May gives form and content to commemorative and celebratory activities, and organizes the national events marking these days. One of the tasks of the Committee is the inclusion of different histories, perspectives, and memories of Dutch victims and veterans. The history of these two national days in the Netherlands and the work of the committee were discussed at a conference in Niš Serbia in June 2016 within the context of the project *Escalating into Holocaust*. The project's aim was furthering the discussion on Serbian national days of remembrance of war and Holocaust, as well as the inclusion of different victim groups from the Second World War and the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia of the 1990s. This article is based on the presentation I gave at that conference.

Living History

The Second World War is an important reference point in the collective memory of the Dutch when speaking about war and freedom. This war is remembered with more than 3,700 war memorials, over eighty war museums, thousands of Dutch war graves in the Netherlands and beyond - in Europe and Asia - where the Dutch died in that conflict. Educational programs within

and outside of schools, literature and countless publications, films, documentaries, and websites also contribute to the memorialization of this chapter of history. The war is also kept “alive” in the Netherlands by hundreds of organizations, of which the most prominent work together in the government funded (Dutch) Platform WOII.¹ Furthermore, the war is remembered through more than twenty-five different commemoration days, when victim groups come together within their own circles at their own war memorials. This mosaic of memories and commemorations comes together on 4 May in a singular national Remembrance Day, on which millions of people observe two minutes of silence. They do this in their own city or village at local war memorials or graves, or by watching the television broadcast of the National Commemoration on Dam Square in Amsterdam, attended by the king and queen.

On 5 May the Netherlands celebrate their liberation and freedom. On this national holiday over a million Dutch celebrate by visiting one of the fourteen Liberation Festivals, that offer a mix of pop music and activities such as lectures, discussions, and speed dates with veterans. Next to these large festivals, local committees and societies organize smaller activities. The day concludes with a classical concert on the banks and water of the Amstel River in Amsterdam. The concert is broadcast live and viewed by more than a million Dutch. All the work of institutions in the fields of commemoration, celebration, education, research, and museology illustrates just how much the Second World War and its impact are truly living history.

The Emergence of a Tradition

The Netherlands was able to maintain its neutrality during the First World War and hoped to sustain that same policy until German forces invaded the country in May 1940. The war in the Kingdom of the Netherlands – which then still included the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia), Surinam, and the Dutch Antilles – lasted five years and ended on 15 August 1945.² The Kingdom was left in disarray, with many of its inhabitants murdered, displaced, or starving. The Jews were most affected by the war; about 102,000-104,000 Jews, three-quarters of the Jewish population living in the Netherlands before the war, were murdered.³

In this country – lacking a commemorative tradition due its neutrality during the First World War and without a national independence day – a remembrance culture developed which was deeply influenced by former resistance fighters. The day on which the German occupying forces surrendered, 5 May, was hailed as Liberation Day. However, the former resistance found it inappropriate to celebrate the liberation without first commemorating the country’s war dead and

¹ The name Platform WOII can be literally translated to English as Platform WWII. More information on the Platform can be found here: <http://www.tweedewereldoorlog.nl/over-deze-portal/>, accessed March 2017.

² The European part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands was liberated on the 5 May 1945 when the German occupying forces surrendered. The Second World War in the Dutch East Indies, and thereby the entire Kingdom, ended on 15 August when Japan capitulated.

³ Renske Krimp, *De doden tellen. Slachtofferaantallen van de Tweede Wereldoorlog en sindsdien* (Nationaal Comité 4 en 5 mei 2016), 62-67.



One of the first commemorations in the Netherlands in 1945.
Jaffa cemetery, Delft, 10 May 1945.
Photo: BeeldbankWO2 – NIOD – Filmdienst BS Delft.



The Monument of Jewish Gratitude in Amsterdam. Photo: NIOD / B. van Bohemen.

their own comrades.⁴ This is the reason the Netherlands commemorates its war dead on the eve of 4 May, and celebrates liberation and freedom on 5 May.⁵ Although the Netherlands has continuously observed these two dates since the end of the war, the meaning of both days has changed over time.

Broadening the Horizon

In the first years after the Second World War, the 4 May commemoration focused mainly on resistance fighters and military casualties. Nationalism was pervasive, and 4 May was meant to depict the unity of the nation, as well as the resurrection of the country after the devastation of the war.⁶ The following day, 5 May, was mostly devoted to the celebration of the Liberation of 1945.

Jewish victims were largely ignored in those first years. It is therefore not surprising that one of the first Holocaust monuments in the Netherlands was not only erected as a memorial for victims, but ironically as an expression of gratitude for the safe haven the Dutch provided Jews during the war.⁷ That fact that many of the Dutch did not offer any shelter at all – out of fear or possibly because of other motives – or sometime also actively helped the occupying forces to round up Jews, was ignored or forgotten.⁸ This is also interesting given the fact that compared to other Western European countries, a very high percentage of the pre-war Jewish population living in the Netherlands was murdered.⁹

In the early 1960s the line of thinking began to change. The Eichmann trial, the publication of a number of books on the Holocaust, the opening of the Anne Frank House as a museum in 1961, and the broadcasting of the miniseries *The Holocaust* in the late 1970s all helped to open the eyes

⁴ Jolanda Keesom, *Breekbare Dagen. 4 en 5 mei door de jaren heen* (Nationaal Comité 4 en 5 mei/ CPNB 2012), 24.

⁵ 5 May is a national holiday on which we celebrate the liberation of 1945 and the freedom we have experienced since. Remembrance Day on 4 May, with the commemorations taking place at 8 pm, has no “formal” status like 5 May. We commemorate on the eve of 4 May because we celebrate on the following day.

⁶ Frank van Vree, ‘De dynamiek van de herinnering. Nederland in een internationale context’ in Frank van Vree and Rob van der Laarse ed. *De dynamiek van de herinnering. Nederland en de Tweede Wereldoorlog in een internationale context* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker 2009), 22-23.

⁷ Frank van Vree, *In de schaduw van Auschwitz. Herinneringen, beelden, geschiedenis* (Groningen: Historische Uitgeverij 1995), 92-93.

⁸ Frank van Vree, ‘De dynamiek van de herinnering. Nederland in een internationale context’ in Frank van Vree and Rob van der Laarse ed. *De dynamiek van de herinnering. Nederland en de Tweede Wereldoorlog in een internationale context* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker 2009), 39-40.

⁹ Wichert ten Have and Maria van Haperen, “The Holocaust, 1933-1941-1945” in: Barbara Boeder and Wichert ten Have (ed.), *The Holocaust and Other Genocides* (Amsterdam: University Press 2012), 28; and Bart van den Boom, Lecture ‘Waarom werden zo veel Joden uit Nederland gedeporteerd?’ (Universiteit van Nederland 2014) <http://www.universiteitvannederland.nl/college/waarom-werden-er-zoveel-joden-uit-nederland-gedeporteerd/>, accessed March 2017.



of the Dutch to the wartime suffering of the Netherlands' largest victim group.¹⁰ From that moment more and more Holocaust memorials were inaugurated. The 1962 inauguration of Amsterdam's former deportation center, the Hollandsche Schouwburg (Dutch Theatre), as a place of remembrance is just one example.¹¹ However, this did not mean that the former transit camps in Westerbork and Vught were also transformed into sites of remembrance in the 1960s. Westerbork and Vught were finally turned into memorial centers in the early 1980s¹² and the beginning of the 1990s respectively,¹³ partially due to the fact that the struggle against neo-fascism became a highly debated topic in the 1980s. Both these memorial centers play a vital role in keeping the memory of Holocaust victims alive. Nowadays the Holocaust is firmly rooted in the Dutch culture of remembrance.

The "emancipation" of Holocaust victims ended the tradition of solely commemorating heroes on 4 May. Other victim groups also came forward to tell their stories and share their memories, such as the victims of the war in the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia), a colony that was part of the Netherlands for more than three hundred years. They publicly shared their memories about the war, in and outside the Japanese camps or working on the Burma or Pakan Baroe Railways as slave laborers. Another victims' group that has gained attention in the last decade or so are the

¹⁰ Frank van Vree, *In de schaduw van Auschwitz. Herinneringen, beelden, geschiedenis* (Groningen: Historische Uitgeverij 1995), 98-103 en 121.

¹¹ <http://jck.nl/nl/longread/de-hollandsche-schouwburg-als-plaats-van-herinnering>, accessed March 2017.

¹² <http://www.kampwesterbork.nl/en/museum/herinneringscentrum/camp-westerbork-museum/index.html#/index>, accessed March 2017.

¹³ <http://www.nmkampvught.nl/historische-informatie/>, accessed March 2017.

Roma and Sinti. The history of the Roma and Sinti genocide is still not very well known, but increasingly receives more attention, and their stories are now more widely told.

What is Commemorated

Every 4 May, all these different stories and memories come together at the Remembrance Day ceremony that takes place at 8 pm. Remembrance Day is observed in Amsterdam on Dam Square, and throughout the Netherlands, where people gather in their local communities to commemorate at the exact same moment. The 4 May Memorandum for Remembrance Day articulates the content of the commemoration:

During the national commemoration of Remembrance Day we remember all Dutch victims – civilians and soldiers – who have been killed or murdered in the Kingdom of the Netherlands or anywhere else in the world in war situations or during peace-keeping operations since the outbreak of the Second World War.¹⁴

The text of this memorandum, the basis of which originates in the immediate post-war years, has been amended and influenced by discussions and new insights on the history of that era. An important change to the memorandum was made in 1961 when it was decided to “broaden” the meaning of 4 May beyond the Second World War and to include the military victims of later wars. This decision was made after the lobbying of veterans who also wanted to commemorate their comrades who had died in the war in Indonesia, the Korean War, and during peacekeeping missions.¹⁵

Current and Future Discussions

The decision to broaden the meaning of Remembrance Day by “adding” Dutch military victims to the memorandum is every now and then still a subject of debate. Some feel that commemorating all Dutch victims of the Second World War and later wars on the same day diminishes the significance of the Second World War and the Holocaust. According to them, Remembrance Day has therefore become a jumble of incomparable victims.¹⁶ However, the National Committee for 4 and 5 May feels it is important that the Dutch soldiers who died after the Second World War are

¹⁴ <http://www.4en5mei.nl/english/commemorating>, accessed March 2017.

¹⁵ Jolanda Keesom, *Breekbare Dagen. 4 en 5 mei door de jaren heen* (Nationaal Comité 4 en 5 mei/ CPNB 2012), 91-93.

¹⁶ Sociologist and author Jolanda Withuis is one of them. She feels that we commemorate too many different victim groups on the 4 May. She articulated her view in 2011 in the *Historisch Nieuwsblad* (<https://www.historischnieuwsblad.nl/nl/artikel/27422/jolande-withuis.html>), accessed March 2017.

also commemorated on 4 May. They died in the service of their country while striving for peace somewhere else in the world.¹⁷

Another debate about the memorandum involves the exact – literal – meaning of the text. The text is now formulated in rather general terms. This decision was made to include all victim groups: once the text is made too specific or explicit there is always the risk of excluding someone. However, this choice sometimes puts the committee in a difficult position, such as when the question was raised if collaborators and Germans who died in the Netherlands were also “included” in this memorandum. In that particular case the committee’s reaction was very clear: on 4 May we commemorate victims and not perpetrators.¹⁸

Other questions about the interpretation of this text are not that easily answered. In this light, the Dutch soldiers who died between 1945 and 1949 during the war in Indonesia are an interesting example. The Dutch government sent these, mostly young, men to the Dutch East Indies to restore order in the colony and after the Second World War. However, they ended up fighting a decolonization war in a country that was trying to liberate itself from Dutch colonial rule. There was excessive violence on both sides. With regard to the 4 May Remembrance Day, some ask whether we should be commemorating those Dutch soldiers. They died for their country while on a military mission, but also harmed others. This is a question to which there are no clear-cut and easy answers. The fact that discussions like these still arise is interpreted by the committee as proof of how important Remembrance Day on 4 May is to Dutch society. These ongoing discussions and debates mean that history itself is still very much alive.

The role of the Committee

The committee believes that there is space for everyone to commemorate on 4 May in their own right, however they want to, and it is important to facilitate this by offering a program and general framework and not by dictating the way people should remember. This also applies to the committee’s national educational programs for primary schools, communication campaigns, research projects, its activities on 5 May, and the consultancy work the organization offers.

The committee chooses to present different perspectives and stories to emphasize that commemorating on 4 May and celebrating on 5 May is an inclusive tradition in which all people – regardless of cultural heritage, descent or gender – are more than welcome to take part in. This concept of inclusiveness is one that the committee feels strongly about sharing.

¹⁷ <http://www.4en5mei.nl/herdenken-en-vieren/herdenken/veelgestelde-vragen-over-herdenken/wie-herdenken-we/wat-is-het-memorandum>, accessed March 2017.

¹⁸ <http://www.4en5mei.nl/herdenken-en-vieren/herdenken/veelgestelde-vragen-over-herdenken/wie-herdenken-we/wat-is-het-memorandum>, accessed March 2017.



Freedom Breakfast in Groningen, 5 May 2016. In front of the Martini Church in Groningen a Freedom Breakfast is served, as it also is in other cities. The Breakfast offers participants a moment to discuss and reflect upon freedom. Photo: Chris van Houts.



Prime Minister Mark Rutte lights the Freedom Fire at the Liberation Festival Groningen on the 5 May 2016. The celebration on 5 May starts with the 5 May-Lecture, which takes place in different province every year (in 2016 it was held in the province of Groningen). The Prime Minister always attends the lecture and then lights the Freedom Fire. Photo: Chris van Houts



On 15 August, the Netherlands commemorates the capitulation of Japan in 1945, marking the formal end of the Second World War. During the ceremony in The Hague, all victims of the Japanese oppression in South-East Asia during the Second World War are commemorated. Photo: Ilvy Njikiktjen.



The Ambassadors of Freedom, musicians who are there to spread the word of freedom, visit the fourteen Liberation Festivals every year. The band Mainstreet, one of the three Ambassadors of Freedom 2015, performs at the Liberation Festival Overijssel. Photo: Ruben van Vliet.



The celebration on 5 May concludes with the 5 May-Concert on the banks and water of the Amstel river in Amsterdam. Hadewych Minis was one of the artists performing in 2016. Photo: Ilvy Njikiktjen/Jasper Juinen



photo: www.froknowsphoto.com

The Trains Of Life And Death

Nevena Daković, University of Belgrade

Summary:

The aim of this paper is to analyze the repetitive images of Holocaust trains and their journeys across Central European landscapes that circulate in world cinema, as well as to map out their symbolic and metaphorical meanings. A particular focus is on the role of multiple motions and movements of trains, images, affects, memory through space and time and within the broad concept of modernity. The first part of the paper provides the three-pronged typology of the journey of Holocaust trains – an eschatological journey, Exodus, and the journey toward memories – while the second part is dedicated to the analysis of the paradigmatic film *Train of Life* (*Train de vie*, 1998, d. Radu Mihaileanu), which skillfully plays with the proposed typology.

Key words:

Holocaust, transports of death, Exodus, train of life, carnival

They keep me alive
Their sublime lunacy
Train of life

The images of the refugees that flooded Europe – and the world’s media and television screens – via Balkan routes in the last two years provoked the return of memories of the Second World War, both from personal experiences of older generations and from mediated transgenerational memory of the youth. Pictures of trainloads and busloads of exhausted, desperate people, and comments such as “they were transported” and “put into camps and shelters” triggered thoughts and remembrance of Holocaust transports. The associative redirecting of memories can be understood within Rothberg’s notion of multidirectional memory, defined as the domain of “productive, intercultural dynamic” encounters and the intercrossing “between different social groups’ histories of victimization” and their narratives of a traumatic past revived in the present by associations,

juxtapositions, and emotional and factual reconnections. The dynamic transfers that take place “between diverse times and places” bring “together...now and then, here and there,” performing the complex work “toward exclusion and exclusivity as much as toward solidarity” of an array of images of the transports of contemporary emigrants from the war zones of the Middle East (and beyond) and of Holocaust victims in Europe.

The absent image of the train carrying European Jewry to concentration camps palimpsestically radiates through the present image of the transports of the third millennium. “One train hides the other,” explains Thomas Elsaesser in an essay that expectedly speaks about invisible, absent memory scenes which emerge to help the construction of identity in the present. The memory pictures recalled in the minds of the TV audience are either the actual shots from documentary and fictionalized films of the Holocaust – of people tightly packed in trains carrying them to unknown destinations – or their variations and lookalikes. The aim of this paper is to analyze the repetitive images of these trains and their journeys across Central European landscapes that circulate in world cinema, as well as to map out their symbolical and metaphorical meanings. A particular focus will be the role of the multiple motions and movements of trains, images, affects, and memory through space and time and within the broad concept of modernity. The first part provides the three-pronged typology of the journey, while the second part is dedicated to the analysis of, for this topic, the paradigmatic film *Train of Life* (*Train de vie*, 1998, d. Radu Mihaileanu).

The Nazi regime organized Holocaust trains or, colloquially, trains of death, in order to assure the effortless and straightforward deportation of Jews from all over Europe to the concentration and death camps. The efficiency of the Final Solution depended on the capacity of the gas chambers and crematoriums – as the key elements of the system of mass execution – as much as on the adequate planning and running of the transports. Zbigniew Bauman claims that the developed cruel system “far more effectively administered than ever before... expands the universe of consciousness no less than landing on the moon,” making the Holocaust “a rare, yet significant and reliable, test of the hidden possibilities of modern society.” In the Third Reich, “the industrial potential and technological know-how boasted by our civilization has scaled new heights in coping successfully with a task of unprecedented magnitude.” The railroad networks used by Holocaust trains were also the coordinative system placed over the territory of Nazi-occupied Europe marking not only spatial, but also ethical and historical points of reference of the new state. Once the Nazis imposed this “grid” over the newly conquered “smooth” space (in Deleuze and Guattari’s words), it became the organized “striated” space of the new Reich. The land, shaped to accommodate the resurrected nation-state of Germans and the superior Aryan race, and imprinted with “railway” points of orientation, reveals that “the machinery of destruction was structurally no different than organized German society as a whole,” caught in the trends of modernity (industry, national identity, efficiency, and functionalism).

Cinematic narratives refer to the Holocaust transports in a variety of ways: through testimonies of witnesses and interviewees in Lanzmann’s documentary *Shoah* (1985), pictures of train stations and tracks as *lieux de mémoire* (*Le dernier des injustes*, 2013, d. Claude Lanzmann), and scenes of discussions about the Final Solution in the Nazi headquarters through reconstructive fiction in TV

series such as *Holocaust* (1978) or *The Winds of War/War and Remembrance* (1983/1988). However, more powerful than the realistic, documentary representations are symbolical and metaphorical images interlaced with movement and motion as emblems of modernity, as in the short film masterpiece, *With Raised Hands* (1985, d. Mitko Panov). Based on the famous photograph of a boy with his hands held over his head taken during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in the spring of 1943, the film builds up through narrative speculations about the boy's possible escape. The skillful blending „of documentary photo and fictional film,” or real historical events narratively elaborated as wishful thinking, introduces multiple movements – from still photography into moving image; of a little boy fleeing from the real and scopophilic confinement into freedom; of the wind and the boy's cap carried behind the wooden fence; of the trains on the tracks and film stock in the camera – that powerfully burst the multilayered stillness of the iconic photograph. The film begins with the preparation of “the scene”, reconstructing the probable and possible situation of its shooting as seen through the camera's lens. However, it ends with the fictionally construed, but not re-construed, getaway of the little boy (Jaroslaw Dunaj). He succeeds in sneaking away from the group of Jews surrounded by the SS and escapes by stepping outside of the restrained spot “closely watched” by the Germans, the camera, and the guns. While the film leaves open the question of what happened to the boy, the destiny of the other people who stayed “captured” in the photo is clearly suggested by three elements. Firstly, the cloud of smoke in the left corner of the shot overshadowing the scene alludes to the smoke from the chimneys of the crematoriums, indicating death in flames and corpses burned down to ashes and smoke. Secondly, the images of skewed parallel lines – following the shot of the boy – can be perceived as both the accelerated movement of film through the camera or as the walls of train carriages moving at great speed. Finally, the boom and the sound of the camera stand for the sound of the moving train and the rattling of the wheels. Overlapping meanings of death, life, escape, freedom, and captivity are strengthened by the diverse movements of the images, film stock, and people; of the memory of the past going into present day; and of the trains transporting people from the ghetto into the camps.

Roads to Death

The road to death is recognized as the comparative literature motive of the eschatological journey, or the visit to the underworld, that brings the painful revelation about human mortality. The railway tracks are contemporary eschatological paths treaded by millions of doomed voyagers – of whom very few survived to return to this world – that led to Nazi camps, which were their final destinations and destinies. The territories of Central and Eastern Europe – Poland, Austria, and Germany – where the Holocaust trains once passed are depressive wastelands even today, at the edge of Europe with its depleted and dying cities lost in the wild, vast steppes between Poland and Ukraine. It is the same world, defined decades later, as the Second World and “what is left are the First and Third Worlds.” Instead of erasing the Second World, “Bey argued, there is a chasm from which one jumps into the Third.” The vanished (or dead, to stay with the eschatological vocabulary) Second World in the 1940s was the same black hole into which the “inferior races” were disappearing. The checkpoints between the two worlds were in the railway carriages moving

along and across various borders. The wagons – as the narrative micro-worlds – were the place of uncanny encounters of life and death. In the horrible incarceration of the trains on the road to nowhere, children were born and old people were dying; the energies of Thanatos and Eros melted into each other; some were making love while others were fighting and killing (*Schindler's List*, 1995, d. Steven Spielberg; *Bent*, 1997, d. Sean Matthias; *The Winds of War*; *Sterne*, 1959, d. Konrad Wolf). At the end of the series *War and Remembrance*, rescuers discover Nathalie (Jane Seymour) lying on the frozen tracks underneath the railway carriage, the only survivor of the camps. Those who stayed in the carriage, abandoned by the Nazis while being moved to other concentration camps during the retreat from the oncoming Allied Armies, died of hunger, cold, and exhaustion.

The Exodus to Nowhere

So, all of a sudden, she found herself at the station; and she saw the long train composition with sealed carriages and the small barred windows, behind which were peering out ghastly faces; and she recognized the Babylonian cry, that she had personally experienced when being transported in the same carriages; the cry becoming a dark, dry whisper: the word water pronounced in all European languages as if being the embodiment of living...

In the Biblical and historical associative context, forced deportation takes on the meaning of the Exodus of the 20th century echoing the exile from Egypt or the Babylonian captivity. The nomadic life in search of the Promised Land, “punctuated” by various exoduses, shapes the life of the Jews, from the distant past to the present day, as a constant endurance of hardships, troubles, and suffering. While the exodus used to be a promise of salvation and a paradise lost and found, in the second millennium it transformed into a prelude to death. Thus, the mythical figure of *le Juif errante* – embodied in the eponymous 1844 novel of Eugene Sue, found as the motive in gothic novels and medieval legends, immortalized in the illustrations by Gustave Dore, and part of the hypotext of Umberto Eco’s novel *The Prague Cemetery* (*Il cimitero di Praga*, 2010) – and his doomed life of wandering until the encounter with death as a bizarre salvation and atonement, becomes the synecdoche for the destiny of Jews in the time of the Holocaust. The wandering of the “chosen” people is sublimated in the journey from the exile of ghettos and shtetls via train to concentration camps and gas chambers. The existential meaning of life resides in the act of travelling, in the search for something that-must-not-be-named but is like death – in the myth, Sue’s novel, and existentialist thinking – gives final meaning and value to life.

The Nazis perfidiously presented the journey as the routine resettlement to the Wild European East for a chance at a new beginning. The trains departed from improvised platforms surrounded by barbed wire only to arrive at similar, well-guarded platforms in the concentration camps (*The Pianist*, 2002, d. Roman Polanski; *Schindler's List*: *Sterne*; *La vita e bella*, 1997, d. Roberto Benigni). Both symbolical points of beginning and end, life and death, turn the road into a Möbius strip. The story of Henryk Gawkowski, a Polish engineer who drove trains on the narrow

rail to the Treblinka concentration camp, best encapsulates the closed shape and eerie overlapping of the symbolic Moebius strip's poles. Gawkowski explains that the trains also special, expensive wagons occupied by rich Jews who believed that they were going to a new life in style and comfort. The poster for Lanzmann's nine-hour documentary features a still from the reenacted scene showing Gawkowski dressed as an engineer, leaning out of the locomotive while smiling and running a finger across his throat. Children and adults – mostly Polish peasants – who stood waving along the tracks also made this ominous sign, foretelling impending doom as soon as they were out of sight of the passengers in the train. The supreme irony of the double gesture (both a smile and decapitation) was directed toward the line of carriages occupied by the Jews. The imagined deportees in the cinematic present are able to see both gestures articulating the confrontation of their wished and real destiny waiting at the end of the journey.

Branko Ivanda's film *Lea and Darja* (*Lea i Darja*, 2011), a biopic of the child-star Lea Deutsch (nicknamed the Croatian Shirley Temple) who performed in the Croatian National Theater in Zagreb in the 1940s, elegantly shows the heterotopia of the train. It is the space of utopia/dystopia where the characters live/die to the fulfilment of their dreams. The walls of the carriage fall apart, turning its floor into the provisional theater stage while Lea (Klara Naka) dances the role of her life. The members of her family applaud and reach to the sun with their outstretched arms as the dismantled carriage stands on the tracks suspended between two worlds in the enduring moment of death.

In the film *Schindler's List*, Oscar Schindler (Liam Neeson) pretends to make a cruel joke with the Jews held in the freight wagons in the blazing sun. Hosing down and “watering” the Holocaust train he gives the suffering people drinking water and relief while performing a symbolical gesture of his own redemption and repentance. In the film *Good Evening Mr. Wallenberg* (1990, d. Kjelle Grede), Raoul Wallenberg (Stellan Skarsgård), the Swedish diplomat and special envoy in Budapest in the second half of 1944, decides to dedicate his life to saving the victims of the Holocaust, when he sees, looking out of the window of his train, a transport of death.

The final answer to the questions “where are they going?” and “what is the final destination of the journey” is depicted cinematically by repetitive scenes of arriving at camp platforms and the “unloading” of transports. The sorting of luggage, triage, and the examination of the exhausted passengers are set against the sinister outlines of the gate and the chimneys (still standing to this day) of the barracks of the Birkenau complex pointing toward the dark sky. In the film *Sophie's Choice* (1982, d. Alan Pakula), Sophie (Meryl Streep) – surrounded by barking dogs, bestial and brutal Nazis, and the cries of people in the thick darkness – has to decide between two children to save. In the eleventh episode the TV series *War and Remembrance*, Nathalie emerges from the train out on the platform, takes off her scarf, and looks up in the sky, ironically spangled with stars. In front of the vision of the beautiful woman with eyes filled with tears, the “Universe and God hold their breath.”

Trains and Memories

*Seules vous savez l'immensité de ma peine
Au delà des mots et des sanglots
Au delà même de la mémoire!*

The narrative of the Romanian-French coproduction *Train of Life* is defined by a number of binaries: real and fantasy worlds, tragedy and comedy, death and life, normality and insanity, traditional order and the debauchery of the carnival, lost and found paradise, Bettelheim's pessimism of the myth and optimism of the fairy tale. Along with films like *La Vita e bella* and *Jakob, the Liar* (1999, Peter Kassovitz), it belongs to the oxymoronically defined subgenre of Holocaust-comedy – reaching back to films such as *To Be or Not to Be* (1942, d. Ernst Lubitsch; 1983, d. Alan Johnson) or *The Great Dictator* (1940, d. Charlie Chaplin). In this case it is also an “umbrella term” for the hybridized formulas of *danse macabre*, fairy tale, and *road movie* densely interlaced with the elements of Jewish literature, folk tales, humor, rituals, and theater.

The story of the *Train of Life* begins in 1941, in a faraway isolated shtetl where the villagers make a plan to save themselves from the pogroms by organizing own “deportation”. They look for a train to take them to the safety of Palestine via the Soviet Union and prepare to take on the roles of guards, SS officers, and simple deportees in this play for life. With a lot of enthusiasm and talent, the travelling histrionics laminate the comic dialogues, music numbers, prayers, quarrels, and love poems. The segments recognized as the heritage of Jewish theater, stage spectacle, musicals and, above all, of the tradition of *Purim shpil* – saturated with auto-irony, parody, and improvisation – are united by benevolent laughing *with*, and not malicious laughing *at*. The dazzling mixture persuasively argues Huizinga's duality culture-play:

It is through this playing that society expresses its interpretation of life and the world. By this we do not mean that play turns into culture, rather than in its earliest phases culture has the play-character; that it proceeds in the shape and the mood of play. In the twin union of play and culture, play is primary. It is an objectively recognizable, a concretely definable thing, whereas culture is only the term which our historical judgement attaches to a particular instance.

Accordingly, the overall ludic experience of this play for life – with its expected and recognizable allusive specter opened toward myths, stories of the Chelm shtetl, Chagall's paintings and his theatrical toiles from Witsbek, or the Broadway musical turned into the film *Fiddler on the Roof* (1971, d. Norman Jewison) as its strongest reference – comes to stand for all of the representations of Jewish culture and Jewishness in the era of the Holocaust and afterwards. The segments taken from the registers of medieval, folk, and popular culture, united in the image of the carnival, allow the film text to be read as the materialization of Bakhtin's theory of carnival and carnivalesque, and in difference towards Brenner's excellent interpretation after the notions of parody and performance.

During the train's journey as a carnival procession (or moveable feast), participants under the masks of their assumed new identities make the theatrical, ritual, emotional, and sensual performance of "the other life," and indulge in the fantasy "of self-deliverance accomplished through the ultimate pseudo-assimilation of Jews posing as Nazis." The idyllic world of the shtetl is remade into an over-spectacularized chaotic carnival, becoming the make-believe of the possible new life that "the rustic comic fairy tale" longs for. In this world, defined by "Hierarchies... overturned through inversions, debasements, and profanations," the rabbi and the Elders lose their positions of power (inversion), the German officers participate in the ritual for Sabbath while being observed by baffled Partisans, and Nazis help Jews (debasement) while the Roma group seal the breakdown of the kosher rules (profanation).

The culmination of the carnival-within-the carnival is the hilarious encounter of the passengers from the train and the trucks carrying a Roma group who organized the same deceitful deportation. The truth is revealed due to two fools who recognize each other while calling out each other's names. The celebration of the accidental reunion builds to one of the best scenes, equally uncanny and shocking, featuring ethno-songs and dances by the bonfire and amidst whirling sparks. The glow of the fire is the same prophecy as the cloud of smoke in the film *With Raised Hands*, allowing the narrative to be carried away into the realms of fantasy after the intuitive knowledge that the approaching end brings total freedom and the collapse of all rules, including those of the genre and narrative probability. After the wild night of multicultural celebration, sealing the newly created common identity of small and oppressed "others", the Jews and Roma continue the journey by the "ghost" train that eventually stops in "no man's land" between occupied Europe and the Soviet Union, imprisonment and freedom, death and life. Caught in between the lines of fire, the passengers climb and begin to dance on the roof, paraphrasing *The Fiddler on the Roof* and its miraculous transformation of all the griefs and troubles into music and dance accompanied by melancholic and affective laughter.

The recognizable ethno-pastiche music of Goran Bregović reinforces this multiculturalism. Besides the melodies of Jerry Bock's musical, Bregović mimics the rattling of the train wheels, and paraphrases his own score from Emir Kusturica's *Underground* (1995) as well as traditional klezmer melodies like *Pas d'Espagne*. Grotesque, persiflage war scenes – a Roma disguised as a German officer (Razvan Vasilescu), kosher feasts, a duel of the violins – sustain an otherwise pretty elusive claim that the film is also discretely inspired by Kusturica's Alan Ford-like caricatures and hyperbolic style.

The center of the world progressively derailed from the expected storyline is the Janus faced figure of Shlomo (Lionel Abelanski) made after traditional Jewish character of village fool / wise man of the shtetl found in the stories of Isaac Bashevis Singer (*Gimpel the Fool*, 1953) and Sholem Aleichem. He is the one who sees the destruction of the neighboring village; who runs to warn his villagers; who conceives the brilliant plan rescue plan that make him the royal figure of the carnival. Most importantly Shlomo is the one who tells the story in words and images as well as through music as the metaphorical ballade leader (conducatorolui). Haunted by multiple dualisms: idiot-savant, fool-wise man; lunacy-normality; frame-embedded narrator; helpless

victim- resourceful savior; bottom-top of the society; tragic visionary and eternal dreamer he foresees the darkness of the future while living in the dreamy paradise of the present. Following the narrative's symbolical Oedipal trajectory of growing up, he reaches emotional maturity by melancholically and wisely overcoming his desperate infatuation with Esther (Agathe de La Fontaine). In a "fantastic explanation of where each of the characters in the collective ended up" that thoroughly "undermines the narrative's plausibility" he gives her great future of idyllic marriage and beautiful children in America. Shlomo's social maturity is marked in the change of his status from the helpless fool into the demiurgic storyteller and memory keeper. His village continues to live only in his stories and noble fantasies that bestow him the aura of the gracious savior.

His "lunacy", as authentic normality caught between Foucault's poles of the madness and normality, becomes the precious standard of the world and time out of joint. Accordingly, from the moment of the departure of the train carrying away *les juives errantes*, the story world is displaced from the linear temporal regime of normality into the askew circular time and perpetum mobile of the myth.

The instability of the fictional world and genre is supported by Shlomo, a character who shifts between the positions of frame and embedded narrator. The frame narrator begins the narration with the "first images of the film, but whose actual act of narrating is not visualized" and who "possess a greater degree of believability, or what Lubomir Dolezel calls authentication authority – the ability to establish and verify the facts of the fictional world." On the other hand, an embedded narrator begins "narrating after the story has begun, and...is visualized in the act of narration," who can be perceived as an unreliable narrator who must "earn" the authentication of authority. In the opening shot the unknown face – whom we much later identify as Shlomo – begins the story with "Once upon a time." The very act of narrating is briefly but nevertheless clearly visualized, endangering the reliability of the obvious frame narrator. In the end the camera pulls back only to reveal the same face – heavily changed after time – behind a barbed wire and wearing a striped uniform. Shlomo's last words, "almost a true story anyway," and the continuing song are superimposed over his still image with tightly closed lips. In other words, he is not seen in the act of narration, which changes his status into the one of the embedded, reliable narrator. The freeze frame erases the act of narration and, furthermore, "perhaps suggests, through its photo-like resonance, an acceptance of the authenticity of the historicity of the Shoah." Thus, from this point, Shlomo's ability of the authentication of the narrative could be extended retroactively to all of the scenes without a visible narrator, from the introductory part in the shtetl to even the journey until the very end. When the train comes to an abrupt stop, the image of the entire train in the center of the battlefield is slowly replaced with the close-up of Shlomo, who speaks about what happened afterwards. Appearing again in the act of narration, he subverts the plausibility and credibility of this part of story, marking this moment as the definite shift into the fantasy. However, the regained invisibility in freeze frame authenticates the historically proved and plausible thesis that the occupants of the train could not have escaped the death camps in the end. The stipulated end makes the dilemma about the realistic or fantastic character of the story of their journey insignificant and

helps the film to fulfil the genre norms, i.e., the storyworld returns to order after the chaos and disturbance brought in by the carnival.

The powerful burst of the photo into the motion picture from Panov's film is, consequentially, reversed as the conversion of the film's movements into the tragic strength of the still photo. Juxtaposed with the stillness of the image and face are other movements – as the mark of the ever-present energy of modernity – of melody, words, narrative and journey of the train that continue as told in the verses of the lullaby melody.

Shtetl, Shtetl, Shtetle
Don't forget me, Shtetle
One day I took a train
And travelled far away
Shtetl, Shtetl, Shtetle
Don't people lose their eyes
They keep me alive
Their sublime lunacy
Train of life

It is the humble and hopeful plea to remember the faces and eyes – eyes as the windows and mirrors of the soul – of his friends. The memory of his and their refined lunacy and boundless fantasy make the story and travel last through decades to come. It is in the realms of memory that they continue to live, taken there by the train of life. The storytelling continues; the journey metaphorically never comes to an (earthly) end and life goes on for eternity in the spaces of myth, memories, and imagination. Symmetrically to the fairy tale beginning, we almost expect to hear “and they happily travelled ever after.” The journey of the train mimics the endless flow of memories. The unique narrative of the Holocaust transports and the stereotypical story of Jewishness in its complexity and multilayeredness of the stories of death, life and memories that cannot be separated, become the “synecdoche for the disappearance of six million people.” Although vanished, they are still present, living and travelling, moving through space and time of memories, past, and history due to Shlomo's warm and emotional story and intriguing, playful, and ironic storytelling.

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2. Deo: Nova istraživanja o Holokaustu u Srbiji

Part 2. New Research On The Holocaust In Serbia



Execution at Jajinci near Belgrade. Photo: www.fold3.com

Istorijska pozadina holokausta u Srbiji i koncentracionog logora na Beogradskom sajmištu

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Summary:

The Holocaust in Serbia was closely connected to the actions of the German occupying forces in putting down the uprising that began in the summer of 1941. For Germans, there was no doubt that the perpetrators of the sabotage actions were communists as well as Jews. Due to the spread of the uprising, Hitler ordered its suppression by any means necessary. Next followed Field Marshal Keitel's orders to shoot one hundred „communists“ for each German soldier that was killed and fifty for each wounded one followed shortly. Based on these orders, German forces began mass executions of Serbian civilians as well as almost all local Jewish men in October and November 1941. Thus the Wehrmacht ensured a central place in the „Final solution“ in Serbia. Beginning on 8 December 1941, the regime interned all remaining Jews in Serbia, around 6400 of them, and about 600 Roma (mostly women, children and elderly) in the newly opened Jewish camp Zemun (Judenlager Semlin) at the Belgrade Fairgrounds. Until 10 May 1942, all Jewish prisoners from the camp were killed in a mobile gas chamber. For the Germans, the „Final solution of the Jewish question“ in Serbia was complete. Out of about 17,800 Jews who used to live in the German-occupied territory of Serbia, about 14,800 (83.1%) lost their lives. Among them were about 6,320 (42.5%) victims of the Jewish camp Zemun. The authorities subsequently transformed the camp into the Detention camp Zemun (Anhaltelager Semlin). The new prisoners included captured Partisans and some members of the Royal resistance (Četniks), but most were Serb men of working age from the areas of military operations. The Germans eventually sent them to camps in Germany or in other occupied countries, including Serbia. The camp in Zemun received around 32,000 prisoners, out of which a total 10,636 lost their lives. These figures should be considered as a low-end estimate of the total number of prisoners and victims of the camp during its existence.

Key words:

Holocaust, Germany, National-socialism, Jews, Second World War, Serbia, Uprising, Concentration Camps

Apstrakt :

Za razumevanje holokausta neophodna je analiza nemačkog antisemitizma, kao i imperijalne ekspanzije i ideologije na kojoj se ona zasnivala u Drugom svetskom ratu, posebno u ratu protiv Sovjetskog Saveza. On je za naciste bio jedna od dve emanacije (druga je zapadna plutokratija) Jevreja i njihovih planova da zagospodare svetom. Stoga je za nacističku Nemačku rat ujedno bio i rat za potpuno istrebljenje Jevreja, što je vršeno sistematski do kraja rata. Na toj ideološkoj osnovi zasnivalo se i gušenje masovnog ustanka u Srbiji u leto i jesen 1941, tokom kojeg su sa Srbima ubijeni i gotovo svi jevrejski muškarci. Njihove žene i deca su internirani u Jevrejskom logoru Zemun na Beogradskom sajmištu i ubijeni do 10. maja 1942. Time je za Nemce bilo okončano „jevrejsko pitanje“ u Srbiji. Logor na Beogradskom sajmištu postao je Prihvatni logor Zemun u kome su internirani pripadnici pokreta otpora i radno sposobno stanovništvo, uglavnom Srbi, radi slanja u koncentracione i radne logore u Nemačkoj i u okupiranim zemljama. Jedna trećina je stradala u logoru ili neposredno posle odvođenja iz logora.

Ključne reči:

Holokaust, Nemačka, nacionalsocijalizam, Jevreji, Drugi svetski rat, Srbija, ustanak, logori

Analiza nemačkog antisemitizma u njegovom istorijskom razvoju od tradicionalnog do modernog, ispitivanje prirode nemačkog nacionalizma i imperijalne ekspanzije te vođenje ideološkog rata, pre svega na evropskom Istoku, zasnovanog na rasnoj superiornosti i vatrenom antikomunizmu – sve to čini osnovu za razumevanje motiva izvršilaca zločina bez presedana: potpunog uništenja Jevreja tokom Drugog svetskog rata od strane nacističke Nemačke i njenih saveznika i satelita. Nacionalsocijalistička država nastojala je i sve više se približavala totalitarnom idealu da svi, ili bar većina, njenih pripadnika interiorizuju njene ciljeve i prihvate ih kao svoje sopstvene. Posle surovog obračuna sa političkim protivnicima, sledila je eliminacija fizički i mentalno hendikepiranih tokom masovne ubilačke akcije poznate po eufemizmu „Eutanazija“.¹ To je bio samo početak unutrašnjeg „pročišćenja“ nacije, koje će ubrzo dobiti svoju spoljopolitičku dimenziju.

Za maksimalnu nacionalnu homogenizaciju u beskonfliktnu zajednicu (prema propagandnom govoru: *Volksgemeinschaft* – narodna zajednica,) neophodan uslov je bilo postojanje „drugog“, ali takvog koji smrtno ugrožava zajednicu i iznutra i spolja. Zahvaljujući dugoj antisemitskoj tradiciji u nemačkom društvu i univerzalnoj ideološkoj upotrebljivosti rasističke teorije, ulogu takvog

¹ Tokom sprovođenja programa „Eutanazija“ u Nemačkoj je ubijeno oko 70.000 mentalno i fizički hendikepiranih osoba; vidi Džon Mos, *Istorija rasizma u Evropi* (Beograd, 2005), 226; Rihard Vajkart, *Od Darvina do Hitlera. Evolucionarna etika, eugenika i rasizam u Nemačkoj* (Beograd, 2005), 204-205.

manihejskog neprijatelja mogao je da dobije samo imaginarni „Svetski Jevrejin“. Neumitni prirodni zakoni predodredili su nadmoćnu nemačku, „arijsku“ rasu da oslobodi i sebe i celi svet smrtno opasnosti koja može da se uporedi samo sa najtežim bolestima. Revolucionarna delatnost nacionalnih komunističkih partija, filijala centrale svetske revolucije u Moskvi, bila je još jedan dokaz o „destruktivnom radu“ Jevreja i njihovih zajednica u raznim zemljama koje su optuživane da su u službi Komunističke internacionale.

Nacistička ideologija i na njoj zasnovana politička praksa u svojoj osnovi je imala borbu protiv svetske komunističke revolucije, koja je predstavljena kao konačno ostvarenje jevrejskog plana o vladavini svetom. U ostvarivanju svog cilja Jevreji se koriste još jednom, već oprobanom, moćnom polugom. Jevrejska opasnost pretila je i u obliku zapadnog kapitalizma i liberalne idologije, koji su takođe tvorevina „jevrejskog duha“ i razaraju nacije iznutra. Ukratko, „jevrejska opasnost“ je bila univerzalna i delovala je pomoću svoje dve glavne poluge: boljševizma (komunizma) i plutokratije. U rangiranju ova dva neprijatelja prednost je, ipak, bila na boljševičkoj (ideologizovanoj ruskoj) opasnosti. Stoga će se tokom Drugog svetskog rata sudbonosna bitka u kojoj će pobeda značiti smrt za pobeđenog voditi samo na evropskom Istoku.

Zasnovana na „naučnim“ dostignućima, nacistička antisemitska dogma pretvorena je u realnu politiku koja je dosledno sprovedena do svojih krajnjih konsekvenci. Smrtna opasnost je vrebala ne samo od jevrejskog naroda kao kolektiva, nego i od svakog pojedinačnog Jevrejina, od tek rođenog deteta do nemoćnog starca jer je svako od njih prenosilac imaginarnog, ali smrtonosnog bacila. Stoga je od „pobede“, odnosno uništenja svakog Jevrejina zavisila budućnost celokupnog čovečanstva, pri čemu će ta pobeda biti još jedan dokaz superiornosti arijevske nemačke naroda i genijalnosti njegovog vođe, Adolfa Hitlera. Ova pseudo-religiozna motivacija počinilaca, totalitet ideologije i njeno pretvaranje od apstraktnog mišljenja u planirano, potpuno ubistvo i u opravdanje za rat koji je odneo desetine miliona ljudskih života su neke od osnovnih karakteristika jedinstvenosti istorijske pojave holokausta.² Istovremeno, treba ga prihvatiti i kao deo glavnog toka naše teorije modernosti; savremena civilizacija nije bila dovoljan uslov za holokaust, ali je bila njegov neophodan uslov.³

Uništenje evropskih Jevreja, prema nacističkoj terminologiji „konačno rešenje jevrejskog pitanja“ (*Endlösung der Judenfrage*), bilo je neodvojivi deo ratnog sukoba u Evropi od 1939. do 1945. godine. To je bio totalni, ideologizovani rat, „rat pogleda na svet“ u kome je pobeda jednih trebalo da bude ropstvo desetakovanih i obezglavljenih „podljudi“, Slovena (ne svih), i potpuno uništenje „anti-rase“, smrtnog neprijatelja arijevske naroda, Jevreja.⁴ Uništenje Jevreja nije bilo samo po sebi cilj, nego i sredstvo za ostvarivanje dalekosežnih nemačkih imperijalnih planova.

² Yehuda Bauer, „The Place of the Holocaust in Contemporary History,“ u *Holocaust: Religious and philosophical implications*, ur. John K. Roth i Michael Berenbaum (New York, 1989), 16-18.

³ Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Cambridge, 1989), 13, 23; vidi i Daniel Pick, *War Machine: The Rationalisation of Slaughter in the Modern Age* (New Haven-London, 1993); Omer Bartov, *Murder in our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing and Representation* (Oxford, 1996).

⁴ Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War against the Jews 1933-1945* (New York, 1975); Helmut Krausnick i Hans Heinrich Wilhelm, *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges. Die Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD 1938-1942* (Stuttgart, 1981).

Stoga „konačno rešenje“ treba posmatrati i okviru politike uništenja slovenskih država Češke, Poljske i, iznad svega, boljševičkog Sovjetskog Saveza (Rusije), osvajanja „životnog prostora“ (*Lebensraum*) na Istoku i stvaranja „novog poretka“ (*Neue Ordnung*) zasnovanog na ideološkim načelima i interesima evropskog hegemonu, Velikonemačkog rajha.

Na spoju teorije životnog prostora i ideologije rasističkog nacionalizma, čiji su sastavni delovi bili antislavizam i antisemitizam, zasnovani su planovi i praksa uništenja ili raseljavanja desetina miliona ljudi na evropskom Istoku i potpunog uništenja celog jevrejskog naroda. U tom svetlu, „konačno rešenje jevrejskog pitanja“ treba posmatrati kao jedno od bitnih sredstava za ostvarenje dugoročnih i dalekosežnih imperijalnih planova i nikako nije rezultat Hitlerove manijakalne opsesije. Sam Hitler je nesumnjivo bio pokretačka snaga procesa uništenja Jevreja, koji je nemoguće razumeti bez osvetljavanja njegovog ideološkog lika. Za njega, ali i za celu nemačku totalitarnu državu, antisemitizam je imao ključnu ulogu u pretvaranju ideoloških principa u političko delovanje.

Početak Drugog svetskog rata, nemačko osvajanje Poljske i, iznad svega, početak „krstaškog rata“ protiv Sovjetskog Saveza – komunističke emanacije „Svetskog Jevrejina“ 22. juna 1941, označili su početak odlučujuće faze u ostvarenju Hitlerovog „proročanstva“ da će izbijanje rata imati za rezultat „uništenje jevrejske rase u Evropi“. Uništenje je počelo uporedo sa vođenjem vojnih operacija na Istoku, pre svega delovanjem posebnih operativnih grupa policije i policijskih bataljona u pozadini fronta. Svoj puni zamah proces uništenja dobio je od kraja 1941. i tokom prve polovine 1942, kada su na teritoriji okupirane Poljske jedan za drugim stavljeni u pogon „centri uništenja“ (*Vernichtungszentren*). Jedini zadatak ovih „logora uništenja“ (*Vernichtungslager*) je bio masovno uništavanje Jevreja u gasnim komorama i u krematorijumima. U njima je izgubilo život ukupno preko tri i po miliona Jevreja iz raznih evropskih zemalja. Ovi logori su bili oličenje ideologizovanog nacističkog univerzuma i ostvarena projekcija idealnog sveta očišćenog od rasno i politički štetnih i nepodobnih. Zajedno sa dva miliona jevrejskih žrtava operativnih grupa policije ubijenih na brojnim masovnim stratištima i oko pola miliona umrlih u getima istočne Evrope, ukupno je stradalo oko šest miliona Jevreja. Tokom Drugog svetskog rata je uništeno dve trećine njihovog ukupnog broja u Evropi ili jedna trećina svih Jevreja.⁵

Gigantski sistem masovne smrti bio je usmeren na potpuno uništenje Jevreja u Velikonamačkom rajhu, kao i u okupiranim i satelitskim državama. Sistem je jednim svojim delom bio uklopljen u proizvodnju zasnovanu na robovskom radu miliona ljudi u gustoj mreži koncentracionih i radnih logora. I pored sve veće potrebe Nemačke za radnom snagom, u slučaju Jevreja to je pre svega bio još jedan način njihovog masovnog uništavanja.⁶ Mehanizam masovne smrti delovao je bez obzira na sve nepovoljnije stanje na frontovima i sve teža anglo-američka bombardovanja nemačkih

⁵ Ovo su procene iznete na suđenju u Nirnbergu. Detaljnije o ovom pitanju u L. S. Dawidowicz, „Thinking about Six Million: Facts, Figures, Perspectives,“ u John. K Roth, *Holocaust: Religious and philosophical implications*, 51-61.

⁶ Danijel Jona Goldhagen, „Jevrejski 'rad' znači uništenje,“ u *Hitlerovi dobrovoljni dželatli. Obični Nemci i holokaust*, V deo (Beograd, 1998), 297-339.

gradova. Štaviše, to je bio razlog da još efikasnije deluje: uništenje Jevreja bilo je bitan deo opšte borbe, tako da je sistem težio što potpunijoj „pobedi“ i na ovom „frontu“.

Proces uništenja evropskih Jevreja imao je i svoju bitnu ekonomsku stranu. Eksproprijacija („arizacija“) nemačkih i austrijskih Jevreja bila je ne samo izvor ogromne akumulacije, nego i model za sličan postupak u okupiranim, i u satelitskim (ne uvek), zemljama. To je bio jedan od načina manje-više otvorene pljačke tih zemalja, ali i sredstvo za preuzimanja ekonomskih pozicija samih Jevreja u njima, radi što potpunije privredne integracije u „novi poredak“.⁷ Upravo je na ekonomskom planu u najvećoj meri došlo do izražaja praktično lice procesa uništenja Jevreja. Nehotična identifikacija sa stigmatizovanim neprijateljem i projekcija sopstvenih namera na njega time su dobijali svoj konačni smisao. To je bilo u skladu i sa jednim od osnovnih zahteva koji se postavljao pred organizatore uništenja. Uz celovitost i psihološku bezbednost zahtevala se i ekonomičnost.⁸

Posle osvajanja najvećeg dela Evrope i stvaranja sistema zavisnih zemalja, proces uništenja Jevreja obuhvatio je, pre ili kasnije u većoj ili manjoj meri, sve zemlje „Nove Evrope“ čime je on postao i deo istorije ovih zemalja. Među okupiranim područjima postojala je osnovna podela prema karakteru okupacionog režima. U različitom tretmanu evropskog Istoka i Zapada ogledali su se i osnovni ideološki (rasistički) postulati. Na Istoku (Poljska i okupirani delovi Sovjetskog Saveza) su živeli „podljudi“ Sloveni i najveći broj evropskih Jevreja. Tu je uništavana postojeća državna organizacija radi organizovanja novog nemačkog „životnog prostora“ bez Jevreja i sa desetkovanim slovenskim robovima.⁹ U državama zapadne Evrope, zajedno sa nordijskim zemljama, okupacioni režim imao je bitno drugačije lice što je, posredno, imalo uticaja i na tok „konačnog rešenja“.

Drugim rečima, na tok uništenja Jevreja uticao je i karakter okupacionog režima od čega je zavisila uloga lokalnih organa vlasti (postojećih ili novoformiranih). Drugi bitni faktori u procesu uništenja Jevreja bili su njihova brojnost i mesto u društvenoj strukturi, tradicija i politička kultura, postojanje i rasprostranjenost pokreta otpora. Neka nemačka okupaciona područja, na primer ono u Srbiji, imala su karakteristike oba osnovna okupaciona modela. I pored toga, ceo tok „konačnog rešenja“ odvijao se po opštem nemačkom planu koji se odvijao uporedo sa ostvarivanjem ratnih ciljeva Velikonemačkog rajha, čiji je deo bilo i potpuno uništenja jevrejskog naroda.

Među nemačkim savezničkim ili satelitskim državama koje su učestvovalе u ratu zajedno sa Nemačkom, koja im je omogućila teritorijalno proširenje (ili samo postojanje), na način „rešavanja“ jevrejskog pitanja bitno su uticali sledeći činioci: karakter režima, spoljnopolitički položaj, unutrašnjepolitički prioriteti, privredna razvijenost, sastav stanovništva i, kao i svuda, brojnost i mesto Jevreja u društvenoj strukturi, tradicija i politička kultura. I pored razlika po

⁷ Milan D. Ristović, *Nemački „novi poredak“ i jugoistočna Evropa 1940/41-1944/45. Planovi o budućnosti i praksa* (Beograd, 1991).

⁸ Raul Hilberg, *Zločinci, žrtve, posmatrači. Jevrejska katastrofa 1933-1945* (Beograd, 2001), 35-37.

⁹ Czesław Madajczyk, „Generalplan Ost,“ u *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, Vol. I, 550-553

pojednim zemljama, ključni značaj imalo je nemačko prisustvo, od „savetnika“ do statusa sličnog ili identičnog sa okupacionim, naročito u kasnijoj fazi rata. I pored toga što je bila osovinski partner Trećeg rajha, Italija je imala sasvim drugačiji pristup „jevrejskom pitanju“ i uglavnom ga je tretirala kao izbegličko (humanitarno). Stoga su Jevreji koji su nastojali da se spasu od užasa holokausta pre svega težili da se domognu teritorija pod italijanskom kontrolom.¹⁰

Zemlje iz grupe nemačkih satelita, Mađarska, Rumunija i Bugarska, svaka na svoj način učestvovala su u procesu uništenja Jevreja. Novostvorene, izrazito satelitske države, Slovačka i Nezavisna Država Hrvatska (NDH), koje su bile „čist“ proizvod „novog poretka“, bile su takođe deo tog procesa.¹¹

Da je razumevanje tokova holokausta nemoguće bez razumevanja situacije na pojedinim područjima i zemljama Evrope, jedan od dobrih primera je upravo teritorija razbijene Kraljevine Jugoslavije, i u tom okviru posebno dva područja: nemačko okupaciono područje u Srbiji i novostvorena ustaška Nezavisna Država Hrvatska. Treba odmah naglasiti činjenicu koja izdvaja NDH od ostalih zemalja satelita Velikonamečkog rajha. Ustaška država je najvećim delom sama rešavala „jevrejsko pitanje“ zajedno sa rešavanjem mnogo većeg „srpskog pitanja“. Faza masovnog ubijanja Jevreja praktično je koincidirala sa početkom masovnog ubijanja na Istoku i to u prvom logoru smrti, logoru Gospić, koji je prethodio nacističkim logorima smrti. Holokaust je od avgusta 1941. nastavljen i uglavnom okončan u koncentracionom logoru, odnosno logoru smrti Jasenovac. Tek se u poslednjoj fazi holokausta u NDH u uništenje Jevreja uključila i nacistička Nemačka tako da su preostali Jevreji od avgusta 1942, odnosno maja 1943. deportovani u logor smrti Aušvic-Birkenau.¹²

Za holokaust u Srbiji karakteristično je da je započeo na samom početku procesa fizičkog uništenja Jevreja u leto i jesen 1941, a okončan u proleće 1942. kada su u pogon stavljeni „centri uništenja“ u okupiranoj Poljskoj. Kao i u drugim okupiranim zemljama represivne mere protiv Jevreja je organizovao i sprovodio policijski aparat (Operativna grupa i Operativna komanda policije). Međutim, osnovna karakteristika holokausta na nemačkom okupacionom području u Srbiji je da je uništenje jevrejskih muškaraca uglavnom vršio Vermaht, redovna nemačka vojska, a ne neke specijalne jedinice. To je vršeno u okviru krvavog gušenja ustanka i mnogo obimnijeg streljanja srpskih muškaraca, ponegde i celokupnog stanovništva, kao što je bilo u podrinju u oktobru 1941.

Za nemačku okupacionu silu uništenje Jevreja je bilo deo jedinstvene i sveobuhvatne borbe protiv „Svetskog Jevrejina“ i njegove komunističke emanacije u Srbiji. To je bio deo jedinstvene

¹⁰ Milan Ristović, *U potrazi za utočištem. Jugoslovenski Jevreji u bekstvu od holokausta 1941-1945* (Beograd, 1998), 83-145.

¹¹ Ovakva podela uglavnom sledi Hilbergovu u njegovom kapitalnom delu *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, Vol.I-III (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). U okviru osnovnih tokova holokausta ovde je uz geografski kriterijum korišćen i politički, odnosno mesto države u „novom poretku“. Ovaj kriterijum je u prvom planu i u Hilbergovoj knjizi *Zločinci, žrtve, posmatrači*, glava 7: *Inostrane vlade*, 93-104.

¹² *Zločini fašističkih okupatora i njihovih pomagača protiv Jevreja u Jugoslaviji* (Beograd, 1952), 79-80; Ivo Goldstein i Slavko Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb, 2001), 424-476.

borbe koja se vodila kako na teritoriji Sovjetskog Saveza, okupirane Poljske, tako i u Srbiji. Borba protiv jevrejske plutokratsko-kapitalističke emanacije oličene u rojalističkom pokretu otpora pukovnika Draže Mihailovića bila je mnogo manje izražena.

Holokaust u Srbiji odvijao se u okviru masovnih represalija protiv civilnog stanovništva, čemu je trebalo da posluži i novostvorena mreža logora. O besprimernoj surovosti kojom je gušen ustanak govori i činjenica da je nemačka vojna komanda nameravala da izgradi jedan veliki logor „po uzoru na koncentracione logore“ u kojem je trebalo internirati prvo 50.000, a zatim čak 500.000 stanovnika sa ustaničkih područja u Srbiji. Istovremeno, tu je trebalo internirati i celokupno preostalo jevrejsko stanovništvo, uglavnom žene i decu, kao i deo Roma. Taj logor je trebalo da bude organizovan na desnoj obali Save, u selu Zasavica, mestu masovnog streljanja jevrejskih i romskih muškaraca iz šabačkog logora. Međutim, zbog velikih kiša i poplave terena, doneta je odluka da se logor organizuje u objektima Beogradskog sajma. Do početka decembra 1941. ustanak je uglavnom ugušen i odustalo se od velikih planova o masovnom interniranju desetina hiljada stanovnika u novom logoru. Stoga je logor na Beogradskom sajmištu poslužio samo za interniranje svih preostalih Jevreja iz Srbije, njih oko 6.400 i oko 600 Roma. To su uglavnom bili žene i deca čiji su muški članovi porodica ubijeni tokom jeseni 1941. u masovnim streljanjima.¹³

U novoosnovanom Jevrejskom logoru Zemun, kako je on službeno nazivan, zatočeni Jevreji i Romi su te hladne zime 1941/1942. čekali šta će se dalje sa njima desiti. Marta 1942. u očekivanju novog talasa ustanka u Srbiji i potrebe za prostorom za interniranje velikog broja zarobljenika koje je trebalo uputiti u koncentracione i radne logore u Trećem rajhu i okupiranim zemljama, u Berlinu je doneta odluka da se jevrejski zatočenici ubiju u samoj Srbiji. Time bi se ujedno i izbegle teškoće oko transporta u neki od logora smrti u Poljskoj, a već je postojalo i isprobano sredstvo za ubijanje upravo takve kategorije zatvorenika, žena i dece, kakvi su bili u logoru na Beogradskom sajmištu. Radilo se o kamionu-gasnoj komori, koji su već korišćeni u logoru Helmno (Kulmhof) i na okupiranim teritorijama Sovjetskog Saveza.¹⁴

Do kraja marta 1942. romski zatočenici su sukcesivno pušteni, a zatim je počelo ubijanje jevrejskih zatočenika sa Sajmišta. 10. maja 1942. ubijena je i poslednja grupa i logor je mogao da primi mase novih zatočenika. Time je za nacističku upravu u Srbiji „konačno rešenje jevrejskog pitanja“ okončano pa je šef Upravnog štaba Harald Turner 29. avgusta 1942. mogao da se pohvali novopostavljenom komandantu Jugoistoka, generalu Aleksanderu Leru, da je „Srbija jedina zemlja u kojoj je jevrejsko i cigansko pitanje rešeno“.¹⁵ To nije bilo tačno jer je Estonija bila prvo područje na kojem je još početkom 1942. okončano ubijanje Jevreja, ali to pokazuje da je među nemačkim okupacionim komandama u pojedinim zemljama postojala neka vrsta takmičenja u „rešavanju jevrejskog pitanja“. Od oko 17.800 Jevreja koji su živeli na nemačkom okupacionom području u Srbiji, među kojima je bilo i oko 1.200 jevrejskih izbeglica iz drugih zemalja, život je

¹³ Milan Koljanin, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu 1941-1944* (Beograd, 1992), 45-52.

¹⁴ Isto, 107-117; Christopher R Browning, *Fateful Months. Essays on the Emergence of the Final Solution*, Revised Edition (New York-London, 1991), 68-85.

¹⁵ Peter Longerich (hrg.) unter Mitarbeit von Dieter Pohl, *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden. Eine umfassende Dokumentation des Holocaust 1941-1945* (München-Zürich, 1989), 294.

izgubilo njih oko 14.800 (83,1%). Među njima je bilo i oko 6.320 žrtava Jevrejskog logora Zemun na Beogradskom sajmištu.

Već pri kraju procesa ubijanja jevrejskih zatočenika početkom maja 1942. počelo je formiranje komande novog logora na Beogradskom sajmištu, Prihvatnog logora Zemun (Anhalteleger Semlin). Zatočenici ovog logora bili su zaraobljeni partizani i njihovi simpatizeri, delom i pripadnici rojalističkog pokreta otpora kao i drugi stvarni ili potencijalni protivnici okupacije. Ipak, većina zatočenika su bili radno sposobni muškarci, od 1943. i žene, sa područja vojnih operacija, uglavnom Srbi. Zatočenici su poticali iz Srbije i, većim delom, iz NDH gde su od 1942. do 1944. vođene najveće borbe okupatora i partizanskih snaga. Od jeseni 1943. u logoru su internirani i pripadnici pokreta otpora iz Albanije i Grčke. Glavna uloga logora je da bude mesto privremenog interniranja i distribucije zatočenika u koncentracione i radne logore u Nemačkoj i okupiranim zemljama, uključujući i Srbiju. To su bili logori od Norveške do Grčke, među njima i najveći koncentracioni logori Aušvic-Birkenau i Mauthausen. Od radnih logora u Srbiji to su pre svega bili logori u okolini rudnika bakra Bor i kraj rudnika Trepča na severnom Kosovu. Istovremeno, logor je bio i rezervoar talaca za masovna streljanja zbog akcija ustaničkih pokreta i pokreta otpora u Srbiji i NDH.

Na dan 17. aprila 1944. tokom razornog bombardovanja Beograda i Zemuna od angloameričke avijacije, teško su stradali i logor na Sajmištu, kao i obližnji zarobljenički logor na Ušću. Na Sajmištu je stradalo ili ranjeno oko 200 zatočenika, a deo paviljona je postao neupotrebljiv za smeštaj zatočenika. Logor je 17. maja 1944. predat na upravu hrvatskoj ustaškoj policiji da bi u drugoj polovini jula iste godine konačno raspušten. Prema sačuvanim istorijskim izvorima, u Prihvatnom logoru Zemun zatočeno je ukupno oko 32.000 zatočenika od kojih je 10.636 izgubilo svoj život u logoru ili neposredno po odvođenju iz logora. To znači da je približno 13 zatočenika na dan gubilo svoj život. Ove brojeve treba smatrati približnim donjim brojevima zatočenih i stradalih zatočenika i realna je pretpostavka da su ti brojevi veći.¹⁶

Na kraju, a možda je to trebalo pomenuti na početku, treba istaći pitanje i pronalaženja i istraživanja postojećih i novih istorijskih izvora. To je pre svega pitanje sačuvanosti, ali i dostupnosti izvora. Istoriografija holokausta u Jugoslaviji i Srbiji osvetlila je glavne tokove procesa uništenja Jevreja na raznim okupacionim područjima, ali još uvek mnoga pitanja čekaju svoje istraživače.¹⁷ Kada je reč o teškoćama istraživanja treba istaći jednu od glavnih: ubijene su cele porodice i gotovo cela zajednica je uništena. Stoga je teško postići osnovnu identifikaciju i individualizaciju žrtve. Uništenju materijalnih i dokumentacionih tragova zločina (logorske kartoteke, najvećeg dela dokumenata iz policijskih organa) treba dodati i uništenje fizičkih tragova zločina koje je vršila posebno obrazovana policijska jedinica pod nazivom Specijalna komanda 1005 (*Sonderkommando 1005*) tokom jeseni i zime 1943/1944.

¹⁶ Milan Koljanin, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu 1941-1944*, 450.

¹⁷ Jovan Ćulibrk, *Istoriografija holokausta u Jugoslaviji* (Beograd, 2011).

Istorijski arhiv Beograda je jedna od nekoliko najznačajnijih ustanova za istraživanje holokausta u Srbiji pod nemačkom okupacijom, i to pre svega zahvaljujući fondovima Uprave grada Beograda, Opštine grada Beograda, Zapovedničke Policije bezbednosti i Službe bezbednosti (BdS). Međutim, vredni istraživači arhiva uspeali su da i u drugim fondovima nađu izuzetno dragocene podatke važne za istoriju Jevrejskog logora na Beogradskom sajmištu i njegovih zatočenika. Time su umnogome olakšali posao istraživačima, a postigli su još jedan izuzetno važan cilj: zahvaljujući korišćenju podataka iz nekoliko fondova, odnosno iz različitih izvora, saradnici Istorijskog arhiva Beograda su uspeali da humanizuju žrtve, da rekonstruišu više najvažnijih podataka o njima, ali ne samo o njima. Oni su istovremeno uspeali da rekonstruišu porodice, njihov društveni profil, time i veliki deo gotovo potpuno uništene jevrejske zajednice. Ukratko, oni su svojim velikim trudom uspeali da brojevima daju humani sadržaj. To ukazuje na put novim istraživanjima i pokazuje koliko je važna metodologija istraživanja i inovacije u njoj.

The Holocaust In Serbia In The European Context: Using Experiences From Other Countries For The Persecution Of Jews In Serbia

Susanne Heim, Institute of Contemporary History Munich - Berlin

Summary:

Transcript of the presentation at the first event "Escalating into Holocaust" in Belgrade, 21 April 2016.

Dr Heim's presentation focus on whether and how the Germans used the experience they had gained in other countries for the persecution of Jews in Serbia and what made it possible for them to realize their anti-Jewish policy in Serbia faster than in other territories under their control. There were big differences between the various countries under German rule in respect to their economic or strategic significance for German interests, in respect to the non-Jewish majority and its attitude towards the Germans and towards their anti-Jewish policy, in respect to the dissemination of anti-Semitism and the willingness of the domestic elites to collaborate with the Germans. The decision to kill all Jews of Europe was made between the killing of Jewish men in Serbia and the killing of the Jewish women. As Slavs and as partisans Serbs were regarded as enemies anyway; Roma and Jews on top of this were seen as racially "impure". The transfer of knowledge and of technology such as gas vans and of personnel might have contributed to the specific radicalism of the persecution of Jews in Serbia. The involvement of the ethnic Germans as collaborators helped the Germans to realize their plans in Serbia: in contrast to French collaborators the loyalty of the ethnic Germans could be taken for granted.

Key words:

Serbia, Holocaust, Jews, European context, Ethnic Germans, France, French collaborators. "Final solution"

Jovan Raijs was born in 1933. He was nearly 8 years old when German troops invaded his Serbian home town Petrovgrad (today: Zrenjanin) and not even nine when his father had been executed by the Wehrmacht and his mother, his brother and several other relatives had been gassed by the SS – just because they were Jews. He himself survived first in hiding, then in several ghettos and concentration camps such as Bergen-Belsen. As a 12-years-old by the end of the war he had experienced hunger, diseases and slave radical personally and the killing of his loved ones by the German occupation forces.

Despite the fact that there had been no well prepared concept of occupation the Germans rather quickly implemented their anti- Jewish policy – particularly in Serbia with a maximum of brutality. About half a year after the occupation they had killed most of the male Jews in Serbia, many Serbs and Roma, and in summer 1942 they regarded the so called Jewish question in Serbia as being “solved”.

When invading Yugoslavia in spring 1941 the Germans were already rather experienced in creating the military, bureaucracy and police structures for the systematic persecution of Jews. They had established an occupation regime and a variety of anti-Jewish laws and institutions of persecution in Germany, Austria, the occupied part of Czechoslovakia as well as in Poland after September 1939 and all over western and northern Europe from early summer of 1940 on. Especially in respect to France there are many parallels with the German occupation policy in Serbia as we shall see.

The aim of this paper is to inquire whether and how the Germans used the experience they had gained in other countries for the persecution of Jews in Serbia and what made it possible for them to realize their anti-Jewish policy in Serbia apparently faster than in most other territories under their control. Scrutinizing the Serbian case in the European context might be helpful to address another phenomenon too: There were big differences between the various countries under German rule in respect to their economic or strategic significance for German interests, in respect to the non-Jewish majority and its attitude towards the Germans and towards their anti-Jewish policy, in respect to the dissemination of anti-Semitism and the willingness of the domestic elites to collaborate with the Germans. The Jewish communities in all these countries differed in size, in influence of religious subcultures of Judaism and in respect to the preparedness of the Jewish leaders to obey or to resist the German orders. Despite all these diverging factors – of which I mentioned just a few - the Germans were able to organize the deportation and murder of the vast majority of Europe's Jews within about 18 months. How did they adapt their concept of the so called final solution to the different conditions they encountered in the various countries? How did they communicate their experiences and solved the sometimes serious controversies among themselves in order to realize this mass murder?

Although the Jewish minority was rather well integrated especially in Serbia, the expansion of anti-Semitism all over Europe in the 1930ies had its effect also in Yugoslavia. In 1939 a law was decreed that forced all Jews who didn't hold Yugoslavian passports to leave the country within 6 months. In 1940 Jews were forbidden to engage in food trade and the number of Jewish students in

highschools and universities was limited while an anti-Semitic campaign was launched especially in the Serbian newspaper Vreme. Nevertheless the press in Nazi Germany complained that neither these laws nor the racial principal in general were implemented forcefully enough: from the Nazi perspective too many exceptions were made for half breed Jews ("Mischlinge") and those who were honoured for their merits for the fatherland during WW I.¹

After the invasion the Germans grasped the opportunity to be more consequent: Even before the official surrender of Yugoslavia the German military commander in Serbia decreed that Jews had to be registered otherwise they would be shot.² Still in April 1941 the administration of the German military commander in Serbia drafted the first anti-Jewish decree which was published by the end of May 1941 and included a whole bunch of measures which had been introduced in countries like France or even in occupied Poland only step by step and throughout at least several months. The German Foreign office had send its Jewish expert Franz Rademacher to Belgrade in order to push for the release of an anti-Jewish guidelines following the French example. Like in France the German embassy played an important role in anti-Jewis politic in Serbia too. According to the decree released by the German occupants in Serbia Jews were marked by the yellow armband, they had to report to the police in order to be registered, Jewish doctors, dentists and lawyers were not allowed to work in their professions any more, all Jewish civil servants were dismissed; Jews were forbidden to visit theatres, cinemas, concert halls and the like etc. and to own such institutions; they were not allowed to leave their place of residence without permission and had to stay at home from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m.; Jews had to register their radios as well as their whole assets. Those who had left Serbia in order to flee the German troops were not permitted to come back. All these regulations were extended to the Roma minority as well.

From the very beginning of the occupation male Jews from 16 years up to 60 could be conscripted to forced labour and were ordered to free Belgrade from the wreckage caused by German bombs.

The transfer of the knowhow and the former experience how to persecute Jews most effectively was eased by the transfer of personnel and concepts: For instance Harald Turner, a jurist and high ranking SS officer had been chief of the military district of Paris before coming to Belgrade as head of the administration department of the military commander in Serbia. In Paris Turner's colleague Werner Best held the same position. Best was a jurist too and the author of a special concept of occupation policy the so called "supervisory administration".³ According to this concept that Turner was eager to introduce to Serbia too, large parts of the administration were held by Serbian collaborators in order to release German army, police, security and administrative personel. Thus the German occupation could be maintained with a minmum of German staff. However, this implied certain concessions to the "puppet government" of Serbia.⁴ Therefore

¹ Akiku Shimizu, S. 244 f.

² Manoschek, „Serbien ist judenfrei“, S. 35.

³ Mazower, Hitler's Empire, S. 223.

⁴ Tomasevich, War, S. 175, zit. nach Chr. Stein, S. 20.

Turner and his superior General Heinrich Danckelmann, since July 1941 the military commander in Serbia, promised a certain autonomy to the Serbian collaborators. In return the Serbian government supported by the Serbian fascist movement Zbor participated in the persecution of communists, partisans and Jews.

The first phase of the anti-Jewish policy was characterized – by the so called aryanization of Jewish property. The expropriation of Jews had started even before the arrival of German troops when ethnic Germans had plundered the houses of their Jewish neighbours and sometimes even tortured the owners of Jewish enterprises in order to force them to “sell” their property.⁵ Such kind of so called “wild Aryanization” had happened in Austria after the annexation in March 1938. Because of the Austrian experience the Germans had tried to prohibit plundering in the other countries under their command and to organize “aryanization” in a proper way. In Serbia too they prohibited “wild aryanization” however with much more draconic threats of punishment.

The “proper” form of “aryanization” included 1) the registration of Jewish property, 2) the freezing of Jewish accounts and prohibition to administer their assets, and finally the transfer of Jewish property into the hands of non-Jews – selected according to economic as well as political criteria. The latter process was – at least theoretically – guided according to the German priorities: The main aim was always to foster German economic position. This sometimes (for instance in the Netherlands) meant to link German enterprises with those in an occupied country, sometimes to favor German applicants for Jewish shops and businesses. But very often Jewish property was handed over to native applicants as an incentive for collaboration while the Germans profited only indirectly by requiring large sums as occupation expenses.

In Serbia it was the ethnic Germans who played an important role when it comes to the “aryanization” of Jewish real estate and enterprises. While in France “Aryanization” was initiated by the Germans but executed mainly by the French administration in favor of the French state, in Serbia ethnic Germans held a strong position in the bureaucracy of confiscation such as the board of the Plenipotentiary for the economy in Serbia (Generalbevollmächtigter für die Wirtschaft in Serbien). About 50 % of the Jewish enterprises were handed over to ethnic Germans while Serbs received about one third of these enterprises and Germans from the Reich one sixth. However, they took over the most valuable enterprises. The movable property of Serbian Jews had to a large percentage been stolen and plundered in the early weeks of the occupation – mainly by German soldiers and ethnic Germans. In the Serbian Banat according to the historian Christian Stein 80 % of all former Jewish enterprises were handed over to ethnic Germans private individuals or entities controlled by the organization of ethnic Germans.

Jovan Raijs mentioned in his memoirs that when the Jews in his home town were ordered to leave their homes they had to hand their property over to the German cultural association (Deutscher Kulturbund) – right away, i.e. without any formal registration and bureaucratic process of redistribution. In reality “aryanisation” was often far from being properly organized but went in a rather chaotic and arbitrary way.

⁵ Akiku Shimizu, S. 250 f

In general the French experience was regarded as a role model for aryanization in Serbia too. But experiences from other countries were used as well: Like in Austria as well as in Poland Aryanization was used for restructuring the economy; and 'administrative receivers directed this process: Two third of the Jewish enterprises they administered were liquidated, just one third was handed over to non-Jewish applicants (whether ethnic Germans, Germans from the Reich or Serbs).

The Reichssicherheitshauptamt had sent Erich Rajakowitsch to Belgrade in order to make sure that the expropriation of the Jews was organized according to the interest of Eichmann's department. Rajakowitsch was an expert in liquidating Jewish assets in a way that at least part of this money could be used to finance anti-Jewish policy. In Austria he had drafted a model to finance Jewish forced labor camps with Jewish money. In Belgrade he established a special fund of confiscated money of Serbian Jews to be used for German purposes.⁶

Thus we can see that regarding the whole process of expropriation of the Jews hardly any of the German measures introduced in Serbia were really new. They had just been more or less adapted to the Serbian conditions which were shaped by the strong position of the ethnic Germans and their rigid if not brutal course of anti-Jewish action.

Killing hostages in France and Serbia

After the German attack on the Soviet Union an new stage in the persecution of Jews began. The rupture of the German Soviet non aggression pact led to an upturn of the communist resistance movement. In some parts of Serbia this escalated into a general riot under communist leadership. And again we find strong parallels between France and Serbia. French resistance fighters and Serbian partisans attacked the German occupation forces in their related country; the Germans answered in both cases by mass shooting of hostages. In France the Germans took French prisoners – Jews and non-Jews who were imprisoned – as hostages. But soon the military commander uttered scruples because the execution of French hostages might alienate the collaborating French authorities and endanger the successful concept of „supervisory administration“. Thus he suggested to deport Jews and communists „to the East“ as a revenge for attacks against German occupation forces. To be on the safe side one should start with Jews of foreign nationality because the deportation of French Jewish citizen might cause problems with the French collaborating authorities.

In Serbia the Germans didn't care about such considerations. In August 1941 they started to arrest Jewish men and imprison them in concentration camps in order to kill them as hostages. This happened also to the men of the group of Jewish refugees of the so called Kladovo transport. In October 1941 this was the first group of German Jews executed in the Holocaust. Superficially regarded the practice of hostage shooting was the same in France as in Serbia. However, in France

⁶ Manoschek, „Serbien ist judenfrei“, S. 37 f.

the German military commander diminished the orders received from the government in Berlin regarding the shootings and instead suggested deportations which was actually a delayed and less visible form of killing. In Serbia however, it was the German army who executed the mass shootings of hostages and thus killed nearly all Jewish men until December 1941. In both countries this happened more or less at the same time when the mass shooting of Jewish men in the occupied Soviet territories started however before the general decision to kill all European Jews had been taken.

The role of the Serbian case in the decision about the “final solution”

Hitler actually planned the deportation of Jews from the German Reich after the anti-Soviet campaign. In the second half of September however he obviously changed his mind and promised to various Gauleiter who urged for a solution of the „Jewish question“ that the Jews should be deported to the East (i.e. occupied Poland and the Baltic states) even during the war. And indeed the RSHA immediately started to prepare the deportations of Jews from the Reich. However, this didn't mean that the decision to exterminate all Jews of Europe had already been made. For the time being the German Jews should remain in the ghettos in occupied Poland, the Baltics or at Minsk until further deportation to the Soviet Union was possible, i.e. after the victorious end of the anti Soviet campaign. Discussion among the German political leadership became more and more radical in the autumn of 1941. However, when the deportations started in mid October 1941 this was meant just as a removal of the Jews from the Reich not – or at least not yet – as their extermination. When the Higher SS and police commander Friedrich Jeckeln ordered his troops to shoot more than 1000 Jews deported from Berlin to Riga on November 1941 he was severely rebuked by Himmler.

Thus while the general extermination of all Jews had not yet been decided the killing of the Serbian Jews and Roma already seemed to be no matter of controversy anymore. Harald Turner uttered quite frankly that the Jews killed as hostages had nothing to do with the Serbian riot however one had to get rid of them anyway.⁷ The German legation in Serbia too urged for the execution of supposed Jewish agitators; Eichmann's assistant Friedrich Suhr and the above mentioned Franz Rademacher from the German Foreign office went to Belgrade in mid October 1941 and reported to their superiors in Berlin that by the end of the week all Jewish men would be shot.

While during the first phase anti-Jewish policy in Serbia was realized according to the model the Germans had developed elsewhere – although this happened in a very condensed way/ a rather brief period and the model was adapted to the Serbian conditions; from August 1941 on the policy of killing Jews as hostages for anti-German assaults was adopted in Serbia and in France at the same time – however in Serbia in a more radical way than in France. In France it was a limited

⁷ Enzyklopädie des Holocaust, S. 1303.

group of prisoners who were shot as hostages while in Serbia these shootings were a first step to get rid of the Jews as such. In this respect the German anti-Jewish action in Serbia resembled the one in the occupied Soviet territories. There however it were the Einsatzgruppen who did the mass killings while in Serbia it was the Wehrmacht. [When the shooting of Jewish men as hostages started in France and in Serbia, in the Soviet Union the Einsatzgruppen had already started to kill entire Jewish communities – including women and children.]

In Serbia the Jewish women and children – such as the mother and the brother of Jovan Rajis – from December 1941 on were detained in the camp of Sajmište. In mid October 1941 when Eichmann's colleague Friedrich Suhr and Franz Rademacher from the German Foreign office came to Belgrade in order to get an impression of the difficulties German authorities met when “solving the Jewish question” in Serbia. They tried to slow down the expectations of the German occupation authorities in Serbia by telling them that the Jewish women should be detained until they could be sent to the supposed “receiving camps in the East” by ship. Accordingly 7.500 to 8.000 Jewish women were detained in the camp of Sajmiste where many of them died from the cruel living conditions. In February 1942 the surviving women and children were killed in a gas van imported from Berlin. In April Turner boasted in front of Himmler that he already months ago had given order to shoot all Jews who could be seized and had put the Jewish women and children to a camp while he had organized a “delousing van” to finish the “clearing” of the camp within the next 2 to 4 weeks.⁸ In August he proudly reported that the “Jewish question” was solved.

Conclusion

Obviously the decision to kill all Jews of Europe was made between the killing of Jewish men in Serbia and the killing of the Jewish women. In the few months inbetween some decisive steps had been taken:

- Deportations of Jews from Germany had started
- The discussion about the “final solution” became more and more radical
- First experiments with alternative methods of mass killing had started after the experiences made in the USSR and Serbia: gas vans were constructed and the first death camps were built up

1) When the Germans started to implement their anti-Jewish measures in Serbia their crusade against the Jews was already quite advanced in most of the remaining occupied countries.

2) In a 2nd phase Serbia became part of the experiment as one of the first areas to test gas vans.

3) Finally Serbia was the first territory to be declared as “judenrein”. Mass deportations like in France and other occupied countries were not necessary anymore.

⁸ Mazower, S. 223.

What were the specificities of the Serbian “case”? In Germany and in France the necessity to take into consideration the reactions of non-Jews had slowed down the persecution of the Jews. In Serbia such considerations didn’t play a role.

Accelerating factors: As Slavs and as partisans Serbs were regarded as enemies anyway; Roma and Jews on top of this were seen as racially “impure”. The transfer of knowledge and of technology such as gas vans and of personnel might have contributed to the specific radicalism of the persecution of Jews in Serbia. The involvement of the ethnic Germans as collaborators helped the Germans to realize their plans in Serbia: in contrast to French collaborators the loyalty of the ethnic Germans could be taken for granted. The Wehrmacht contributed the experience made in the Soviet Union: the conviction that Jews wouldn’t survive anyway; they could be fought as partisans while gas vans were used to kill women and children – and to save the nerves of the perpetrators. The “remaining rest” could be killed on the ground – without deportation.

The Holocaust in Serbia in the European Context: the Serbian Case as a Part of a Shared European Past

Sanela Schmid, Researcher in Editionsprojekt "Judenverfolgung 1933–1945"

Summary:

The article deals with the persecution of Jews in Serbia by describing the fast development from the first Anti-Jewish measures in April 1941, almost immediately after the occupation of the land by the German troops, to the complete annihilation of the Jewish population only one year later. It shows how local specificities (in Serbia it was the resistance) could lead to local initiatives concerning the so-called "solution of the Jewish question" and how the constant exchange between the periphery and the center that itself produced some "push-factors" radicalized the persecution. Furthermore, it embeds the Serbian example into the Europe-wide persecution of the Jews by the Germans (and the local collaborators) by exemplarily presenting some of the factors that contributed to the persecution of the Jews in a given time and place as well as some of the German perpetrators who agitated in different areas.

Key words:

Persecution of Jews, Serbia, Germany, Holocaust, "Final solution", European context

Nazi Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941 sparked the biggest war of annihilation in the modern era. The beginning of Operation Barbarossa had consequences for all of Europe. Already by the end of 1940, vast parts of the European continent, from France and the Netherlands to Poland, were under German rule, which included approximately 3.25 million Jews. The experiences of the Germans in the war so far had significant consequences for their plans concerning the "solution of the Jewish question." The Nazi leadership dropped the earlier ideas of letting Jews emigrate or deporting them to the isle of Madagascar, and opted in favor of a "European solution." Around the turn of the year 1940/41, a fatal decision had been made concerning the fate of European Jewry. The Nazis decided to deport them from all territories under

German rule, but it was still unclear to where and when.¹ The attack on the Soviet Union would soon provide answers to both of those questions.

Thus, when Hitler invaded Yugoslavia and Greece in April 1941, deportation seemed to be in store for both the Yugoslav and Greek Jews. However, the Axis powers first partitioned Yugoslavia into several different areas under German, Italian, Bulgarian, or Hungarian occupation. Furthermore, the terrorist Ustaša movement founded the Independent State of Croatia (NDH – *Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*) soon after the German invasion, although it had German and Italian spheres of influence. Serbia, having lost considerable territory in the southern part of the country, found itself under direct German occupation. Here, as well as in the NDH, the persecution of the Jews started immediately.²

One of the most distinguished historians of the Holocaust, Raul Hilberg, identified four phases of persecution. First the Jews were defined and isolated from the rest of the population by registration, branded and excluded from public life. Then they were robbed. The creation of concentration camps and ghettos for the Jewish population represented the third step, which was followed by the final one – total annihilation.³

In Germany and many other occupied countries, these phases followed one after another. The development of anti-Jewish measures in Germany progressed from the initial phases in 1933 until October 1941, when the deportation of the German Jews to concentration camps that were set up in the occupied Polish territories began. We can distinguish these phases in Serbia as well, although they occurred more or less simultaneously. Already in April 1941, the German occupiers started with the systematic registration of all Belgrade Jews.⁴ Only a month later, on 30 May 1941, the German Military Commander Helmuth Förster issued an ordinance containing many regulations that excluded Jews, as well as Roma, from public life. He specified who exactly counted as a “Jew” and decided that all Jews had to register within two weeks. They also had to register their companies as well as their belongings and were not allowed to use them for any kind of transactions. Furthermore, they had to wear an identification mark (a yellow stripe with the inscription “Jew”) and to perform forced labor. The Jews were no longer allowed to work as civil servants or lawyers, they were forbidden to enter cinemas, theaters, markets, and other public

¹ Susanne Heim, Ulrich Herbert, Michael Hollman, et al (eds.), *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933-1945* (VEJ), vol. 5: West- und Nordeuropa 1940 – Juni 1942. Bearbeitet von Katja Happe, Michael Mayer, Maja Peers, unter Mitarbeit von Jean-Marc Dreyfus (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2012), 24f.; Mark Mazower, *Hitler's Empire: Nazi Rule in Occupied Europe* (London: Penguin, 2008).

² On the persecution of Jews in Serbia and Croatia, see Walter Manoschek, “Serbien ist judenfrei.” *Militärische Besatzungspolitik und Judenvernichtung in Serbien 1941/42* (Munich: Walter de Gruyter, 1993); Branislav Božović, *Stradanje Jevreja u okupiranom Beogradu 1941-1944* (Belgrade: Muzej žrtava genocida, 2004); Christopher R. Browning, “Wehrmacht Reprisal Policy and the Murder of the Male Jews in Serbia,” in *Fateful Months: Essays on the Emergence of the Final Solution* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1991), 39-56; Božidar Ivković, “Uništenje jevreja i pljačka njihove imovine u Banatu 1941-1944,” in *Tokovi Revolucije*, No. 1 (1967), 373-403.

³ Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the Jews of Europe*, vol. 1 (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985), 53f.

⁴ Announcement in *Vreme* from 16 April 1941, IAB, Zbirka Plakata, inv. br. I 2/2-4095.

buildings, and the curfew for Jews ran from 8 o'clock in the evening until 6 o'clock in the morning.⁵

This ordinance is a very good example of how regulations that needed years to develop in Germany and years, or at least several months, to be implemented in Northern and Western Europe were imposed almost overnight on Serbian Jews (and Roma).⁶ So far, only Jews in Poland had experienced such a rapid erosion of their rights.⁷ If we compare regions with similar occupational governments to the one in Serbia, we can see how the German administration in the newly occupied territories learned from the older ones. The Reich transferred staff and regulations across occupied Europe, and it is possible to see how the pace of implementing the Final Solution gradually intensified. For example, in Belgium, France, and Serbia a military commander was in charge. The chief of the military administration in Serbia, Harald Turner, had been part of the German occupational administration in Poland in 1939, and the following year he became the chief of the military administration of the Paris-Region. From there he came directly to Serbia. Thus, it is not surprising that parts of the ordinance by the military commander in Serbia strongly resembled the ordinances regarding Jews that military commanders in France and Belgium issued in September and October 1940.⁸ Thus, the first anti-Jewish measures in Serbia followed the example of Western Europe. Initially they were very strict, but they did not yet threaten the lives of the Jews in general. The next phase of the persecution of Jews (and Roma) started with the German attack on the Soviet Union on 22 June.

Already in April, the Commander of Belgrade, Ernst Moritz von Kaisenberg, had threatened to kill 100 Serbs for every single killed German soldier.⁹ Acts of sabotage carried out by communist resistance groups after the attack on the Soviet Union threatened German units occupying Serbia, their exploitation of the country's resources, and the Wehrmacht's image of invincibility. A mix of prejudices against the Serbian population and counterinsurgency tactics led to punishment measures that included mass shootings of civilians.¹⁰ The Nazi ideology clearly identified its first victims: Jews and Communists.

⁵ Bundesarchiv (BArch), RWD 23/3, Verordnungsblatt des Militärbefehlshabers in Serbien, Nr. 8, Belgrad, 31 May 1941, 84-89.

⁶ For Northern and Western Europe, see VEJ 5, 25-51.

⁷ Susanne Heim, Ulrich Herbert, Hans-Dieter Kreikamp, et. al. (ed.), *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933-1945* (VEJ), vol. 4: Polen September 1939 – Juli 1941. Bearbeitet von Klaus-Peter Friedrich, unter Mitarbeit von Andrea Löw, 39f., 43f.

⁸ VEJ 5, Doc. No. 158, 159, 238, 246; Maxime Steinberg, "The Judenpolitik in Belgium within the West European Context: Comparative Observations," in Dan Michman (ed.), *Belgium and the Holocaust: Jews, Belgians, Germans* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1998), 199-224.

⁹ Nenad Žarković, "Prolazni logor Topovske Šupe," in *Nasleđe*, No. 10 (2009), 103-112.

¹⁰ A good example of an order in which prejudices against Serbs met counterinsurgency measures: BArch, RH 26/342/8, Order by General Böhme to all units of the 342. ID from 25 September 1941, partially reproduced in: Walter Manoschek, "Serbien: Partisanenkrieg und Völkermord," in Wolfgang Benz, Johannes Houwink ten Cate, Gerhard Otto (ed.), *Anpassung, Kollaboration, Widerstand. Kollektive Reaktionen auf die Okkupation* (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 1996), 137f.

Already during the preparations for the attack on Greece and Yugoslavia, the chief of the German Supreme Command of the Armed Forces (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht* - OKW), Wilhelm Keitel, had issued an order that defined the relationship between the Wehrmacht and other terror units. It resulted from preparations for Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union, as well as lessons learned from the Polish campaign, where clashes between the various police forces – SS, SD, Sipo, *Einsatzgruppen* – and the Wehrmacht to which they reported had occurred.¹¹ The task of the security police (*Sicherheitspolizei*, Sipo and SD) was to “secure” “especially important individuals.” Among them, Keitel named explicitly Jews and Communists. This order is interesting as it shows to which extent the leaders of the Wehrmacht had embraced the ideological, military, and foreign policy goals of the Nazi-regime between the attack on France and the attack on the Soviet Union. The order became effective with the attack on the Soviet Union and had vast consequences for the Jewish population. On the same day, the chief of the military administration in Serbia, Harald Turner, ordered the president of the Serbian commissarial administration, Milan Aćimović, to arrest all leading Communists. Additionally, the Jewish community in Belgrade had to provide forty hostages each day, all interned in the concentration camp “Topovske šupe” in Belgrade.¹²

Thus, the German occupiers already had a supply of Communist and Jewish hostages to start with. Along with mass shootings, German propaganda in Serbia, like elsewhere and especially in the East, engaged in propagating the Nazi concept of a Judeo-communist threat. This propaganda depicted the Communists as those who carried out the attacks and accused Jews of pulling the strings.¹³ Accordingly, both groups had to be destroyed.

The first executions of Jews in Serbia took place at the same time as when SS task forces (*Einsatzgruppen*) started the mass killings of the Jews in the Soviet Union. At the beginning of July, the Germans shot thirteen Communists and Jews in reprisal actions. At the end of that month, German police units executed one hundred Jews and twenty-two Communists. In the actions that led to these executions, the resistance movement had abducted one German soldier and destroyed forty military trucks.¹⁴ Thus, the quota the Germans applied was even bigger than 100:1. In order to secure enough hostages, the Germans started vast internments: all male Jews and Roma were sent to concentration camps. Jews from Belgrade, as well as those that had been expelled from the Banat region to Belgrade (about 3,300 people), were interned in the concentration camp Topovske Šupe. Some of them were transferred to a second concentration camp in Belgrade, the Banjica camp.¹⁵ On 20 July, the regional command (*Kreiskommandantur*) in Šabac interned all the so-

¹¹ Institut für Zeitgeschichte (IfZ), Fd 52. 2 April 1941.

¹² Manoschek, “Serbien ist judenfrei,” 41-43.

¹³ Ibid., 45.

¹⁴ Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PAAA), R 29.663, No. 669.

¹⁵ German documents from summer and autumn 1941 name only the concentration camp “Belgrade” in general. Holm Sundhaussen, “Serbien,” in Wolfgang Benz, Barbara Distel (ed.), *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 9 (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2009), 337-353.

called “Kladovo-refugees” staying in Šabac in a provisional concentration camp. A month later, Jews from Šabac were also interned at this location.¹⁶

The deportation-intermezzo: A Europe-wide search for a deportation place fails

The internees represented a reservoir of hostages for reprisals. Nevertheless, in September 1941 the representatives of another German “interest group” in Serbia – the Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*) – came up with visions of their own on how to deal with the “Jewish question.” The envoy to Serbia, Felix Benzler, and his advisor, the so-called “expert on the Jewish question” Edmund Veesenmayer, wrote to their superiors in Germany trying hard to obtain permission to expel male Jews from Serbia.¹⁷ This might seem strange at first glance, but one has to bear in mind two things. Firstly, the different German authorities were constantly competing with each other. Benzler and Veesenmayer tried to distinguish themselves as well as the Foreign Office as a force that was also trying to solve the “Jewish question” in Serbia. Secondly, both men had experience with population transfers: Benzler negotiated the agreement with the Soviet Union about the resettlement of ethnic Germans from Latvia and Estonia,¹⁸ while both were involved in the planning to transfer about 220,000 Slovenes from South Styria and Carinthia to Croatia and Serbia.¹⁹ Furthermore, in late summer 1941 they knew that there was a consensus to “solve the Jewish question” by deportation. Thus, on 8 September, Benzler and Veesenmayer proposed to deport at least 8,000 male Jews to an island in the Danube delta in Romania.²⁰ When this idea failed to gain approval, they suggested two possible new destinations: the General Government for the Occupied Polish Territories or the Russian territories. However, their superiors at the Foreign Office in Berlin declined this as well. As Franz Rademacher, the chief of the department for Jewish affairs (dep. D III: “Judenangelegenheiten”), wrote: “if the Jews were a threat in Serbia they were an even bigger threat in Russia” and “the General Government was already replete with Jews.”²¹ He also discussed this issue with Adolf Eichmann, who – just like Rademacher and his superior

¹⁶ Stanoje Filipović, *Logori u Šapcu* (Novi Sad: Savez udruženja boraca narodnooslobodilačkog rata, 1967), 129; Manoschek, “Serbien ist judenfrei,” 62f.

¹⁷ See several telegrams from September and the beginning of October at PAAA, R 100.874, No. 2249.

¹⁸ Vereinbarung zwischen der deutschen Reichsregierung und der Regierung der UdSSR über die Umsiedlung von Reichsdeutschen und Volksdeutschen aus den Gebieten der Lettischen und Estnischen Sozialistischen Sowjetrepubliken in das Deutsche Reich, 10 January 1941, online at: <http://www.forost.ungarisches-institut.de/pdf/19410110-1.pdf>.

¹⁹ Telegram by Benzler from 6 May 1941, in: ADAP, D XII/2, Dok. 465, online at: <http://www.karawankengrenze.at/ferenc/index.php?r=documentshow&id=48>, Niederschrift der Besprechung in Zagreb über die Aussiedlung von Slowenen und Serben, 4.6.1941, in: Tone Ferenc (ed.), Quellen zur nationalsozialistischen Entnationalisierungspolitik in Slowenien 1941 bis 1945, Maribor 1980, doc. 81, p. 164f. Online: <http://www.net4you.com/~haiderftp/ferenc/index.html>.

²⁰ *Akten zur deutschen Auswärtigen Politik* (ADAP), Series D, vol. XIII/1, (D, XIII/1) (Göttingen 1970), doc. 288, 378.

²¹ ADAP, D, XIII/1, doc. 313, p. 406 f.

Luther – proposed to execute the male Jews as hostages.²² Thus, the circle closed and the fate of the male Serbian Jews was sealed: it was execution, and not deportation, which awaited them.

Annihilation of the Serbian Jews

With sabotage and attacks increasing in the summer of 1941, the Wehrmacht in Serbia found itself facing a new enemy: the guerilla. Until then, for example in Poland, the fight against guerilla units was the task of special forces, while the Wehrmacht fought against regular troops. From the summer 1941 on, this “task sharing” between the Wehrmacht and the police “repression apparatus” was gradually set aside. In September, there were important political changes in Serbia, as well as in counterinsurgency tactics, which also affected the regime’s position on the Jewish population of Serbia.

First, the Chief of the OKW, Wilhelm Keitel, issued a new order on 16 September. It stated that previous measures had failed in combating the overall communist insurgency and therefore the *Führer* ordered the German forces “to take the hardest action” (*mit den schärfsten Mitteln einzugreifen*) to crush the resistance. Furthermore, Keitel specified to kill from fifty to one hundred communists for every dead German soldier.²³

Second, Hitler installed a new Military Commander in Serbia, Austrian General Franz Böhme. After Böhme’s arrival in Serbia, a series of attacks on German troops took place. In one of them, near Topola, the Germans lost twenty-two soldiers, while another three were wounded. Böhme then ordered the troops to kill one hundred hostages for every dead German and fifty for every wounded one. He further specified in his orders that the execution squads to take Communists and Jews from the concentration camps in Šabac and Belgrade.²⁴ Only six days later, on 10 October, he implemented Keitel’s directive by ordering his units to take all Communists, suspected male Communists, all Jews, and a certain number of supporters of nationalist and democratic movements as hostages. These hostages were to be killed in case of attacks on Germans or Volksdeutsche,²⁵ according to the previously described formula. Notably Wehrmacht units were the ones assigned to the task of carrying out the executions.²⁶

²² PAAA, R 100 874, Nr. 2249. Facsimile in Gedenk- und Bildungsstätte Haus der Wannsee-Konferenz (ed.), *Die Wannsee-Konferenz und der Völkermord an den europäischen Juden. Katalog der ständigen Ausstellung* (Berlin 2006), 64.

²³ BArch, RH 26-104/14. Printed in Gerd R. Ueberschär, Wolfram Wette (ed.), *„Unternehmen Barbarossa“ Der deutsche Überfall auf die Sowjetunion 1941: Berichte, Analysen, Dokumente* (Paderborn: Verlag: Schoeningh Ferdinand GmbH, 1984), 359f.

²⁴ BArch, RH 24-18/213, Anl. 24, Bl. 203. Printed in Manoschek: “Serbien ist judenfrei,” 84.

²⁵ Volksdeutsche were national Germans living outside of Germany. Many Volksdeutsche lived in Yugoslavia prior to the war, especially in the Banat and the eastern part of Slavonia.

²⁶ BArch, RH 24-18/213, Anl. 48, Bl. 163-166.

The two documents issued by Böhme are very important as they marked the next stage in the radicalization process of German counterinsurgency measures. Firstly, this meant a tremendous quantitative leap, as the Germans killed more hostages in the first mass shooting (for Topola) than during the entire occupation in Serbia up to September 1941. Secondly, the orders explicitly mentioned the number of people to execute. Thirdly, the people who were killed did not have to be in any way responsible for the attack for which they were shot. Fourthly, Böhme ordered taking many more hostages all over the country. Finally, it involved the Wehrmacht in the process of mass killings, while all male Jews were to be arrested as hostages.²⁷

After these orders, the authorities interned all remaining Serbian Jews. Most of the 843 Jews from Southern Serbia were taken to a concentration camp in Niš in October 1941. Together with them, the Germans also interned 220 Jewish refugees from Austria, Poland, and the Czech Republic.²⁸ When the head of the Department for Jews at the German Foreign Office, Franz Rademacher, came to Belgrade at the end of October in order to finally settle the “Jewish question” raised by Benzler and Veesenmeyer, he realized that all interned Jews in Serbia would have been dead within a week due to mass killings of hostages.²⁹ On the basis of the order from 10 October, as well as other similar orders, the Wehrmacht shot almost all of the male Jews in Serbia, approximately 5,000 people in the fall of 1941.³⁰ In a meeting with Rademacher, the German authorities in Serbia decided to intern all of the remaining Jewish women and children. They were transported to the newly established concentration camp Semlin (Sajmište) in December 1941. From March to May 1942, all residents and staff of the Jewish hospital, as well as all Jewish internees who had survived the disastrous conditions in the camp (approximately 6,500 people), were killed in a gas van that was ordered from Germany for that purpose.³¹

Different paths to the Holocaust across Europe and the Serbian case as a part of a shared European past

The Holocaust affected all parts of Europe in which the Germans were able to foster their anti-Jewish policies, either through direct control of the territories or collaboration, or both. Thus, the

²⁷ Manoschek, “Serbien ist judenfrei,” 84-86.

²⁸ Miroslav M. Milovanović, *Nemački koncentracioni logor na Crvenom krstu u Nišu i streljanja na Bubnju*, (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1983); Nebojša Ozimić, Aleksandar Dinčić, *Concentration Camp at Red Cross* (Niš: National Museum of Niš, 2014); Ženi Lebl, *Do “konačnog rešenja,”* vol. 2 (Belgrade: Čigoja štampa, 2002), 112-116.

²⁹ ADAP, D, XIII/2, doc. 376, 570-572.

³⁰ Milan Ristović, “Jews in Serbia during World War Two: Between “The Final Solution of the Jewish Question” and “the Righteous among Nations,” in Milan Fogel, Milan Ristović, and Milan Koljanin (eds.), *Righteous among Nations: Serbia* (Belgrade: JOZ, 2010), 13, available online at: http://www.udi.rs/articles/Ristovic_JEWS%20IN%20SERBIA.pdf; Milan Koljanin, *Nemački logor na beogradskom sajmištu 1941-1944* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1992), 39.

³¹ For a detailed account see Milan Koljanin’s contribution to this collection, “Istorijska pozadina Holokausta u Srbiji i koncentracionog logora na Beogradskom sajmištu”; Koljanin, *Nemački logor*, 117-133; Christopher R. Browning, “The Semlin Gas Van and the Final Solution in Serbia,” in *Fateful Months*, 68-87.

Holocaust became a part of almost every European nation's public memory. Nevertheless, every territorial unit that was under German rule had its own path to the Holocaust. It could not be any different, as the course of the events depended on so many variables.

The role each occupied country and its population was to assume in the Reich was important within Nazi ideology. In Western and Northern Europe, the Nazi authorities were very careful about introducing anti-Jewish policies. In Denmark, with regards to popular opinion and the authorities' readiness to cooperate, the Nazis were at first restrained in imposing any anti-Jewish measures. Only after the collaboration with the Danish administration had failed in the fall of 1943 did the Germans issue anti-Jewish laws.³² In Norway, where the German administration was more extensive than in Denmark, the Germans were also very reluctant to implement anti-Jewish measures in the first months. At first, they were satisfied with gaining an overview of the number of Jews in Norway and their property. Systematic persecution did not take place during the first two years. German authorities in the Netherlands and Belgium were faster in issuing anti-Jewish regulations. At first, an order concerning the administration of the occupied territories, issued on 22 February 1940, ruled not to mention the racial question. However, that did not last long, as already in August of the same year the first anti-Jewish measures were implemented.³³

In a sharp contrast to the countries of Northern and Western Europe, the persecution of the Polish, Belorussian, Ukrainian, and Russian Jews started immediately. For the Nazis these countries represented vast fertile grounds that the Germans would eventually colonize. According to their plans, the population in these territories should be primarily starved to death. The bureaucrats at the German ministries prepared the guidelines for the exploitation of the Soviet Union on the assumption that "doubtlessly several million humans would starve" in order to feed the Wehrmacht "off the land." If this was meant for the population as a whole, what fate was to await the Jews in those countries? The German main plan for the "racial" rearrangement of the Eastern territories, the *Generalplan Ost*, foresaw the "disappearance" of five to six million Jews.³⁴ That is approximately the entire Jewish population of Poland and the Soviet Union. Consequently, after the attack on the Soviet Union, the terror against the Jews started immediately and developed into a systematic genocide in only few weeks between August and October 1941, when mobile commandos not only shot male Jews, but went on to annihilate whole communities. Already in the first six months of the occupation, over half a million Jews were killed in the territories of Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine which were under German military command.³⁵

Additionally, the time of occupation also played a role. For example, in 1940, from the German perspective, there was enough time left to deal with the French Jews. In March 1944, Hungary had

³² VEJ 5, 26.

³³ VEJ 5, 31.

³⁴ Helmut Heiber, "Der Generalplan Ost," in *Vierteljahrshefte für die Zeitgeschichte*, Volume 6 (1958), 281-325.

³⁵ Susanne Heim, Ulrich Herbert, and Hans-Dieter Kreikamp et al (eds.), *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933-1945* (VEJ), vol. 7: Sowjetunion mit annektierten Gebieten I. Besetzte sowjetische Gebiete unter deutscher Militärverwaltung, Baltikum und Transnistrien. Bearbeitet von Bert Hoppe und Hildrun Glass, 14, 23-25.

to be occupied in order to get hold of the Hungarian Jews. At the time when Serbia was occupied (spring of 1941), the Germans still saw the “solution” of the so-called “Jewish question” through deportation – yet without a concrete destination. When Germany occupied its former ally Italy after its capitulation in the fall of 1943, the “solution of the Jewish question” had already transformed into extermination. Thus, they hurried to transport as many Jews as they could to already existing extermination camps.

Furthermore, the specificities of each occupation, such as armed resistance, could have an accelerating effect on the persecution of Jews. The Serbian case shows how fighting the resistance and annihilating the male Jewish population could go hand in hand. As Harald Turner stated in a letter, it was “wrong” to kill Jews instead of Serbs in reprisal for German soldiers, but “ultimately they [were] Serbian citizens and they had to disappear anyhow.” Using this practice, he concluded that this was the fastest solution to the Jewish question.³⁶ In France, where counterinsurgency methods differed from those in Serbia, they nevertheless interplayed with the persecution of Jews. After attacks on German personnel, the Military Commander in France, Otto von Stülpnagel, ordered on 14 December 1941 the execution of one hundred Jews, Communists, and anarchists, as well as the deportation of a big number of “criminal Jewish-Bolshevist elements” to forced labor in the East.³⁷

Furthermore, the practical dimensions of each country played a role, such as the number of Jews in a country or the size of its territory. The Nazi goal in Luxemburg, occupied in May 1940 and de facto annexed to Germany, was to expel all of the approximately 2,000 Jews that remained in the country after the German occupation. Those who remained in Luxemburg until October 1941, when the Nazis changed their policy from forced emigration towards deportations to the extermination camps, were then deported.³⁸ After the occupation of Poland, an additional two million Jews came under German rule. This fact, combined with the vast territories under their control, made the Germans seek new “solutions of the Jewish Question.” Although the experts on race and territory had discussed the resettlements in Poland since 1937, it was only after the military victory in 1939 that the Germans started planning vast resettlements of Jews and other population groups.³⁹ In Serbia, the numbers of Jews also played an important role. After several inquiries about the fate of male Serbian Jews by Felix Benzler, Martin Luther from the Foreign Office sent a note that exemplified his disregard for human life. He stated that the military commanders elsewhere (he meant in the East) had dealt with many more Jews (than the presumed 8,000 Serbian ones) without even talking about it.⁴⁰

³⁶ Private letter from Harald Turner to Richard Hildebrandt, 17 October 1941, in BArch, BDC, SSO-Akte Richard Hildebrandt.

³⁷ VEJ 5, p.59f. and doc. 300, 759.

³⁸ VEJ 5, 42, 58.

³⁹ VEJ 4, S. 13, 32f.

⁴⁰ PAAA, R 100.874, Nr. 2249, Abdruck in ADAP, D, XIII/1, doc. 376, 495.

The geographic characteristics of the occupied regions sometimes defined the murder methods. For example, the karst caves in Lika and Gorski Kotar, or the Babyn Jar ravine in Ukraine, offered perpetrators specific execution methods as well as the possibilities of burying the bodies afterwards.

Moreover, the persecution of the Jews in those countries that were allied with Nazi Germany depended mostly on the policy each country was following. In the newly formed Independent State of Croatia (NDH),⁴¹ the fascist Ustaša government started the persecution immediately – most of the Jews were killed on its territory by domestic collaborators – a status the NDH shares only with Romania.⁴² In Bulgaria and Bulgarian-occupied territories, the authorities passed several ordinances discriminating Jews, but it was only after the German intervention in February 1943 that they agreed to the deportation of 20,000 Jews to extermination camps. Approximately 12,000 Jews from Yugoslav and Greek territories occupied by Bulgaria (Macedonia, Thrace, and the southern part of Serbia) were taken to Treblinka and killed upon arrival.⁴³ Italy, Hitler's most important ally, pursued its own anti-Semitic policy. While it legally discriminated Italian Jews, there was no consensus on murdering or deporting them to German concentration camps. Furthermore, Italian politicians, diplomats, and military staff protected Italian Jews where they could, as well as those Jews who lived in or had fled to territories under Italian occupation. This policy changed only after the Italian surrender in September 1943 and the establishment of the Italian Social Republic (Repubblica Sociale Italiana – RSI) in the northern part of Italy. The authorities of the RSI helped transport many of the Jews who lived there to Nazi concentration camps.⁴⁴

This short overview of various conditions in occupied territories is by no means exhaustive, but is only meant to give an impression of the complexity of the Holocaust. Furthermore, it was never only one factor, but always a number of factors that shaped the course of events leading to the policies of extermination. Nevertheless, no matter how diverse the experiences of the Holocaust

⁴¹ See Milan Koljanin's contribution for more details about the Holocaust in the NDH.

⁴² International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania (ed.), *Final Report of the International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania* (Bucharest: US Holocaust Memorial, 2004); Mariana Hausleitner (ed.), *Rumänien und der Holocaust. Zu den Massenverbrechen in Transnistrien 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2001); Armin Heinen, *Rumänien, der Holocaust und die Logik der Gewalt* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2007).

⁴³ Björn Uwe Opfer, *Im Schatten des Krieges. Besatzung oder Anschluss – Befreiung oder Unterdrückung? Eine komparative Untersuchung über die bulgarische Herrschaft in Vardar-Makedonien 1915–1918 und 1941–1944* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2005), 275–277; Aleksandar Matkovski, "Destruction of Macedonian Jewry in 1943," in *Yad Vashem Studies* 3 (1959), 203–258; Aleksandar Matkovski, *A History of the Jews in Macedonia* (Skopje: Macedonian Review Editions, 1982), 108–178; Ženi Lebl, *Jevreji u Pirotu* (Belgrade: Sloboda, 1990).

⁴⁴ Davide Rodogno, "Italiani brava gente? Fascist Italy's Policy towards the Jews in the Balkans, April 1941 – July 1943," in *European History Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (2005), 213–240; Anna Millo, "L'Italia e la protezione degli Ebrei," in Francesco Caccamo and Luciano Monzali (eds.), *L'occupazione italiana della Jugoslavia (1941–1943)* (Florence: Le lettere, 2008), 355–378; Jonathan Steinberg, *Deutsche, Italiener und Juden. Der italienische Widerstand gegen den Holocaust* (Göttingen: Steidl Gerhard Verlag, 1994); Menachem Shelah, *Un debito di gratitudine: storia dei rapporti tra l'Esercito italiano e gli ebrei in Dalmazia (1941–1943)* (Rome: Ufficio Storico Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito, 2009); Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, *Storia della Repubblica sociale italiana* (Rome: Carocci, 2012); Giuseppe Mayda, *Ebrei sotto Salò. La persecuzione antisemita 1943–1945* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1978).

were in different countries, they only represented pieces of a greater Nazi plan for the “solution of the Jewish Question.”

The extermination of the European Jewry was first and foremost a Nazi project – it was developed in Germany, it was implemented everywhere where Germany had significant influence, and it was carried out mostly by Germans, but also by their collaborators. The extent of this can only be seen when we look at the entirety of Europe. The German personnel specialized in the so called “Jewish question” was a very well-linked elite that travelled across Europe in order to implement German plans. Its members reported either to the German Foreign Ministry or the Reich Main Security Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt* – RSHA), or to both. They shared their experiences, improved their measures, and spread them throughout Europe. For example, the already mentioned Edmund Veesenmayer was “a consultant on the Jewish Questions” in Croatia and Serbia in 1941-1942. In March 1944, when Germany occupied Hungary and the deportations of the Hungarian Jews were being prepared, the Nazi administration sent him to Hungary as an envoy where he was deeply involved in the deportation of the Hungarian Jews.⁴⁵ Another “expert” was Theodor Dannecker, who was in Department IV B 4 of the RSHA from 1937 on and in charge of the Jewish Question. From there he was sent to France as a “Consultant on Jewish Questions,” where he organized the deportation of French Jews. In 1943, he organized deportations in Bulgaria, and the following year in Italy and Hungary.⁴⁶ A third example is Odilo Globocnik. After the Austrian *Anschluss* in 1938 he was appointed “Gauleiter”⁴⁷ in Vienna, and as such was in charge of the persecution of the city’s Jews. After the occupation of Poland, he was in charge of “Operation Reinhardt.”⁴⁸ In this position he was responsible for the extermination camps in Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka. Finally, in 1943, he became the Higher SS- and Police leader in the Operation Zone “Adriatic Coast” that was comprised of former Italian territories, where he organized the deportation of the remaining Jews to Auschwitz-Birkenau.⁴⁹

In conclusion, no matter how diverse the paths to the Holocaust in each country were, they were also linked to each other. They all represented pieces of a single goal to annihilate European Jewry, planned and implemented by Nazi Germany. The Serbian case makes provides one piece of that

⁴⁵ Igor-Philip Matic and Edmund Veesenmayer, *Agent und Diplomat der nationalsozialistischen Expansionspolitik* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2002); Götz Aly, Christian Gerlach, *Das letzte Kapitel: Realpolitik, Ideologie und der Mord an den ungarischen Juden 1944/1945* (Munich: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2002); Eckart Conze u.a. (ed.), *Das Amt und die Vergangenheit. Deutsche Diplomaten im Dritten Reich und in der Bundesrepublik* (Munich: Karl Blessing Verlag, 2010), 260-267.

⁴⁶ Claudia Steur, Theodor Dannecker. *Ein Funktionär der “Endlösung”* (Schriften der Bibliothek für Zeitgeschichte - Neue Folge, Band 6), Essen 1996.

⁴⁷ Leader of an NSDAP-District.

⁴⁸ Operation Reinhardt was a code name for the extermination of the Jews in the Polish occupied territories from July 1942 to October 1943.

⁴⁹ Sara Berger, *Experten der Vernichtung: Das T4-Reinhardt-Netzwerk in den Lagern Belzec, Sobibor und Treblinka* (Studien zur Gewaltgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts) (Hamburg 2013); Barbara Schwindt, *Das Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslager Majdanek. Funktionswandel im Kontext der “Endlösung”* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2005), 90; Michael Wedekind, *Nationalsozialistische Besatzungs- und Annexionspolitik in Norditalien 1943 bis 1945: Die Operationszonen “Alpenvorland” und “Adriatisches Küstenland”* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2003).

horrific puzzle. Some of the specifics of the Serbian case study include the fact that the murder of the Serbian Jews was a collective act of the occupational regime; the Wehrmacht's leading personnel in Serbia were willing to pursue the killings and the Wehrmacht actively participated in shooting the country's male Jews; the use of the "gassing van" to murder the remaining Serbian Jews; and finally, the rapid speed with which the Serbian Jews were murdered. Already in August 1942, Harald Turner reported that "Serbia was the only country in which the Jewish and the Gypsy Questions were solved."⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Manoschek, "Serbien ist Judenfrei," 195.

Uloga i mesto Odeljenja specijalne policije u okupacionom aparatu, 1941-1944.

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Summary

The Special Police Department was founded on the basis of the General Police Department that existed before the Second World War. This unit represented a *political* police whose jurisdiction included issues related to state administration and the maintenance of security measures, surveillance of political and social life, the supervision of suspects, etc. During the period of German occupation, officials of this department implemented investigations without reasonable cause in order to put pressure on the families of resistance members in hiding. Family members were not only arrested, but were sent in camps, which for many was the equivalent of a *death sentence*. This police force also represented the so-called service for *national correctness* of the citizens of Serbia, and consistently used physical and psychological torture which leads us to the conclusion that the Special Police Department represented one of the most repressive bodies of the occupation administration. Biographies of some Special Police Department officials who participated in crimes but simultaneously supported resistance movements represent examples of the difficulty in separating traitors from heroes in the complex situation when faced with collaboration or rebellion.

Key words:

Second World War, Yugoslavia, Occupation, Collaboration, Holocaust, Special Police, Resistance Movements

Apstrakt :

Autor u ovom tekstu nastoji da ocrta glavne konture uloge Odeljenja specijalne policije Uprave grada Beograda u okupacionom aparatu, odnosa nemačkih vlasti prema ovom represivnom organu, ali i da, kroz individualne primere njenih službenika, ukaže na kompleksnost kolaboracije kao pojma.

Ključne reči:

Drugi svetski rat, Jugoslavija, okupacija, kolaboracija, Odeljenje specijalne policije, holokaust, pokreti otpora

Odeljenje specijalne policije stvoreno je na temelju predratnog Odeljenja opšte policije koja je predstavljala, u suštini, političku policiju nadležnu za poslove održavanja državnog poretka i bezbednosti, praćenje političkog i društvenog života, vršenje nadzora nad sumnjivim licima i tome slično. Prema zakonu o unutrašnjoj upravi od 1929. godine, ministar unutrašnjih poslova mogao je da poveri upravniku grada Beograda poslove policijske prirode na teritoriji cele zemlje. Ovaj član zakona korišćen je naročito u segmentu suzbijanja komunističke delatnosti te su službenici Odeljenja opšte policije po ovoj liniji vršili istrage u mnogim gradovima Kraljevine.

Pljačke koje su se pojavile odmah po aprilskom bombardovanju i težnja okupatora da pacifikuje okupirani prostor uz što manje svojih vojnih i policijskih efektivna stvorili su priliku službenicima Odeljenja opšte policije da brzo pronađu novog poslodavca. Preuzevši delimično delokrug rada i u velikoj meri kadrove, obrazovano je Odeljenje specijalne policije koje će u periodu okupacije predstavljati najrepresivniji organ kolaboracionističke uprave.

Kako navodi njen idejni tvorac Dragi Jovanović, 80% rada Specijalne policije odlazilo je na antikomunističku delatnost. Samo u prve dve godine okupacije, službenici IV antikomunističkog odseka sproveli su istragu protiv 8.440 ljudi. Od leta 1942, Odeljenje specijalne policije učestvuje i u kategorizaciji konfiniranih lica na Banjici, čime, pored istražnih, preuzimaju i ingerencije sudskih organa. Kao rezultat rada Božidara Bećarevića i njegovih kolega, došlo je i do nekoliko velikih „provala“ u organizacije komunističkog pokreta otpora u više gradova okupirane Srbije, u kojima je uhapšeno na desetine rukovodilaca i koje su paralisale rad i primoravale na ponovno povezivanje redova. Kada govorimo o samim metodama rada, potrebno je istaći da je upotreba fizičke sile prilikom isleđenja bila jedna od negativnih pojava koja je još u predratnom periodu pripisivana pripadnicima IV odseka. Tokom Drugog svetskog rata, primenjivanje najrazličitijih vidova psihičke i fizičke torture bilo je sastavni deo isleđenja, a bilo je slučajeva da su zbog primene ovakvog „specijalnog postupka“ pojedini uhapšeni preminuli.

Pored komunista, pripadnici Ravnogorskog pokreta otpora bili su takođe predmet policijske obrade Odeljenja specijalne policije. Bez obzira na činjenicu što okupator nije imao dovoljno poverenja u kolaboracionističku upravu u ovom domenu, III odsek predvođen ruskim emigrantom Nikolom Gubarevim u više je mahova hapsio ravnogorske funcionere, obaveštajce i saradnike.

U javnosti je uvek aktuelna tema učestvovanja kolaboracionističke vlade Milana Nedića u holokaustu u Srbiji. Analizirajući dostupne izvore jasno uviđamo da je VII odsek Odeljenja specijalne policije od prvih mera porotiv Jevreja i Roma do njihove izolacije i fizičkog uništenja imao većinom pomoćnu ulogu koja se ogledala u evidentiranju ljudi i popisu njihove imovine. Egzekutivnu ulogu preuzimalo je u slučaju kada je lice jevrejske nacionalnosti bilo povezano sa

jednim od pokreta otpora. Nakon isleđenja i zaključivanja istrage, Jevreji su predavani okupacionim vlastima.

Kao i ostali delovi kolaboracionističkog aparata, ni Odeljenje specijalne policije nije u najvećoj meri uživalo samostalnost u odnosu na okupatora. Struktura koja je imala velike sličnosti sa organizacionom podelom Gestapoa u potpunosti je nastala kao plod potreba okupacionog režima. Šef Odeljenja specijalne policije bio je dužan da sve dnevne, mesečne i godišnje izveštaje, osim predsedniku vlade i Ministarstvu unutrašnjih poslova, upućuje i okupacionim vlastima. Gestapo je u Specijalnu policiju delegirao jednog svog činovnika koji je pratio rad ove organizacije, a Ilija Paranos i Božidar Bećarević bili su jedni od čestih gostiju u palati Ratnički dom. Provere lica po raznim prijavama i osnovama po nalogu Gestapoa bile su redovne aktivnosti službenika Specijalne policije. Mešanje u kadrovsku politiku bila je uobičajena stvar, a koliko su stvari u ovom pogledu išle daleko svedoče primeri policijskih službenika koji su na zahtev okupatora mimo svakog pravnog osnova dobijali unapređenja i veće prinadležnosti. Još prisnije odnose okupator i specijalni policajci imali su tokom delovanja Srpske državne bezbednosti, organizacije koja je *de facto* osnovana sa ciljem da se kolaboracionistički policijsko-bezbednosni kompleks izuzme iz ingerencija vlade Milana Nedića i stavi pod neposrednu kontrolu okupatora. Što se tiče same slobode u radu, zavisila je od vrste poslova koje je obavljalo ovo odeljenje. IV odsek je nedugo nakon početnog nepoverenja svojim frenetičnim progonom pripadnika komunističkog pokreta otpora zaradio gotovo apsolutnu slobodu u operativnom planiranju i radu. Za razliku od svojih kolega u IV odseku, službenici III odseka, naravno ako izuzmemo samog Gubareva, do kraja okupacije posmatrani su sa podozrenjem.

Na čelu kolaboracionističkog upravno-policijskog aparata stajalo je Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova. Odeljenje za državnu zaštitu bilo je nadležno za Upravu grada Beograda, a samim tim i za Specijalnu policiju. Suzbijanje komunističke delatnosti bilo je jedan od glavnih zadataka koje je Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova postavljalo pred službenike Specijalne policije. Ovo se nije odnosilo samo na Beograd. Na inicijativu Ministarstva, IV odsek je, na redovnoj bazi, slao ekipe u razne gradove i mesta okupirane Srbije. Ključnu ulogu u radu Stalne komisije Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova za kategorizaciju hapšenika u logoru na Banjici, obrazovane u oktobru 1942, imali su službenici Specijalne policije. Pojedini visoki zvaničnici IV odseka vodili su jednu od glavnih uloga u Zavodu za vaspitanje omladine u Smederevskoj Palanci. Kartoteka Specijalne policije predstavljala je svojevrsni servis za proveru „nacionalne ispravnosti“ građana Srbije. Ovo odeljenje imalo je i svoju ulogu u kolaboracionističkom propagandnom aparatu. Veliki deo materijala za antimasonsku izložbu ustupila je Specijalna policija, a u svrhe antikomunističke propagande stavljala je na uvid novinarima podatke ne samo za istrage koje su završene, već i za one koje su bile u toku. Ključni ljudi ovog odeljenja uživali su veliki uticaj u kolaboracionističkoj upravi, koji je prevazilazio položaj na kojem su se nalazili.

Često smo svedoci da se slika o kolaboraciji prikazuje u crno-belaj tehnici te da se svi kolaboracionisti svrstavaju u isti tabor. Ako uzmemo da proučavamo biografije službenika Uprave grada Beograda, uočićemo da kolaboracija ima više nijansi i da je govoreći nenaučnom terminologijom nekada gotovo nemoguće odrediti ko je „izdajnik“, a ko „heroj“. Uzmimo primer

Milivoja Jovanovića. Ovaj policijski inspektor IV klase, predratni šef III odseka Opšte policije i komesar policije na aerodromu u Zemunu tokom okupacije, bio je prvi šef Odeljenja specijalne policije u periodu početnih mera protiv Jevreja i Roma, a zatim je bio jedan od članova Stalne komisije za kategorizaciju zatvorenika u logoru na Banjici. Navedeni podaci iz radne biografije Jovanovića mogu nas navesti na pogrešnu pretpostavku da je isti po oslobođenju sigurno streljan, ili da je u najmanju ruku osuđen na tešku robiju. Milivoje Jovanović saslušan je jednom u prostorijama OZNE i zatim pušten nakon što je dokazao da je tokom okupacije sarađivao sa komunističkim pokretom otpora. Ni primer Radivoja Atanasijevića nije ništa manje kompleksniji. Ovaj službenik Uprave grada Beograda bio je, u početnom periodu, deo Odeljenja specijalne policije, a veći deo okupacije proveo je na čelu Zbora policijskih agenata, dela Uprave grada Beograda koji možemo bez ikakve sumnje nazvati mišićem Specijalne policije. Pored legalne, Atanasijević je gradio i ilegalnu karijeru kao pripadnik Jugoslovenske vojske u otadžbini. Ovaj policijski službenik bio je zamenik šefa Civilnog štaba Komande Beograd, zadužen za vođenje obaveštajne službe, a po odlasku u šumu član štaba Miroslava Trifunovića Dronje. Svakako najpoznatiji primer je Janko Janković, čija je uloga u komunističkom pokretu otpora dobro poznata. Ono što se manje ističe su podaci iz njegove legalne karijere. Janković je vodio kartoteku Specijalne policije, učestvovao je u racijama u Beogradu i često bio deo ekipa IV odseka koje su upućivane u druge gradove u Srbiji. O tome kako su Jankovićevi nadređeni ocenjivali njegovo zalaganje u službi možda naslikovitije svedoči sledeći odlomak molbe šefa Specijalne policije za unapređenje ovog policijskog službenika: „Od 1941. godine pa sve do danas Janković radi kao referent IV odseka Odeljenja specijalne policije na suzbijanju komunističke akcije u Beogradu i Srbiji. Na ovom poslu pokazao je vidne rezultate na zadovoljstvo svojih pretpostavljenih. Uz to već duže vreme vodi kartoteku Odeljenja specijalne policije sa odličnim uspehom.“

Službenici Odeljenja specijalne policije sprovodili su istrage i bez proverenih operativnih saznanja; kao sredstvo pritiska na odbegle članove pokreta otpora hapsili su njihove porodice; kategorisali su i upućivali u logor uhapšene, čime su im u najvećem broju slučajeva potpisivali i smrtnu presudu; služili su režimu kao svojevrсни „servis“ za proveru „nacionalne ispravnosti“ građana Srbije, i koristili fizičku i psihičku torturu prilikom isleđenja. Nakon svega izloženog, kao zaključak se nameće da ako briga o izbeglicama predstavlja pozitivnu stranu kolaboracionističke uprave u okupiranoj Srbiji, uloga Specijalne policije tokom Drugog svetskog rata predstavlja kamen oko vrata.

Izvori

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Bezbednosno-informativna agencija

Istorijski arhiv Beograda

Uprava grada Beograda 1839-1944: Odeljenje specijalne policije

Vojni arhiv; Nedićeva arhiva; Četnička arhiva; Nemačka arhiva

Zapovednik Policije bezbednosti i službe bezbednosti BdS

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A Walk Through Jewish Inter-War Belgrade

Čedomila Marinković, Independent Scholar

Summary:

The text deals with some aspects of Jewish inter-war life in Belgrade within the frame of wider development of the city in the period from 1918 to 1941. It mentions the most important Jewish political, economic, and cultural figures in Belgrade along with Jewish associations and cultural clubs, as well as some of the most important Jewish buildings constructed in this period.

Key words:

Jews in Belgrade, inter-war period in Belgrade, Jewish architecture in Belgrade, Sephardic Community, Ashkenazi Community.

The text is dedicated to the memory of Albert Semnitz, a Belgrade Jew who was the first to declare his property (essentially nothing) in May 1941, and was among the first of Belgrade's Jews to be taken to Topovske šupe Concentration Camp in October 1941 where he was killed.

Introduction

Belgrade, formerly the capital of the Kingdom of Serbia, emerged from the Great War devastated and scarred, but at the same time as the capital of a country – the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia – three times larger than before the war. The next twenty years were dedicated to catching up with Europe in all areas of life, in particular in modernization.¹ At that time the city, as well as life in it, started to change dramatically: in twenty years the population of the city tripled,² while life became more comfortable and luxurious. Many modern palaces were constructed during this time that featured central heating, bathrooms,

¹ Modernization is the common term for several processes such urbanization, industrialization, social specialization, and democratization. Cf. Предраг Марковић, “Теорија модернизације и њена критичка примена на Југославију и друге источноевропске земље”, [Modernization Theory and its critical applications on Yugoslavia and other Eastern European countries], *Годишњак за друштвену историју* 1 (1994): 11-34.

² The population of Belgrade in 1921 was 111,739, which grew to 320,000 by 1941. Harijet Pas Frajdenrajh, “Јевреји Београда између ратова”, [Jews in Belgrade between wars], *Zbornik JIM* 6 (1992): 365, f.1.

elevators, and phones.³ The first line of urban transport, along with a taxi service and the first private cars were introduced.⁴

This was the time when Josephine Baker visited Belgrade⁵ while everybody was already dancing in the rhythm of jazz orchestras.⁶ Modern theaters hosted performances of Shakespeare in English, Arthur Rubinstein twice played Bach and Beethoven at the New University in October 1927, and the Berlin opera performed Mozart in the National Theatre. Modern clubs opened in Belgrade, Auto-Moto and Aero-Club being the most popular.⁷ Many children started their education in French⁸ or English private schools, and the first tourists were able to land at Belgrade Airport.⁹ Two big bridges were constructed over the Sava and Danube Rivers,¹⁰ and in September 1938, Philips staged the first television broadcast in the Balkans from its pavilion at the Belgrade Exhibition Grounds.¹¹ In the same year, the Czechoslovak car manufacturer Škoda constructed a seventy-four meter tall steel parachute tower, the highest in Europe at the time. Yugoslavia won third place in the FIFA First World football Cup in 1930, and in September 1939 Belgrade saw the first Racing Car Grand Prix around the Kalemegdan Fortress.¹² For Belgrade, the inter-war period was *la belle époque*.

³ Among the most remarkable are Samuel Sumbul's Sefardic Community House, Roger-Henri Expert's French Embassy, Vojin Simeonović's Aero-Club, Miladin Prljević and Đorđe Lazarević's Albania Palace, and Dragiša Brašovan's State Printing House.

⁴ *Automobil u Beogradu*, exhibition catalogue, [The Automobile in Belgrade] (Beograd: Publikum 2002), 44-57.

⁵ Josephine Baker visited Belgrade 2-9 April 1929. Newspaper *Vreme* [Time] from 2 and 8 April 1929 extensively covered this event.

⁶ Mihailo Blam, *Jazz u Srbiji* [Jazz in Serbia] (Beograd: Stubovi kulture 2011), 21-29.

⁷ The Auto-moto Club was founded in 1922, and the Serbian Aero-Club was founded in 1921. In 1928. it changed its name first to the Yugoslav Aero-club "Our wings" and then to the "Royal Yugoslav Aero-club Our wings" in 1935.

⁸ Maja Nikolova, Vojin Nikolić (ur.), *Francusko-srpska škola Sen Žozef* [French-Serbian Institute St. Joseph] (Beograd: Pedagoški muzej 2008).

⁹ The Belgrade Airport opened in March 1927. By the end of the next decade there were more than fourteen regular flight routes that operated daily.

¹⁰ The King Alexander I Bridge over the Sava River was constructed in 1934, and the King Peter II Bridge over the Danube River was finished the following year.

¹¹ <https://www.open.ac.uk/socialsciences/semlin/en/semlin-camp.php/> (accessed on 25 November 2016).

¹² *Automobil u Beogradu*, 135-137.

Jews in Belgrade

Fully integrated into Serbian society, Jews (referred to as “Serbs of Moses’ religion”) were the most significant national minority living in Belgrade that contributed to this development.¹³ There are records of Jews living in Belgrade as early as Roman times. There is even a custom of reading Megilat Ester on the second day of the Purim holiday, which is the custom that was, according to Mishna, prescribed only for cities that were fortified in the time of Joshua bin Nun.¹⁴ However, reliable sources trace the Jewish presence in Belgrade back to the sixteenth century when they came to the city through Thessaloniki after being expelled from Spain. They settled on the Danube bank, near the fortress, in the neighborhood known as Jaliija (Turkish for the *bank*). Even today, one of main streets in the former Jewish neighborhood bears the name of Thessaloniki. In the seventeenth century, during the time of Rabbi Jehuda Lerma, Belgrade became the third most important Jewish learning center in the Ottoman Empire (after Istanbul and Thessaloniki) with a famous yeshiva that was active for more than fifty years.¹⁵

The modern period in the history of Belgrade Jewry started towards the end of the nineteenth century. The Jewish community developed its activities following the Serbian constitution of 1888, when Jews were granted full civil rights. From that time on, the focal point of the Jewish organization became the Jewish community, officially known as the Religious-Educational Jewish Community, either Sephardic or Ashkenazi.¹⁶ Following the end of the First World War and the subsequent events, Serbia was the second state to sign the Balfour declaration.¹⁷ About eleven thousand Jews lived in Belgrade in 1939, of whom 80% were Sephardic.¹⁸

¹³ Serbs considered Jews patriotic citizens because they bravely participated in the Balkan Wars and the First World War. In these wars more than 600 Jews fought as officers and soldiers, and about 150 were killed or died of typhus. Furthermore, Serbo-Croatian was the spoken language for more than 54% of Belgrade Jews as well as the official language of both communities. Frajdenrajh, “Jevreji Beograda,” 367-368.

¹⁴ Ignjat Šlang, *Jevreji u Beogradu*, [Jews in Belgrade] (Novi Sad: HiCad, 2006), 2; B. Hrabak, *Jevreji u Beogradu do sticanja ravnopravnosti 1878* [Jews in Belgrade until acquirement of equality (1878)] (Београд: Чигоја 2009), 14. Along with Shushan (which is located in modern-day southwestern Iran), all cities that were walled at the time when the Israelites, under the leadership of Joshua, entered Canaan, around 13th century BCE, observe Purim on the 15th of Adar.

¹⁵ Šlang, *Jevreji u Beogradu*, 26-39; Hrabak, *Jevreji u Beogradu do sticanja ravnopravnost*, 114.), 39-42.

¹⁶ Nebojša Popović, *Jevreji u Srbiji 1918-1941* [Jews in Serbia 1918-1941] (Beograd: Grafomark, 1997), 39-42.

¹⁷ David Albala (1886-1942) was a Serbian military officer, physician, diplomat, and Jewish community leader. Under his influence, Serbia became the first country in the world to openly endorse the Balfour Declaration of 1917, which called for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. “I authorize you to say in my name that my government is in thorough accord with the statement made by Arthur J. Balfour on behalf of Great Britain favoring the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine.” David Albala, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 23 December 1917.

¹⁸ Frajdenrajh, “Jevreji Beograda,” 365.

The Ashkenazi community

The Ashkenazi community settled in Belgrade later than the Sephardic one, and lived near the bank of the Sava River. There was an older Ashkenazi synagogue in the vicinity of the present one, established in the nineteenth century. The present one, Sukat Shalom Synagogue, was designed in academic style by Franjo Urban and Milan Šlang,¹⁹ son of the famous Belgrade rabbi Ignjat Slang who perished in the Banjica Concentration Camp in 1942. A solemn ceremony of cornerstone laying took place on 15 June 1924, and a charter containing texts in Hebrew and Serbian was sealed in it. The charter was signed by King Alexander and Queen Maria of Yugoslavia. The general construction was finished on 1 November 1925, and once the interior was completed, the building was finally opened in the summer of 1926 and consecrated by Rabbi Šlang. Traditionally this synagogue followed the Ashkenazi rite and served the Belgrade Jewish congregation that spoke Yiddish. The building survived the Second World War because of the fact that it was turned into a restaurant and brothel by the Germans.²⁰ “Working girls” were in private boxes on the *ezrat nashim* (women’s gallery). Re-consecration of the synagogue after the war was already completed by December 1944.²¹ Later, in the basement there was a kosher mess for students and the Maccabi gym.

The Benefactor, the Society of the Ashkenazi women founded in 1894, was also active in Belgrade during the inter-war period when its president was Elza Feldman. The society’s main aim was to support sick and poor women, both mothers and girls. It is also interesting to note here that, unlike Sephardic community that had more than fifteen supportive societies, besides this one and the traditional Hevra Kadisha Society, there were no other humanitarian societies within the Ashkenazi community.²²

Dr. Fridrih Pops, a lawyer, was the president of Ashkenazi community during the inter-war period. He was a very well-known Serbian patriot,²³ a member of the Democratic Party and an initiator of the Ashkenazi synagogue construction. He was also one of the co-founders of the Association of Jewish communities of Yugoslavia and the B’nei brit lodge.²⁴ He dedicated his

¹⁹ Aleksandar Božović, *Sinagoga Sukat Šalom* [Sukat Shalom Synagogue] (Beograd: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda, 2013).

²⁰ Božović, *Sinagoga*, 4; Ženi Lebl, “Sinagoge u Beogradu” [Synagogues in Belgrade], *Zbornik JIM* 7 (1997): 80 - 101.

²¹ One of the rare survivors was Raka Ruben, a photographer for the Politika newspaper, famous for his photos of the funeral of King Aleksander I Karađorđević in 1934, the coup d’état of 27 March 1941, and the first post-war train on Brčko-Banović railway. Aleksandar Gaon (ur.), *Znameniti Jevreji Srbije* [Famous Serbian Jews, biographical lexicon] (Batajnica: Sprint, 2011), 209-210.

²² Frajdenrajh, “Jevreji Beograda,” 370, f. 19; Поповић, *Јевреји у Србији*, 44.

²³ Dr. Fridrich Pops took part in the First World War and was decorated for his bravery. Гаон, *Знаменити Јевреји Србије*, 186-187.

²⁴ According to Nebojša Popović, one of the major tasks of the B’nei Brit lodge was to reduce antagonisms between the Ashkenazi and Sephardic communities. Поповић, *Јевреји у Србији*, 84.

work to overcoming differences with the Sephardic community. In popular culture he is still now well-known as the father-in-law of the famous football player Milutin Ivković-Milutinac.

The Sephardic community

Since gaining civil rights in 1888,²⁵ all professions were open to Jews in Serbia. On the eve of the Second World War, the Sephardic community consisted of 27% merchants, 21% civil servants, 8% craftsmen, and 4% doctors and engineers.²⁶ But they were not all rich – 74% paid the lowest possible tax and four hundred families were too poor to pay any tax.²⁷ However, there were also rich Jews like Alkan Djerassi, a manufacturer and rentier, who erected a large beautiful building with flats for rent that today serves as a kindergarten. Many members of the Sephardic community were distinguished tradesman, doctors, solicitors, and artists, and they belonged to various political parties.²⁸ Better off Jews were not numerous in comparison to the rest of the population, but they invested a great of money into the industry sector (food industry, mills²⁹, sugar production, textile industry, leather industry, construction, banking³⁰ and wholesale trading).

Through the activities of many humanitarian³¹ and cultural organizations, community life grew more important and made a significant impact on Serbian society in general, which is evident through the construction of synagogues, community buildings, and many other important buildings.

²⁵ The Berlin Congress – held from 13 June to 13 July 1878 – was one of the most important political events for the Jews in the modern history of Serbia, because only then (after strong political pressure from the Alliance Israelite Universelle that demanded guarantees of full citizenship rights for Jews) was the Jewish question solved. *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁶ Frajdenrajh, “Jevreji Beograda,” 366. More than 70% of Jews were employed in non-productive sectors, which is huge deviation in comparison to the rest of society where only 10% was in this sector. Popović, *Jevreji u Srbiji*, 35.

²⁷ *Priča o komšijama kojih više nema*, exhibition catalogue [The tale of the neighbors who are no more] (Beograd: B92, 1997), 20.

²⁸ Between the two wars Jews took part in the public life of Belgrade and Serbia, and were represented in the Parliament. They did not have their own party, but were members of various Serbian parties like the Radical Party, which included prominent Jews such as Šemaja Demajo (the vice president of Belgrade Municipality in 1923), Jakov Čelebonović, David Albala, Solomon Azriel, and Šalom Ruso. Many Jews were also in the Democrat Party, such as Rafailo Finci, Solomon Alkalaj, Bukić Pijade, and Fridrih Pops. Compared to the general population, Jews were three times more numerous in the Communist Party. Its most famous members included Moša Pijade, the Bihalji brothers, and the Baruh family. Поповић, *Јевреји у Србији*, 95.

²⁹ Twelve major mills in Serbia were owned by Jews. *Ibid.*, 108.

³⁰ There were five Jewish banks. *Ibid.*, 111-115.

³¹ Apart from “Hevra Kadisha” and “Hased shel Emet,” organizations that took care of the dead and organized burials, there were two women’s societies: “Jewish Women Society” (1874) and “Benefactor” (1896). Other organizations included “Oneg Shabat Gemilut Hasidim” for elderly people, “Bikur Holim,” “Arie Air,” “Šemaja Demajo” for supporting the poor, the Academic Society “Potpora” for supporting students in Serbia and abroad, “Serbian Jewish Choral Society” (the hub of cultural life prior to the First World War), and the “Jewish Library,” which served as a specific Jewish Open University. *Ibid.*, 47-56.

The romantic life of Jewish families in Jaliya by the Danube in the period before the First World War can be found in the books of Haim Davičo, who described the small Balkan-type houses with huge fragrant gardens full of flowers in front of which Sephardic women with exotic names (Perla, Luna, Reina) sat on benches during hot summer Belgrade nights singing old ballads in ladino.³²

Jewish Architecture in Belgrade in the Inter-war Period

The Hotel Palace, owned and built by engineer Leon Talvi in 1923, was the most beautiful and most modern hotel in the whole country and without competition even in the Balkans. Constructed in reinforced concrete, with two basements, an elegant ground floor and six floors with guest rooms, it had its own power plant, cooling installation and ice-cream production, laundry, pumps for hot water, central heating, large kitchen, three lifts, a post office and car or bus transfer. Silver cutlery, a gallery of paintings and sculptures in five lounges on the fifth floor (worth 2.5 million dinars, with Italian, French, Russian and local artist paintings), an open roof restaurant, café, indoor restaurant, dance theater, and banquette halls made it even more special. According to the daily newspaper *Politika*, the first Yugoslav Zionist Congress took place in the theater hall of this hotel on 16-17 June 1924.

The Čelebonović Palace was named after Jakov Čelebonović, a lawyer and president of the Sephardic community. The building was built from 1927 to 1929 by the renowned architects S. Belić and N. Krasnov. It was built as a two-story palace in the academic style and featured a remarkable entrance and a spacious marble staircase with *ferre forgé*. Jakov and Johana (Jovana) Čelebonović had six children, of whom Marko and Aleksa occupy a special place in Serbian culture and art. Marko (Mordehaj) Čelebonović is one of the most important Serbian painters of the twentieth century, and Aleksa Čelebonović was an eminent art historian, university professor, and art critic.³³ Due to Dr. Čelebonović's reputation in Belgrade's social life between the two wars, and the fact that he was the president of the Sephardic community, the Palace itself used to be the hub of cultural life. It was a meeting place of renowned people of the period, such as Geca Kon (1873-1941?),³⁴ the most famous Belgrade publisher who, for over forty years, published more than four thousand titles by Serbian and foreign authors. Besides publishing, Kon invented many modern book-selling methods and was the first to publish high school and university textbooks covering a wide range of topics from the sciences to the humanities. His bookstore on Knez Mihailova 12 is still the most important bookstore in Belgrade.³⁵ Other frequent visitors to the Palace included Stanislav Vinaver (1891-1955),³⁶ a writer, poet, and translator; Georgije

³² Haim S. Davičo, *Priče sa Jalijske* [Stories from Jaliya] (Beograd: Standard 2, 2000).

³³ Gaon, *Znameniti Jevreji Srbije*, 257, (Aleksa), 258 (Marko).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 118-119.

³⁵ Velimir Starčević, *KKnjiga o Geci Konu* [Book about Geca Kon] (Beograd: Admiral Books, 2009).

³⁶ Gaon, *Znameniti Jevreji Srbije*, 56-57. Vinaver volunteered in the Balkan Wars and took part in the First World War as one of the 1,300 members of the famous corporal battalion of students (1,300 *kaplara*), in which he was a lieutenant.

Ostrogorsky (1902-1976),³⁷ the founder of the famous Belgrade Byzantine school; Šemaja Demajo (1877-1932),³⁸ a lawyer, member of Radical Party, and vice president of the Belgrade municipality; Lujo Davičo (1910-1942),³⁹ a ballet dancer, and many others.

Victor Azriel built the first modern department store in Belgrade in 1907. Its owner, Bencion Buli (1867-1933), was a banker and a deputy in the Parliament, a member of the Radical Party and highly decorated Serbian patriot (Decoration of St. Sava II order, Star of Karađorđe, and the White Eagle medal).⁴⁰ Buli's Department store was the first modern commercial building in Belgrade, with several interconnected stories and a unique, open retail space. The facade was designed in the Art Nouveau style with beautiful masks, swans, and floral elements, and today remains the most beautiful example of this style in Belgrade.⁴¹

Jews were among the first to accept all modern innovations in various fields of life; for example, the first football ball was brought to Belgrade by Bencion's brother, Hugo Buli (1875-1941/42), who had played for Berlin's "Germania" club and who introduced this sport to Serbia as early as in 1896.⁴² The Jew Jovan Fisher founded and managed the first steam bakery, "Soko", which was an offshoot of the famous Viennese Ankerbrot Bäckerei.⁴³ "Micky Jazz" was the first jazz orchestra established in 1923 by Jewish musicians,⁴⁴ and the first sound movie was screened in the Colosseum Cinema Theater, owned by Kronstein and the Tatajczak-Andjelković brothers, in 1929.⁴⁵

Even the very modern architectural Art Nouveau style was first embraced by Jews whose houses decorated in that style can still be seen along Kralja Petra Street.⁴⁶ Kralja Petra Street is an old and interesting street, linking the Sava and Danube riverbanks, and also two worlds, in which one can find an Orthodox church, a synagogue and a mosque. Jewish families lived in almost every

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 170-171.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 81-82.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 44-45.

⁴¹ Bojana Ibrajter Gazibara, *Robni magazin [Department store]* (Beograd: Zavod za zaštitu kulture grada Beograda, 2011.)

⁴² *Ibid.*, 47-48.

⁴³ This story is based on the private archive of Joel Fisher, Holon, Israel. In 1966, the "Soko" bakery became the famous Belgrade chocolate, candy, and biscuits factory "Soko-Nada Štark."

⁴⁴ Blam, *Jazz u Srbiji*, 21.

⁴⁵ David Tajtacak, "Beogradski Jevreji i njihova zanimanja (od kraja 19. veka do II. svetskog rata)" [Jews of Belgrade and their occupations: from the end of the 19th century until the Second World War], *Jevrejski pregled*, avgust/septembar 2016, 14.

⁴⁶ Two of the most famous examples are Aaron Levi's house in Kralja Petra Street 39 and Žak Buli's House at number 56 (which is no longer standing), constructed by Stojan Titelbah.

building in this street until the Second World War.⁴⁷ After the First World War, Sephardic Jews, who lived along the bank of the Danube River, started moving uphill towards the city center and Knez Mihailova Street.⁴⁸

The new home of the Jewish Sephardic Council as well as the Beth Israel synagogue were built in the span of twenty years on Kralja Petra and Cara Uroša streets. Funds for both were provided by the Jewish benefactors Mate Levi and his wife Rachel. The six-story Community building was erected in 1928 by the Sarajevo-born architect Samuel Sumbul, and decorated with lavish oriental Moorish ornaments. Besides offices and apartments, there is a large hall designed for ceremonies, meetings, and Purim balls. The Community home housed many scholastic and cultural associations and societies such as the Jewish library,⁴⁹ the Serbian-Jewish Choral Society, Hashomer Hacair, and the Makabi Theater.⁵⁰ After the Nazi occupation, this building was appropriated by the Kulturbund that destroyed all of the paintings of the famous Jewish painter Leon Kohen. During the war Jews were not even allowed to walk along this part of the street, let alone use the building.

Dorćol – The Old Jewish Neighborhood

The first Jewish community building in Belgrade, erected in 1860 in Dorćol on Solunska Street, was the famous Old Home or *mildar*.⁵¹ In the vicinity of it was the El Kal Vieho, the Old Synagogue, the focus of Jewish (Sephardic) life in Belgrade for more than three hundred years. A beautiful two-story building, in a decorative Moorish style⁵² designed by Samuel Sumbul, was added to this traditional environment in 1923. Its large hall served for various public gatherings, social events (pre-election political meetings, weddings, religious ceremonies), and occasionally, as a synagogue. A one-story building in the yard was added in 1929, and served as a retirement home

⁴⁷ According to Jovanka Veselinović's research, the number of Jews living in Kralja Petra Street in the spring of 1941 included more than thirty families, and the number of Jewish shops on this street was even bigger. Jovanka Veselinović, "Spisak Jevreja i supružnika Jevreja koji su, prema naredbi vojnog zapovednika u Srbiji od 30. maja 1941. podneli opštini grada Beograda prijave o imovini" [The list of Jews and their spouses who submitted accounts of their material assets], *Zbornik JIM* 6, (1992): 375-406.

⁴⁸ In 1921, 23% of all Jews lived in the Dorćol municipality, 10% in the city center, 7% in the Vračar municipality, 6,5% in Palilula, and 5% in Savamala and Terazije. Frajdenrajh, "Jevreji Beograda," 366.

⁴⁹ Radivoje Davidović, *Jevrejska čitaonica* [The Jewish library] (Beograd: Čigoja, 2016).

⁵⁰ Cf. f.31.

⁵¹ Mildar was also the school building where, in 1862, the entire community found shelter and miraculously survived the bombing of the city. This event is well-known as the Belgrade Purim.

⁵² The name of the building was Oneg Shabbat, Gemilut Hasidim that means "Oneg Shabbat - Honoring the Sabbath," the day of rest. The Society's main aim was to keep the memory of the deceased members of the community. Gemilut Hasidim was an association of pious Jews which provided assistance to the poor and elderly Jews. It is possible to find inscriptions in both Hebrew and Cyrillic above the entrance to the building, mentioning the name of the Society as well as the quotation from the Psalm 71: "Do not reject me in my old age; do not forsake me when my strength has abandoned me."

for the community. These three buildings completely dominated the life of almost every Jew living in Dorćol.

The Society of Jewish Women, founded in 1894, was the first such Society among all Sephardic Jews in Europe.⁵³ It played an important part in the education of Jewish children. The Society activities centered on aiding needy mothers with small babies and sick women, as well as needy brides-to-be. During the First World War, many members of the Society became nurses, one of the most famous being Neti Munk. From 1920-1941, Jelena Demajo was the President. She introduced a new spirit to the Society, opening an artisan school for women that soon became the first Junior Crafts School in Belgrade. The Society opened “Karmel”, a nursing home for children, in Prčanj on the Adriatic coast in the Bay of Kotor in 1926. The Home for Children and Counseling Office for Mothers was opened in 1938, together with a health center for mothers and a kindergarten, a dining room, and shelter for children.⁵⁴ This modern building was designed by the architects Miša Manojlović and Victor Azriel. At the beginning of June 1941 this building became the Jewish hospital with Dr. Bukić Pijade as its Director.⁵⁵ The first deadly trip of the gas van – the infamous *dušegupka* – towards the Jajinci execution site, started from this place in the morning of 18 March 1942.⁵⁶

The belle époque of Belgrade Jewry abruptly came to an end as the Holocaust engulfed Serbia.

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⁵³ Jelena Filipović, Ivana Vučina-Simović, “Philanthropy and Emancipation among Sephardic women in the Balkans in times of Modernity,” *Journal of Sephardic Studies*, vol. 1: 78-95. <http://www.sefarad-studies.org/> accessed 2 January 2017.

⁵⁴ Popović, *Jevreji u Srbiji*, 48-49.

⁵⁵ In June 1941. there were sixty-six doctors, twenty-four students of medicine, six pharmacists, and twenty-six nurses working in this hospital. Olga Manojlović Pintar (et al.), *Mesta stradanja i antifašističke borbe u Beogradu 1941-44*, (Beograd: Pekograf, 2013), 94-98.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

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Racija u Novom Sadu

Petar Đurđev, Istorijski arhiv grada Novog Sada

Summary:

Transcript of the presentation at the sixth event "Escalating into Holocaust" in Novi Sad on the occasion of the anniversary of the crime known as Novi Sad raid, and commemoration of its victims, 25th of January 2017.

Key Words:

Serbia, Novi Sad, Raid, Hungary, Hungarian fascists, Holocaust, Second World War, Jews, Roma, Serbs

Apstrakt:

Transkript predavanja održanog u okviru programa šeste manifestacije "Eskalacija u Holokaust" u Novom Sadu 25. januara 2017. povodom godišnjice zločina poznatog kao Novosadska racija i sećanja na njegove žrtve.

Ključne reči:

Srbija, Novi Sad, Mađarska, mađarski fašisti, Holokaust, Drugi svetski rat, Jevreji, Romi, Srbi

Nakon puča od 27. marta 1941. godine, mađarski Generalštab ubrzao je pripreme za napad na Jugoslaviju. Mađarski državni vrh je zauzeo stanovište da je Kraljevina Jugoslavija međunarodno-pravno gledano prestala da postoji proglašenjem tzv. Nezavisne države Hrvatske, 10. aprila 1941. godine, zbog čega je protivno međunarodnom pravu i ugovornim obavezama izvršio napad u noći između 10. i 11. aprila. Tri korpusa Treće armije, sa oko 80.000 vojnika započela su zauzimanje Bačke. Vlast je preuzela Vojna uprava dok su nemački „folksdojčeri" i mađarski „nemzeteri", kao peta kolona, masovno vršili sabotaze i potpomagali napredovanje neprijateljske vojske.

Prilikom zaposedanja Bačke mađarska vojska je ubila preko 3500 ljudi, a 14000 je bilo izloženo svirepoj torturi. Među prvim odlukama okupatora bila je naredba o proterivanju svih lica koja su naseljena u Bačkoj posle 30. oktobra 1918. godine.

Ovom akcijom okupatora bilo je pogođeno negde preko 20000 ljudi. Na opustela imanja započelo je naseljavanje maćarskih porodica iz Bukovine, Moldavije i Bosne. Mađarska država je od poseda koji su oteći Srbima i Jevrejima formirala fond koji je prvenstveno sa namerom da omogući privredno jačanje stanovništva koje je pomagalo uvođenje neprijateljske vlasti.

Smatrajući Bačku mađarskom teritorijom, nazvali su je Delvidek - Južni krajevi, vojne vlasti su vršile mobilizaciju stanovništva odgovarajućeg starosnog doba radi služenja vojnog roka. Rezervisti su mobilisani u posebne radne jedinice (munkaše). Srbi su se pokazali kao izuzetno nepouzđani i ne lojalni okupatorskoj vojnici. Stoga je traženo od Generalštaba da budu upućivani ne u redovne nego u posebne radne jedinice pod posebnom kontrolom.

Bilo je i posebnih kažnjeničkih radnih jedinica sastavljenih od političkih osuđenika koji su na Istočnom frontu čistili minska polja. Bilo je i redovnih radnih jedinica čiju sastav su činili mobilisani muškarci starijeg uzrasta. Te jedinice (munkaši) upotrebljavane su za rad u poljoprivredi, fabrikama, na raščišćavanju ruševina od bombardovanja. Na Istočnom frontu služile su za teške poslove na kopanju rovova i transportnim radovima.

Bačkim Jevrejima je nametnut obavezan prinudan rad, finansijski su izrabljivani pod parolom obaveznih novćanih poklona prema mađarskoj državi. Ogranićene su kvote za upis jevrejskih studenata na fakultete, zatvorena je prohodnost i primanje u strukovne organizacije a nad svim znatnijim privrednim preduzećima uspostavljena je državna uprava

Tokom poslednja tri meseca 1941. godine sudovi u Bačkoj održali su niz procesa po kratkom postupku sa brojnim smrtnim presudama. U eri brutalnog razračunavanja sa snagama NOP-a u poslednjem kvartalu 1941. godine, izveštaji sa terena upućeni nadležnima u Budimpeštu poprimali su sve alarmantniji karakter, mada za to nisu imali stvarnog razloga. Tako šef kapetanije u Novom Sadu Đula Zombori upozoravao je svoje pretpostavljene da se sa sigurnošću mogu očekivati nove akcije. Na takav zaključak ga, veli, upućuje »osvetoljubivi karakter srpskog naroda«, koji će, svakako reagovati na masovna hapšenja i suđenja. Pored molbe za uvođenje niza preventivnih mera u gradu, povećanje broja policijskih detektiva, izgradnju masovne mreže sistema poverenika i doušnika državne bezbednosti i dr. Zombori predlaže sprovođenje opsežne racije u celom rejonu Dunava i Tise.

Političko odeljenje Glavne kapetanije u Budimpešti je 8. novembra 1941. godine, podnelo je iscrpan izveštaj ministru unutrašnjih poslova o stanju u Bačkoj. Između ostalog kao jedna od mera za sprečavanje novih incidenata predložena je obimna akcija racije na terenu južne Bačke i Novog Sada.

Kapetanija mađarske kraljevske policije u Novom Sadu je 2. januara 1942. godine poslala cirkularni dopis br. 187/1941. podžupanu Bačbodroške županije, Mađarskoj kr. kontrašpijunaži u Novom Sadu, ispostavi mađarskog kr. žandarmerijskog istražnog odeljenja u Subotici i velikom županu grada Novog Sada. Cirkular, je nosio naslov »Poverljivi izveštaji u vezi sa srpskim pravoslavnim božićnim praznicima«, sastavljen je na osnovu jednog poverljivog špijunskog

izveštaja od 8 do 10. decembra 1941. godine, u kome je registrovana navodna izjava jednog seljaka iz Maradika u Sremu, data u Novom Sadu: „Čekajte Mađari i Nemci, do srpskog Božića poteći će vaša krv“. Nekoliko dana docnije poverljivi doušnik čuo je sličan razgovor dvojice ljudi, od kojih je jedan bio, navodno, jevrejskog izgleda. Pošto upozorava na skori datum pravoslavnog Božića i običaje Srba da, za vreme tog praznika, priređuju pucnjavu i lumpovanja, ovaj cirkular skreće pažnju na mogućnost postojanja veze između seljaka iz Maradika i pomenute dvojice, i to u smislu postojanja neke organizacije. Iz Bačko-bodroške županije cirkular je upućen sreskim načelnicima, a ovi su ga dalje prosledili opštinama.

Priču o masovnom ustanku u Bačkoj, koji je trebalo da bukne na srpski Božić, dakle 7. januara 1942, na svoj način potvrđuju i sledeća dva dokumenta. Prvi je nastao 25. februara 1942. godine i sačinjen je na osnovu izjava članova mađarske vlade. Iako se tada već uveliko znao datum sukoba između okupatorskih snaga i boraca Šajkaškog partizanskog odreda 4. januar, oni iznose da je jedna grupa ustanika iz Banata prešla u Bačku 7. januara itd. Dakle, oni se, uz izmišljeni podatak o prelasku ustanika iz okoline Velikog Bečkereka (današi Zrenjanin) u prostor severno od Titela u Bačku, koriste predviđenim datumom navodnog ustanka, a ne datumom stvarnog sukoba.

Veliki župan Novog Sada je nešto elastičniji, pa okupljenim Srbima Novog Sada, 17. januara 1942, napominje da je očekivana pobuna buknuła tri dana ranije (4.1) od planiranog datuma (7.1) zahvaljujući pojačanoj kontroli vlasti. Naravno, pri svemu, ne treba posebno naglašavati da i jedni i drugi svesno ignorišu činjenicu da se 4. januara nije radilo o dizanju pobune, još manje ustanka širokih razmera, već o neizbežnom sukobu koji su okupatori nametnuli pripadnicima Šajkaškog partizanskog odreda.

U sukobu sa Šajkaškim slabo naoružanim partizanskim odredom (svega 17 pušaka i 20 bombi) 4. januara 1942. godine u okolini Žablja na Pustajićevom salašu, brojnije mađarske snage relativno brzo su ga razbile i nanele mu velike gubitke, a život je izgubio partizan Đula Molnar.

Istog dana, četvrtog januara 1942. godine dolazi do sastanka, između ministra unutrašnjih poslova Kersteš Fišer Ferenc, ministra narodne odbrane Barta Karolja i načelnika mađarskog generalštaba general-pukovnika Ferenc Sombathelji, na kom je zaključeno da se sprovede racija u Šajkaškoj.

Pri sprovođenju racije trebala je da se izvrši i odmazda prema civilnom stanovništvu. Samo sprovođenje racije, bilo je povereno komandantu pete armije sa sedištem u Segedinu, generalu Fekete Halmi-Cajdner Ferencu koji je za izvođenje racije izdao posebna uputstva trupama određenima za njihovo izvršenje. U jednom od svojih uputstava on kaže:

„U maticu umrlih, poginulih i nestalih osoba treba kao okolnost smrti navesti izraz ubijen tokom oružanog komunističkog sukoba. Ovaj postupak je potreban, da bi se na osnovu njega mogao pokrenuti postupak radi oduzimanja imovine.,,

Načelnik Generalštaba je nakon dobija vesti o sukobima kod Žablja, pokrenuo predvićeni operativni plan. Za komandanta akcije je postavio generala Ferenc Fekethalmija Cajdnera, a ovaj za komandanta operacija postavio je komandanta Lasla Deak.

Strah od, navodno, najavljenog srpskog ustanka za Božić, dobio je kod mađarskog stanovništva Šajkaške još više na realnosti i uverljivosti. Četvrtog januara, istoga dana kada je došlo do sukoba, mađarsko stanovništvo Čuruga i Žablja, ali i ostalih šajkaških mesta u kojima je ono bilo u apsolutnoj manjini, čuvši da se vode ogorčene borbe sa dobro naoružanim partizanskim banditima, odmah je bilo naoružano, a formirani su i odbori koji su imali zadatak da se obračunaju sa nelojalnim i nezahvalnim Srbima. Istog dana, u Čurugu je uhapšeno, ubijeno i pod led bačeno 25 najviđenijih Srba i Jevreja koji su po oceni Odbora za raciju imali najneposredniju vezu sa oružanim ustankom. Prvog dana pod udar racije došao je i sam Žabalj kao sresko središte.

Već 5.januara 1942.godine mađarske vojne vlasti izvršile su značajniju koncentraciju svojih snaga u Novom Sadu i Šajkaškoj. Tako je komanda 15 pešadijske brigade na čelu sa Jožefom Grašijem, generalštabnim pukovnikom, premeštena iz Sombora u Novi Sad, dok je naredbom načelnika Generalštaba Ferenc Sombathelija bataljon Dvadesetog puka raspoređen u okolinu Zablja kako bi vojska mogla uspešnije da interveniše i brže dospe u glavna gnezida haranja četnika i komunista i sa njima se odlučno obračuna.²⁸⁹ Za glavnokomandujućeg u raciji određen je, ne slučajno, Ferenc Feketehalmi-Cajdner, komandant Petog domobranskog korpusa, a za glavnog operativca pukovnik Laslo Deak, komandant Devetog pešadijskog puka. Feketehalmi-Cajdner, neosporno nemački čovek i visoki mađarski oficir, imao je zadatak da sprovede raciju, tj. unapred isplaniranu akciju desrbizacije, ali i da otpočne radikalnije rešavanje jevrejskog pitanja, ne samo na ovim prostorima, već i u čitavoj Mađarskoj.

Vlasti su u raciji angažovale oko dve hiljade vojnika i žandarmerije, pored naoružanog lokalnog stanovništva. Centar za rukovođenje racijom u Šajkaškoj bio je u Žablju gde su se već 5.januara okupili, pored Lasla Deaka i Geze Batoria, komandanta žandarmerijskih snaga, Ferenc Foti, opunomoćenik Druge D podgrupe mađarskog Generalštaba za vođenje istrage protiv komunista u Južnim krajevima, ali i najviši predstavnici civilne vlasti: veliki župan Bač-Bodroške županije Leo Deak i podžupan Erne Bajšai.

Mađarsko lokalno stanovništvo, ohrabreno sve većom koncentracijom mađarskih vojnika i žandarmerijskih snaga, ustremilo se na nezaštićeno pravoslavno stanovništvo, ali i na Jevreje, te je narednih dana usledio pravi masakr. Posebno je pod udar došao žabaljski srez i sam Žabalj kao sresko sedište, ali i Čurug i mesta Titelskog sreza. Gotovo svi viđeniji Srbi i Jevreji ovih mesta stradali su jer su imali snažnog uticaja na lokalno stanovništvo. Među prvima su stradali, ne slučajno sveštenici, učitelji, lekari, bivši jugoslovenski stranački prvaci, ali i zanatlije, trgovci i viđeniji srpski i jevrejski domaćini, koji sa narodnooslobodilačkim pokretom nisu imali gotovo nikakve veze. Među žrtvama racije našao se i izvestan broj članova porodica i rodbine poginulih i uhapšenih boraca Šajkaškog partizanskog odreda i onih za koje se znalo da su bili borci, ili su se nalazili u bekstvu.

Prema brojnim izveštajima mađarskih lokalnih organa vlasti i pre racije često je bilo isticano da pravoslavno sveštenstvo u Šajkaškoj ima predvodničku ulogu i da je pored učitelja osnovni nosilac buntovništva ipodstrekač nemira. Zato nije slučajno da su u raciji stradali sveštenici: protojerej žabaljski Miloš Katić, Čedomir Eremić i Georgije Živanov, žabaljski parosi, Branko Vakanjac i Pavle Kostić, čuruški sveštenici, Anđelko Grbić protojerej iz Đurđeva sa suprugom Olgom, Svetozar Vlaškalić, protoprezviter mošorinski, Jovan Vislavski, sveštenik gospodinački itd.

Šajkaška sela ostala su gotovo bez i jedne jevrejske porodice koje su najvećim brojem bile trgovačke, ali su i mnoge bogate srpske porodice posle zlostavljanja ubijene i bačene pod led Tise, a njihova imovina nemilosrdno opljačkana. Tragičnost racije u Šajkaškoj ipak najbolje potvrđuje broj od 2.345 ubijenih njenih žitelja. Mađarsko stanovništvo šajkaških sela, uz pomoć vojske i žandarmerije, predvođeno najviđenijim ličnostima u selu, o čemu svedoče sastavi mesnih odbora za raciju, na osnovu pripremljenih spiskova, izvršilo je neviđeni zločin prema svojim dojučerašnjim komšijama. U likvidacijama su na videlo izbili, ne samo nacionalna i verska netrpeljivost, već i elementi lične osvete i zavisti, ali i pakosti i želja za ličnim bogaćenjem na račun imućnijih Srba i Jevreja. Učestvujući u raciji, mađarsko stanovništvo smatralo je da time vrši svoju, ne samo građansku, već i patriotsku dužnost. U raciji u Šajkaškim selima, pored mesne, učestvovala je i agrarna sirotinja okolnih sela, pa čak i iz Temerina, Ade, Mola, Bačkog Petrovog Sela.

Mađarske vlasti su priznavale da se imovina žrtava pljačkala i razvlačila. Tako je dr Leo Deak, početkom februara 1942. godine obaveštavao Ministarstvo za snabdevanje da su mnoge srpske kuće, posle čistki, ostale bez stanara i nadzora, a u njima velike količine hrane i da je na nepoznato mesto odneto preko dvadeset tona hrane i to samo iz Čuruga i Gospodinaca. I sam se žalio višim instancama da on nije bio u mogućnosti da svojim autoritetom spreči ovu pljačku i razvlačenje imovine.

Januarskom racijom u Šajkaškoj bila su obuhvaćena gotovo sva sela u kojima je srpsko stanovništvo bilo dominantno. Međutim, i pored toga što su Čurug, Žabalj, Đurđevo, Mošorin i Gospodinci najviše stradali, pojedina mesta nekadašnjih srpskih Šajkaša ostala su izvan tragičnih i krvavih događanja.

I pored toga što je racija u Šajkaškoj odnela blizu 2.500 njenih žitelja, mađarske vlasti nisu bile sasvim zadovoljne rezultatima preduzetih mera i efektima koje su očekivali. Samo je zastrašivanje stanovništva dalo određene rezultate, ali to nije bilo dovoljno da uveri nemački Rajh da Mađarska, zbog velikog vojnog angažovanja na prostorima Bačke, ne može u potpunosti da zadovolji i zahteve Nemačke za njenim većim angažovanjem na Istočnom frontu.

O događajima u šajkaškoj raspravljalo se 12. januara 1942. godine na sastanku u Budimpešti kojem su, između ostalih, prisustvovali: ministar unutrašnjih poslova Ferenc Keresteš-Fišer, ministar odbrane Karolj Barta i šef Generalštaba Ferenc Sombathelji. Referišući o zbivanjima u šajkaškoj, Ferenc Feketehalmi-Cajdner je istakao da su istraživanja potvrdila da su se partizanski banditi posle oružanog ustanka u Šajkaškoj povukli u gradove gde se skrivaju, da je stanovništvo

naoružano te da je potrebno izvršiti detaljna pročešljavanja. S tim u vezi, istoga dana, doneta je odluka da se racija proširi i na sam Novi Sad.

Samo nekoliko dana kasnije Sombathelji je izdao naredbu da se i Novi Sad detaljno podvrgne pročešljavanju. Na posleratnom suđenju za ratne zločince on je izjavio da je naredbu doneo na osnovu izričitog traženja ministra unutrašnjih poslova u cilju ugušenja srpskih četničkih i komunističkih nereda u Bačkoj, ali će naredni događaji biti veoma tragični i za jevrejsko stanovništvo. Budući da su ličnosti koje su donele ovu odluku bile pronemački orijentisane i da je Mađarsku polovinom januara 1942. godine posetio načelnik nemačke vrhovne komande feldmaršal Vilhelm Kajtel, razumljivo je zašto se racija proširila i na Novi Sad, i zašto su preduzete odlučne mere u tzv. konačnom rešenju jevrejskog pitanja. Naravno, ovakve odluke se nisu mogle doneti bez znanja i saglasnosti samog regenta Hortija, mada ne postoje dokumenti koji potvrđuju njegovu direktnu umešanost u donošenje odluke da se racija proširi i na Novi Sad i Stari Bečej, pa i čitavu Bačku.

U svojoj naredbi, Ferenc Sombathelji izričito je zahtevao da se preduzmu energične mere posle krvoprolića u Šajkaškoj, ali i da se mora voditi računa da se ne dese velike nepravde. Neka akcija čišćenja i odmazde ne pređe u bezrazložnu svirepost i krvoproliće.

Naredbom je određena i zona vojnog delovanja koja je obuhvatala: Stari Bečej-Srbobran-Pašićevo-Bački Petrovac-Gajdobra-Tovariševo-Palanka, uz kontrolu Dunava i Tise i posebno Novog Sada. Osamnaestog januara Ferenc Feketehalmi-Cajdner, kao glavnokomandujući u raciji, izdao je naredbu sličnu Sombatheljijevoj od 15. januara u kojoj je posebno naglasio da partizane koji su u toku oružanog ustanka u Bačkoj pali u borbi ili ubijeni, treba sahraniti uz učešće vlasti. U matične knjige umrlih, poginulih i nestalih osoba treba kao okolnost smrti navesti "ubijen tokom komunističkog oružanog ustanka". Ovaj postupak je potreban zbog toga, ističe se u naredbi, da se na osnovu njega može otpočeti sa oduzimanjem imovine.

U pripremama za raciju u Novom Sadu Ferenc Feketehalmi-Cajdner održao je u Srbobranu 19. januara 1942. godine posebno vojno savetovanje. Tom prilikom, za glavno-komandujućeg racije u Novom Sadu imenovao je Jožefa Grašia, dotadašnjeg komandanta Trinaeste brigade u Somboru. Savetovanju je prisustvovao i Laslo Deak koji je preneo prisutnima svoja iskustva iz racije u Šajkaškoj.

Već sledećeg dana Novi Sad je bio blokiran i racija je faktički otpočela. Okupacione vlasti nisu slučajno, posle Šajkaške, odabrale baš Novi Sad i u njemu otpočele čišćenje. Novi Sad, već od ranije nazivan srpskom Atinom, sa sedištem Matice srpske, koncentrisanom srpskom inteligencijom i bogatijim Srbima, među kojima je i veliki broj onih koji su gravitirali matici Srbiji, a nije zaboravljeno ni to da je bio centar srpskih nacionalnih težnji iz vremena 1918. godine. Mađarska je nameravala da od njega stvori čisto mađarski grad koji će moći u svemu da se suprotstavi negativnim balkanskim uticajima sa juga.

Pod udar racije grad je došao i iz razloga što je u njemu živela najbrojnija i najbogatija jevrejska zajednica na prostorima tzv. „Južnih krajeva“. Represivniji odnos prema Jevrejima do koga je došlo u novosadskoj i starobečejskoj raciji nesumnjivo je podstaknut od strane Rajha koji je smatrao da Mađari prema njima vode mlaku i neodlučnu politiku. U posleratnom iskazu Janoša Kenjereša, učesnika racije i đaka žandarmerijske škole iz Seksarda, stoji: Imali smo nalog da u gradu poubijamo sve Jevreje. Od Srba je trebalo poubijati sve one koji nisu znali perfektno mađarski i koji ranije nisu bili austrijski ili honvedski oficiri. Sam Đula Kramer potvrdio je posle rata da se po pitanju novosadskih Jevreja nije moglo ništa učiniti jer je odluka doneta na višim instancama.

O stavu nemačkog stanovništva prema raciji u Novom Sadu gotovo da i nema podataka. Oni najradikalniji svakako su podržavali masovnu likvidaciju Jevreja, a koliko su sami u tome učestvovali, takođe je nepoznato. S obzirom da su u legitimacionom odboru, pored Mađara bila i dvojica Nemaca (dr Rihard Derner, gaulajter za južnu Bačku i Ljudevit Keks, advokat), verovatno je da su Nemci nadzirali mađarsku akciju obračuna sa judeo-boljševičkom opasnošću. Prema posleratnom svedočenju dr Jožefa Kenjekia, novosadskog policijskog savetnika u vreme racije, Jevreji su, navodno skrivali oko trideset miliona penga koje su im poslali Rusi za potrebe finansiranja komunističkog ustanka, te ih je iz tih razloga trebalo najstrožije kazniti.

Okupacione vlasti pridavale su veliki značaj novosadskoj raciji. O tome svedoči i dolazak samog Feketehalmi-Cajdnara i njegovog štaba u Novi Sad 20.januara 1942.godine kako bi na licu mesta kontrolisali i usmeravali događaje. U noći između 20. i 21.januara vojska je blokirala grad i tako sprečila svaki izlazak iz njega. Grad je bio izlepljen plakatama na kojima su se Novosađanima davala uputstva kako da se u narednim danima ponašaju. Sve radnje morale su biti zatvorene, sem onih za snabdevanje životnim namirnicama. Zabranjen je bio saobraćaj, slušanje radija, točenje alkohola i dr. Sva javna mesta - bioskopi, pozorišta itd bila su zatvorena, a javne menze radile su samo od 8 do 12 časova. Crkve su morale biti zatvorene, a zvonjava zabranjena. Prozori na kućama morali su biti zatvoreni sa navučenim zavesama, kapije zaključane i obavezno otvarane samo licima koja su vršila pretres, a najstrože je kažnjavano primanje nepoznatih lica u kuću. S obzirom na karakter objave, zvuče paradoksalno stavovi vojnih mesnih komandi koje su je i izdale, da je privatna svojina građana neprikosnoven. Jožef Graši, koji je bio autor teksta objave, isticao je: da će se prijave o krađi i nasilju na licu mesta izviđati, a krivci staviti predpreki sud. Događaji narednih dana, međutim, potvrdiće da se radilo samo o običnoj farsa.³¹ Istoga dana Graši je izdao i naredbu o smrtnoj kazni za sva lica koja budu uhvaćena da skrivaju oružje, municiju i eksploziv.

Grad je bio podeljen na reone, a raciju su izvodile pojedinačne patrole predvođene najčešće domaćim Mađarima koji su dobro poznavali prilike u svojoj ulici. Na osnovu dostava unapred pripremljenih spiskova za likvidaciju, procene samih patrola o sumnjivosti pojedinih lica, otpočelo je krvoproliće i u Novom Sadu. Mnogi sumnjivi odvođeni su pred legitimacioni odbor, u tadašnji Dom levente(današnji Sokolski dom), od koga je zavisila sudbina mnogih Novosađana. Tom prilikom legitimisano je čak preko 20.000 građana.

Prvi dani racije, uprkos žrtvama, nisu potvrdili očekivanja njenih organizatora zbog čega je u noći između 22. i 23. januara insceniran sukob sa navodnim buntovničkim elementima. Prenosile su se vesti o dvojici ubijenih honveda, a "ranjeni" vojnici predstavljeni su svojim saborcima sa zavojima oko glave, ruku i dr, sa ciljem da mađarske vojnike podstaknu na odlučujući obračun sa nepoćudnim Srbima i Jevrejima. Ovaj događaj i preterano točenje alkohola koji se pio uz čaj i davao vojnicima jer je bilo veoma hladno uticalo je na to da se treći dan racije završi sa najviše žrtava. Mnoge jevrejske i srpske porodice ostale su gotovo bez i jednog člana. Pod udar su došli bogatiji jevrejski trgovci, zanatlije, lekari, advokati, a među Srbima: intelektualci, đaci, studenti, zanatlije, trgovci i dr. Među 1.253 žrtve racije bile su i poznate ličnosti: dr Miloš Bokšan, ugledni vojvođanski demokrata, dr Ignjat Pavlas koji je 1918.godine dočekaio srpsku vojsku kao oslobodioca, novosadski lekar Jevrejin Matija Satler i mnogi drugi. Od mnoštva tragičnih sudbina koje su zabeležene u elaboratu o zločinima mađarskih okupatora 1941-1944.godine izdvaja se svojom tragičnošću stradanje porodice Jelene Jovandić koja je u raciji izgubila petoricu sinova. Posle takve tragedije ona je smogla snage da posle rata izjavi: Ja ne znam ko je ubio moje sinove, jer su žandarmi i vojnici bili potpuno nepoznati. Ne mogu da kažem da li nas je neko potkazao ili doveo vojnike i žandarme da ubiju moje sinove jer smo se mi sa svima dobro živeli, a lične neprijatelje nismo imali.

Navodeći precizno socijalnu, polnu i starosnu strukturu žrtava Zvonimir Golubović u svojoj knjizi Racija u Južnoj Bačkoj utvrdio je da je smrt pod ledenom korom Dunava našlo i 165 dece. U jednom strogo poverljivom pismu od 23. januara veliki župan Peter Fernbah upozoravao je Jožefa Grašia da su on i gradonačelnik Mikloš Nađ, obilazeći grad, među leševima primetili i jednu devojčicu koja je imala manje od deset godina. Molio ga je, tom prilikom, da barem deca budu pošteđena ovog masakra i da mađarska vojska to više ne čini jer se time kalja čast i obraz mađarskog vojnika u Novom Sadu, kao i u Šajkaškoj, mađarsko lokalno stanovništvo uzelo je aktivnog učešća u raciji, naj većim delom u pljački i razvlačenju imovine stradalih. Mnogi novosadski stanovi i kuće ostale su bez svojih vlasnika, a u njih su se uselili novi stanari. Tako se u kuću lekara Satlera u samom centru Novog Sada, pošto su mu stradale i supruga i ćerka, takođe lekarka, uselio niko drugi, no dr Jožef Kenjeki, savetnik za kontrolu stranaca u novosadskoj policiji. Istina, posle rata je izjavio da se uselio u kuću koja je bila gotovo prazna, a sva imovina razvučena.

Ne mali broj novosadskih Mađara izjavio je posle rata da im je u Raciji zaprećeno smrću ako ne odaju svoje komšije Jevreje i Srbe koji su u vreme Kraljevine Jugoslavije ispoljavali svoj nacionalizam uperen protiv mađarskih istorijskih interesa na ovim prostorima.

Mada je veći deo mađarskog stanovništva odobravao želju vlasti da izvrši pacifikaciju, zavede mir i otkloni boljševičko-komunističko-jevrejsko-masonsku zaveru i opasnost, zabeleženi su i primeri protesta protiv racije. Tako je jedna radnička delegacija Novog Sada posetila 28. januara ekonomskog savetnika Lasla Tereka i uputila mu protest zbog masovnih zločina u vreme racije, zahtevajući da se krivci za stradanje nevinih žrtava što strožije kazne, izražavajući bojazan i za svoju sudbinu ukoliko dođe do korenitih promena na svetskim ratištima.

Masovno ubijanje u Novom Sadu obustavljeno je 23.januara u popodnevnim časovima naredbom odozgo. Istovremeno se u gradu pojavio i štampani proglas o obustavljanju racije. U njemu se isticalo da je Graši, na zahtev građana, zamolio gradonačelnik Novog Sada da po završetku istrage protiv komunista i ostalih neprijateljskih elemenata što pre uspostavi red i mir u gradu. Ovim proglasom u gradu je u 21 sat došlo do ukidanja vojnih mera u odnosu na građanstvo. Graši je, međutim, izjavio da se teško odlučio na ovako brzo ukidanje vojnih mera, ističući da je to učinio samo zato što je verovao u ozbiljnost i rodoljublje građana Novog Sada i njihovu želju da žive u mađarskoj državi. Stanovištvu je, ipak, bilo zaprećeno da će posle novih nemira i pucanja na mađarske vojnike biti streljano dvadeset talaca, i da će doći do ponovnog zavođenja vanrednog stanja. Ovim dokumentom faktički se dokazivalo da je racija izvršena po nalogu kraljevske vlade i da su u njoj stradale i nevine žrtve, iako se zvanično tvrdilo da su za to odgovorni nepouzdati i podrivački elementi koji su pucali na mađarsku vojsku, i tako je izazvali na odlučniji obračun sa svima koji nisu želeli da iive u miru na ovim prostorima.

Ove procene potvrđuje i proglas velikog župana Bač-Bodroške županije, dr Deaka od 23.januara upućen građanstvu, pre svega srpskom, u kome, između ostalog, stoji: „U poslednje vreme mađarsko kraljevsko domobranstvo ušlo je u trag raznim pojavama nedozvoljenog organizovanja srpske narodne grupe koji nisu bili bez stranih, šta više, moskovskih veza. Ova protivdržavna organizacija našla je izražaja uformi organizovanja napada protiv vojske. Državna vlast je zbog toga bila primorana pribeći najstrožijim merama da ovaj oružani napad još u svom začetku uguši. Danas vlada mir Sledstveno tome, kako u Titelskom tako i u žabaljskom srezu građanska uprava nastavlja svoj rad. Kao šefove građanske uprave, a istovremeno poverenik mađarske kraljevske vlade, upozoravam svakoga da državna vlast neće trpeti nikakva protivdržavna delovanja i organizovanja i stavlja u dužnost svakom građaninu da ukoliko bi saznao nešto o takvim pojavama, ima to bez odlaganja da prijavi vlastima...Prestankom ograničenja građanske vlasti nastaviće se dosadašnji miran rad, svaki će uživati svoja građanska prava kao ipotpunu zaštitu državne vlasti, ali i na najmanji znak nezadovoljstva slediće ponovo najstrožije retorzije. Neka se vrate u svoje domove oni koji su ih napustili, neka nastave miran rad i izraze svoju vernost domovini. Vojne oružane sile će se povući, odnosno završetak akcije čišćenja će se ubrzati, ukoliko će intelektualne vođe (posednici, sveštenici, uopšte intelektualci) putem deputacije potražiti vojnog zapovednika, te uz prijem garancije uveriti ga u lojalnost i dobronamernost opšteg građanstvo“.

Međutim, i posle novosadskih događaja, usledio je nastavak racije u Bačkoj. Kao da mađarske okupacione vlasti nisu bile u potpunosti zadovoljne onim što je učinjeno i postignuto. Pod udar je narednih dana došao i Srbobran, grad sa većinskim srpskim stanovništvom, bogatim domaćinima i tradicijom srpskog otpora u revolucionarnoj 1848/49.godini. U poređenju sa drugim mestima u srbobranskoj raciji stradalo je svega četvoro Srba, ali je veliki broj meštana prošao kroz legitimacioni odbor i različita maltretiranja i zlostavljanja od strane domaćih Mađara.

U vreme kada je demokratska javnost dizala glas protiv masovnih likvidacija stanov-ništva Bačke, usledio je obračun sa nelojalnim građanima mađarske države i u Starom Bečeju koji je trajao od 26. do 29.januara 1942.godine. Naime, krajem 1941. i početkom sledeće godine, već su usledila hapšenja, suđenja i likvidacije pripadnika NOP-a, među kojima je bilo i pripadnika

mađarske nacionalnosti u gradu i okolini. Očito je da lokalne vlasti nisu bile sasvim zadovoljne rezultatima preduzetih mera. Koristeći se iskustvima iz Racije u južnoj Bačkoj i Novom Sadu one su donele odluku da se u Starom Bečeju izvrši konačan obračun sa judeo-boljševičkom opasnošću, ali i sa svim velikosrpskim elementima. Najviše ih je stradalo na Svetog Savu, a najmasovnija ubijanja izvršena su na ušću Bačkog kanala u Tisu gde su žrtve, kao i u Šajkaškoj i Novom Sadu, bacane pod led. Likvidacije su izvršene po već oprobanoj novosadskoj scenariju, zbog navodnih napada nepouzdatih elemenata na mađarsku vojsku. Pod udar su došli, kao i u Novom Sadu, najvećim delom stanovnici jevrejske nacionalnosti i to, naročito, bogatije porodice. U odnosu na srpsko stanovništvo, analizom strukture žrtava, primetna je želja mesnih vlasti da i likvidacijom viđenijih porodica Srba obezglave ovu nacionalnu grupu i u potpunosti obezbede mađarsku dominaciju. Racijom u Starom Bečeju ubijeno je 110 Jevreja, 102 Srba i 13 ostalih.

Pacifikacija Južnih krajeva završena je 30. januara 1942. godine kada je Ferenc Sombathelji izdao naredbu o obustavljanju delatnosti organa unutrašnje bezbednosti u Bačkoj i kada je ukinuta zajednička komanda, a sve vojne jedinice dobile su zadatak da se povuku u svoje garnizone u cilju uspostavljanja mirnodopskog sistema. Bilans i konsekvence pacifikacije bile su više nego tragične. Bačka je ostala bez blizu četiri hiljade svojih žitelja, najviše Srba (2.578) i Jevreja (1.068). Svi oni bili su žrtve jedne nerazumne i genocidne politike mađarskog okupatora koja ga je učinila istorijski odgovornim za masovna stradanja srpskog i jevrejskog stanovništva na prostorima Bačke.

Izvori:

Zvonimir Golubović, Racija u južnoj Bačkoj, Novi Sad 1990;

Drago Njegovan, Racija: III grupa masovnih zločina, Novi Sad 2008;

Grupa autora, Novi Sad u ratu i revoluciji, knjiga 1, Novi Sad 1976;

Aleksandar Kasaš, Mađari u Vojvodini 1941-1945, Novi Sad 1996;

3. Deo: Muzeji i izložbe o Holokaustu

Part 3. Museums And Exhibitions On The Holocaust

The Holocaust In The Museum: Memory And Representation

Erik Somers, NIOD

European Trends in Holocaust Museums

More than seventy years after the end of the Second World War, there continues to be strong interest in the history of this conflict and the Holocaust in particular, as well as its representation in museums and memorial sites. It is possible to see this development in the Netherlands, but also in several other European countries. The expectation is, that for the time being, the story of the Holocaust will continue to speak powerfully to the imagination. Despite a fluid and multiform European culture of memory, this historical episode has remained, above all, a moral reference point kept alive by the so-called postmemory generation. But the musefication, or musealization, of the Holocaust faces a turning point: the memorial places and memorial museums have to familiarize themselves with new approaches. Since the end of the twentieth century, the generation that lived through the war decreases rapidly every year. One of the consequences is that the memories of the 1940-1945 period and the Holocaust are increasingly transferred in other, more indirect ways. The bond with the public is no longer as self-evident as it was. New target groups have no “direct” relationship with memories of the war. For them, this period is truly a past. “Social memory” has taken the lead from “individual memory.” New representations of this traumatic will be based on new concepts, in which authenticity, emotion, reconstruction, experience, visualization, and staging will be vitally important. In short, museums will have to reinvent themselves, in terms of both content and design.

The changing representations in museums have to do with the **culture of memory**, which is the result of a social and cultural process. Or, based on the theories of the German cultural scientist Aleida Assmann, the interaction between individual and collective memories.¹ **Individual memory** is bound to the individuals who personally experienced the period in question. These eyewitnesses have strong, direct personal memories of the period. (Obviously, these are memories that are anything but objective, since the social environment and a vast array of external influences shape them). This generation handed down its memories to the second and third generations. Inevitably, we are at a crossroads, since the generation that has directly experienced the Second World War is disappearing; a living past is now literally becoming history.

The other dimension, **social memory**, is the domain of the post-war second and third generations. Although these individuals did not go through the war, they are strongly connected to

¹ Aleida Assmann, “The Four Formats of Memory: From Individual to Collective Constructions of the Past,” in Christian Emden & David Midgley (eds.), *Cultural Memory and Historical Consciousness in the German-Speaking World Since 1500* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004).

the history of the first generation. For them, the memory of the war is a significant identity-forming element. To a large extent, the consequences of the war were immediately visible in their personal environment. They heard the stories from their parents and grandparents; they grew up with them. They were extensively taught about the history of the Second World War and the Holocaust in school and at mass public commemorations. There has been an enormous production of cultural memories. These cultural representations of the war were produced over the years in literature, films, musicals, monuments (more than 3,000 in the Netherlands), websites, academic research, online games, museums, exhibitions, and so on. Not surprisingly, the social memory of the war has become deeply rooted in both the second and third generations in the meantime

The loss of those who shared their personal stories about the period of war with their progeny seems to only fuel the latter's need to preserve the connection to the past. There is a strong desire to reflect on the past, which is such a substantial part of their identity. They are especially drawn to the visual and tangible tradition, and therefore will continue to visit museums related to the war and the Holocaust memorial sites. According to Marianne Hirsch, this is the "generation of postmemory."² This keeps the memory of the war, which is strongly connected with the stories and experiences of the war generation, alive. But the idea of the war is not merely kept intact and preserved, it is also shaped by additional memories that hollow out or distort the stories, adding and altering significance of certain events or places. Therefore, the memory of the Second World War and the Holocaust will be passed on in a different, indirect manner.

This is certainly true with regard to the youngest generation, which has no direct ties with the past of the Second World War. It also becomes increasingly harder for them to imagine certain historic events. Incidentally, other factors (related to the rapidly changing contemporary culture) also play a role in distancing this past, such as the strong focus on visualization, the extreme globalization of society, an increasingly multicultural environment, new technological possibilities, the enormously expanding role and influence of media, the growing demand for more popularization, a cultural sector being confronted with free market processes and commercialization, and a growing leisure culture.

With this in mind I would like to mention a few aspects of the changing representation in museums and memorial centers related to the Second World War and the Holocaust.

A key aspect is the **personification** of the past with the aim of bringing the past closer. It involves a focus on local histories and personal stories and accounts. This gives the past a greater power of expression, especially for a younger generation that is further removed from the history in question. The immediate connection with the war generation is maintained indirectly. Personal stories prompt identification with the past and provide a way to empathize. This also applies to **local and regional history**. The "war around the corner" brings the past, both literally and figuratively, closer. One consequence of this development is that the story of the war becomes more and more fragmented and differentiated.

² Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

Some caution, however, should be used in when relying on too many local histories and personal stories, since there is a danger of creating an impression of the past that is free of engagement. Aside from the subjective nature of accounts, emphasizing personal stories may reflect a drastic simplification, and there is a risk of fragmenting the historic impression and the memory culture. The bigger historic picture fades into the background. That is, stories focused on emotion can cause the image of the Second World War to become further and further removed from the complex historical circumstances that led to the war and the Holocaust. There is the danger of a gap developing between popular personal impressions of the war and the knowledge of the period in question. A historic understanding emerges that is based on notions and emotions.

A similar risk accompanies the unchecked (rampant) use of local histories. Events tied to a particular area may turn into isolated incidents, setting the stage for sweeping “differentiation”. The story of the war differs according to the place and perspective from which it is told. Consequently, even though the accent is on local memories and historic events, the correct approach includes implicit reference to broader connections and universal significance. In this case, sociologist Roland Robertson’s term “glocalization” is applicable.³ This means that emphasis is placed on the local memories and historical events, but that they (implicitly) refer to wider national and universal meanings. After all, the fact that the Second World War was a global historic phenomenon must be communicated in all future representations.

Another important aspect is the growing need to make the past tangible. The public wants to experience *history where it took place*, at the so-called **sites of memory** (*lieux de memoire*). This is done by visiting historical places and memorial sites. Former concentration camps and other atrocity sites throughout Europe draw more and more visitors every year.

In line with this, we see a growing interest in the **real, original historical object**, which appeals to a need for authenticity and historic experience, and is likewise displayed from this perspective by associating it with a personal story. Regardless of how *trivial* or everyday an item may seem, the context and personal origin brings a history to life, rendering it an inviting historical museum object.⁴

In today’s museum heritage practice, **authenticity experience** in particular seems to be a keyword. As the Second World War fades farther into the past and eyewitnesses are no longer able to tell their stories first-hand, there is, on the one hand, a strong predilection for a new materialization of memories – the experience of “real” objects and “personal” stories – and, on the other hand, a trend towards visualization and experience, in which reconstructions of the past are important. That is, in addition to the strongly individually oriented historical experiences through contact with authentic objects or original sites, there is the experience that is evoked by means of a staged historical reality, with the help of directed narratives and reconstructions. The emphasis is increasingly placed on giving the visitor the feeling of “experiencing” the past. Sensorial and

³ Roland Robertson, ed., *European Glocalization in a Global Context* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

⁴ F.R. Ankersmit, *De sublieme historische ervaring* (Groningen: Historische Uitgeverij Groningen, 2007).

emotional experiences are stimulated in the representations of the past. “Experience and perceive” is the motto. Authenticity can be created by presenting a story that is wrapped in historical representation. Replicas, reconstructions, or other interventions determine the representation that must lead to a better understanding of the past. Staged authenticity then takes the place of material authenticity. Forms of presentation that are based on staging and (re)constructions of the past seem to be more in keeping with the experiences of the younger generation. When using new forms of presentation, museums have to weigh the pros and cons. After all, “experiencing the past” does not always contribute to the acquisition of knowledge and insight, or give cause for reflection. But the question also arises as to how far can we go when evoking experiences of a highly charged period of history? When are moral-ethical boundaries crossed? There is a precarious balance between well-considered education and information, on the one hand, and emotion and sensation on the other.

Furthermore, and I mention it briefly, there is a development that museums are strengthening their function as memorials. **Museum commemoration** is becoming an increasingly important instrument for keeping memories alive.

Another process that exerts a powerful influence on museum practice is the rapid development in the area of **digitalization and interactive and multimedia applications**. The applications are not limited to collection management and museum presentations, but also mean that museums are increasingly communicating with their visitors beyond the museum itself. Virtual online exhibitions and the provision of databases of pieces in the collection are popular: applications offer the public information and strengthen interest in the theme of war and occupation. Nevertheless, there is little chance that they will replace the “physical” museum. As a result of advancing technical developments, the demand for “tangible” experiences of authenticity only appears to be increasing. The museum offers contact with **authentic objects, sometimes at the original sites**. By using convincing historical staging – whether or not this includes artificial interventions and creative representations – the museum can evoke authenticity or in fact, the suggestion of authenticity. Ultimately, it is in this confrontation, this experience of authenticity, that a museum’s uniqueness lies.

Furthermore, an important development is that museums are an increasingly emphatic **part of the culture of leisure**. I won’t go into detail, but it is expected that in addition to offering information and insights, a visit to a museum – even when it concerns a theme such as war and the Holocaust – is part a leisure and entertainment culture. The popularity of heritage tourism – visiting memorial sites – has increased over the years, and this offers interesting economic opportunities. Responding to today’s “experience economy”, museums seek increasing cooperation with the private sector, in particular with the tourism sector. Concepts such as marketing, market orientation, the profit principle, and cultural entrepreneurship are also established in the war and memorial museum sector. But this a complete other subject in its own.

Case Study: Camp Westerbork

The history of the memorial site Camp Westerbork is an excellent example of how the culture of memory of the prosecution of Jews and the Holocaust has developed after the war in the Netherlands, particularly related to representation and commemoration. The historical site Camp Westerbork witnessed a process of denial, displacement, and forgetting, followed by a process of moving toward a need for information, reconstruction, and perception of authenticity.

Camp Westerbork was a transit camp for Jews during the German occupation of the Netherlands. As we know, out of a population of 140,000 Dutch Jews, 107,000 of them were deported from here to the extermination camps in the East, mainly to Auschwitz and Sobibor. Scholars estimate that 102,000 of them were murdered (almost 75% percent of the Jewish population of the Netherlands, the highest percentage of any Western European country occupied by Hitler's armed forces).

All remnants of the camp were deliberately destroyed after the war, but only in the late sixties. Until then, the barracks and other buildings were still there because the camp was still in use in the first years after the war. As a consequence of Dutch decolonization in the former Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), people from that colony were housed in Camp Westerbork before beginning the integration process into Dutch society.

During the 1960s, awareness arose about the full extent and depth of the fate of the Jews during the Second World War. An important step in that direction was the publication of the standard book on the subject, *The Destruction of the Dutch Jews*, by historian Jacob Presser.⁵ Over 100,000 copies were sold in the first weeks of its publication. However, at the same time the way to cope with the physical remnants of the camp – its complete destruction – indicates how Dutch society was dealing with the difficult past at that time. Subsequently, all former barracks and other remnants were demolished, leaving absolutely no traces. This was even the explicit request from the Jewish community itself, which issued a statement that “this is a place to forget, not to remember.”

In 1970, a simple but appropriate monument was erected at the site, which served as a permanent reminder of its sad history and one of the blackest pages in the history of the country. Ralph Prins, a former prisoner in this camp, designed the memorial. It is situated at the spot where the railroad from Hooghalen to the camp terminated during the war. After having cut through the entire camp, the train came to a standstill in front of a buffer, just outside the camp. The memorial signifies the dismay that arose with the realization of what had happened to the Jewish population of the Netherlands.

The need to learn more about what happened at this site did not really take root until the 1980s. This decade was marked by warnings about the rise of anti-Semitism and right-wing extremism. The slogan “this must never happen again” emerged from the reaction to the rise of the radical right. There was a need to give the past greater meaning. The result was that a Camp Westerbork

⁵ Jaques Presser, *The Destruction of the Dutch Jews* (London: E. P. Dutton, 1969).

Memorial Center was built next to the former campgrounds. The site itself was left untouched; that is, it remained completely empty. The emptiness symbolized the void left by the people who were deported. This is how the first generation, the survivors and relatives, wanted it.

A need to make the historical site more visible arose in the 1990s. Those who were further removed from the past wanted more information. From that point onward, the Memorial Center focused more on the history of the camp itself. Although the quiet, reflective function of the campgrounds was preserved, symbolic elements were added to the site. Certain historical locations were marked, but there were no explicit reconstructions. During this period an impressive monument comprising 102,000 stones was installed: one stone representing each Jewish victim. The historic location was intended to serve not only as a place of commemoration, but also as a site to call forth memories of the past.

Presently the insights into memorialization and memory politics have changed. The need to preserve the site as a memorial place as much as possible out of respect for the victims and their families is no longer the primary guideline. Rather, reconstructions of the past are put on display for new generations. An original, recovered barrack is being rebuilt. Furthermore, the only structure still standing was the home of the former camp commander. This home – probably painful for those affected, since it concerns a “guilty heritage object” – has recently been completely restored and will function as part of the central museum exhibition.

Recently the administrators of the memory site added another historical reconstruction in Westerbork. As we know, the railway carriage is recognized around the world as the iconic symbol of deportation and extermination, the so-called Holocaust trains.⁶ In an attempt to make the past more tangible, the Camp Westerbork museum purchased old railway carriages abroad and restored them. Now a Holocaust train is present at the historical site, where the names of the 102,000 murdered Dutch Jews are broadcast from speakers for the visitors. Thus it is possible to see how the Memorial Site Camp Westerbork explicitly underlines its change of approach by moving towards the direction of reconstruction and the perception of authenticity.

⁶ See the contribution in this collection by Nevena Daković, “The Trains of Life and Death,” for a discussion about the powerful image of the train carriage in Holocaust representations.

Muzeji kao mesta memorije: Analogije u baštinjenju traumatične prošlosti na primerima u Izraelu i Srbiji

Silvija Krejaković, Narodni muzej Kraljevo

Summary:

The idea of this article is to present the experience of those employed in Serbian museums who attended the International School for Holocaust Studies in the Remembrance Center Yad Vashem (Jerusalem, Israel). The establishment of cooperation between Yad Vashem and the Serbian Ministry of Culture as well as the Museum of Genocide Victims resulted in the attendance of the first Serbian custodians at this programme in 2007/2008: Nenad Đorđević and Nenad Antonijević from the Museum of Genocide Victims in Belgrade and Silvija Krejaković from the National Museum in Kraljevo. The article presents certain analogies that exist between these institutions, as the keepers of the memory of victims of the World War Two – besides collecting some knowledge about the suffering of Jews, Serbs, Roma and bringing the story of the victims closer to the awareness of people. Authentic historical sources, documents of civilian victims of the Holocaust, victims of the war crime against humanity committed by the German Wehrmacht units in Kraljevo and Kragujevac in 1941 due to the Nazi ideology about the value of a hundred lives of civilians in Serbia for one killed soldier, and fifty for a wounded one, and victims of the Ustaša terror in Croatia – have been gathered for years in the museums in Serbia and in the Yad Vashem. Seven decades later, it seems that the Second World War is still an unconquered past when it comes not only to establishing and identification of the scale of crime and human losses but also to their echo which reverberates in post-war generations. The main topic of this article is to show the methodology of presenting these historical sources to younger generations as well as of presenting any similar research in the process of personalization of victims. The goal is – giving a human shape and meaning to each number written down in historical sources.

Key Words:

Remembrance, Museums, Curators, Serbia, Holocaust, Second World War, Yad Vashem, Yad Vashem Training,

„Upotrebimo vešala kao pisači sto, zapišimo šta god treba da kažemo i ispričamo [...] Pišite kratko i oštro, kratko kao preostali dani naših života, oštro kao noževi upereni u naša srca“ – vapaj jevrejskih logoraša iz logora Aušvic-Birkenau citiran je u Skupštini Izraela daleke 1953. prilikom osnivanja Jad Vašema – memorijalnog centra posvećenog žrtvama holokausta.¹ Od tada je u Jerusalmu, gradu svetom u poimanju tri velike religije, na planini sećanja podignut prvi bedem u zaštiti memorijalne baštine o ljudskom stradanju.² To je u pravom smislu „novi muzej“ – sveobuhvatni, totalni muzej, a ne obzidana enklava.

Kamena kapija zasvođena starozavetnim nazivom za „mesto za sećanje (pomen) na ime“, ili Jad Vašem, ulaz je u virtualni iščezli svet koji čine paviljoni sa tematski opredeljenim muzejskim postavkama, spomenici inspirisani holokaustom te edukativno-dokumentacioni centri gde se odvija niz seminara, među kojima i Međunarodna škola – studije o holokaustu. Sažetak iskustava kustosa iz srpskih muzeja – Muzeja žrtava genocida u Beogradu i Narodnog muzeja u Kraljevu – polaznika ovog međunarodnog seminara je tema ovog rada.³ U zborniku radova sa međunarodne konferencije održane u Beogradu 2008. godine, *Muzeji kao mesta pomirenja* u izdanju Istorijskog muzeja Srbije, temu koju smo koautorski obradili Nenad Đorđević, Nenad Antonijević i ja naslovili smo: *Yad Vashem – Čuvar sećanja na žrtve holokausta i genocida – Iskustva polaznika Međunarodne škole o holokaustu iz srpskih muzeja*.⁴ Međumuzejska saradnja sa srpskim muzejima i naučnim institutima gde se istražuje Drugi svetski rat intenzivirana je od 1997. na projektima utvrđivanja podataka o žrtvama u elektronskoj bazi i prezentovanja u Dvorani imena Jad Vašema, koji u Muzeju žrtava genocida vodi istoričar Dragan Cvetković.⁵ Potom je 2006. godine usledio Međunarodni naučni skup o holokaustu u okupiranoj Jugoslaviji.⁶

¹ Citirano prema: Avner Shalev, „Yad Vashem and Holocaust remembrance in the 21-st century“, *Izraelko – srpska naučna razmena u proučavanju holokausta: Zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa, Jad Vašem, Jerusalim, 15-20. jun 2006* (Beograd: Muzej žrtava genocida, 2008): 25-29, 25.

² „Njima ću dati u domu svom i među zidovima njegovim mesto i ime (Jad Vašem) [...] ime večno daću svakom od njih koje se neće zatrti.“ Knjiga proroka Isaije. *Stari Zavet*, Glava 56, 5.

³ Uspostavljanjem saradnje između srpskog Ministarstva za kulturu, Muzeja žrtava genocida i Muzeja Jad Vašem i angažovanjem Jovana (Čulibrka), protosindela SPC u Jerusalmu, polaznici međunarodnog seminara studija o holokaustu u periodu od 1. do 19. jula 2007. u Muzeju Jad Vašem u Izraelu (Jerusalim) bili su i kustosi istoričari iz Srbije: Nenad Đorđević iz Spomen-parka Kragujevački oktobar u Kragujevcu, direktor Muzeja žrtava genocida i Silvija Krejaković iz Narodnog muzeja u Kraljevu, a na sledećem seminaru Nenad Antonijević iz Muzeja žrtava genocida. Međunarodna škola u Jad Vašemu počela je sa radom 1993. godine.

⁴ S. Krejaković, N. Antonijević i N. Đorđević, „Jad Vašem – Iskustva polaznika Međunarodne škole o holokaustu iz srpskih muzeja“, *Muzeji kao mesta pomirenja, VIII kolokvijum Međunarodne asocijacije istorijskih muzeja: Zbornik radova* (Beograd: Istorijski muzej Srbije, 2009): 267-287.

⁵ Saradnja Muzeja žrtava genocida i Memorijalnog muzeja Jad Vašem traje od 1997. na projektima *Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names* [Središnja baza podataka imena žrtava holokausta] koji vodi Dvorana imena Jad Vašema [Hall of Names Department] te *Revizija popisa Žrtve rata 1941-1945 iz 1964.* godine, koji vodi Muzej žrtava genocida. Projekat Muzeja žrtava genocida vodi viši kustos i istoričar Dragan Cvetković, a u Jad Vašemu, Alexander Avraham, direktor Odseka za evidenciju imena u Dvorani imena.

⁶ Međunarodni naučni skup *Academic Exchange with Serbian Researchers – The Holocaust in Nazi Occupied Yugoslavia* [Akademska razmena sa srpskim istraživačima – Holokaust u okupiranoj Jugoslaviji] održan je od 15. do 20. juna 2006. u organizaciji Ministarstva kulture Vlade Republike Srbije, Memorijalnog centra Jad Vašem i Muzeja žrtava genocida.

Obrazovna filozofija u Jad Vašem, simbolu čuvanja sećanja na ljudsko stradanje, počiva na metodologiji brojnih seminara u okviru Međunarodne škole za istraživanje holokausta, čiji smo polaznici, kao kustosi koji se ovim temama bave u matičnim ustanovama, imali prilike da budemo od 2007. zahvaljujući Ministarstvu kulture Republike Srbije, u grupama polaznika koji se bave istraživanjem i interpretiranjem tema iz traumatične prošlosti.⁷

I u judaizmu i u hrišćanstvu, sećanje nije neutralno, ne odnosi se samo na prošlost, već oblikuje budućnost i daje joj smisao. Mesta sećanja (*lieux de memoire*), onako kako ih je francuski kulturolog Pjer Nora definisao, predstavljaju nešto što je vremenom ili ljudskom voljom postalo simbolično materijalno ili nematerijalno nasleđe, poput muzeja, groblja, spomenika, arhiva i svetišta.⁸ Suprotno definiciji po kojoj su muzeji isključivo mesta u kojima se čuva prošlost, u muzejima u kojima se artefakti istražuju, preispituju i kontekstualizuju sačuvana prošlost postaje sadašnjost – uverava nas praksa memorijalnog centra Jad Vašem.

Problematici kraha humanosti i civilizacijskih vrednosti, čiji je najtragičniji epilog holokaust ili šoa, izraz kojim se u hebrejskom jeziku određenije označava velika katastrofa te totalno i plansko uništenje Jevreja na razne načine, u predavanjima se pristupalo multidisciplinarno, primenom metodologija različitih oblasti ljudske delatnosti (istorije, književnosti, muzike, istorije umetnosti, likovne umetnosti, etnologije, teologije, dokumentarnih i igranih filmova).⁹

Kategorizacije međunarodnog prava kada je ljudsko stradanje u pitanju – na ratni zločin protiv čovečnosti, čiji su najsvirepiji primeri upravo kraljevačko i kragujevačko stratište u oktobru 1941, čiji je počinilac regularna vojska nemačke – Vermaht, zločini genocida i njegovog najekstremnijeg oblika – holokausta, bile su akcentovane i razmatrane. Istoriografija postavlja više pitanja kada je u pitanju proučavanje holokausta u kontekstu Drugog svetskog rata i proučavanje Drugog svetskog rata u kontekstu holokausta, ističući važnost istorijskih izvora različitog porekla, kako direktnih, tako i onih koji na posredan način govore o ubijanju Jevreja i oduzimanju njihove imovine, poput transportnih lista nemačke državne železnice i dokumentacije nemačkih banaka koja sadrži precizne podatke o jevrejskim dragocenostima, novcu i vrednosnim papirima.

U predavanjima istaknutih istoričara, među kojima je bio i Juda Bauer,¹⁰ Akademski savetnik Instituta za istraživanje holokausta u muzeju Jad Vašem, vršena su poređenja (sličnosti i razlike)

⁷ Polaznici seminara, uz edukatore sa koledža i Univerziteta u SAD-u i Kanadi, bili su istraživači prošlosti iz muzejsko-dokumentacionih centara (Memorijalni muzej holokausta i genocida u Vašingtonu; Simon Vizental Centar u Los Angelesu i Torontu; Dokumentacioni centar o holokaustu u Bratislavi, Slovačka; Jevrejski državni muzej u Vilni, Litvanija; Jevrejski muzej - Sidnej; Nacionalni institut za studije holokausta - Bukurešt i dr.)

⁸ Nora Pierre, „Between Memory and History: Les lieux de mémoire, 7 vols. (Paris, 1984–92),“ *Representations* 26 (1989): 7–24.

⁹ Predavači koji se bave problematikom holokausta (shoah) i genocida kao nosećom temom, kao i antisemitizmom kroz epohe, svoje iskustvo u istraživanjima preneli su nam kroz 140 održanih časova. Na seminaru je bilo aktivno više od 20 predavača – univerzitetskih profesora, kustosa i drugih stručnjaka, koji su zaposleni ili su spoljni saradnici u memorijalnom centru Jad Vašem, a koji su održali preko 40 predavanja i prezentacija.

¹⁰ Yehuda Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust*, (New Haven: Yale University, 2001).

između holokausta i drugih genocida u 20. veku, a u prilog jedinstvenosti holokausta izdvojene su tri nesporne činjenice:

2. trebalo je uništiti sve Jevreje;
3. tehnologija i metodi izvršenja postavljenog cilja koje su koristili nacisti: masovno uništenje, likvidacije i ubistva osoba različite starosne dobi – industrija smrti;
4. površina teritorije koju je zahvatio holokaust;

Za kustose u muzejima Srbije, predavanje profesora Bauera imalo je poseban značaj, imajući na umu da se ratna zbivanja u poslednjoj deceniji 20. veka u bivšoj Jugoslaviji često tumače na pogrešan i zlonameran način i da se pojedini izvršeni zločini, posebno pripadnika srpske vojske u Bosni i Hercegovini u građanskom ratu (1992-1995) porede sa holokaustom i definišu kao genocid.

Izuzetno nadahnuto predavanje rabina, profesora Pesaha Šindlera, otvorilo je niz pitanja i dilema, nametnulo poređenje sa tragedijom sa kojom se suočila Srpska pravoslavna crkva (SPC) u ustaškom genocidu, u kome je stradalo brojno sveštenstvo i monaštvo SPC-a.¹¹

Predavanja dr. Efraima Zurofa o krivičnom gonjenju živih nacističkih ratnih zločinaca i zločinaca pripadnika nacija koje su bile nacistički saveznici i kolaboracionisti donelo je niz značajnih informacija i odgovora na pitanje kako i zašto su brojni nacistički ratni zločinci izbegli krivičnu odgovornost za izvršene zločine nakon okončanja Drugog svetskog rata. Jedan od ključnih razloga bila je međunarodna geopolitička situacija u tom periodu: politika „hladnog rata“ između nekadašnjih ratnih saveznika SAD-a i Velike Britanije sa jedne i SSSR-a sa druge strane, zatim odredbe anglosaksonskog prava koje štite građane od ekstradicije, kao i neizvršena denacifikacija i suočavanje sa sopstvenom prošlošću u pojedinim državama koje su bile saveznici ili kolaboracionisti nacista. Iz komunističke Jugoslavije više stotina ratnih zločinaca izbeglo je odgovornost za zločine genocida nad Srbima, Romima i Jevrejima, koristeći tzv. „pacovske kanale“ i pomoć Rimokatoličke crkve te samog Vatikana u organizaciji bega (falšifikovane, lažne lične isprave, novi identitet, novac, smeštaj i druga logistička podrška) u Južnu Ameriku, pre svega u zemlje u kojima su na vlasti bili diktatorski režimi – vojne hunte. Kako ratni zločini pravno nikada ne zastarevaju, dr. Zurof je govorio o aktivnostima koje preduzima Kancelarija Centra Simon Vizental u Jerusalimu, kao i o „drugoj šansi“.¹² Prezentovani su primeri u slučajevima

¹¹ Dr. Pesach Schindler, „The Struggle with Jewish Faith During the Shoah: A Tale of Two Cities – Warsaw and Budapest“ (rad predstavljen na Šestoj međunarodnoj konferenciji o obrazovanju o holokaustu, Jad Vašem, Jerusalem, Izrael, 7-10. jul, 2008).

¹² Dr. Efraim Zuroff, „Prosecuting Nazi War Criminals Today Operation: Last Chance“ (rad predstavljen na Šestoj međunarodnoj konferenciji o obrazovanju o holokaustu, Jad Vašem, Jerusalem, Izrael, 7-10. jul, 2008).

procesuiranja ratnih zločinaca u različitim zemljama, među kojima i mađarskog žandarmerijskog kapetana Šandora Kepiroa, čiji je epilog nažalost poznat i sraman.¹³

Efraim Kej, direktor međunarodnog seminara za studije holokausta na engleskom jeziku, u predavanju o nacističkom rešenju jevrejskog pitanja postavio je više pitanja o odgovornosti i naredbodavcima, izvršiocima i pomagačima. Navedene ključne reči neizbežne su u istoriografiji koja se bavi traumatičnom prošlošću Drugog svetskog rata na tlu okupirane Srbije i Jugoslavije: konkretizacija odluka najviše nemačke komande, među kojima i naredbe Franca Bemea, donete u jeku nemačke ofanzive protiv ustanka u Srbiji, u rejonu reke Save kod Šapca 25. septembra 1941, usledila je kroz „zastrašujuće primere“ u okolini Šapca, u Kraljevu i Kragujevcu. U lancu komandovanja, naredbe Više komande štab 717. divizije Vermahta je prosledio komandantima pukova, u skladu sa naredbom, zaduženim za sprovođenje masovnih odmazdi. Operativni komandant za čitavo područje borbi u rejonu Kraljevo–Gornji Milanovac–Kragujevac te naredbodavac masovnih odmazdi, Oto Deš, komandant 749. puka čije je sedište bilo u Kraljevu, stajao je iza neposrednih izvršilaca – majora Keniga, komandanta garnizona u Kragujevcu, i komandanta mesta Kraljevo, Alfonsa Macioviča. Navedene naredbe podmazale su cevi mitraljeza i uperile ih u civilno stanovništvo Šumadije u razmerama 100 života civila za jednog ubijenog, a 50 za jednog ranjenog nemačkog vojnika.

Kao jedno od ključnih pitanja u predavanjima Efraima Keja izdvojio se savremeni fenomen poricanja holokausta u svetu. Utvrđeno je da ovaj fenomen sadrži tri bitne faze: revizionizam u istoriografiji, publicistici, medijima i javnom mnjenju; relativizaciju pojma *holokaust*; te potpuno izvrtanje činjenica što kao krajnju posledicu ima totalnu negaciju pojma i tvrdnju da se „holokaust uopšte nije dogodio“. Pojedinci, institucije ili države koje poriču holokaust koriste kao argumente za svoje tvrdnje greške i nepreciznosti u svedočenjima preživelih (datumi, imena, mesta); greške u spiskovima žrtava holokausta (greške u imenu ili prezimenu, duplikati) i slične razloge. Postavljeno je više važnih pitanja u vezi sa ovim fenomenom: Da li je poricanje holokausta nova forma antisemitizma? Kao zaključak sa seminara nametnula se činjenica da ovaj fenomen predstavlja jedan od najvažnijih izazova savremene epohe za istraživače i edukatore o holokaustu.¹⁴

Kroz sistem multidisciplinarnih predavanja, predstavljena je obrazovna filozofija i memorijalna delatnost Jad Vašema, zasnovana na tri suštinske komponente:

1. Naučnoj – sadržanoj u postupnoj i sveobuhvatnoj obradi geneze antijudaizma kroz epohe, opservacijama o međuratnom periodu kada se ljudi nisu radali kao žrtve, do totalitarnih režima gde čovek postaje žrtva.

¹³ Pored iznošenja dokumenata koji dokazuju odgovornost Kepiroa u sprovođenju „Racije“ – pogroma nad Srbima i Jevrejima u januaru 1942. godine u Novom Sadu, među kojima i kopije osuđujuće presude mađarskog suda iz 1944. godine, koju je prosledio kolega Nenad Antonijević, što je doprinelo tome da pravosudne vlasti u Budimpešti (Mađarska) ipak pokrenu istragu protiv Kepiroa – oslobađajućom presudom amnestirani su ne samo zločinac, već i zločin.

¹⁴ Ephraim Kaye, „Confronting the Phenomenon of Holocaust Denial“ (rad predstavljen na Šestoj međunarodnoj konferenciji o obrazovanju o holokaustu, Jad Vašem, Jerusalem, Izrael, 7-10. jul, 2008).

2. Psihološko-pedagoškoj – kao odgovoru na sledeće izazove: kako autentične sadržaje istorijske izvore, pisane, materijalne i narativne, približili senzibilitetu mlađih naraštaja? Kako se osećaj indiferentnosti pretvara u empatiju? Upečatljive primere književnosti, crteža i slika nastalih u ratu kao vidu „tihog otpora“ totalitarizmu i potrebi njihovog „čitanja“ isticali su predavači poput Šulamit Imber, Stefani Mekmahon Kej i dr. Alan Rosen, uporedni predavač na Hebrejskom univerzitetu i Univerzitetu u Bostonu.
3. Razgovorima sa preživelim u holokaustu i susretima sa direktnim iskustvima Rut Brand, Izraela Orsaha iz Poljske i Neta Rozenvasera iz Mađarske, preživelih u Aušvicu i Birkenau; Elizeve Lehman, koja je kao dete roditelja odvedenih u logor spašena u holandskoj porodici; i Maše Grinbaum, sa sećanjem na zločine litvanskih nacista, edukacija je imala nenadoknadivu iskustvenu komponentu. Potresno iskustvo bračnog para Naša i Ženija Manor, spašenih uz još 1.300 Jevreja uposlenjem u fabrici Oskara Šindlera, ispričano nad njegovim grobom u Jerusalimu, podsetilo nas je na primere humanosti i otpora zlu i represiji.

Autentičnim svedočenjima prethodilo je predavanje Moše Šternberga, psihoterapeuta iz Izraelskog nacionalnog centra za psihosocijalnu podršku preživelim u holokaustu (AMCHRA), jedne od organizacija koje sarađuju sa Jad Vašemom u radu sa ovom grupom, po njegovim rečima „posttraumatičnih ljudi koji se vraćaju u prošlost kao da je sada doživljavaju“. U komunikativnom procesu postupnih pitanja o životu pre pogroma, kao osloncu i obaveznim završetkom, o sadašnjem životu te potomcima spašavaju se sećanja i stvara memoarska građa.

Arhitektonska rešenja novog Istorijskog muzeja o holokaustu u kompleksu Jad Vašem, otvorenom 15. marta 2005, u korelaciji su sa postavkom koja zadržava hronologiju, a insistira na temi. U ovim ambijentalnim celinama, pojačan je i efekat predavanja.¹⁵ Postavka sobe gde se u ramu iznad pisaćeg stola, virtualno, smenjuju porodične fotografije, simbolizuje tekovine građanske epohe i suživota na području koje je svetu podarilo tekovine Mocarta, Getea, Rankea, Rilkea, Gausa i mnogih drugih. To je prikaz „jučerašnje civilizacije“ koja je uništena genezom nacizma i fašizma od zapaljivih govora u Rajhstagu; zakonskih akata koja utemeljuju isključivost rase i krvi, razbijanje izloga i hapšenja, geta, progona, do „finalnog rešenja“. Ljudsko stradanje predstavljeno je autentičnim predmetima u tematskim celinama: Aušvic, Treblinka, Dahau, Vilna, Kovno, Jasenovac, itd. i preko simboličnih rešenja – pruge koja završava zidom smrti; crnih poštanskih sandučadi sa likovima oficira i komandanata logora koja, kada se otvore, progovaraju jezikom njihovih naredbi za egzekucijama. Predmeti su grupisani i da naglase milione ljudskih žrtava: tu su gomile obuće, kofera, escajga i menora, poštanskih karata i memorijalnih predmeta, ostataka minulih života objedinjenih vremenom smrti. Pri svemu, ne gubi se individualnost žrtve; na ekranima se smenjuju lične i porodične fotografije te biografski podaci.

Personalizovanje žrtava naglašeno je u *Muzeju dece*. Sve je tu bitno: i plamen sveća, simbol svetlosti za dečje duše, i njihova lica sa fotografija, koja se jedino vide u mraku, i njihova imena, broj godina i domovina – što se jedino čuje. U *Dolini uništenih zajednica* ogromni kameni blokovi

¹⁵ Ephraim Kaye, *Holocaust Denial - Desecrators of Memory* (Yad Vashem, 1997).

sa natpisima gradova, među kojima je i Beograd, čine maketu uništene Evrope. To je najstarija ambijentalna postavka Jad Vašema. *Dvorana imena* simbolična je ekspozicija fragmenata iz stranica svedočenja i fotografija žrtava, postavljenih u kupolu nad vodom, simbolom života, da se preslikaju.

Danas, više od pola veka nakon svog osnivanja, u dokumentacionom centru Jad Vašema čuva se preko 70 miliona stranica dokumenata, gotovo 300.000 fotografija i 40.000 svedočenja o holokaustu, podaci o gotovo četiri miliona do sada imenovanih žrtava holokausta, koji se proširuju poduhvatima daljih traganja naročito u arhivima bivših sovjetskih i istočnoevropskih zemalja. Centralna datoteka čuva i ličnu dokumentaciju – pisma, poruke iz logora, pasoše, legitimacije, svedočenja, transportne liste i dokumenta nacističke birokratije. U Vizuelnom centru pohranjen je dokumentarni filmski materijal o logorima i zabeležena su svedočenja preživelih. I sve je tu važno i dostupno u prevodu na većinu svetskih jezika.¹⁶ Memorijalni kompleks Jad Vašem čine i umetnička galerija dela nastalih u getima i logorima, brojne spomeničke celine te biblioteka sa više od 100.000 knjiga na svim svetskim jezicima. Simbolikom Aleje pravednika među narodima predstavljeni su procesi potraga za imenima onih koji su od smrti spašavali živote tokom *šoe*, među kojima su i ljudi iz Srbije (126 pravednika do 2008. godine). Proces prikupljanja podataka o dobročiniteljima je otvoren i permanentan.

Na Međunarodnoj konferenciji o holokaustu održanoj u julu 2008, koja je okupila gotovo 700 učesnika iz 52 zemlje u svetu, među kojima i iz Srbije (Odbor za Jasenovac Srpske pravoslavne crkve; Muzej žrtava genocida Beograd; Narodni muzej Kraljevo),¹⁷ pokazalo se da se o zločinima Vermahta u Srbiji malo zna u svetu – da je ova tema služila koheziji „u bratstvu i jedinstvu spojenih naroda“, a da su izostajala predstavljanja naučnih istraživanja. Interpretacije saznanja kroz stručne radove, izložbe i modele radionica i foto-dokumentarnih prezentacija mogu da pomere percepcije o ratnim zločinima na tlu Srbije ili u NDH na viši nivo univerzalne teme o ljudskom stradanju i uloge Muzeja u tome. Takođe, kroz sučeljavanja u mišljenju učesnika konferencije iz Hrvatske, potvrdilo se da konferencije i stručni skupovi mogu da predstavljaju i mesta dijaloga i otvorene komunikacije. Iskazivanje historiografskih kontroverzi ne pretvara Jad Vašem u porište. Istraživači iz Nemačke, Austrije, Mađarske, Hrvatske i Litvanije kroz predavanja, postavke i konferencije u Jad Vašemu suočavaju se sa realnim prikazom zločina pripadnika

¹⁶ U datoteci Vizuelnog centra u toku je prevod na srpski jezik, po rečima direktora Lieta Ben-Haviva.

¹⁷ Na Šestoj međunarodnoj konferenciji o obrazovanju o holokaustu radionice su održali: Svetlana Spajić, „The Song as the Testimony of Suffering and Its Pedagogical Usage“; Jovan Ćulibrk, protosindeli, „Teaching Holocaust Using Pop-Culture: The Case of Joy Division“; i Silvija Krejaković, „What is Hiding in the Books (In Memory of the Victims of the Second World War)“.

sopstvenih naroda nad civilima, ali i sa aktuelnim pojavama neofašizma, poput proustaških istupa pevača Tomsona.¹⁸

Sistem edukacije, načini predstavljanja predmetnih zbirki i korišćenje audio-vizuelnih i simboličkih formi u muzeološkoj praksi Jad Vašema uzorni su u našoj daljoj posvećenosti ovoj univerzalnoj temi. Fragmenti koji utvrđuju uzroke, tok i posledice ljudskog stradanja predstavljaju moguće odgovore na pitanje: koga se sećamo? Zadržavanje na neponovljivim, ličnim podacima o „običnim“ ljudima bez oružja i vojne odgovornosti, koje je rat pretvorio u objekte ideologija totalitarnih sistema, politizacija prošlosti u brojčane, obezimenjene podatke, a historiografija u prateće sekvence velikih vojnih poduhvata zaraćenih strana, treba stoga da predstavlja polazište u muzejskoj memorijalizaciji. Podaci koje navode istorijski izvori nisu uvek precizni niti apsolutni, a ponajmanje konačni. No, to su ipak podaci mnogo pouzdaniji od slobodnih procena i licitiranja koja nastaju s namerom da se uvek „konačan“ broj žrtava najčešće iskazuje u skladu sa političkim i ideološkim ubeđenjima onoga ko sudi o prošlosti. Iako istorija ne treba i ne može da bude „prevedena“ u kvantifikujuću društvenu nauku, za racionalno poimanje prošlosti neophodne su analize i poređenja izvora, kako primarnih, tako i narativnih (svedočenja savremenika, porodica žrtava), i proces elektronskog arhiviranja istraženih podataka, po metodologiji nauke i zakonima struke.

Ono što je sačuvano u muzejskim zbirkama i arhivskoj građi postavilo je pred istraživačku praksu dilemu hoćemo li se sećati svih žrtava pojedinačno ili svih pojedinačnih žrtava zajednički. Svedočenja preživelih u holokaustu, među kojima su i psihoanalitičari Bruno Betelhajm i Viktor Frankl, upozoravaju nas da je totalitarni nacistički režim mogao da nadzire individualni otpor saterivanjem u grupe, primenjujući metode za odvratanje od individualizma – sistem talaca i kolektivnog kažnjavanja.¹⁹ U koncentracionim ili privremenim logorima, čemu je u Kraljevu poslužila lokomotivska hala u lageru, zločinima je uvek prethodila dehumanizacija. To su lokusi gde „ljudski životi, imena, likovi, profesije, sudbine, godine, stečena iskustva – postaju logorski broj koji je lako precrtati, poništiti, izbrisati, zaboraviti.“²⁰

Na tragu Brodelovog razmišljanja da u istorijskim zbivanjima „nisu najautentičniji oni učesnici koji prave buku“ i da pored njih „postoje drugi učesnici koji se ne čuju,” nastale su knjige

¹⁸ Izložba *Rat istrebljenja. Zločini Vermahta 1941 – 1944*, koju je 90-ih godina 20. veka priredio Hamburški institut za socijalna istraživanja u nekoliko nemačkih gradova uzburkala je nemačku javnost, izazvala rasprave u Bundestagu i proteste neonacista zbog predstavljanja zločina „svete“ i „časne“ nemačke vojske Vermahta. Ausstellungskatalog, *Vernichtungskrieg. Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, 1996); Walter Manoschek, „Serbien. Partisanenkrieg 1941: Das Massaker in Kraljevo,“ *Katalog izložbe 50-54*; Walter Manoschek, „Serbien ist judenfrei,“ *Militärische Besatzungspolitik und Judenvernichtung in Serbien 1941/42* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1993), 155–158.

¹⁹ Bruno Betelhajm, „Individualno i masovno ponašanje u ekstremnim situacijama,“ u *Ubijanje duše*, Bruno Betelhajm i Viktor Frankl (Beograd, 2004), 57, 64-65.

²⁰ Prof. dr. Ljubodrag Dimić i prof. dr. Milan Ristović, „Uvodna studija,“ u *Logor Banjica. Logoraši 1941-1944. Knjige zatočenika koncentracionog logora Beograd-Banjica*, uredio dr. Branka Prpa (Beograd: Istorijski arhiv Beograda, 2009), 22-23.

Pomenika (4) u stalnoj postavci Narodnog muzeja u Kraljevu.²¹ Vizuelizacija ratne destrukcije u službi totalitarizma primenjena je na jedinstvenim kulturno-istorijskim predmetnim celinama (knjige). Simboličnost pojedinačnih zapisa u vidu pisanog spomenika svake žrtve ponaosob u njihovom kolektivitetu pokazaće se sličnom sa postavkom Istorijskog muzeja u Jad Vašemu u primeni principa personalizacije žrtava. Analogije postoje i u beleženju narativa sve manjeg broja svedoka ratnih događaja. Naracije traumatičnih iskustava preživelih talaca i svedočanstava najbližih vremenu tragedije, do upamćenih sadržaja kod postratnih generacija, usvajanih u direktnom porodičnom kontekstu, ili preko konstrukcija u javnoj svesti i komemorativnoj praksi, odgovaraju na pitanje kako se sećamo. Razlike su u realizaciji ovih poduhvata, kod nas mahom ostvarenih entuzijazmom samih istraživača – u Izraelu, angažovanjem organizacija koje sarađuju sa stručnim ustanovama na prikupljanju svedočenja, a preuzimaju psiho-socijalno staranje o preživelim.

Pred stručnim radom kustosa pojavljuju se novi izazovi: kako prezentovati teme iz traumatične prošlosti i mikroistorije pred mlađom publikom kojoj je mahom ponuđen klasičan pristup *ex catedra*, kada je nastava istorije u pitanju? Pokazalo se da nadneti nad udžbenike koji pretežno govore o „velikoj istoriji“ presudnih vojno-političkih događaja u Drugom svetskom ratu, a sadržaje o ljudskom stradanju u ratu svode na opšte numeričke odrednice, učenici neredovno i površno saznaju o prošlosti. Pred nama su brojne dileme oko metodologije rada, ali i one koje se tiču delikatnih odnosa između obilja istoriografskih podataka, ili eksplicitnih fotografija sa mesta zločina, sačuvanih u „muzejskom azilu“ – i sadržaja primerenih senzibilitetu i saznanjima učenika. Shvatanje da je smisao muzeja održanje jučerašnjeg sveta koji smo posudili od svojih potomaka treba da predstavlja lajt-motiv svih naših poduhvata na baštinjenju prošlosti.

²¹ Fernan Brodel, *Spisi o istoriji* (Beograd, 1992), 22.

Sećanje na holokaust i muzej Crvenog krsta u Nišu

Nebojša Ozimić, Narodni muzej Niš

Summary:

The memory of the Holocaust and suffering during the Second World War are the subject of this study, in particular through the work of the Crveni krst concentration camp museum in Niš. The existence of a wish that the horrors of this war must never be repeated, on the one hand, and the reluctance of dealing with the past, on the other hand, has resulted in a rejection of historical truth and ignoring the existing situation in Serbia. Yugoslavia and its legal successors kept the memory anti-Nazism alive to various degrees, and creating a culture of memory on this subject remains an ongoing process.

Key Words:

Concentration camp "Red Cross" in Niš, Concentration camps, Second World War, Remembrance, Holocaust

Apstrakt:

Sećanje na holokaust i stradanja u Drugom svetskom ratu predstavljaju temu ovog istraživanja. Postojanje želje da nam se strahote ovog rata nikada ne ponove, s jedne, i nespremnost suočavanja sa prošlošću, sa druge strane, vode u neprihvatanje istorijske istine i ignorisanje postojećeg stanja. Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija (SFRJ) i njene pravne naslednice su činile sve da ideje antinacizma ostanu žive i dobro upamćene – to je proces koji još traje.

Ključne reči:

Crveni krst, logori, Drugi svetski rat, očuvanje baštine, holokaust

U radu koji sledi ćemo obratiti posebnu pažnju na stradanja u Evropi tokom Drugog svetskog rata, očuvanje sećanja na antifašističku i antinacističku borbu pojedinih pokreta u porobljenim zemljama i osvrnuti se na ono što je savremeno društvo učinilo u težnji da očuva svest o žrtvama Drugog svetskog rata.

Ukoliko se krene od činjenice da je u periodu od 1939. do 1945. samo u Evropi oformljeno oko 2.000 sabirnih i radnih logora sa ispostavama u kojima je ubijeno 11 miliona logoraša, od toga oko šest miliona Jevreja, jasno se sagledava obim organizovanog zločina jedne ideologije. Kraj Drugog svetskog rata dočekan je kao prekretnica u istoriji čovečanstva koja je trebalo da period nacizma ostavi daleko iza leđa. Kao i u svakom postratnom periodu, pobednici su se borili za osvojenu teritoriju i ta borba je Evropu podelila Berlinskim zidom na dve jasno ideološki suprotstavljene celine.

Odnos SFRJ prema antinacističkoj borbi

SFRJ je iz Drugog svetskog rata izvukla nasleđe borca protiv nacizma i fašizma i na stotine hiljada stradalih u ratu, koji je na ovim prostorima imao revolucionarni, verski, građanski i oslobodilački element. Tako počinju da niču memorijalni centri posvećeni nevinim žrtvama – u dugom vremenskom rasponu od 1956. do 1966. sređuje se kompleks logora Jasenovac i podiže Kamenj cvet, rad Bogdana Bogdanovića. Spomenik je otkriven 4. jula 1966. godine, a već 1970. formiran je Memorijalni kompleks Jasenovac,¹ nekako istovremeno sa radom na formiranju memorijalnog kompleksa na Bubnju, iznad Niša. Ovde radovi brže traju jer novi monumentalni spomenik, delo vajara Ivana Sabolića, otkriven je 14. oktobra 1963. godine. Ceo kompleks je parkovski uređen, sa memorijalnom stazom koja je duga oko pola kilometra, i reljefom u mermeru dimenzija 23x2,5 m sastavljenog od pet kompozicija koje simbolizuju „mašinu za ubijanje“, vešanje i streljanje, bunt naroda, kapitulaciju osvajača i pobedu te trima betonskim obeliscima koji simbolizuju uzdignute ruke sa stisnutim pesnicama. Pod zaštitu države stavljen je 1973, dok je 1979. odlukom Skupštine Srbije Spomen park Bubanj proglašen kulturnim dobrom od izuzetnog značaja.²

Delimično sačuvan ostao je i Banjički logor u čijim zgradama je kasnije useljena Vojna akademija, a jedno krilo, sačuvano u autentičnom stanju, poslužilo je za formiranje Muzeja Banjičkog logora daleke 1969. godine. Iz ova tri reprezentativna uzorka vidimo da je država ozbiljno pristupala očuvanju i edukativnoj primeni jednog segmenta svog nasleđa iz Drugog svetskog rata. Sekcije preživelih logoraša su u procesu edukovanja mladih bile nezamenljiv faktor.

Kao jedan od naslednika antinacističke borbe, SFRJ je ulagala velika materijalna sredstva u očuvanje spomeničkih kompleksa iz Drugog svetskog rata. Odnos prema spomeničkom nasleđu

¹ Spomen područje Jasenovac, pristupljeno 8. januara 2017. <http://www.juspjasenovac.hr/Default.aspx?sid=5023>

² Spomenici kulture u Srbiji, pristupljeno 8. januara 2017 <http://spomenickulture.mi.sanu.ac.rs/spomenik.php?id=603>

ogledao se u želji da se, bez ulepšavanja, dočara atmosfera kakva je u tim ratnim godinama bila u logorima. Nekada je tu bilo previše tragizma, ali u ukupnom rezultatu može se reći da je u dobre tri decenije postojala dobra i precizna prezentacija onoga što se preživelo na prostorima Balkana.

Sticajem različitih okolnosti, na širem prostoru balkanskog poluostrva jedino su u SFRJ očuvani sabirni logori iz Drugog svetskog rata, sa očiglednom težnjom društva da prema svojim mogućnostima održi i sačuva svest o žrtvama koje je ovaj prostor dao u borbi protiv nacizma. Rat koji je zahvatio Jugoslaviju umnogome je doprineo relativizaciji broja žrtava na ovim prostorima: tako je Republika Hrvatska plasirala podatak da je u Jasenovcu ubijeno oko 30.000 ljudi, a nešto kasnije još manje – 2.238 žrtava prema navodima Komisije za istraživanje žrtava Drugog svetskog rata 1999. godine. Treba podsetiti da je Državna komisija 1946. došla do broja između 500.000 i 600.000 ljudi, a da je prema revidiranim spiskovima Spomen parka Jasenovac, imenom i prezimenom do 2013. godine identifikovano 83.145 žrtava.

Svođenje ljudi na brojeve je nedopustiv posao koji što pre treba humanizovati te svakoj žrtvi dati ime i obličje.

Doba menjanja istorije

Malo kasnije, u politički vrlo trusnom periodu koji je usledio nakon smrti Josipa Broza Tita i novih tendencija u Evropi, došlo je do postepenog zatiranja zapadnoevropskih logora iz Drugog svetskog rata na ovom tlu. Prostori na kojima su se nalazili logori u Francuskoj, Nemačkoj pa i Italiji nakon njihovog rasformiranja iskorišćeni su za izgradnju objekata potpuno drugačije namene – restorana, privatnih univerziteta, stambenih naselja i slično. Kao da nije postojala želja da se ove države suoče sa svojom skorašnjom istorijom i izvuku pouke iz nje.

Činjenica je da u Engleskoj, SAD-u, Francuskoj, Belgiji – dakle, zemljama koje su odnele pobedu nad nacizmom u Drugog svetskom ratu – nikada nije zatrta nacistička ideja, već je samo dobijala novije oblike. Tako u Holandiji postoji, kao najstarija neonacistička grupa, *Vlaamse Militanten Organisatie (Flamanska ekstremistička organizacija)* (1949),³ u Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Nacionaldemokratska partija Nemačke) (1964),⁴ dok u Engleskoj prednjači *National Front* (Nacionalni front1967).⁵ Koliko god da su se zemlje sa istočne strane Berlinskog zida trudile da održe sećanje na masovni zločin jedne ideologije iz Drugog svetskog rata, toliko je sa zapadne strane postojala potreba da se zločin zaboravi jer su u njemu učestvovali očevi ili dedovi preživelih. Dakle, ciljevi bavljenja nasleđem iz Drugog svetskog rata nisu bili isti pa nije

³ Podaci na Wikipedia, pristupljeno 9. januara 2017, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Order_of_Flemish_Militants

⁴ Podaci na Wikipedia, pristupljeno 9. januara 2017, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Democratic_Party_of_Germany

⁵ Podaci na Wikipedia, pristupljeno 9. januara 2017, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Front_\(UK\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Front_(UK)). Za opširniji spisak neonacističkih grupa vidi https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_neo-Nazi_organizations,

došlo ni do neophodne katarze nemačkog naroda u suočavanju sa sopstvenom istorijom – i ovde valja izuzeti epski primer dr. Vilija Branta.⁶

Danas se na mestu logora na Crvenom krstu često susrećemo sa posetiocima iz navedenih zemalja koji i ne znaju da je Srbija bila u ratu, dok posetioci iz Austrije i Nemačke najčešće ne veruju da su možda baš njihovi dedovi ili komšije napravili ovaj logor i u njemu držali zatočene ljude. Niko ne želi da nosi tako teško breme odgovornosti za nešto što nije učinio. Upravo je to jedan od razloga zbog koga zemlje zapadne Evrope borbu protiv nacizma i svedočenja o holokaustu danas uče na seminarima i u okviru različitih instituta koja sprovode projekte ove vrste. Veliki broj logora⁷ je rasformiran, u onima koji su preostali priča je delimično ublažena zbog prilagođenosti posetiocu tako da današnji zainteresovani istraživač ovog perioda dobija nekompletnu sliku Drugog svetskog rata.

Iz do sada izloženog, jasno se može izvesti zaključak da ni 70 godina posle pobeđe nad nacizmom svest prosečnog Evropljanina nije bitnije promenjena negoli davne 1945. godine. Da paradoks bude veći, dva su datuma koja obeležavaju pad Berlina i kapitulaciju Nemačke kao kraj Drugog svetskog rata – 8. maj, koji obeležavaju zapadni saveznici,⁸ i 9. maj, na kome insistiraju zemlje Istočnog bloka zajedno sa Srbijom.⁹ Vremenom, kao da se želelo 9. maj potisnuti iz sećanja kao Dan pobeđe pa je proglašen Danom Evropske Unije¹⁰ iako se u Moskvi svake godine na ovaj dan održava svečana parada.

Očuvanje našeg nasleđa – zavet do koga držimo

Raspadom SFRJ došlo je do novog rata u kome se dugo pokušavalo očuvati ono najosnovnije – ljudski životi. To isto pokušavalo se i 1999. kada je usledila agresija NATO alijanse na Saveznu Republiku Jugoslaviju. Ovom prilikom su, pored ljudi, stradali i spomenici, dugo godina brižljivo čuvani. Tek kada je prošlo nekoliko godina stekli su se uslovi za povratak normalnom životu i očuvanju spomeničke ostavštine.

⁶ Podaci na Wikipedia, pristupljeno 9. januara 2017, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Warschauer_Kniefall

⁷ Tipični primeri logora koji više fizički ne postoje su Bolzano (Italija), (Flossenbürg) Nemačka, Mérignac, Jargeau, Fort de Romainville (Francuska), Breitenau (Nemačka) itd.

⁸ Prva kapitulacija sa Saveznicima potpisana je u Remsu 7. maja i stupila je na snagu 8. maja u 23:01 po srednjoevropskom vremenu. Detaljnije u: W. Keitell, *In the service of the Reich – the Memoires of Field Marchall Keitell* (London, 2013), 272.

⁹ Josif Visarionovič Staljin je bio nezadovoljan sporazumom u Remsu, smatrajući da predaju mora da primi samo izaslanik vrhovne komande Sovjetskog Sveza i da ona mora da bude potpisana u Berlinu. Insistirao je da je protokol iz Remsa bio samo preliminarni, a da se glavna ceremonija mora održati u Berlinu, gde se tada nalazio maršal Georgij Žukov. Organizovana je druga ceremonija na neoštećenom imanju izvan Berlina 8. maja uveče, kada je u Moskvi već bio 9. maj zbog razlike u vremenskim zonama. Feldmaršal Vilhelm Kajtel kao načelnik štaba Vrhovne komande Vermahta, general-pukovnik Hans-Jirgen Štrumpf kao predstavnik Luftvafe i admiral Hans Georg fon Frideburg su potpisali nemačku kapitulaciju u štabu Sovjetske armije u Berlin-Karlshorstu. Ispred Saveznika, nemačku predaju prihvatili su sovjetski maršal Žukov i britanski maršal Artur Teder (W. Keitell, *In the service of the Reich*, 269- 275)

¹⁰ Podaci na Wikipedia, pristupljeno 9. januara 2017 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schuman_Declaration

2007. godine Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika odobrio je projekat arhitekta Sime Gušića za uređenje celokupnog kompleksa logora na Crvenom krstu. Njegovoj realizaciji pristupilo se postepeno, iz godine u godinu sprovodeći onaj deo projekta za koji je bilo mogućnosti. Tako je u prvoj fazi radova 2011. godine okrečena fasada centralne zgrade i zamenjen je krov zbog dotrajalosti. Projektom Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika Niš, deo zida prema susednoj Kasarni Stevan Sindelić kompletno je renoviran, a obe betonske osmatračnice su u potpunosti revitalizovane tokom 2012. Iste godine je napravljen asfaltni prilazni put logoru i posađeno četinarsko zelenilo duž memorijalne staze.

Sredstvima Ministarstva za kulturu i informisanje finansirana je prva faza stalne postavke, koja je otvorena 12. aprila 2013. godine. Autori postavke su kustosi istoričari Nebojša Ozimić i Ivana Gruden, dok je vizuelni deo priredio za štampu Nenad Petrović. Iste godine za Noć muzeja promovisana je Projekciona sala sa 40 mesta za sedenje, predviđena za predavanja, promocije, radionice i projekcije filmova. U kasnijim mesecima i godinama multimedijalna Projekciona sala će se pokazati kao idealno mesto za okupljanje mladih i kreativnih ljudi: učenici srednjih škola Stevan Sremac, Bora Stanković, Svetozar Marković i 9. maj, studenti Pravnog i Filozofskog fakulteta te zainteresovane nevladine organizacije koje se bave očuvanjem antifašističke ideje ovde imaju mogućnost da realizuju svoje ideje.

U kratkom periodu od 2011. do 2016. objavljeno je dvanaest publikacija sa logorskom tematikom te isto toliko radova u periodičnim publikacijama, snimljena su dva dokumentarna filma – *U žici lagera Niš* (2013) i *Put ka slobodi* (2016), a poseta logoru je porasla za osam puta. Nije bilo škole u Srbiji koja nije posetila logor na Crvenom krstu. Potom je usledila anketa koja je sprovedena među mladima Niša, u večernjim satima na njihovom omiljenom mestu – amfiteatru kod spomenika Šabanu Bajramoviću. U vrlo visokom procentu mladići i devojke starosti od 18 do 24 godine nisu znali odgovor na jedno jedino pitanje: Šta je Bubanj? Najveće stratište u ovom delu Srbije bilo je apsolutno nepoznato mladima Niša: među ispitanicima sam prepoznao neke koji su dolazili na logor po podatke o pojedinim porodicama koje su bile zatočene u logoru i – streljane na Bubnju!

U Narodnom muzeju smo napravili drugačije radionice koje bi trebalo da na bolji i jednostavniji način dopru do što većeg broja mladih i, uz pomoć drugih programa koji će biti sprovedeni, kao informacija dugo ostanu u svakome ko izađe iz školskih klupa. Naravno, sledi realizacija drugog dela stalne postavke i na taj način će Muzej ponovo biti u prednosti nad neznanjem i zaboravom, našim najvećim neprijateljem.

Rad na formiranju jedinstvene baze podataka za stradale zatočenike niškog koncentracionog logora i zatvora

Aleksandar Dinčić, Narodni muzej Niš

Summary

This article presents a short analysis of the work by historians from the National Museum Niš (Nebojša Ozimić, Aleksandar Dinčić, Ivana Gruden Milentijević, Ivan Mitić) on the list of perished prisoners in the concentration camp and prisons in Niš, published in the monograph *Victims of the Niš Concentration Camp* (2014). This article also examines some of the problems and challenges the historians encountered while preparing the list of camp victims.

Key Words:

Niš, the concentration camp in Niš, Jews, database, Banjica, Sajmište

Ključne reči:

Niš, niški logor, Jevreji, baza podataka, Banjica, Sajmište

Nacističko-fašistički zločini na području okupirane Srbije (1941-1944) predstavljaju temu kojoj je veću pažnju u našoj historiografiji posvetila nekolicina autora. Pisanje predstavlja dvostruki izazov. Njime se održava sećanje i uspomena na nacističko-fašističke žrtve, ali i otkrivaju i ljudi i događaji koji su iz ideoloških razloga dugi niz godina bili stavljani u drugi plan.

Nemački komandanti su vojnicima Vermahta konstantno stvarali mračnu sliku o svom protivniku pa zato u naređenju Vilhelma Kajtela, načelnika Štaba Vrhovne komande, stoji da život ovih ljudi na Balkanu često ne vredi ništa i da se samo neobičnom (iznimnom) svirepošću može postići zastrašujuće dejstvo. Drugim rečima, ne treba se suzdržavati da im se taj isti život oduzme ukoliko je potrebno da se zaštite trupe. To je bila nacistička logika za počinjene ratne zločine.

Poučeni iskustvom sa popisima nacističko-fašističkih žrtava za vreme Drugog svetskog rata u Jugoslaviji, predstojao je najteži deo posla – prikazati tačan, približno tačan ili nepotpuni broj žrtava nacističkog koncentracionog logora u Nišu, ali i svih zatvora u gradu odakle su ljudi odvođeni i ubijani; odnosno, pokazati gde se uopšte Niš nalazi u sistemu nacističkih i fašističkih

ratnih zločina u nekadašnjoj Jugoslaviji. Princip naučnosti, a s njim i dokazivosti, bio je na prvom mestu kada je započelo sistematsko proučavanje istorijata niškog koncentracionog logora: od njegovog postanka do ukidanja i nacističko-fašističkih žrtava. Hronološki sklopiti celokupnu istorijsku sliku, a naročito prikupiti imena poginule, nije nimalo lak posao posle protoka od sedamdeset godina.

Do sada se naučnim metodama nije moglo doći do približnog broja logorisanih građana za vreme rata u okupiranoj Srbiji niti u niškom koncentracionom logoru, niti, pak, u drugim logorima ili zatvorima. Takođe, nije poznat ni približan broj pogubljenih. Žrtve nikad nisu imale priliku postati ime i prezime i jedna velika sveća voštanica za pokoj duša stradalih od nacističko-fašističkog terora. Za razliku od ostalih jugoslovenskih naroda, srpski narod je u poslednjem svetskom ratu pretrpeo najveće gubitke. Međutim, te žrtve su iz ideoloških razloga bile deljene na podobne i nepodobne. Mnoge su poznate – mnoge nisu.

Kada se formirala jedinstvena baza podataka za lica koja su usmrćena iz logora na Crvenom krstu u Nišu i niških zatvora, postojala su tri glavna problema:

1. Logorske knjige nisu sačuvane, već uništene nakon povlačenja Nemaca ili odnete iz zemlje.
2. Popis preživelih i stradalih logoraša koji je radio Narodni muzej u Nišu od 1967. do 2000. godine sadržavao je imena 5.000 lica koja su prošla kroz logor, zatvore i koja su streljana i ubijena. Pažljivom proverom ustanovljeno je da mnoga od tih lica nisu prošla kroz logor, niti su streljana.
3. Popis stradalih građana ondašnje Jugoslavije u nemačkim logorima koji je sproveden 1964. godine je nepotpun. Konkretno, kada se radilo na formiranju jedinstvene baze podataka za usmrćene iz niškog logora, taj popis je povećan za još 300 neevidentiranih građana koji su stradali u istom logoru. Takav nepotpun popis predstavljao je osnovu za sačinjavanje preliminarog popisa stradalih iz niškog logora ili zatvora. Tako je oformljena baza za 4.000 usmrćenih lica. Sve je to stavljeno pod rigoroznu proveru.

Rad na popisu jevrejskih žrtava bio je naročito komplikovan. Pošto je jevrejska populacija skoro u potpunosti uništena u Beogradu, i kako posle rata nije bilo potomaka da daju tačne podatke, postojao je problem sa popisom stradalih Jevreja. Po završetku rata, stradali Jevreji u Jugoslaviji nisu popisivani preko jevrejskih knjiga rođenih koje su uništene, već su za njih podatke uglavnom davale razne gradske komisije.

Prilikom rada na popisu, pristupilo se nečemu što se retko primenjuje pri sačinjavanju baze podataka sa kompletnim podacima. Naime, kako su Jevreji uglavnom dolazili iz uglednih porodica, tako ih je najveći procenat morao pohađati gimnaziju, makar jednu godinu. Stoga su prilikom rada na popisu jevrejskih žrtava konsultovane upisnice u Nišku gimnaziju, kako mušku tako i žensku, u periodu od 1919. do 1941. godine. Nemci ove knjige nisu uništili. U njih su upisani mnogi Jevreji sa kompletnim podacima, od kojih je većina po školovanju ostala da živi u Nišu.

Prilikom rada sa ovom vrstom arhivske građe, konstatovano je da treba konsultovati i upisnice u ostale škole koje su postojale u to vreme. Ovakvu praksu trebalo bi primeniti u svim gradovima i ne samo u Republici Srbiji, već u čitavoj nekadašnjoj Jugoslaviji kako bi se dobili kompletni podaci za mnoge stradale Jevreje.

Kao primer se može navesti predsednik Niške jevrejske opštine, dr. Borivoje Berah. Na sajtu Jad Vašema, u spisku koji poseduje Jevrejski istorijski muzej u Beogradu i na spisku posleratne Državne komisije koja je utvrđivala ratnu štetu upisan je da je rođen u Nišu, a zapravo je rođen u Pirotu. Tako upisnice pružaju mnogo bolje podatke.

Drugi problem kod popisa jevrejskih žrtava bili su Jevreji emigranti. U niškom logoru je od 843 zatvorenih Jevreja bilo i 155 Jevreja emigranata iz Poljske, Nemačke, Mađarske, Češke, Slovačke i drugih zemalja. Taj spisak je pohranjen u dokumentima Državne komisije i kopija je dospela u Narodni muzej Niš. Kada se bolje pogleda taj spisak od 155 Jevreja, odmah se može uočiti da imena nisu ispravno spelovana. Prilikom rada na popisu žrtava logora u Nišu nije postojala mogućnost da se taj spisak uporedi sa spiskom Jad Vašema. Tako je za stradale Jevreje-emigrante prikupljeno najmanje podataka. Njihovi osnovni podaci ne mogu se dobiti stoga što nisu živeli na teritoriji Jugoslavije.

U bazi podataka za usmrćene logoraše i zatvorenike nalazi se 800 stradalih Jevreja. U međuvremenu je dobijen spisak Jevreja koji su iz Jagodine dovedeni u niški logor, kao i Jevreja koji su se krili u borskom i kruševačkom kraju. Njihova imena će biti objavljena prilikom rada na dopuni spiska stradalih u dopunjenom izdanju.

Rigoroznom proverom, baza usmrćenih je svedena na oko 3.500 lica. Tada je započeta treća provera i novo redigovanje liste koje je rađeno preko podataka dobijenih iz Istorijskog arhiva u Beogradu. Arhiv ima sačuvanu kartoteku praćenih, zatvaranih i streljanih političkih zatvorenika koju je vodila nemačka tajna policija – Gestapo. Takođe, u ovom arhivu se čuva fond nemačkog zapovednika sigurnosti – skraćeno B.D.S. Radi se o ličnim dosijeima zatvorenika Gestapoa koje su zaplenile snage Crvene armije prilikom oslobađanja Beograda i koji su kasnije predati Jugoslaviji te dugo vremena nosili pečat Uprave državne bezbednosti. Tačnije, nisu stavljani na uvid istoričarima i istraživačima. Tako je baza usmrćenih bila povećana.

Sama baza podataka za usmrćena lica formirana je na sledeći način. Da bi žrtva mogla biti evidentirana morala je da prođe kroz logor u Nišu, kroz zatvore u Nišu i da bude usmrćena bilo u Nišu ili na drugom mestu. Ovde je napravljena i konekcija sa zatočenicima logora na Banjici. Kako je skoro 2.000 niških logoraša preko Banjice internirano u Nemačku ili otpušteno, podaci su bili znatno potpuniji pošto je Istorijski arhiv Beograda objavio banjicke knjige logoraša.

Manje sreće je bilo sa logorom na Starom Sajmištu. Prema sačinjenom popisu, u ovom logoru je najveća grupa Jevreja bila deportovana krajem februara 1942. godine. Bilo je oko 400 žena Jevrejki, jevrejskih devojčica i muških Jevreja mlađih od 15 godina. Druga i treća grupa je pristigla u maju i avgustu 1942, a 1943. godine postoji još nekoliko manjih grupa. Oko 2.000 niških

logoraša internirano je na Sajmište te dalje u Nemačku, Austriju, odvedeno na rad na Kosovu ili pušteno na slobodu. Sam podatak da je oko 4.000 niških logoraša prošlo kroz beogradske logore i zatvore dovoljno govori o razmeri interniranja i povezanosti ovih logora.

Naslov monografije žrtava niškog logora i zatvora glasi *Žrtve Lager Niša. Lager* na nemačkom jeziku znači logor, međutim, u ovom slučaju ima jedno šire značenje i označava logor i sve zatvore. Kao primer se može navesti pojam „zemlje Istočnog lagersa“ koji se u istorijskoj nauci koristi za period posle Drugog svetskog rata. U evidenciji su se našla i ona lica za koje su postojala sigurna saznanja da su umrli od posledica logora i zatvora neposredno posle povratka ili puštanja na slobodu. Najveći procenat čine ljudi koji su internirani u koncentracioni logor u Mauthausenu.

Za okolnosti pod kojima je žrtva dospela u logor i zatvor uglavnom su se navodile kraće karakteristike: Jevrejin, Rom, pripadnik pokreta otpora, osuđenik i sl. te kraći opis hapšenja ili zarobljavanja. Pritom je svaki podatak morao biti pokriven korišćenim izvorima. Kako se radilo uglavnom o kombinovanju tri i više izvora, prikupljeno je mnogo podataka i gledano je da se prikaže samo najvažnije. Sama monografija ima 7.000 i više izvora saznanja.

Baza podataka za usmrćene zatvorenike i logoraše broji tačno 3.555 imena žrtava. Kada je monografija objavljena, urađena je nova revizija i ispostavilo se da su zavedene još dve nepostojeće žrtve. U međuvremenu, prikupljeni su podaci za još 100 žrtava koji će se štampati u dopunjenom izdanju. Na taj način će se baza podataka sigurno uvećati novim istraživanjima i saznanjima, ali se neće drastično povećati – na primer za više hiljada stradalih.

Prema izveštaju Zemaljske komisije za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njegovih pomagača, u Nišu je za vreme okupacije streljano 10.000 lica. Za sada je 2.100 žrtava koje su streljane i ubijene na Bubnju kod Niša uvedeno u bazu podataka. Intenzivno se radi na traženju izveštaja Specijalne komande 1005, koja je bila angažovana na uništavanju tragova zločina u Beogradu, Pančevu i Nišu. Kada se dođe do tog izveštaja, biće poznate prave razmere zločina u Nišu za vreme okupacije.

U samoj monografiji o žrtvama logora, kao faksimil je stavljena izjava jednog pripadnika grupe 1005, koja je radila jedan nečasni posao. On se zove Nikolaus i prema njegovoj izjavi najviše se „radilo“ u Beogradu, zatim u Pančevu, a najmanje u Nišu. To znači da, ako se zna da su okupatori streljali i uništili 5.000 lica u Jabuci kod Pančeva, žrtve u Nišu ne mogu preći gornju brojku i one su manje. Ali, to su samo neke pretpostavke u iščekivanju dokumentacije.

Kada je rađena monografija gledalo se i malo dalje. Konkretno, pregledavanjem nemačkih izveštaja u raznim arhivima pokušalo se doći do približnog broja lica koje su okupatori ubili u logorima u čitavoj Srbiji, a ne samo u Nišu. Ono što je na osnovu tih izveštaja utvrđeno jeste to da su Nemci i Bugari streljali i ubili 63.000 Srba, Roma i ostalih te 13.900 Jevreja; tačnije, da su razmere nacističkog i fašističkog terora u okupiranoj Srbiji oko 77.000 ubijenih u logorima i zatvorima.

Prilikom prvog zvaničnog popisa žrtava rata, popisano je 41.000 lica koji su stradali u logoru ili zatvoru. Novim popisom bi se mogao dostići gornji broj od 77.000 stradalih i on bi bio najrealniji kada je reč o razmerama okupatorskih zločina u logorima i zatvorima u okupiranoj Srbiji.

Rad na promociji zbirke predmeta zatočenika logora na Crvenom krstu u periodu od 2013. do 2016. godine

Ivana Gruden Milentijević, Narodni muzej Niš

Ključne reči:

Logor, Drugi svetski rat, muzej, izložba

Key Words:

Concentration camp, Second World War, Museum, Exhibition

Na početku ovog teksta analiziraćemo osnovni problem koji se javio na početku rada na logorskoj zbirci. Mnogi stručnjaci smatrali su da je logorska zbirka zatvorena, što zbog velike vremenske distance, što zbog činjenice da je u životu još svega par ljudi koji su prošli kroz niški koncentracioni logor. Dubljom analizom dolazimo do činjenice da sve dok žive predanja o danima provedenim u niškom koncentracionom logoru i dok porodice čuvaju fotografije zatočenika i predmete koji se za to vezuju, uvek postoji prostor za prinovljavanje i zbirka se ne može smatrati zatvorenom. Vremenska distanca je, sa jedne strane, problem zbog sve manjeg broja živih svedoka, ali sa druge strane, ona dozvoljava drugačije sagledavanje logorske problematike, bez pristrasnosti. U prilog ovoj priči govori i činjenica da je logorska zbirka u periodu od 2013. do 2016. godine postala bogatija za 19 novih predmeta.

Činjenica da smo 2013. godine imali priliku da upoznamo Olgu Slavković, devojački Bagur, upotpunjuje prethodnu tvrdnju. Ona je bila u logoru od januara do juna 1942. godine i predstavljala je jedinog živog svedoka bekstva iz logora na Crvenom krstu. Olga Slavković rođena je u Leskovcu 1927. godine, i sa 14 godina dovedena je u niški koncentracioni logor zajedno sa ocem, Pavlom Bagurom, koji je uhapšen zbog saradnje sa NOP-om u Leskovcu.¹ Pavle Bagur je streljan na Bubnju 17. februara 1942. godine, a Olgu je, kako sama kaže, majka otkupila iz niškog logora. Olga je u više navrata davala izjave od kojih su kasnije napravljeni dokumentarni filmovi, učestvovala u obeležavanju 12. februara, i pomogla kustosima u rekonstrukciji događaja iz prošlosti. Olga je protokolom bila predviđena kao specijalni gost na obeležavanju 75. godina od osnivanja logora, ali je zbog bolesti bila sprečena da dođe. Preminula je u Leskovcu 4. oktobra 2016. godine.

¹ N. Ilić, *Ruski emigranti u leskovačkom kraju posle 1917. godine* (Leskovac, 2003), 86.

Najveći poduhvat u radu na logorskoj zbirci predstavljalo je otvaranje nove stalne postavke u prizemnom delu logorske zgrade 12. aprila 2013. godine. Težnja pri formiranju nove postavke je bila ispratiti nove muzeološke zahteve u prezentovanju muzejskih premeta. Istorijski gledano, priča o bekstvu je ispričana na nešto drugačiji način. Pripandicima NOP-a koji su učestvovali u bekstvu dodati su i zatočenici koji su pripadali Ravnogorskom pokretu (recimo Bogdan Panović i Rade Vukašinović), i na taj način upotpunili priču. Svakako, dodate su nove slike i dokumenti koji su po prvi put prezentovani javnosti. U vizuelnom smislu, postavka obiluje savremenim zvučnim i video efektima pa je na dan otvaranja na zidu sobe 11 projektor prikazivao kratak video zapis sa rekonstrukcijom bekstva vizuelnog autora Nenada Petrovića, koji su pratili zvučni efekti kao što su lavež pasa, sirene i zvuci mitraljeza. Nova postavka je i napravljena tako da bude prilagođena nešto mlađim posetiocima, i jednako razumljiva strancima preko dvojezičnih natpisa koji su postali dostupni. Autor izložbe je Nebojša Ozimić, dok je koautor bila Ivana Gruden Milentijević.



Slika 1. Otvaranje nove stalne postavke, autor fotografije Nenad Petrović

Vodivši se zakonom o kulturnim dobrima, koji kustosima stavlja na dužnost da dozvole naučna istraživanja, tehnička i druga snimanja i dostupnost kulturnih dobara javnosti, kustosi zaduženi za zbirku logora na Crvenom krstu organizovali su predavanja, izložbe, uzeli učešće u Noći muzeja i organizaciji radionica. Ovim aktivnostima svakako treba dodati i obeležavanje 12. februara, koje je već postalo tradicija. Prvi put 12. februar je obeležen davne 1967. godine, baš kada je otvorena prva muzejska postavka. Tradicionalno, izviđači organiziraju marš koji počinje dan ranije i nosi naziv Tragom logoraša.²

Noć muzeja je nešto što postaje tradicija kad je logor na Crvenom krstu u pitanju. Ovaj događaj je poznat po tome što u ovoj noći muzeji otvaraju svoja vrata posetiocima, i ulaz je slobodan. Memorijalni kompleks logora je u ovoj noći posećivalo između 800 i 1.500 ljudi svake godine. Pored toga što je moguće obići logor uz stručno vođenje kroz postavku, muzej se trudio da svake godine novim sadržajem privuče što veći broj ljudi. Najviše pažnje privukle su tri izložbe fotografija koje su postavljene unutar logorskog kompleksa 2013. godine, a u kojima je svoje

² Dokumentacija o obeležavanju 12. februara, *Zbirka ličnih predmeta zatočenika logora na Crvenom krstu*, neklasifikovana građa.

fotografije logorske tematike izložio Milan Vujičić. Dve godine kasnije prikazana je izložba autora Dvorina Dinića pod imenom *Senke starog Niša*. U Noći muzeja 2016. godine svoje fotografije pod nazivom *Zlatni Niš* predstavio je Vladimir Jovanović. Da se za logorsku tematiku zainteresovala najšira javnost svedoče i brojni dokumentarni filmovi koji su nastali na ovu temu. 2013. godine premijerno je prikazan dokumentarac Marije Krstić *Kroz žice lager Niša*, a naredne godine film učenika Prve niške gimnazije Stevan Sremac pod nazivom *Pokreni sećanje*, autora Đorđa Šunjevarića. Pored filma, tim predvođen Tamarom Stanojević sproveo je i anketu o opštoj informisanosti ljudi o holokaustu i Drugom svetskom ratu u našem gradu. Ono što je posebno zainteresovalo posetioce bilo je predstavljanje elektronskih vodiča koje su održali studenti elektronike iz grupe Arhimedija u projekcionoj sali logora 2013. godine. Ovo predstavljanje je u potpunosti pratilo savremene težnje velikih svetskih muzeja, poput uvođenja 3D efekata i QR kodova u cilju što vernije prezentacije istorijskog nasleđa. U Noći muzeja održana su i predavanja i rekonstrukcija suđenja Jovanu Čemerikiću, predratnom gradonačelniku Niša koji je posle rata osuđen zbog saradnje sa okupatorom.³ Nebojša Ozimić je, pozivajući se na detalje sa suđenja, pokušao da nakon 70 godina spere krivicu sa ovog čoveka. U 2016. godini održano je predavanje o srednjovekovnom oružju, a zatim i okrugli sto na temu zaštite kulturnog nasleđa. Noć muzeja tekuće godine iskorišćena je i za promociju knjige *Niški incident* autora Aleksandra Dinčića i Bojane Simović.

Tokom 2014. godine predavanjima je obeležen Međunarodni dan Roma, 8. april. Bilo je reči o integraciji Roma u zajednicu, o njihovom obespravljenu tokom Drugog svetskog rata, trakama kojima su bili obeležavani, romskim zatočenicima u logoru i pesmama koje su u njemu ispevane. Na isti način obeležen je i Međunarodni dan holokausta, 27. januar. Na predavanjima je bilo reči o antisemitskoj politici Trećeg rajha, o stradanju Jevreja, holokaustu kao jednom od najvećih zločina protiv čovečnosti te o Jevrejima u niškom logoru. Na isti dan je predstavljen i deo monografije *Žrtve lagera Niš (1941-1944)* koji se odnosio na Jevreje, uz pokušaj da se objasni aparatura kojom smo se služili i problemi koji su nam posao otežavali. Predavači su u oba slučaja bili Aleksandar Dinčić i Ivana Gruden Milentijević.

14. septembra 2016. obeleženo je i 75 godina od osnivanja niškog koncentracionog logora. Program je otvoren intoniranjem himne hora Studentskog kulturnog centra (SKC) koji se predstavio još dva puta između priča o logoru. Ovom prilikom otvorena je i izložba slika učenika engleskog doma koje su inspirisane logorom. Po završetku programa, predsednik Skupštine grada, zamenik gradonačelnika i direktor Narodnog muzeja u Nišu položili su vence na mesto streljanih u okviru logorskog kompleksa.

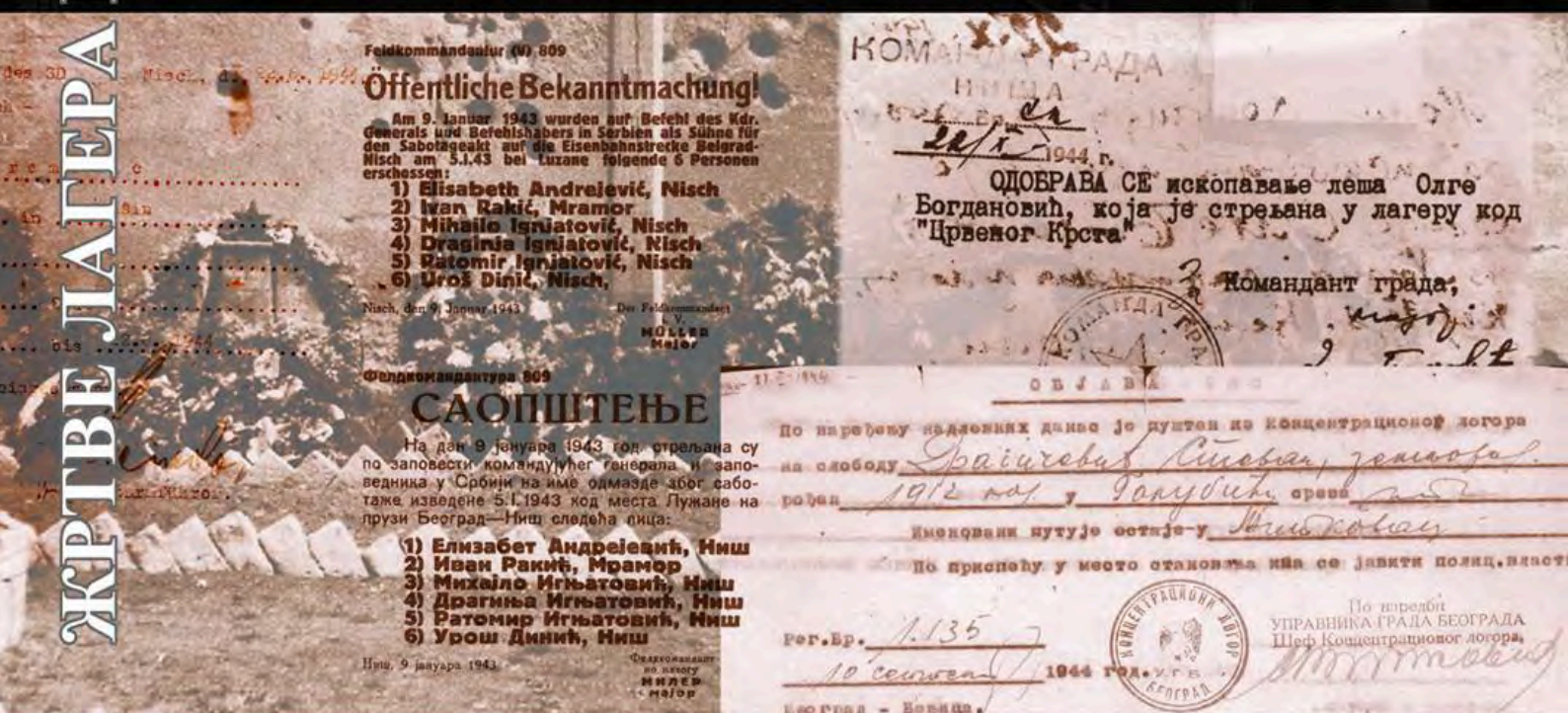
Radionice sa maturantima Prve niške gimnazije Stevan Sremac održavane su tokom cele 2014. godine. Interesovanje se javilo na časovima istorije jer su, kako kažu, bili zaintrigirani događajima tokom Drugog svetskog rata. Isto tako, profesorica je bila iznenađena činjenicom da znatan broj učenika ne zna da u njihovom gradu postoji logor iz tog perioda. Radili smo radionice u više

³ Više o tome vidi u N. Ozimić, Suđenje Jovanu Čemerikiću predsedniku niške opštine za vreme nemačke okupacije. *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja Niš* 22 (2013): 185-193, ili <http://narodnimuzejnis.rs/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/ZBORNIK-22-ok.pdf>

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Бојана Симовић, Ивана Груден Милентијевић,
Иван Митић

ЖРТВЕ ЛАГЕРА НИШ (1941–1944)



Ниш, 2014.

Slika 2. Izgled monografije Žrtve lagersa Niš

navrata i trudili se da im damo što više informacija koje su vezane za logorsku tematiku. Pored podataka koje su dobili u muzeju, gimnazijalci su film oživeli svedočanstvom gospođe iz Niša koja je govorila o stradanju svog supruga i brata od strica u logoru. Film je premijerno prikazan u projekcionoj sali na logoru tokom Noći muzeja 2014. godine, a maturanti su među posetiocima sprovedi anketu koja je ispitivala opšte znanje o holokaustu i Drugom svetskom ratu u Nišu.

Nesporno je da su danas društvene mreže postale jedan od najboljih načina da prenesete poruku koju želite. Uporedo sa novom logorskom postavkom, otvorena je i stranica Zvanična prezentacija logora na Crvenom krstu.⁴ Stranica se redovno ažurira i pored obaveštenja o aktivnostima i dešavanjima koja su vezana za logorski kompleks na njoj se mogu naći i neke od fotografija, članci iz periodike koji se bave logorskom tematikom, skenovi dokumenata, utisci posetilaca, itd. Tu su i snimci dokumentaraca, emisija koje su obrađivale tematiku vezanu sa stranicom, novinski članci koji govore o radovima na logorskom kompleksu, itd.

Što se tiče izdavačke delatnosti na tematiku koja je vezana za logor na Crvenom krstu, u periodu od 2013. do 2016. godine je izašlo više publikacija i monografija. 2014. godine objavljena je monografija *Žrtve lagera Niš* grupe autora. Ovo delo sadrži imena svih logoraša koji su do danas evidentirani kao žrtve, što u okviru logora, što u internaciji. Pored imena i prezimena, godine rođenja, mesta rođenja i zanimanja, većina žrtava poseduje i datum i način hapšenja, kao i mesto i datum usmrćenja. Karakteristika ove monografije je to da svaka žrtva pojedinačno pored podataka koji su izneti, sadrži i izvore iz kojih su podaci preuzeti. Princip pri radu je bio da je potrebno ukrstiti najmanje dva do tri izvora da bi se neko evidentirao kao žrtva lagera.

Tokom 2014. godine Narodni muzej Niš je još objavio :

1. N. Ozimić, M. Makarić, Jevreji u logoru na Crvenom krstu-Nezavršena priča o Moši Šoamoviću. Posle velikog interesovanja za publikaciju dr. Velizar Pijadeda objavljena je i publikacija o jevrejima zatočenim u logoru sa posebnim osvrtom na jevrejskog slikara, čija se dela čuvaju u Narodnom muzeju u Nišu, u zbirci istorije umetnosti.
2. N. Ozimić, A. Dinčić, Pripadnici JVUO u nacističkom koncentracionom logoru na Crvenom krstu. Otvaranje nove stalne postavke u kojoj je prvi put predstavljeno da je u logoru bilo i ravnogoraca koji su pripadali četničkom pokretu, otvorilo je potrebu za publikacijom ovakve vrste. U publikaciji je akcenat na tretmanu pripadnika ove grupacije koji se po svemu sudeći nije razlikovao od tretmana zarobljenih pripadnika NOP-a.
3. I. Gruden, Stradanje slovenaca u Nišu tokom Drugog svetskog rata (1941-1944). Ova monografija se bavi slovenačkim porodicama koje su internirane u Srbiju posle početka rata, prati njihove živote i integraciju u srpsko društvo kao i priče koje oni donose. Poseban deo u knjizi pripada porodici Žilnik, naročito pravniku i reditelju iz Novog Sada Želimiru Žilniku, koji je kao beba boravio u niškom logoru sa majkom Milicom Šuvaković. Monografija sadrži poimenično slovenačke žrtve u Nišu, sa godinom rođenja, zanimanjem i godinom smrti kao i izvore na osnovu kojih se podaci navode.
4. N. Ozimić, A. Dinčić, Concentration Camp at Red Cross. Zbog sve većeg broja stranaca koji posećuju logor na Crvenom krstu, i njihove impresionirasti priče koje on nosi 2014. godine objavljen je prevod publikacije Logor na Crvenom krstu na engleski jezik. Na taj način, stranci koji posećuju logor mogu se upoznati sa njegovom istorijom, a stručnjaci sa drugih govornih područja mogu stvoriti bazu za dalja istraživanja na tu temu.

⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/LogorCrveniKrst/>

U 2015. godini objavljeno je :

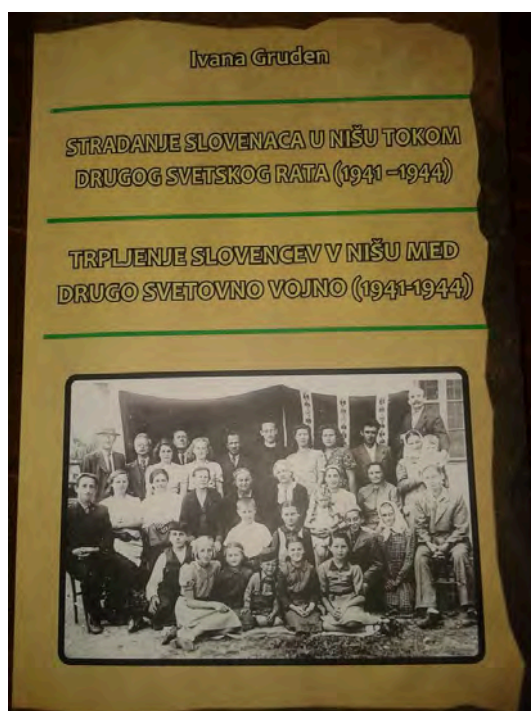
5. I. Mitić, Bekstva iz logora na Crvenom krstu. Specifičnost ove publikacije da prvom bekstvu koje se desilo 12. februara 1942. godine dodaje pripadnike JVUO, i samim tim prati stalnu postavku, dok prvi put ozbiljnije obrađuje tematiku drugog bekstva.

Tokom 2016. godine objavljene su dve publikacije koje se bave logorskom tematikom :

6. A. Dinčić, Saveznici i strani podanici u logoru na Crvenom krstu. Ova publikacija obrađuje život stranih zatočenika u logoru, zadržavajući se na njihovom statusu koji se dosta razlikovao od tretmana ostalih zatočenika. Važno je istaći da su nad njima primenjivane odredbe haške i ženevske konvencije koje se bave statusom ratnih zarobljenika.
7. I. Gruden Milentijević, Internirci niškog logora u Mauthauzenu. Ova publikacija prati život zatočenika niškog logora preko internacije do Mauthauzena, zadržavajući se u velikom delu na surovim uslovima koji su vladali u ozloglašenom logoru.

Iz svega prethodno izloženog, dolazimo do zaključka da je angažovanje kustosa i vodiča u promociji zbirki neophodno kako bi se poboljšala prezentacija istih, dok bi se sa druge strane publikacijama i organizovanjem predavanja stručna javnost u većoj meri zainteresovala i uključila u obradu tematike. Na kraju, muzeji nisu zatvorene ustanove, njihov zadatak je proučavanje, podučavanje i uživanje, i jedino ispunjavanjem ovih težnji oni opravdavaju svoje postojanje.

Slika 3. Monografija o Slovincima u Nišu tokom Drugog svetskog rata



Deo 4. Međunarodne Manifestacije “Eskalacija U Holokaust”

Part 4. “Escalating Into Holocaust” Event Reports

BEOGRAD/BELGRADE 20-22. 04. 2016

Vjeran Pavlaković, University of Rijeka

EVENT 1

VENUE

Palace of Serbia, Belgrade
Site of the former concentration camp at Sajmiste, Belgrade
The Historical Archives of Belgrade
(Serbia)



IMPORTANT DATE

April 22 – The National Holocaust, WWII Genocide and other Fascist Crimes Victims' Remembrance Day
(commemorated in Serbia)



PLACE OF MEMORY

The site of the former concentration camp at Sajmiste in Belgrade

The opening conference of the “Escalating into Holocaust” project began on 20 April with two kickoff events that dramatically illustrated both the tragedy of the research topic and the significant efforts the project partners invested in fully investigating this dark chapter of 20th century history. The first event was the presentation of the exhibition “October 1941 – Escalating into Holocaust,” a central component of the entire project which would subsequently be displayed in a number of other cities in Serbia. The exhibition, by Milovan Pissari and Nikola Radić Lucati, presents the crimes of the Nazi occupiers and local collaborators in a day by day chronology of one month (October) in 1941, revealing the horrors of wartime Serbia that affected not only the Jewish population, but anyone who tried to resist as well as thousands of innocents caught up in the brutal repression. The meticulously collected documents, photographs, leaflets, personal letters, contemporary newspapers, and other archival materials displayed on this traveling exhibition show how the work of historians and activists continues to be crucial in completing the narrative of the first months of the Second World War in Yugoslavia that was for decades dominated by Communist historiography focused on the Partisan struggle.

The second event was a visit to the Staro Sajmište site of memory in Zemun, the location of the camp for Jewish prisoners that represents the endpoint of this research project’s time span. While another goal of the project is to complete a database of Sajmište victims, again reinforcing the importance of archival work, the visit highlighted the need to raise awareness of Holocaust sites of memory, both in Serbia and abroad. The site itself has a turbulent history with regards to official memory politics, being both commemorated and forgotten in various periods as shown by Jovan Byford in his pioneering study *Staro Sajmište: Mesto sećanja, zaborava i sporenja* (2011). I first became aware of the Sajmište camp at a conference held in Belgrade in May 2012 (“If not now, when...The future of the site of Sajmište in Belgrade), where the local and international



participants gathered to discuss the possibility of converting the site into a proper memorial, documentary, and research center. Unfortunately, little progress has been made at the actual site, but projects related to Sajmište continue. The project “Escalating into Holocaust” is therefore a positive example of ongoing scientific, educational, and activist efforts to raise awareness of the dangers facing society when liberal democratic values are abandoned and replaced by the kind of chauvinist ideologies that led to the Holocaust.

The second day of the conference, held in the vast building of the former socialist Federal Executive Council (SIV), featured another important component of the project: facilitating dialogue and discussion between eminent international scholars working on the Holocaust and other genocides, and academics from Serbia and the region dealing with the Second World War. The fully packed day gave a broad spectrum of scholars the opportunity to present their research on both comparative aspects of the Holocaust as well as specific topics related to Serbia, as well as time for constructive comments and debates. **Dragan Gačić**, the Director of the Historical Archives of Belgrade, and **Goran Vesić**, a city manager of the Belgrade City Council and a member of the planning committee for the future Sajmište memorial site, warmly welcomed the attendees and members of the media. Vesić emphasized the city’s dedication to honoring the memory of the victims of the Holocaust, but noted there were many legal issues in creating the kind of memorial site envisioned by those working most actively on the issue of Sajmište.

Milan Koljanin from the Institute of Contemporary History in Belgrade delivered the opening lecture about the historical background of the Sajmište camp, beginning with the rise of anti-Semitism in Germany and ending with the implementation of the Final Solution in countries absorbed by, or allied with, the Third Reich. **Tijana Kovčić** from the Historical Archives of Belgrade followed this introduction with a presentation of the initial results of the database on the victims of Sajmište, emphasizing the difficulties and challenges in recreating the details of the events more than seventy-five years ago. She explained the process in which individual names and identities of the victims were collected and cross-checked with as many sources as possible, with the goal of also restoring the details of their lives before the war.¹ She also noted that the information on victims from the final period of the camp was more difficult to obtain than the early days, and provided the grim statistic that of the victims analyzed so far, 22.5% had been children, a testimony to the totality of the tragedy that befell Belgrade’s Jewish community.

The first panel session of the day featured a paper by **Susanne Heim** of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte München – Berlin on the Holocaust in Serbia in the European context. She provided a detailed account of the systematic process by which the Holocaust took place in Serbia, to a great degree thanks to the experiences of German officers and administrators who had learned from the Aryanization strategies in Austria in 1938 and the occupation of France in 1941. According to her research, the “knowledge transfer” of previous experiences was even more effective in Serbia not only because of a cadre of enthusiastic German bureaucrats, but due to the willingness of Serbian elites to collaborate against a population (Jews, Roma, and communists)

¹ At the final presentation in Novi Sad in January 2017, the archivists stated they had collected some 29,000 documents with information on 3,505 victims.



already considered to be enemies. The first discussant, **Alexander Korb** from the University of Leicester, questioned the theory of knowledge transfer, suggesting that other wartime experiences influenced the Wehrmacht and not just the deportation of Jews in France or the Netherlands, as well as the need to take into account the specific context of Serbia. **Milan Koljanin** echoed some of these comments, noting that a number of occupying officers had previously served during the First World War as Austrian occupiers, and that the negative perception of Serbs affected the behavior of Hitler's troops in Belgrade.

Walter Manoschek of the Viennese Institut für Staatswissenschaft initiated the second panel with his description of the Holocaust beyond Belgrade in a paper titled "The Fate of Yugoslavian Jewry". His detailed overview of the plight of Jews across the former Yugoslavia, from the earliest persecutions in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) in April 1941 until the final deportation of Jews from Hungarian-occupied Banat in 1944, left no doubt about the vast scale and systematic nature of the Holocaust in this part of Europe. According to Manoschek, Yugoslavia's Jews had the highest mortality rate of any community in Europe, although those in Italian and Hungarian occupied territories had a better chance of surviving than those living under the Ustaša regime or those rounded up in Serbia, which, along with Estonia, became the first "Judenfrei" parts annexed by the Third Reich. He also noted that while Bulgaria, known for sparing its citizens the horrors of the Holocaust, actually deported some 11,000 Jews to Nazi death camps from Bulgarian-occupied Macedonia and Thrace since the authorities considered them to be "foreign Jews". The discussants, **Bishop Jovan Ćulibrk** (Sajmište Planning Committee) and **Milan Ristović** (University of Belgrade), commented on the barbarization of warfare during the Second World



War and that the Holocaust had been characterized by manipulation and a lack of archival research during socialist Yugoslavia, which was changing with projects such as this one.

Milovan Pissari, Historian from the Center for Holocaust Research and Education in Belgrade, discussed the under-researched subject of Roma victims in his paper “The Suffering of the Roma in Serbia during the Holocaust” during the third panel. During socialist Yugoslavia, the Porajmos, or Roma Holocaust, was even less commemorated and publicly acknowledged than the fate of the country’s Jews, although there had been about 60,000 Roma living in Serbia in 1941. According to Pissari, the US Holocaust Museum in Washington DC first began collecting materials on this aspect of wartime Serbia, and now there are several projects dedicated to Roma history such as the Čubarska enklava in Belgrade as described by **Zlata Vuksamović Macura**, an architect and author. **Gerhard Baumgartner**, the Director of the Documentation Center of Austrian Resistance in Vienna, added to the discussion by noting the international view of Roma as being a social problem in many countries across Europe, and the use of so-called “gypsy lists” created during the interwar period to deport and kill Roma once the Nazi regime took over.

The final panel session featured a provocative presentation by **Alexander Korb** from the University of Leicester, titled “The Holocaust in Yugoslavia – A Transnational History” but covering broader topics such as the language we use in describing the events of the Second World War and the tendency to engage in what he called “competitive victimhood.” Referring to his research on the Ustaša regime, he suggested the use of terms such as “mass violence” or “collective violence” rather than “genocide” due to the high degree of politicization of the latter word, which is evident from ongoing debates in the Yugoslav successor states regarding the nature of the war in the 1990s. He also argued the need to study both perpetrators and victims in a

multinational and transnational approach in order to understand all of the local manifestations of the mass crimes and atrocities committed during the war. This lively presentation was followed by a moving testimony given by **Aleksandar Lebl**, a Holocaust survivor and journalist, who remained lucid in his comments and appeal to “write the Holocaust with a capital H” since it was a true example of a genocide. **Anat Harel** of the Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam shared the difficulties in expanding the list of the fallen in war, raising the issue of including soldiers and even SS members in remembrance practices. The anthropologist **Danilo Trbojević** wrapped up this dramatic session with some reflections on not only remembrance but amnesia, reminding the participants how the focus on antifascism and the Partisan struggle during socialist Yugoslavia had resulted in the absence of Jewish and Roma victims in the post-war narratives and commemorative culture.

The impressive list of international and local participants was completed with closing remarks by **Ruben Fuks**, the president of the Association of Jewish Communities in Serbia. Posing the question of how can we know the “whole truth” when so many people had been exterminated during the Holocaust, he criticized political speeches delivered at commemorations that were written by others, suggesting that was not the proper way to remember the fallen or preserve true memory. He called on the historians in the room to continue unearthing the hidden past, and made a stirring appeal for the need of quality education and the sharing of knowledge, which are critical in understanding the roots of anti-Semitism and the key for preventing future tragedies such as this from taking place.

The final day of the event featured a series of workshops dedicated to Holocaust education and awareness, especially through culture and outreach. In the morning **Anat Harel** presented her



work on the “Digital Monument and the Jewish Monument Online Community” that was established in the Netherlands in 2005. The afternoon workshop sessions were prepared by the Terraforming Network and explored the use of graphic novels (**Gabriël Kousbroek**, illustrator, Amsterdam), films (**Nevena Daković**, Faculty of Dramatic Arts, Belgrade), oral history (**Dienke Hondius**, VU University, Amsterdam), and documents (**Akim Jah**, The International Tracing Service, Bad Arolsen) in Holocaust education. The conference concluded with a round table debate hosted by **Miško Stanišić** and **Nevena Bajalica** (both from the Terraforming Network) about the educational potential of the “Escalating into Holocaust” project. This potential has definitely been realized through the diverse materials and resources produced by the project partners, from academic papers to online databases, pedagogic tools for students, interactive websites, and a traveling exhibition.



NIŠ 22.06.2016

Tijana Kovčić, Historical Archives of Belgrade

EVENT 2

VENUE

The Grand Hall of the Rectorate of the University of Nis
The National Museum of Nis
The Memorial-museum Concentration Camp Red Cross
The Gallery Synagogue



IMPORTANT DATE

June 22, Nazi Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union



PLACE OF MEMORY

The Memorial-museum at the site of the former concentration camp Red Cross in Nis

International conference “Escalating into Holocaust” took place on Wednesday 22nd June 2016 in the Great Hall of the University of Niš.

The Conference was opened by welcoming speeches of **Dragan Gačić**, Director of the Historical Archives of Belgrade and **Uroš Parlić**, Director of the Tourist Organization of the city of Niš.

Dr Milan Koljanin, Historian from the Institute for Contemporary History from Belgrade held an introductory lecture on Sajmište – Historical Background – Concentration Camp Sajmište.

Tijana Kovčić, Archivist from Historical Archives of Belgrade presented the Archives’ work on the development of Sajmište camp victims database, with special attention on the victims who were brought from Niš to Sajmište camp. The presentation explained also the methodology of the research and processing of the archival material and difficulties that occurred during the database creation. Available statistical data on Sajmište victims were presented as well.

Nikola Radić Lucati from the Center for Holocaust Research and Education, co-author of the exhibition “October 1941”, presented to the audience the idea and content of the exhibition.

Exhibition “October 1941” was opened at the Synagogue Gallery in Niš.¹



¹ Read more about the exhibition and its opening in a separate publication by CIEH



Panel discussions

Three one-hour panel discussions followed:

Session I

INTRODUCTORY PRESENTATION: THE HOLOCAUST IN SERBIA IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

Dr Sanela Schmidt, Historian, researcher in Editionsprojekt “Judenverfolgung 1933–1945”, Institut für Zeitgeschichte Berlin, Germany;

Panelists:

Dr Milan Koljanin, Historian, Institute for Contemporary history, Belgrade;

Aleksandar Dinčić, Historian, National Museum Niš;

Moderator: **Nevena Bajalica**, Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novi Sad;

Session II

INTRODUCTORY PRESENTATION: NATIONAL COMMEMORATION PRACTICES IN THE NETHERLANDS–

Niels Weitkamp, Senior Advisor for Education at the national Committee 4 and 5 May, Amsterdam, Netherlands;

Panelists:

Nebojša Ozimić, Historian, curator and Assistant Director of the National Museum of Nis;

Nevena Bajalica, Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novi Sad;

Moderator: **Miško Stanišić**, Director of the Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novi Sad

Session III

INTRODUCTORY PRESENTATION: HOLOCAUST AND ROMA GENOCIDE REMEMBRANCE IN FORMER SOVIET UNION

Mykhail Tyaglyy, Historian, Institute for Holocaust, Kiev, Ukraine;

Panelists:

Maja Suša, Department for Research, Archiving and Documentation of the Holocaust Fund and Holocaust Memorial Center in Macedonia;

Vera Kurtić, executive coordinator at Women's Space, a citizen association of Niš;

Moderator: **Dr Milovan Pissari**, Historian, Center for Holocaust Research and Education.

The conference in Niš created motivating atmosphere for the exchange of experiences between Serbian and international experts dealing with similar topics and enabled them to introspect Holocaust in wider European context. After each introductory presentation panelists and other guests present in the hall participated in constructive discussions.

Besides international participants, many other representatives of the local organizations and individuals attended the conference. Among others there were representatives of the National Museum of Niš, Historical Archives of Niš, Jewish community of Niš, Tourist Organization of Niš, NGO Women's Space and others.



Visit to the Concentration Camp Crveni Krst - Anhaltelager Nisch

In the frames of the event” Escalating into Holocaust” in Niš, the National Museum of Niš organized a visit to the Concentration camp Crveni Krst. Serbian and international guests were guided by Historian Aleksandar Dinčić.

The guests from Belgrade, the Netherlands, Macedonia, Germany, Sweden and Croatia learned about the history of the camp.

During the Second World War around 30 000 Serbs, Jews and Roma prisoners were brought by German Nazis to the Anhaltelager Nisch. Around 10.000 people were shot at the nearby killing site Bubanj.

Other historical sites

In addition, the participants visited several other historical locations. This was facilitated by the National Museum of Niš. Expert guides presented to the participants the Permanent Archeological Exhibition of the National Museum, Medieval Fortress of Niš, and The Scull Tower – Čele Kula.



Amsterdam 21-22. 08. 2016

Andreja Lekić, for University of Rijeka

EVENT 3

VENUE

The NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies
The Dutch Resistance Museum
The Hollandsche Schouwburg
The National Holocaust Museum
Anne Frank House



IMPORTANT DATE

From May through September 1943, the Germans launched raids to seize the remaining Jews in Amsterdam. 29 September 1943, on the eve of Yom Kippur, the remnant of the Amsterdam community of about 2.000 Jews were taken to Westerbork. In total 104.000 Dutch Jews were killed during the Holocaust.



PLACE OF MEMORY

The Dutch Theatre Museum "Hollandsche Schouwburg" – a former theatre space where the Jews were detained before being sent to the camp Westerbork and further to the death camps in Europe.



The third public presentation of the “Escalating into Holocaust” project, and first one outside of Serbia, took place on 21 September 2016 at the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies in Amsterdam, co-hosted by **NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies** and **Terraforming**. The event attracted an audience of about fifty participants including scholars, academics, PhD students, activists, professionals in the field of Holocaust commemoration, research, and education, as well as others interested in the subject.

The participants were welcomed to the event by **Erik Somers** from NIOD, who is also a coordinator of the NIOD’s team in charge of the project “Escalating into Holocaust”. He was followed by **Frank van Vree**, Director of NIOD Institute, who expressed his appreciation for having the opportunity to host this international event at NIOD and contribute to the whole project as a key partner.

The program was divided in two parts: the first series of presentations dealt with the content of the project “Escalating into Holocaust”, while the second half was devoted to “challenges and best practices in developing the concept and content of Holocaust memorials.” **Miško Stanišić**, Director of the Terraforming network, presented the project “Escalating into Holocaust”, its evolvement and background information, its goals, current activities, and expected outcomes and results. He emphasized the European dimension of the project and a need to explore shared European narratives and experiences of the Holocaust, as well as the current challenges of anti-Semitism and xenophobia our societies are facing today. Moreover, Stanišić further elaborated on the educational materials being developed by Terraforming for the project. The materials are based

around four personal stories of young Jewish victims murdered at the Sajmište concentration camp, combining graphic-novel-style illustrations and archival documentation from the Historical Archives of Belgrade, focusing on pre-war Jewish life in three Serbian cities.

Milan Koljanin, a senior researcher at the Institute for Contemporary History in Belgrade, presented the historical background of the Holocaust in German-occupied Serbia and the concentration camp Judenlager Semlin (the concentration camp at Sajmište). Koljanin is also a member of the Planning Committee for the future Memorial Center at Staro Sajmište, and he spoke about the current state of the Planning Committee's work. **Vladimir Mijatović**, a senior Archivist at the Historical Archives of Belgrade, presented the work on the database of the Sajmište camp victims. He explained the conceptual and informational structure of the database, the challenges and obstacles, as well as solutions the archivists found during the process. The victim's database is a focal point of the project "Escalating into Holocaust," and will serve as an important contribution to future Holocaust research and education, as well as to the future permanent Memorial Center at Sajmište.



Nikola Radić Lucati, an Artist and activist from the Center for Holocaust Research and Education, presented the exhibition "October 1941". Together with his colleague Milovan Pisarri, Lucati is an author of the exhibition that aims to illustrate the escalation of violence and killings in German-occupied Serbia during October 1941. This escalation resulted not only in a murder of a majority of the Serbian Jewish male population, along with many Roma and Serb victims, but it spurred the creation of the concentration camp at Sajmište, where the killing of the remaining Jewish population continued until May 1942. Using archival materials and newspaper clips, thirty-two large panels represent each day of October 1941 during which German troops and collaborationist forces committed mass crimes against the civilian population. This led to the final phase of the Holocaust in Serbia – the systematic execution of the remaining Jewish women and



children detained in the Sajmište camp in the notorious gas van, the so-called “dušegupka”. In addition, the exhibition explores the involvement of collaborators, the role of bystanders, the inventiveness of war profiteers, the use of propaganda, and the official media’s standpoint that life continued “like nothing happened”.

The next part of the program was dedicated to challenges and best practices when developing the concept and content of Holocaust memorials.

Erik Somers, a Historian at NIOD, presented his view on the musealisation of the Holocaust, its memory, and representation. According to him, the musealisation of the Holocaust is at its turning point. Memorial places and memorial museums have to embrace new approaches, since the generation that lived through the war is decreasing and as a result the memory of 1940-1945 is being transferred in a more indirect way. New target groups have no direct relations with the memories of the war, and for them this period is truly “the past”. The change of representations in the museums is related to the cultural memory which, according to memory studies scholar Aleida Assman, is a social and cultural process of interaction between individual and collective memory. Furthermore, he discussed a few aspects of a shift that was focused towards the representation in the museums and memorial centers.





The key aspect is the personification of the past with an aim to bring the past closer. The focus is on local history and personal stories which gives the past a greater power of expression, especially for the younger generations that are removed from those events. However, there is a risk of simplification with the bigger historic picture fading into the background. Stories focused on emotions can cause the events of the Second World War to be further removed from the complex historical circumstances that led to the war and to the Holocaust. There is a growing need to make past more tangible. The public wants to experience history in places of memory. Visiting memorial sites, concentration camps, and other sites of atrocities drive more visitors each year. We see a growing interest in real historical objects because there is a need for authenticity and historical experience. Regardless of how trivial an everyday item may seem, the context and the personal origin brings history to life. By means of staged historical reality and with the help of directed narratives and reconstructions, the emphasis is on giving the visitors a sensation of experiencing the past. To experience and to perceive is the motto. When thinking of modes of representations, museums have to weigh the pros and cons of various techniques and methods used either for younger or older generations. How far can we go when evoking a highly charged historical period? When are moral and ethical boundaries crossed? There is a need for a precarious balance between well-considered education and information on the one hand, and emotions and sensations on the other. Lastly, we have to remember that the museums, in addition to providing information about historical periods, are part of a leisure and entertainment culture. The economic concepts of marketing and entrepreneurship apply to the memorial museum sector as well.

As an example of this shift in musealisation practices, Somers discussed Camp Westerbork in the Netherlands. Situated in a north-eastern part of the country, it served as a transit camp for Jews during the German occupation. In the 1960s, all remnants of the horrible past were destroyed after

being used during the post-war period as a military camp for soldiers leaving for the Dutch Indies and as a repatriation camp for the returnees from Indonesia. After the publication of a book about the extent of the Holocaust, the government decided that Westerbork, as such, must disappear after a request came from the Jewish community itself. This place had to be forgotten, not remembered. In 1971 a simple monument was erected, designed by a former prisoner of the camp as a permanent reminder of the sad history. In the 1980s, a decade marked by rise of antisemitism and right-wing extremism, the public wanted to learn more about the site, and as a result the Westerbork Memorial Center was built next to the camp ground. The site itself remained untouched and empty, symbolizing the void left by the people who disappeared. This is how the first generation wanted it. In the 1990s there was a need to make the historical site more visible and to focus more on the history of camp itself. Reconstructions of the past are put on display for new generations: an original barrack has been rebuilt and the former home of a camp commander has also been reconstructed as a part of the museum. Recently another historical reconstruction took place: a railway carriage, recognized in the world as a symbol of deportation and extermination, was purchased from abroad. From the carriage the names of one hundred and twenty thousand Jews were read aloud, and with this last addition, the memorial site Westerbork exemplified the shifts towards the new direction of historical reconstruction and perception of authenticity.



Pieter Lagrou, a Historian at the University of Brussels, presented his views on the Holocaust and Remembrance using the example of the Kazerne Dossin Memorial and Museum in Mechelen, Belgium. His proposal, along with Erik Somers, for a newly-created Flemish Holocaust museum was rejected and the end-result differs from their vision of a relevant memorial. That is why he applauded the idea of Sajmište as a Holocaust memorial which would not depict something that was exceptional and happening only in Serbia in 1941, but site that referenced European narratives and would be capable of reaching out to the contemporary world. In order to create a relevant memorial site there is a need to discuss the issue of ownership. Who actually owns a Holocaust memory?



Kazerne Dossin was a transit camp in the Belgian town of Mechelen, chosen because of its proximity to both Brussels, where more assimilated, liberal Jews lived, and Antwerp, with its large, more traditional Eastern-European Jewish community. However, most of the Jews deported from Belgium were not Belgian citizens, and as a result they were not compensated after the war as were the Jewish survivors in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, the Jewish community in Belgium recovered quite quickly with the help of the international Jewish community. After the war, one monument was built in Brussels and later one in Antwerp. Compared to the Netherlands, there was a considerable delay in the writing of the historiography of the persecution of the Jews. The Belgian Army took control of Kazerne Dossin after the liberation, and it decided not to use it, resulting in its falling into disrepair and becoming an eyesore in the center of city. In the 1980s the barracks were sold to a property developer who wanted to build luxury lofts with courtyard featuring a lovely landscape garden. It was to be renamed into the “Habsburg court”. This transformation happened at the same time as their emerged a renewed interest in the historiography of Jewish persecution. At the last minute the city, the province, and the Flemish region decided to buy off two lofts for the creation of a small museum. Since there was no possibility of expropriating the loft-owners, it was decided that a memorial site should be built opposite the original site in 2001. A new liberal government, aware of the role of Belgium in the Second World War and its image of being a fascist and extremely right-wing region, endorsed new memory politics. This included apologies for the Rwandan genocide. The realization of the Holocaust project began five years later due to the changes in the political climate. Before approaching historians, the consultant agencies were asked to develop a commercial project with a hundred thousand visitors in mind. Historians objected to the Flemish Holocaust museum: there is nothing Flemish about it, the victims were not Flemish, and the authors of this genocide were not Flemish. However, there is no constitutional possibility for the Francophone region to participate in a cultural project of another region (even though the persecuted came from francophone Brussels as well). The exclusive Flemish initiative would send a message of intolerance and the neglect of human rights.

The last point of objection was the narrative. Which kind should be offered in this museum? It was similar to Belgrade's initiative of not putting the Holocaust on a pedestal. This project was about civil rights and citizenship at home, and not just about something terrible that happened between 1941 and 1944. Even though the Holocaust is exceptional and transgressive, there is a need to insert this into its foundation. If the Holocaust Museum was to be at this location in Belgium, the local story needed to be told. A museum needs to have a sense of place, life stories of people deported need to be told as well as exclusion and administrative measures used by the Germans for their identification. The museum should not become a replica of Yad Vashem in Israel or of the US Holocaust Museum in Washington.

That is why the museum, which opened in 2012, is a sort of a schizophrenic museum, with an unfortunate attempt to answer the challenge of combining the particular with the universal. While in the center of the museum features well-documented life stories of Jews, the walls are decorated with giant photos of Rwanda, a tank on Tiananmen Square, and a techno-party in Belgium, a kind of representation of the consequences of mass politics. During the Q&A with the audience after the official program, Milan Koljanin, Nevena Bajalica, and Miško Stanišić answered and discussed questions related to the past and current challenges of anti-Semitism in Serbia and Europe, and in what way combating current anti-Semitism is incorporated into the project "Escalating into Holocaust".

Day 2: Idea and Experience Exchange - Expert Meeting

During the second day of the program in Amsterdam, with the participation of guests from Serbia, Belgium, Sweden, and Croatia in addition to Dutch experts, an expert meeting took place at the Dutch Theatre Museum – Hollandsche Schouwburg – a museum and a monument dedicated to the Jews of the Netherlands murdered in the Second World War.

The participants included:

- ▶ Liesbeth van der Horst- the Dutch Resistance Museum,
- ▶ Annemiek Gringold- the National Holocaust Museum,
- ▶ Levine Rouw- Anne Frank House,
- ▶ Erik Somers- NIOD Institute of War, Holocaust and genocide Studies,
- ▶ Pieter Lagrou- University of Brussels,
- ▶ Niels Weitkamp- National Committee for 4th and 5th of May,
- ▶ Nevena Bajalica- Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novı Sad,
- ▶ Milan Koljanin- Planning Committee for the future Memorial Center at Staro Sajmište,
- ▶ Nikola Radić Lucati- Center for Holocaust Research and Education in Belgrade,
- ▶ Miško Stanišić- Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novı Sad
- ▶ Andreja Lekić- on behalf of the Department of Cultural Studies, University of Rijeka



Annemiek Gringold welcomed the group at the space of a future National Holocaust Museum in the Teacher Training College, and guided the participants through the Dutch Theatre Museum, Hollandsche Schouwburg. The guests could see the current exhibitions at the National Holocaust Museum – a series of paintings by Jeroen Krabbé, entitled “The Demise of Abraham Reiss”, and the digital Jewish Monument – an online archive that aims to commemorate Jewish victims of the Holocaust by bringing them out of anonymity and gathering information about their lives. Gringold explained the historical background and symbolic significance of both spaces, as well as the current and future plans for the Dutch National Holocaust Museum. This was a very interesting and valuable visit, particularly inspirational for the members of the team currently working on the plans for the future permanent Memorial Center at Sajmište in Belgrade.

The group of participants of the event “Escalating into Holocaust” was welcomed at The Dutch Resistance Museum by **Liesbeth van der Horst**, the Museum Director. The exhibition “The Dutch Resistance Museum Junior” and its educational concept were presented to the group by **Karli Metz**, Head of exhibitions and collections. The “Junior” pedagogical concept is based on the presentation of four typical perspectives of the Second World War in the Netherlands – through the eyes of children. Finding eye-witnesses and their stories was not an easy task. There were several elements that needed to match perfectly. It had to be four different perspectives: a bystander, a victim, a perpetrator, and a helper. It had to be two girls and two boys. It had to be children that survived and are still alive, and willing to participate. After several years of intense research, four suitable and representative personal stories were chosen as a base for the exhibition.

The entrance to the exhibition is a “time machine”. An animated movie takes us back to the Netherlands at the beginning of the occupation. Exiting the time machine, the visitors enter a large exhibition space: a square “somewhere in the occupied Netherlands”, surrounded by four houses. These are the houses of our main characters Eva, Henk, Jan, and Nelly. Visitors can enter and explore the houses, where most of the objects are actually part of an interactive interface that trigger a rich multimedia content. One can make different choices regarding what to do and how to



follow the stories. This way visitors feel like they actually “participate” in the events, and follow the main characters through their dilemmas, fears and experiences during and after the war.

Another part of the exhibition is devoted to personal stories from other parts of the world. There is a “crashed plane” in a corner of the exhibition space that can be used to “fly to other countries.” This way the visitors can hear testimonies from other children, notably from former Dutch colonies, but also from Russia, Ukraine, Great Britain, Germany, and other places. A very exciting, if not the most important, moment is the meeting with the actual eye-witnesses – the characters of the four stories: Eva, Henk, Jan, and Nelly. They are still alive, all living in the Netherlands. On the video screens, the characters share their views on tolerance, democracy, and social cohesion in today’s society, based on their life experiences as children during the war. This “grand finale” of the exhibition, meeting the main characters as real people in the present time, emphasizes the authenticity of the entire exhibition and enhances the credibility of the lessons visitors learn.

For the group of participants of the Amsterdam event, the entire visit to the Dutch Resistance Museum was an interesting and valuable exchange of experiences, particularly as the educational material for “Escalating into Holocaust” is also focused on stories of four young people during the Second World War.



Expert Meeting

As mentioned earlier, the aim of the expert meeting was to exchange various ideas and challenges regarding the practices of museographic representations of the Holocaust. **Miško Stanišić** from Terraforming acted as moderator and briefly described the history of the Sajmište Fairground site in New Belgrade. After the German invasion and occupation in April 1941, anti-Jewish measures were rapidly implemented. Mass-shootings of Jewish men took place already in July of the same year and Sajmište became an internment camp for Jewish and Roma women, children, and elderly who were later either killed in the gas van known as “dušegupka” or sent to other concentration camps. In the final phase of the occupation it served as a camp for prisoners from Italy, Greece, and Albania. Several years ago the city of Belgrade finally agreed to public demands to establish a permanent memorial museum. Since this planned memorial site is still a work in progress, the expert meeting was an excellent opportunity to provide the parties involved in this project with the material that will be used for educational, informative, and inspirational purposes.

Funding for this sort of project is one of the key issues many cultural institutions have to address, and **Liesbet van der Horst**, Director of the Dutch Resistance Museum, described the process of creation of his museum, beginning with the first initiative by the Dutch Resistance veterans in 1980s. Established in a former synagogue in 1985, with small funds from the city of Amsterdam, the museum opened with two employees and many volunteers. The choice of the initial location did not fulfill the expectations of the organizers, so the museum moved to the current area in 1995. With extra funding the number of employees increased to eight and the number of volunteers exceeded a hundred. Nowadays they receive around 380,000 euros from the city, 400,000 from entrance fees, an additional 200,000 for various exhibitions, some extra funds from the sublet of their restaurant, and 35,000 a year from over a thousand donors.

How to persuade a city council, a province, or a state that there is a need for this sort of a museum before a financial plan is confirmed? In this case, former members of the Dutch



Resistance who were not united until 1980s due to their different interpretations of the Cold War took initiative. Witnessing the rise of right-wing extremism, they decided to organize an exhibition against intolerance on the central Amsterdam square, Dam. Since it was a huge success, and anti-Semitism continued to be on the rise, they realized that the next logical step was the creation of a museum where people would be educated about good citizenship.

Annemiek Gringold, the curator of the National Holocaust Museum, which is currently still in the process of being established, brought another dimension to the discussion. She found herself in a sort of a privileged position because she was allowed to experiment within a three-year period with different ways of representing the story of the Holocaust. She had enough time to think about its relevance for public debate, its use in education, and the public's response to it. At the end of this three-year period, funds still need to be raised for the establishment for the permanent National Holocaust Museum. Even though there are eighty-three Dutch institutions that present some elements of the Second World War, there is no museum in the Netherlands that tells the story of the Holocaust beyond the framework of the occupation and of the effects of the Holocaust on Dutch society nowadays. Jews were not only victims, but people with regular stories, and the focus is on the aftermath of the Holocaust because there are still things we need to cope with today. Using different art-forms it is possible to transmit a more complex story. But, the problem is that when we talk about the Holocaust here we stop at the borders, not looking beyond the trains that left for another country. A larger European context is needed, indeed.

How far and where to search for this shared European narrative of the Holocaust? The European context today means joint efforts in recognizing similarities among European cultures after the war. How to tell the story of the Holocaust in the Netherlands, or in Serbia, by placing it in a broader European context? There is a need for reflection on different personal stories from



European countries happening at the same period of time. What if we would compare a relatively well-off Jewish family in Amsterdam to an average Jew in a Warsaw ghetto who was dying of a starvation in the same period? Different Holocausts were happening in Central and Eastern Europe. But the uniqueness of a place is important as well. Dutch identity cards were very difficult to forge compared to the Belgian ones, and they became a powerful tool in the hands of a perpetrator. Placing those elements of Dutch history in context it is easy to explain how 75 % of Dutch Jews perished.

The Anne Frank Museum, on the other hand, is trying to balance a micro story within the much larger story of the Holocaust. **Levine Rouw**, the International Project Coordinator at the Anne Frank House, discussed depictions of the shared history of a large group through a presentation of a personal story. The main focus of the museum is the narrative of the Frank family and the building itself. The story symbolizes something bigger, and it is relevant for everyone, but especially to younger audience who is their main target.

Erik Somers from the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies emphasized the importance of understanding the difference between a memorial and a museum. We need to step back and ask ourselves about what kind of Holocaust story we want to tell and what elements are important to us. The starting point of the Anne Frank Museum and the Resistance Museum was a story of a message: to use history as a tool for understanding the situation that we are facing now. On the other hand, we need to pin down few elements that are quite crucial: the behavior of ordinary people, the administrative measures, and degrees of collaboration. Any story should be accompanied with various objects and official elements. We need to identify with the story and acknowledge the dilemmas people in the story and around them had. People will then start to think



about choices and dilemmas they encounter today based on stories of the kids in the exhibitions. These stories are an important tool. There is also a question of whether we want to present history or whether we are using the Holocaust as educational means to educate people of the country where it happened. Or do we want to do both? Historical context is important since we give information about the period in which it happened, but if we want to implement that story we need to be affected by it. The search for four children in the Resistance Museum went on for four years because they all had to represent different stories of what they went through. Terraforming is doing the same, looking for four stories of Jews in three different cities in Serbia. How to make that choice? And do we really need to hold on to strictly to the truth, or is there room for fictionalizing aspects of the narrative?

Pieter Lagrou from Université Libre de Bruxelles stressed the importance of making a clear distinction between historical facts and fiction when creating exhibitions and educational materials. Even if those people had not existed, it is important to differentiate authentic documents from the story telling. If we draw boundaries between fictional and authentic then we do not have a risk of visitors questioning the story. If something is fabricated, then everything is potentially fabricated. We need to be conscious of ethical imperative. We need to stop, pause, and reflect. Stories need to be interesting. What about the children in the Netherlands who tried to escape, reached Belgium and France and then got arrested? Emblematic of the Anne Frank story is her family's choice to stay, as well as the variety of strategies of survival for other Jews who were not just waiting to be sent off for slaughter.

Niels Weitkamp from the National Committee of the 4th and 5th May spoke about the significance of defining the target audience and the message one wants to communicate. Is it related to commemoration, or is it educational? If educational – is the message focusing on civic education and human rights, or is it more about the history of the Holocaust? **Milan Koljanin**, a Historian at the Institute for Contemporary History in Belgrade and member of the Planning Committee for the future Memorial Center at Staro Sajmište, emphasized that in order to

understand the local manifestations of the Holocaust, they must be seen in a broader European frame, and in order to understand the broader European Holocaust they need to be analyzed in the wider context of the Second World War. Finding the right balance between these three contexts is a challenging task, and a typical one when developing exhibitions, memorials and museums.

Nevena Bajalica, from the Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novı Sad, described the current situation of the process of making a permanent Memorial Center at the site of the concentration camp Staro Sajmište in Belgrade. The idea is not only to establish the museum, but a memorial site, and not only for commemoration but for education as well. The camp was bombed by the Allies at the end of war and was subsequently used as a POW camp for captured German soldiers. During socialist Yugoslavia some of the pavilions were converted into ateliers for artists, while others were redeveloped as apartments. The current plan is to resettle the inhabitants and preserve all the original pavilions, using one of them for the Holocaust museum. The memorial center will tell the stories of all the prisoners, but the Jewish community wanted to establish a Holocaust museum as well on the site. Even though there is a Museum of Holocaust and Genocide victims in Belgrade, it is more of a research institute that will be moved there as well. At a moment the site is in the hands of the city of Belgrade, but plans are in place to designate it as a national memorial center. **Nikola Radić Lucati** from the Center for Holocaust Research and Education in Belgrade described some of the challenges and problems in setting up the memorial center at Sajmište from the perspectives of the Serbian Jewish community.

Miško Stanišić, Director of the Terraforming network, noticed that during their current work on the educational material for “Escalating into Holocaust”, the obstacles Terraforming stumbled upon and the solutions they developed are very similar with the obstacles and solutions developed during the work on the exhibition “The Dutch Resistance Museum Junior”. Such experience exchange and sharing of the best practices is extremely important and useful, something upon which all of the participants in the expert meeting agreed upon.

Summing up the impressions

At the end of the program in Amsterdam, the participants from Serbia visited the Anne Frank House museum. Their host was **Jan-Erik Dubbelman**, Director of the International Department of the Anne Frank House Amsterdam. The participants had an opportunity to visit the permanent exhibition and talk to curators and guides. Later, at the final meeting, participants from Serbia discussed with Jan-Erik Dubbelman about their findings and impressions of the Dutch experiences and practices in Holocaust research, commemoration and commemoration, as well as the overall results of the event in Amsterdam.



KRAGUJEVAC 19-20. 10. 2016

Nevena Bajalica, Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novı Sad

EVENT 4

VENUE

The Memorial Museum 21 October
The Memorial Park in Kragujevac



IMPORTANT DATE

October 21 – National Remembrance Day of the Serbian victims of the Second World War (commemorated in Serbia)



PLACE OF MEMORY

The Memorial park Sumarice in Kragujevac, a site of a massacre of several thousands civilians Serbs, Jews and Roma killed by German Nazis.

The international conference “Escalating into Holocaust” was held on Wednesday 19th of October 2016 at the Memorial Museum in Kragujevac.

THE CONFERENCE FOCUSED ON THREE MAIN TOPICS:

- 1: EXECUTION SQUADS IN SERBIA – ESCALATING INTO HOLOCAUST
- 2: THE INTOLERANCE THAT FACILITATED HOLOCAUST – CONSEQUENCES FOR THE POST – WAR EUROPE
- 3: EUROPE 70 YEARS AFTER THE HOLOCAUST AND OTHER MASS CRIMES COMMITTED BY NAZIS AND THEIR HELPERS – THE ROLE OF REMEMBRANCE AND EDUCATION

Program

International conference was opened by **Mr. Miljan Bjeletic**, Head of the Department for Culture of the City Council of Kragujevac. He welcomed all participants, expressing satisfaction and gratitude that the conference was being held in Kragujevac, in a city that suffered great losses in the Second World War. Mr. Bjeletic presented the project Escalating into Holocaust and thanked all participants who came to Kragujevac to take part in such an important manifestation.

Mr. Slavoljub Jovanovic, Director of the Memorial Museum in Kragujevac, welcomed all participants as a host of the meeting, wished them all successful and productive discussions and the conference was officially opened.

Dr Milan Koljanin, Historian, senior researcher at the Institute for Contemporary History in Belgrade, held an introductory lecture Historical Backgrounds – Concentration Camp Sajmiste,





presenting the history of the camp and its mechanisms in the first two years of WWII when it was Jewish camp Zemun.

Database of the prisoners of the camp Sajmiste, being developed by the Historical Archives of Belgrade within the international project Escalating into Holocaust was presented to the audience by Archivist **Tijana Kovčić**.

After these presentations, three one-hour panel discussion sessions followed, involving the panelists and the audience.

SESSION 1: EXECUTION SQUADS IN SERBIA – ESCALATING INTO HOLOCAUST

Introductory presentation: **Crimes of the Wehrmacht in Kragujevac in October 1941**
Mr Nenad Djordjevic, Historian, Director of the National Museum of Kragujevac;

Panelists:

Dr Milan Koljanin, Historian, senior researcher at the Institute for Contemporary History in Belgrade;

Tilman Muller-Kukelberg, Historian, educator at the Educational and Memorial-Site House of the Wannsee-Conference, Berlin;

Rade Ristanović, Historian, PhD student, Faculty of Philosophy Novi Sad;

Moderator:

Nevena Bajalica, Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novu Sad;



SESSION 2: THE INTOLERANCE THAT FACILITATED HOLOCAUST – CONSEQUENCES FOR THE POST – WAR EUROPE

Introductory presentation: **Comparative Presentation of the Causes and Forms of Mass Retaliations against Civilians by the Nazis**

Dr Sanela Schmid, Historian, researcher in the project “The persecution of the Jews 1933-1945”, Institute of Contemporary History Munich – Berlin;

Panelists:

Dr Haris Dajč, Historian, Department of History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade;

Dr Sanja Petrović-Todosijević, Historian, Institute for Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade;

Moderator:

Dr Milovan Pissarri, Historian, Center for Holocaust Research and Education (CHRE);

SESSION 3: EUROPE 70 YEARS AFTER THE HOLOCAUST AND OTHER MASS CRIMES COMMITTED BY NAZIS AND THEIR HELPERS – THE ROLE OF REMEMBRANCE AND EDUCATION

Introductory presentation: **EHRI – European Infrastructure for Holocaust Studies: Creation of Digital Infrastructure and Contact Network in the Light of European Cultural Identity and Diversity**

Dr Martijn Eickhoff, Historian, NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam;

Panelists:

Silvija Krejaković, Historian, National Museum Kraljevo;

Aleksandar Dinčić, Historian, National Museum Niš;

Ivana Gruden Milentijević, Historian, National Museum Niš;

Moderator:

Miško Stanišić, Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novi Sad

After the panel discussions **Nikola Radić Lucati** from the Center of Holocaust Research and Education, presented the concept and the main idea behind the exhibition “October 1941” he co-authored.

Participants

The International conference in Kragujevac managed to gather numerous experts in the field of Holocaust research, approaching the subject from several aspects: scientific, educational and archival. In addition to the invited experts the conference was attended by a number of students, educators and others interested in the subject from the host city Kragujevac and from the three nearby cities: Kraljevo, Čačak and Niš. The audience was very involved and actively participated in vivid discussions with the panelists, contributing questions and opinions.

Important contribution to the conference was given by the local government of the city of Kragujevac and local media.

Among participants there were representatives of:

The Memorial Museum in Kragujevac, National Museum of Kragujevac, National Museum of Niš, National Museum of Kraljevo, Faculty of Philosophy of the Belgrade University, Institute for Recent History of Serbia in Belgrade, Institute for Contemporary History in Belgrade, Representatives of the Jewish community from the Society for Preservation of the Memory on Holocaust from Kragujevac, Center for Professional Orientation in Kragujevac, Representatives of local libraries; and History teachers from Kragujevac Gymnasium and Čačak Gymnasium.





During the conference each session was characterized by vivid discussions with a constructive exchange of opinions. Lecturers, panelists and other participants equally participated in the discussions, touching many subjects. Different opinions, new ideas and propositions were presented and discussed. As a result several new cooperations were established on important new topics that shall be further researched, processed and discussed in the coming events.

The conference succeeded in connecting professionals, experts and others focused on the Holocaust research, education and remembrance, and in creating space for debate and exchange about the Holocaust in a wider European context.

Among other participants, there were representatives of:

- ▶ Educational and Memorial-Site House of the Wannsee-Conference, Berlin;
- ▶ Institute of Contemporary History Munich – Berlin;
- ▶ Institute for Contemporary History, Belgrade;
- ▶ Institute for Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade;

- Department for History, University of Belgrade;
- Faculty of Philosophy Novi Sad;
- National Museum of Kragujevac;
- National Museum of Kraljevo;
- National Museum Niš;
- Historical Archives of Belgrade;
- NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam;
- Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novı Sad;
- Center for Holocaust Research and Education in Belgrade;
- Department for Cultural Studies of the University of Rijeka;

A visit to the historical sites in Kragujevac

Within the two-day program of the event in Kragujevac, a group of international experts and their hosts visited several historical sites in Kragujevac guided by the expert guides from the Tourist Organization of Kragujevac.

The most significant was the visit to The Memorial Park October in Kragujevac.



The Memorial park October in Kragujevac

The Memorial park October in Kragujevac was established in 1953 on the site where in October 1941 a several thousand citizens from Kragujevac were shot by the German Wehrmacht soldiers during retribution killings against civilians of Kragujevac and the surrounding villages, over the male population aged between twelve and sixty five.

During the summer of 1941 a resistance movement against the German occupation was spreading in Serbia. Germans were trying to suppress the uprising with extreme repressive measures towards civilian population and mass reprisal shootings. Throughout occupied Serbia the civilians were being arrested on a large scale and held as hostages to be shot down by firing squads for a reprisal.

An order was issued that for every German killed 100, and for every wounded 50 hostages should be shot dead. One of the worst mass-killings executed under that order was committed in Kragujevac.

The Memorial park takes up the area of 352 ha where there are 30 mass tombs. The area has been laid out by the urban project of two architects Mihailo Mitrovic and Radivoje Tomic. Up till today over ten tombs there are ten sculptural-architectonic unities. One of them, the Monument to the shot pupils and teachers is a true symbol of the city.

The Museum 21st October was founded within the Memorial park on 15th February 1976 with the aim of gathering, processing, keeping and presenting the documents concerning the shooting and the victims, through exhibitions and printed material. Apart from that, The Memorial Park organizes the traditional manifestations, whereas the exhibitions the modern art exhibitions are organized in the City gallery The Balkan Bridges, opened on 7th April 2005.

In addition, the guests of the event “Escalating into Holocaust” visited several other sites in Kragujevac, such as the building of the first Serbian Gymnasium, Prince’s Palace and the Old Arms Factory.

STOCKHOLM 07. 12. 2016

Igor Dimitrijević, for University of Rijeka

EVENT 5

VENUE

Sensus Study Association
The Memorial to Raoul Wallenberg in Stockholm
The Living History Forum



IMPORTANT DATE

December 7 – The attack on Pearl Harbor and involvement of the USA in the WWII



PLACE OF MEMORY

A Memorial to Raoul Wallenberg, Swedish diplomat who saved thousands of Jews in Budapest during the Holocaust.

A three-hours long event “Escalating into Holocaust” took place on 7. December 2016 at the Debate Forum of the Sensus Study Association in Stockholm.

In addition to other actors in the fields of Holocaust research, education and commemoration, NGOs and the general public, the organizers particularly invited international students of The European Institute for Jewish Studies in Sweden – Paideia and representatives of the local Jewish community.

As the main theme of the event was presentation of the historical events in Serbia, the Serbian Association in Sweden – an umbrella organization of associations of Serbian immigrants in Sweden, supported the event and helped in spreading the information about the event among the Serbian community in Sweden, and other ethnic and immigrants associations.

Program

The conference was opened by welcoming speeches of **Ingrid Burström**, Programme Manager at SENSUS Study Association, and **Misko Stanisic**, Director of the Terraforming network, the Swedish project partner.

Several presentations followed:

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE:

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND – HOLOCAUST IN SERBIA AND CONCENTRATION CAMP ON SAJMIŠTE

Dr Milan Koljanin, Historian, Senior Researcher at the Institute for Contemporary History, Belgrade;

JEWISH COMMUNITY, LIFE AND CULTURE IN THE PRE-WAR SERBIA

Dr Cedomila Marinkovic, Art historian, Belgrade;

DATABASE OF THE VICTIMS KILLED AT THE CONCENTRATION CAMP AT SAJMIŠTE

Tijana Kovčić, Archivist, Historical Archives of Belgrade;

EXHIBITION „OCTOBER 1941“

Nikola Radić Lucati, Artist, co-author of the exhibition, Center for Holocaust Research and Education – CHRE, Belgrade;

EDUCATIONAL CONCEPT “ESTER” – GRAPHIC NOVELS ABOUT YOUNG VICTIMS OF THE CONCENTRATION CAMP AT SAJMISTE

Misko Stanisic, Director of the Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novı Sad



A vivid discussion with the audience followed after the lectures and presentations, focusing on Holocaust education and rising antisemitism.

Among other participants, the students of The European Institute for Jewish Studies in Sweden – Paideia from Poland, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina presented their views on the situation of the local Jewish communities in different parts of Europe, particularly focusing on the current challenges in combating anti-Semitism, rise of the far-right movements and the historical revisionism.

Expert exchange at the Living History Forum

The Living History Forum is a Swedish public authority commissioned to work with issues related to tolerance, democracy and human rights, using the Holocaust and other crimes against humanity as its starting point. The Living History Forum produce exhibitions and educational materials about the Holocaust and other topics where it is obvious that general perceptions and/or ideas have led to terrible actions. The majority of these exhibitions and projects are aimed at high school students and their teachers in Sweden.

Eva Fried, International coordinator at the Living history Forum welcomed the participants at the Living History Forum. Eva Fried presented the Living History Forum, their tasks, working methodology, and several educational materials and exhibitions produced by the Forum, as well as the development process and the educational concept behind them. The participants could examine several of Forum's publications and educational materials. They discussed the best practices, obstacles and challenges, and the general state of the Holocaust education in Sweden, Serbia and other parts of Europe.

At the moment an exposition about Anne Frank was exhibited at the Forum's space, and the participants took the opportunity to explore and discuss it, too.



NOVI SAD 25. 01. 2017

Miško Stanišić, Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novu Sad

EVENT 6

VENUE

Historical Archives of the City of Novi Sad
The Memorial for the Victims of the Novi Sad Raid



IMPORTANT DATE

June 22, Operation Barbarossa: Nazi Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union
– with a huge impact on the Holocaust in Eastern Europe



PLACE OF MEMORY

The Memorial-museum at the site of the former concentration camp Red Cross in Nis

The final public event of the project, the international conference „Escalating into Holocaust“ was held on 25. January 2017 in the Historical Archives of the City of Novi Sad.

The conference gathered experts from Serbia and Europe, scholars, archivists, teachers, representatives of the Jewish communities, students and others interested in the topic. The conference program included presentations and expert lectures on the Holocaust and the WWII, as well as a panel debate. Beside invited experts, the conference audience participated actively in an intense and dynamic discussion, contributing opinions and questions for the experts. It was emphasized that this international event represent a contribution to the commemoration activities surrounding two important Memorial Days: January 27 The International Holocaust Remembrance Day, and the commemoration of the Novi Sad Raid on January 23 - a massacre of several thousands civilians Serbs, Jews and Roma in Novi Sad and Backa region committed by the Hungarian fascists 22-23 January 1942.¹

The conference focused on four topics:

1. PRESENTATION OF THE RESULTS OF THE PROJECT “ESCALATING INTO HOLOCAUST”;
2. OVERVIEW OF THE CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN MEMORIALISATION, MUSEALISATION AND REMEMBRANCE IN EUROPE AND THE WESTERN BALKANS;
3. REMEMBERING THE VICTIMS OF THE NOVI SAD RAID AND THE INTERNATIONAL HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE DAY;
4. HOLOCAUST EDUCATION IN SERBIA AND IN EUROPE IN THE FRAMES OF COMMON EUROPEAN CHALLENGES REGARDING RISING ANTISEMITISM, XENOPHOBIA AND HISTORICAL REVISION;

The conference was opened by welcoming speeches of:

MA Dragan Gačić, Director of the Historical Archives of Belgrade

MA Petar Đurđev, Director of the Historical Archives of the City of Novi Sad

Dalibor Rožić, member of the Committee for Cultural Affairs of the Novi Sad City Council

Dr Nebojša Kuzmanović, Deputy Secretary for Culture, Public Information and Relations with Religious Communities of the Vojvodina Province

The program continued with the introductory lecture about Sajmište concentration camp.

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND – HOLOCAUST IN SERBIA AND CONCENTRATION CAMP ON SAJMIŠTE

Dr Milan Koljanin, Historian, Senior Researcher at the Institute for Contemporary History, Belgrade;

¹ Lecture by Pater Đurđev about the Novi Sad raid is available in this publication





Presentation of the results achieved in the project „Escalating into Holocaust”

The audience was then presented with the overall results of the project.

PROJECT “ESCALATING INTO HOLOCAUST” – FROM LOCAL PARTICULARITIES IN SERBIA TO EUROPEAN CONTEXT: WORKING PROCESS, GOALS, ACTIVITIES, CHALLENGES AND RESULTS

Miško Stanišić, Director of the Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novı Sad;

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE WITHIN THE PROJECT “ESCALATING INTO HOLOCAUST” – UNDERSTANDING THE HOLOCAUST FROM LOCAL TO THE EUROPEAN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Dr Sanela Schmid, Historian, researcher in the project “Persecution of Jews 1933-1945” Institute for Contemporary History Munchen-Berlin (Germany);

DATABASE OF THE VICTIMS KILLED AT THE CONCENTRATION CAMP AT SAJMIŠTE

Tijana Kovčić, Archivist, Historical Archives of Belgrade;

EXHIBITION „OCTOBER 1941”

Nikola Radić Lucati, Artist, co-author of the exhibition, Center for Holocaust Research and Education – CHRE, Belgrade;

The exhibition opened in Novi Sad in January 2017 at the Historical Archive of the City of Novi Sad, prior to the conference. The conference was taking place just one floor above the exhibition space of the Archive. It was an excellent opportunity for the participants to see the exhibition, meet the authors, and learn more about their research, the concept and ideas behind the exhibition.



Overview of the contemporary trends in memorialisation, musealisation and remembrance in Europe and the Western Balkans

The program continued with the focus on broader European perspectives and current trends in memorialisation and commemoration practices.

HOLOCAUST IN THE CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE IN EUROPE AND IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

Dr Vjeran Pavlaković, Head of the Department for Cultural Studies, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Rijeka, Croatia



MUSEUMS AND REMEMBRANCE – CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN TENDENCIES

Dr Erik Somers, Historian, Head of the project team, Institute for the Studies of War, Holocaust and Genocide NIOD, the Netherlands²

Remembering the victims of the Novi Sad Raid and the International Holocaust Remembrance Day

THE NOVI SAD RAID – HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Mr Petar Đurđev, Director of the Historical Archives of the City of Novi Sad³



² Presentation by Dr Erik Somers is available in this publication

³ Lecture by Petar Đurđev is available in this publication

Introduction to the Panel Debate:

EDUCATIONAL CONCEPT „ESTER“ – TEACHING MATERIAL BASED ON GRAPHIC NOVELS ABOUT THE YOUNG JEWISH VICTIMS PERISHED IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMP AT SAJMIŠTE

Miško Stanišić, Director of the Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novı Sad

PANEL DEBATE: HOLOCAUST EDUCATION IN SERBIA AND IN EUROPE IN THE FRAMES OF COMMON EUROPEAN CHALLENGES REGARDING RISING ANTISEMITISM, XENOPHOBIA AND HISTORICAL REVISION

Panelists:

Dr Gordana Todorıć, Teacher, Jewish Community of Novi Sad;

Dr Erik Somers, Historian, Head of the project team, Institute for the Studies of War, Holocaust and Genocide NIOD, Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Netherlands;

Dr Sanela Schmid, Historian, researcher in the project “Persecution of Jews 1933-1945” Institute for Contemporary History Munchen-Berlin (Germany);

Nevena Bajalica, Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novı Sad;

Dr Milovan Pısarri, Historian, Center for Holocaust Research and Education, Belgrade;

Moderator:

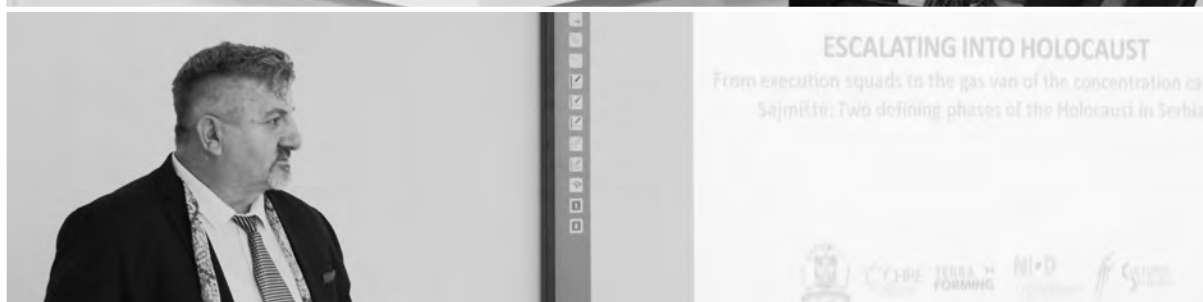
Miško Stanišić, Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novı Sad;

Participants

Among other distinguished guests there were Dr Teodor Kovač, author and Holocaust survivor from Novi Sad, and Aleksandar Nećak, activist and Holocaust survivor from Belgrade.

Also, among participants there were representatives of

- ▶ The Jewish Community of Novi Sad;
- ▶ The Committee for Cultural Affairs of the Novi Sad City Council;
- ▶ Secretariat for Culture and Relations with Religious Communities of the Vojvodina Province;
- ▶ The Historical Archives of Belgrade;
- ▶ The Historical Archives of the City of Novi Sad;
- ▶ Institute for Contemporary History, Belgrade;
- ▶ Institute for Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade;
- ▶ Institute for Contemporary History Munchen-Berlin;
- ▶ NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies;
- ▶ Department for Cultural Studies University of Rijeka, Croatia
- ▶ Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novı Sad;
- ▶ Center for Holocaust Research and Education, Belgrade;



Lista učesnika

List Of Participants

Institucije

Želeli bi ovim putem da se zahvalimo svim institucijama koje su podržale projekat, i/ili čiji su predstavnici učestvovali u aktivnostima projekta:

(po abecednom redu)

Institutions

We would like to express our gratitude to all institutions that participated, supported and contributed to the project activities:

(in alphabetic order)

Anne Frank House, Amsterdam	NLD
Center for Holocaust Research and Education CHRE, Belgrade	SRB
Center for Professional Orientation in Kragujevac	SRB
City Council of Belgrade	SRB
City Council of Kragujevac, Dept. for Culture	SRB
Committee for Cultural Affairs of the Novi Sad City Council	SRB
Department of Cultural Studies, University of Rijeka	HRV
Department of History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade	SRB
Documenta - Centre for Dealing with the Past, Zagreb	HRV
Documentation Center of Austrian Resistance, Vienna	AUT
Dutch Resistance Museum, Amsterdam	NLD
Dutch Theatre Museum – Hollandsche Schouwburg, Amsterdam	NLD
Editionsprojekt "Judenverfolgung 1933–1945"	DEU
Educational and Memorial-Site House of the Wannsee-Conference, Berlin	DEU
Embassy of Croatia in Serbia	HRV
Embassy of Germany in Serbia	DEU
Embassy of Israel in Serbia	ISR

Embassy of Montenegro in Serbia	MNE
European Institute for Jewish Studies in Sweden – Paideia	SWE
Faculty of Dramatic Arts, Belgrade	SRB
Faculty of Philosophy Novi Sad	SRB
Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Vienna	AUT
Federation of Jewish Communities of Serbia	SRB
Haver Serbia	SRB
Historical Archive of the City of Novi Sad	SRB
Historical Archives of Belgrade	SRB
Historical Archives of Niš	SRB
Holocaust Fund and Holocaust Memorial Center in Macedonia	MKD
Institut für Zeitgeschichte München - Berlin	DEU
Institute for Contemporary History, Belgrade	SRB
Institute for Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade	SRB
International Tracing Service (ITS)	DEU
Jewish Community Niš	SRB
Jewish Community Novi Sad	SRB
Jewish Community Zemun	SRB
Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam	NLD
Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade	SRB
Living History Forum, Stockholm	SWE
Memorial Museum 21st October in Kragujevac	SRB
Memorial Park October in Kragujevac	SRB
Military Archives of Serbia, Belgrade	SRB
Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia	SRB
Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Serbia	SRB
Museum of Genocide Victims, Belgrade	SRB
National Committee 4 and 5 May, Amsterdam	NLD
National Holocaust Museum, Amsterdam	NLD
National Museum of Kragujevac	SRB
National Museum of Kraljevo	SRB

National Museum of Niš	SRB
NIOD Institute of War, Holocaust and genocide Studies, Amsterdam	NLD
Planning Committee for the Memorial Canter at Sajmište	SRB
Secretariat for Culture of the City of Belgrade	SRB
Secretariat for Culture, Public Information and Relations with Religious Communities APV	SRB
Sensus Study Association in Stockholm	SWE
Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts	SRB
Serbian Association in Sweden	SWE
Society for Preservation of the Memory of Holocaust, Kragujevac	SRB
Stanley Burton Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies	GBR
Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novi Sad	NLD
Tourist Organization of the city of Niš	SRB
Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies (UCHS), Kiev	UKR
Université Libre de Bruxelles	BEL
University of Niš	SRB
University of Rijeka	HRV
VU University Amsterdam	NLD
Women's Space NGO, Niš	SRB
Yad Vashem School for Holocaust Studies	ISR

Učesnici

Želeli bi ovim putem da se zahvalimo svim stručnjacima i uvažanim gostima koji su direktno učestvovali u aktivitetima projekta:

(po abecednom redu)

Participants

We would like to express our gratitude to all experts and distinguished guests that contributed to the project activities:

(in alphabetic order)

Nevena	Bajalica	Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novı Sad	NLD
Gerhard	Baumgartner	Documentation Center of Austrian Resistance, Vienna	AUT
Miljan	Bjeletić	City Council of Kragujevac, Dept. for Culture	SRB
Ingrid	Burstrom	Sensus Study Association in Stockholm	SWE
Jasna	Ćirić	Jewish Community Niš	SRB
Jovan	Ćulibrk	Planning Committee for the Memorial Canter at Sajmište	SRB
Dragan	Cvetković	Museum of Genocide Victims, Belgrade	SRB
Haris	Dajč	Department of History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade	SRB
Nevena	Daković	Faculty of Dramatic Arts, Belgrade	SRB
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Dienke	Hondius	VU University Amsterdam	NLD
Akim	Jah	International Tracing Service (ITS)	DEU
Jelena	Jovanović	Historical Archives of Belgrade	SRB
Slavoljub	Jovanović	Memorial Park October in Kragujevac	SRB
Milan	Koljanin	Institute for Contemporary History, Belgrade	SRB
Alexander	Korb	Stanley Burton Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies	GRB
Gabriel	Kousbroek	Visual artist and Illustrator	NLD
Teodor	Kovač	Author and Holocaust survivor, Novi Sad	SRB
Tijana	Kovčić	Historical Archives of Belgrade	SRB
Tijana	Kovčić	Historical Archives of Belgrade	SRB
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Pieter	Lagrou	Université Libre de Bruxelles	BEL
Aleksandar	Lebl	Author and Holocaust survivor, Belgrade	SRB
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Jelena	Nikolić	Historical Archives of Belgrade	SRB
Srđan	Orestijević	Historical Archives of Belgrade	SRB
Nebojša	Ozimić	National Museum of Niš	SRB
Barbara	Panić	Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade	SRB
Uroš	Parlić	Tourist Organization of the city of Niš	SRB
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Sanja	Petrović Todosijević	Institute for Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade	SRB
Milovan	Pisarri	Center for Holocaust Research and Education CHRE, Belgrade	SRB
Nikola	Radić Lucati	Center for Holocaust Research and Education CHRE, Belgrade	SRB
Mileta	Radojević	Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Serbia	SRB
Milan	Radovanović	Independent Scholar	SRB
Vojislava	Radovanović	Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade	SRB
Rade	Ristanović	Faculty of Philosophy Novi Sad	SRB
Milan	Ristović	Department of History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade	SRB
Levine	Rouw	Anne Frank House, Amsterdam	NLD
Dalibor	Rožić	Committee for Cultural Affairs of the Novi Sad City Council	SRB
Sanela	Schmidt	Editionsprojekt "Judenverfolgung 1933–1945"	DEU
Mateja	Sinčić	University of Rijeka	HRV
Erik	Somers	NIOD Institute of War, Holocaust and genocide Studies, Amsterdam	NLD
Miško	Stanišić	Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novı Sad	SWE
Borislava	Supićić	Terraforming network Stockholm-Amsterdam-Novı Sad	NLD
Maja	Suša	Holocaust Fund and Holocaust Memorial Center in Macedonia	MCD

Marko	Terzić	Memorial Museum 21st October in Kragujevac	SRB
Gordana	Todorić	Jewish Community Novi Sad	SRB
Danilo	Trbojević	Anthropologist and author, Belgrade	SRB
Mykhailo	Tyaglyy	Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies (UCHS), Kiev	UKR
Liesbeth	van der Horst	Dutch Resistance Museum	NLD
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Vladan	Vukosavljević	Secretariat for Culture of the City of Belgrade	SRB
Zlata	Vuksanović Macura	Architect and author, Belgrade	SRB
Niels	Weitkamp	National Committee 4 and 5 May, Amsterdam	NLD

Takođe, želeli bi da se zahvalimo svim studentima, nastavnicima, arhivistima, muzejskim radnicima, bibliotekarima, aktivistima, i drugim građanima koji su posetili izložbu, učestvovali u radionicama, seminarima i drugim aktivitetima projekta.

Projektni tim

Finally, we would like to thank all the students, teachers, archivists, librarians, museum workers, activists, and other citizens that participated various lectures, workshops and other project activities, and/or visited the exhibition.

The Project team

[Home](#)
[Sajmište](#)
[Victims' Database](#)
[Activities](#)
[Partners](#)
[Contact](#)

PROJECT DURATION
 Sept. 2015 - Feb. 2017

ESCALATING INTO HOLOCAUST

From execution squads to the gas van of the concentration camp at Sajmište:
Two defining phases of the Holocaust in Serbia

AN INTERNATIONAL PROJECT INITIATED BY THE HISTORICAL ARCHIVES OF BELGRADE

Concentration camp at Sajmište was a death camp for Jewish women and children from German occupied Serbia, most of them, about 5.500, from Belgrade. A number of Roma women and children were interned too. In six weeks, April-May 1942, the inmates at Sajmište were systematically murdered by the use of a mobile gas van dispatched from Berlin especially for that purpose.

For 70 years there were no detailed data about the victims, until recently, when archivists of the Historical Archives of Belgrade discovered six boxes among old unsorted piles. The boxes revealed unprocessed and unused documentation about more than 2000 Belgrade Jews killed at the Sajmište concentration camp. Motivated after this discovery, the Historical Archives of Belgrade initiated a wide international partnership with the aim to explore the best contemporary experiences and methodologies, as well as the most productive, sustainable and effective outcomes in processing such material.

Holocaust in Serbia as a part of the shared European historical experience

Through the series of six public events in Serbia, Sweden and the Netherlands, the project summoned international experts to present and discuss the broader European aspects of the Holocaust, and exchange experiences and best practices in the fields of Holocaust research, commemoration and Holocaust education. By taking the Holocaust in Serbia as a starting point, in order to further discuss the Holocaust as a shared European narrative that defines European values of diversity, tolerance and Human Rights, the discussions and public debates during the six international events reflected upon the current European challenges in facing intolerance, anti-Semitism, anti-Romanyism, xenophobia, nationalism and rising far-right movements.

In addition, the project's outcomes include a new online victims' database, an exhibition, a set of educational materials, a publication, and this website. In particular, the new database of prisoners of the concentration camp at Sajmište opens new opportunities for research and education about the Holocaust in Serbia. Also, many new international contacts were established, already resulting in new initiatives and partnerships.

This way the project contributed to expand the view from local to European perspectives and further examine the Holocaust and its defining impact on the common European values in post-war Europe, including the current European challenges.

The Conference in Belgrade

Opening of the exhibition "Ghetto 1941"

The Conference in Amsterdam

The Outcomes

VICTIMS DATABASE

EXHIBITION

TEACHING MATERIAL

PUBLICATION

INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE

Archival Material

a new online-available database listing the Holocaust victims murdered at the concentration camp at Sajmište

The most significant outcome of the project "Escalating into Holocaust" is a new database of the Jewish prisoners of the concentration camp at Sajmište. Using and cross-connecting the data from several archival fonds, the archivists of the Historical Archives of Belgrade created a new digital database available online for researchers and general public.

The database contains 3.505 names of the Jewish victims, mostly from Belgrade, that were imprisoned at the concentration camp at Sajmište. In addition to the names, the database offers additional information (where available) such as the dates of birth and death, family relationships, residence addresses, places of work/school, and other data. The database can be searched by first name, last name or by both.

If you have information that some data on the victims should be corrected, please contact us on office@arhiv-beograda.org with subject line "Sajmište camp".

A database of the Jewish prisoners of the concentration camp at Sajmište is available online

more information available on the project's website:
www.arhiv-beograda.org/holokaust

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Menadžer projekta: Nevena Bajalica, Terraforming

ZA PARTNERSKE ORGANIZACIJE:

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Nikola Radić Lucati, CIEH/CHRE
Misko Stanišić, Terraforming
Vjeran Pavlaković, Sveučilište u Rijeci
Erik Somers, NIOD

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www.arhiv-beograda.org/holokaust



Escalating into Holocaust

from execution squads to the gas van
of the concentration camp at Sajmište.



Europe
for Citizens