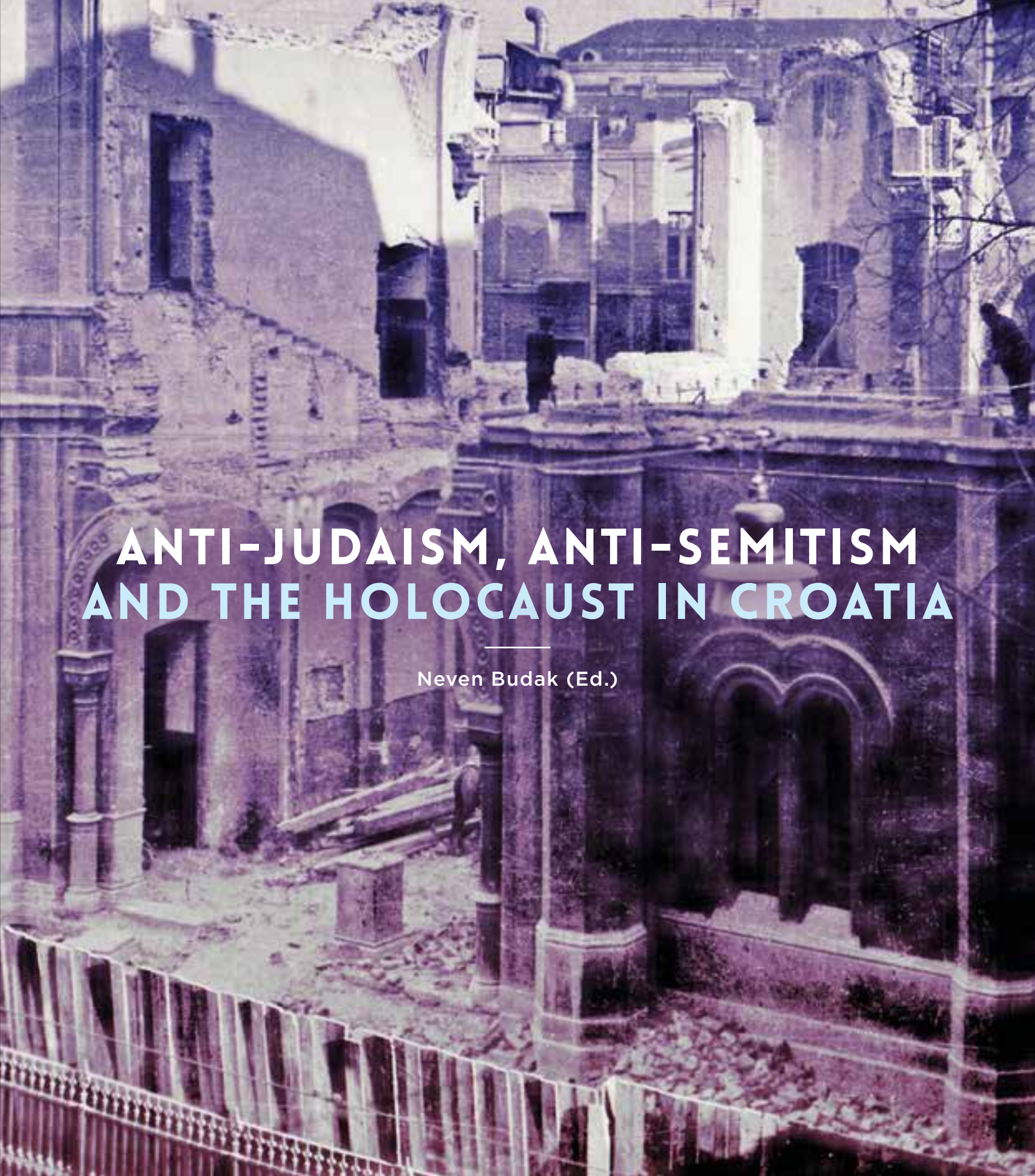




ANTI-JUDAISM, ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE HOLOCAUST IN CROATIA

Neven Budak (Ed.)

ANTI-JUDAISM, ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE HOLOCAUST IN CROATIA

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Edited by
Neven Budak

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

The volume before you is the translation of a book that was designed for the needs of the Shoah Academy, an educational project run by the Jewish Community of Zagreb, to inform as many people as possible, particularly teachers and younger readers, about the suffering of Jews on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia. Sanja Tabaković, the director of the Shoah academy, provided the impetus for this project.

In order to grasp the mass atrocity known as the Holocaust, people need to know about the roots of this suffering—roots that reach back into the distant past. Just as important is an understanding of the roots of anti-Semitism, or, anti-Judaism, which spawned the Holocaust on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia.

Several of the illustrations published here come from open internet sources, but most of them were obtained through the generous support of the Croatian Historical Museum, the Croatian State Archive, and colleagues Nataša Mataušić and Rajka Bućin, who collected the material published here, along with many other exhibits, for *If I forget you...* an exhibition held in 2020 at the French Pavilion of the Zagreb Student Center. The editor of this volume also wrote the captions for the illustrations.

We hope these pages will help young people grasp the weight of the atrocity and inform them of the threatening possibility that this could happen again, and not only to Jews.

Neven Budak

ANTI-JUDAISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

A recent survey of a large number of Europeans has shown that anti-Semitism is a widespread phenomenon and it is very much alive. A survey conducted in 2014 in Croatia showed that as many as 42% of men and 25% of women hold anti-Semitic views. While many, especially young people, have no idea about what the Holocaust was or what happened to Jews under Nazism and affiliated regimes, a second group thinks the Jews manipulate the Holocaust to bolster their influence, while a third group is convinced that the Jews probably did do something wrong because otherwise the Holocaust never would have happened. Manfred Gerstenfeld has found that anti-Semitism is rooted in European culture, though this does not mean that most or all Europeans endorse it. As Gerstenfeld says, all people are not fond of ballet, yet ballet is, nevertheless, a part of European culture. It is, however, possible to assume that anti-Semitism has more supporters than ballet does, and the tradition of anti-Semitism is much older.

Because of their sense of anxiety, or at least apprehension, some Jews have been leaving freedom-loving France and moving to Israel; there are also Jews in other countries who have begun to feel unsafe. Anyone who raises the rational question of why Jews could possibly still be a target of animosity, even hatred, today, after the unspeakable horrors they endured in the 1930s and 1940s will not find the reasons in the present day. They should seek them, instead, in the distant past. The path they follow will bring them gradually closer to the present time. In so doing they will never find these reasons in actual events, but in religious teachings, pseudo-science, collective psychology; they are so deeply planted in the awareness of people today—regardless of their faith—that because our world views are founded on stereotypes, it is only the exceptional person who can evade them and discern what is real. In order to be able to do this, we need to travel two thousand years back into the past.

At the beginning of our search we will need to distinguish between two concepts that both apply to negative attitudes toward Jews. We use the term *anti-Judaism* when referring to antagonism toward Jews as a religious or cultural community, as distinct from worshipers of pre-Christian deities, the Christians or followers of Islam. *Anti-Semitism*, on the other hand, is based on racial or ethnic intolerance. Although these two sorts of negative attitudes toward Jews are sometimes difficult to tell apart, because the identity of Jews is largely based on religion, anti-Judaism can more readily be attributed to earlier historical eras, while anti-Semitism—to the modern and contemporary age when the concept of nation has grown in importance, and, with it, race theory. The very notion of anti-Semitism arose in Germany in the late 19th century. Religious intolerance is a part of it, of course, but it also afflicts Jews who have been fully assimilated, secularized, those who are non-religious or

have converted to a form of Christianity. This is why anti-Semitism cannot be understood without anti-Judaism, and it is this, precisely, which exposes the constancy of the negative attitudes toward Jews, so immanent to our culture that even the secularization of contemporary European culture on the one hand, and of Jews on the other, has not erased it. One may even encounter the notion of Judeophobia. Although it does not seem apt for determining the total attitude of non-Jews to Jews, the fact is that those who are other, who are different, those we don't know well enough, can provoke in us first fear, and then—as a reaction to this—intolerance or even hatred.

In the words of the earlier writers of Antiquity, Jews were first described in a positive light, but this shifted gradually, starting with the writing of Egyptian historian Manetho in the 3rd century B.C.E. For centuries his *History of Egypt* was recapitulated by Christian writers such as Eusebius of Caesarea, thereby contributing to the spread of his anti-Judaistic views. Their monotheism is what set the followers of Yahweh apart from their contemporaries; it may have been the source of the hostility as it was unique in an otherwise polytheistic world. Along with the negative attitude toward Jews in the literature, expulsions from certain cities were recorded almost simultaneously. Jewish communities were attacked and Jews were prohibited from practicing the Jewish faith. In a move to Hellenize his realm, Antioch IV (215-164 B.C.E.), the ruler of Syria and Palestine, banned worship of Yahweh in Jerusalem on the pain of death, and he had a statue to Zeus raised inside the Temple. This provoked a revolt of Orthodox Jews (Hassidim) led by Judah Maccabee who successfully occupied Jerusalem and removed the statue to Zeus, consecrating the Temple once again (the Hanukkah celebration recalls this event). Judas's brothers continued the struggle after his death and freed Israel, founding the Hasmonean kingdom.

In time Jews began living outside of Israel as well, whether moved by force (as in the case of the Babylon captivity), or migrating of their own volition. There were Jewish communities in Syria, Babylon, Egypt, northern Africa, on Crete and in Rome.

The largest Jewish community of the ancient world, in Egyptian Alexandria, stood apart from others for its opulence, but also for the privileges enjoyed under the Ptolemaic dynasty and the first Roman emperors. Jews lived on an equal footing with the other residents of the metropolis and held key administrative and military positions. Yet all this could not overcome the intolerance that ruled between the followers of one god and the members of the polytheistic faiths. The first steps taken by the Romans against the Jews occurred in 38 C.E. when Emperor Caligula required that they worship him as a deity; the Jews found this unacceptable. The polytheists took advantage of the moment to petition the Roman prefect of the city for permission to persecute the Jewish population. His consent led to the pillaging of Jewish shops and homes, abuse and murder. The Alexandria pogrom marked the beginning of a two-thousand-year long period during which Jews would be subjected to abuse for a host of reasons. The abuse followed a similar pattern: those who hated them as being other and different, murdered them, drove them out and desecrated their synagogues, while also razing—or, more often, confiscating—their property. The rule of a maniacal Roman emperor inaugurated the new millennium. The rule of a maniacal German dictator marked the end of the second one. Between the first and second there was an agonizing sequence of humiliations, tragedies and struggles for survival for a community that seldom enjoyed an extended stretch of peace and prosperity.

The Romans imposed their rule over the Hasmonean kingdom in 64 B.C.E. The new masters gradually suppressed Jewish autonomy, resulting in

a revolt in 66 A.D. Emperor Vespasian and his son Titus quelled it in blood, and Jerusalem fell in 70 as the last stronghold. The temple was then destroyed, thousands of people killed, and many sought refuge elsewhere in the Empire and beyond.

While the Roman Empire was polytheistic, the position of the Jews who were living outside of Judea was not bad, though even then they were not entirely spared persecution. Emperor Tiberius expelled all Jews from Rome in 19 A.D., with the accusation that four of them had been scheming to rob a wealthy woman. Nevertheless the Jews enjoyed the privilege of being allowed to continue observing their religious practices, which was not the case with all other subjects of the Empire. In time this tolerance even grew greater (despite new Jewish uprisings in 115-117 and 132-136) so the 2nd and 3rd centuries were a time for a peaceful flourishing of Jewish communities that had spread, by then, to different parts of the Empire, especially along the shores of the Mediterranean. With the rise of Christianity, however, this began to change.

After Christianity began to dominate, and especially once it had been proclaimed the official religion of the Roman Empire, it imposed itself as Judaism's new enemy. Although this was now a clash between two monotheistic religions (soon to be joined by a third—Islam) that had kindred roots, the situation for Jews did not become any easier. It was of no help that the first Christian followers were, themselves, Jews. At first Christianity was essentially about believers striving to observe the proper teachings of the Hebrew faith, but the clash around the question of whether Jesus was the son of God and was resurrected brought about a schism and divide among Jews into those who stayed with traditional Judaism and those who followed Christ's teachings, which had begun to attract members of other communities. The Christians soon began blaming the traditionalists for Jesus's death, and, by so

doing, laid the foundations for justification of the persecution of Jews until the most recent times. During the 2nd century writing began to appear that spoke of the collective Jewish guilt for Jesus's condemnation and crucifixion, and this then successfully began the erasure of memory of the true origins of Christianity.

Various prohibitions were introduced for Jews over time. First, Christians were prohibited from marrying Jews, then Jews were not allowed to observe the Sabbath. Emperor Theodosius (379-395), who declared Christianity the official religion, excluded Jews from public office and the army, and banned them from working in the legal profession or holding slaves. During the reign of Theodosius's heirs to the imperial throne, in the 5th and 6th centuries, individual synagogues were expropriated or destroyed, and permission for repairs could only be issued for those threatened with collapse.

During the early Middle Ages, some western and central European rulers were tolerant toward Jews, and their tolerance allowed the Jewish communities several centuries during which they thrived—from the Iberian Peninsula to Prague—while engaged, in large part, in trade. But there were counter examples in these years as well: the Visigoth kings adopted measures against Jews, and the Justinian Code, in effect in countries under Byzantine rule, contained anti-Jewish provisions.

During the Byzantine-Persian wars, Jews hoped for help first from the Persians and then from the Byzantines, to restore their autonomy, but Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, after conquering Jerusalem in 628—making him the hero of Christianity—inaugurated a new wave of persecution of Jews despite promises to the contrary, and this sent many escaping to Egypt. At the same time several writers, such as Leontius, bishop of Cyprus, penned polemics against the Jews.

After the Muslim occupation of Palestine in 638, the position of Jews improved, although the ban on rebuilding synagogues remained in effect. They were permitted to reside in Jerusalem for the first time in several centuries. So it is hardly surprising that Jews joined forces with Muslims in 1099 to defend Jerusalem and Haifa from the Crusaders. But Jews and Muslims did not coexist everywhere peacefully throughout the Middle Ages. On the Iberian Peninsula, during the reign of the Umayyad Caliphate, Jewish culture developed freely and Cordoba became its important center, however with the change in government and advent of the north African Almoravids in the 11th century, conditions worsened significantly. The new rulers were intolerant of all infidels. This prompted many of the Jews who had been living there to migrate toward the more tolerant eastern Arabic countries or the Christian north. But in Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Yemen occasional decrees called for the razing of synagogues or for compelling Jews to convert to Islam on the pain of death.

The Crusades, which began in 1096, meant a new escalation in clashes between Christians and Jews. After the occupation of Jerusalem there was a massacre of a large number of Jews, and the new government forbade them from owning land, which led them to turn in greater numbers to the mercantile professions and trades.

The religious fanaticism that impelled the First Crusade led to waves of persecution in the Rhineland, where some 12,000 Jews were killed, and the same happened in France. Count Raymond IV of Toulouse protected Jews, but after the war of the “orthodox” Christians against the Albigensians of southern France, who were considered heretics, the Catholic Church introduced anti-Jewish laws there as well in order to consolidate their standing in the “newly conquered” province.

The position of European Jews thereafter quickly worsened. Accusations appeared in anti-Jewish texts claiming that Jews sacrificed children and used the blood of children in their religious rites, also claiming that most of them were wizards and had signed a pact with the Devil. Jews were required by regulation to wear clothing of a certain color (yellow) or a badge (a yellow badge displayed on their clothing or a specially designed pointed hat) which marked them and set them apart from the rest of the population. This practice continued in some places until the Enlightenment in the 18th century. There were times when entire communities were subjected to persecution and expulsion. All English Jews were expelled from the Kingdom in 1290; German Jews met a similar fate in the mid-14th century as did French Jews in 1396. A quarter century later, thousands of Austrian Jews were expelled, and Jews were driven out of the Papal States in 1569.

European Jews found themselves in a particularly onerous position in the Middle Ages during the vast epidemic of the plague, 1348-1349, also known as the Black Death. As the causes and manner by which the epidemic spread were unknown at the time, many assumed that the plague, which took the lives of two thirds of the population in some parts of Europe, must be punishment from God or the work of the Devil. As Jews were already seen as colluding with the devil, it did not take long for them to be accused of spreading the disease by poisoning wells. Pope Clement VI strove to protect them by publishing two bulls, but in vain. Hundreds of Jewish communities were destroyed, and even Jews who were not living in regions already afflicted by the plague suffered; the townspeople of Strasbourg burned 900 of their fellow citizens alive. Jews were not the only victims of the mass hysteria—malefactors were also sought in women who were accused of being witches in large numbers and were burned at the stake.

Where their communities survived, Jews were subjected to various bans and limitations. They were not allowed to bear weapons or farm. And they were prohibited from rising through the noble ranks. Because of this some were compelled to turn to usury, an occupation considered beneath contempt in many countries. Because the Church forbade Christians from earning a living that way (though some Christians did so regardless), Jews were free to work as debt collectors. Paradoxically, the social standing of an individual might improve through this work, but the collective standing was thereby worsened. It was mainly Christians who were indebted to the Jewish moneylenders, so the image of avaricious Jews earning their living by taking unscrupulous advantage of Christians prevailed for centuries.

Ghettos formed over time in many cities; they were separated from the rest of the city by a wall and gates. This practice was first seen in Morocco in the 13th century and then spread throughout the Islamic world. In Christian Europe ghettos appear during the 14th and 15th centuries. On the one hand this marginalized Jews and kept them apart from the urban community, but their isolation sometimes afforded them protection from violent attacks by their fellow citizens, especially in the week before Easter when Christians were especially likely to vent their rage over Jesus's crucifixion.

The completion of the re-conquest of the Iberian Peninsula in 1492 did not merely result in the expulsion of Muslims; it also meant intense pressure on the Jews who were living there. They were given the option of either emigrating or converting to Christianity. Following the Spanish kings, Portugal did the same in 1496. About 40,000 Jews converted. The Inquisition kept track of the descendants of these "new Christians" until 1821, regularly monitoring their religious practices. Conversion did not, however, save 4000-5000 Jews who, despite royal protection, were massacred in riots in 1506. Of those who

chose emigration, about 165,000 of them, some moved to northern Africa and the Ottoman Empire, while others went to the Netherlands, Italy and France. These, known as the Sephardim, brought with them their language (Ladino) and culture. They could freely practice their faith in the Ottoman Empire, and Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent allowed them to pray in Jerusalem at Temple Mount, which they had not been able to do for a very long time.

The Reformation did not usher in shifts in the relations between Jews and Christians. In 1543, Martin Luther published the treatise, *On the Jews and Their Lies*. In it he called for the continual enforcement of harsh measures, and even wrote that Christians were sinning if they did not kill all Jews. Some researchers contend that with the rise of Lutheranism, anti-Judaism became far worse than it had been in the Middle Ages, and Luther's views, penned in the heart of Germany, are not difficult to tie to those voiced four centuries later in that same place. Near the end of his life, the great reformer espoused a more Christian approach to Jews (as he had, indeed, at the outset of his career) but the seeds of his teachings had already been sown. The Reformed churches only repudiated his views on anti-Judaism in the late 20th century.

Unlike some of the other European rulers, the Polish kings were willing to allow the settlement of Jews because they believed this would contribute to the economic prosperity of their kingdom. This is why, with time, the number of Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth grew significantly. Especially important was their role in colonizing the poorly settled territory in what later became Ukraine, where hundreds of Jewish settlements were created west of the Dnieper. Jews were allowed to farm there, and they also found employment as the managers of estates held by the Polish nobility. But in the mid-17th century, Poland descended into a serious crisis that started with the uprising of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, a Cossack hetman who strove to form an

independent Ukraine, and who perpetrated genocide during 1648 against Ukrainian Jews, allegedly destroying 300 settlements. Tens of thousands of Jews are thought to have been killed, but the villages and towns were very quickly re-built; until the 19th century this was the region with the greatest density of Jewish settlements.

The Age of Enlightenment in the 18th century brought with it changes to previously entrenched social relations, also introducing a new understanding of human rights to the European countries that were shaped by it. One aspect of this was a somewhat greater tolerance toward others, those who were different, and this also applied to Jews. Recognition of civil rights was largely tied to the push for assimilation and integration. The requirement to wear Jewish insignia was abandoned, and with time the ghettos were formally abolished; the practice ended in the West in 1870 with the abolishing of the Roman ghetto, while in Russia the practice only ended with the revolution of 1917.

This does not mean that the Age of Enlightenment should be idealized. In his writings, Voltaire, for example, frequently voiced a negative attitude, even hatred, toward Jews. There can be no doubt that in this manner—thanks to his standing in society—he shaped public opinion both in France and beyond. Thinkers such as himself and Denis Diderot no longer blamed Jews for the murder of Jesus—indeed to the contrary, they blamed the Jews for the origins of Christianity and felt that Jews bore responsibility for all the crimes Christianity, with the other monotheistic religions, had committed. Frederick II, king of Prussia, who held Voltaire in high regard, conducted a policy of limiting the number of Jews in German cities, hence in 1744 in Wroclaw he allowed only ten families who were under royal protection at that time to settle. Several years later he issued a law by which Jews who enjoyed similar protections in Berlin were not allowed to marry, and if they did, they'd be forced to leave the city.

Maria Theresa, who is often described as an enlightened ruler, expelled all the Jews from the Czech lands. Later she allowed them to return, but only if they paid a special fee to do so. In 1752 she forbade Jews from having more than one child. Joseph II was the first truly enlightened Habsburg; he issued the Edict of Tolerance in 1782 which abolished his mother's regulations. But in the spirit of his centralist, Germanizing policies he forbade the use of Hebrew and Yiddish (the language spoken by the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe) in public administration, and also abolished the judicial autonomy the Jews had enjoyed within their own communities. All this was part of the push toward assimilation.

Napoleon's conquests spread the idea of the French revolution throughout Europe, so in the German-speaking areas, Jews were accorded civil rights, but after the defeat of the French these were abrogated. Full emancipation would have to wait until Germany united in 1871. But the 19th century did not move German and other Western European Jews and Christians toward a true normalization of relations. At this time, the traditional anti-Judaism, based on religious intolerance, began shifting to anti-Semitism, based on ideas of racial difference. The newly emerging nations insisted on their "purity," often claiming an Aryan or Nordic racial origin. No other national or ethnic identities, especially not racial identities, belonged there. The nature of the atmosphere that was ascendant in German—and not only German—society, can be seen in "Judaism in Music" an article by Richard Wagner¹, published in 1850 under a pseudonym. In it he lashes out at his contemporaries, Felix Mendelssohn and Giacomo Meyerbeer, but also at the overall, allegedly negative, Jewish influence on German culture. This text is considered significant

¹ "Das Judenthum in der Musik", *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Leipzig, September 1850. In 1869 he published an expanded version, this time under his own name.

for the further development of German anti-Semitism. Wagner, of course, was not the only German to write in this vein. There were those who criticized him for it, but the general mood in society did not support them.

It would appear that the term *anti-Semitism* was coined in 1879 by German publicist Wilhelm Marr, founder of the Anti-Semitic League. This is when the first political parties with anti-Semitic platforms were established, but they did not succeed in drawing the political support of voters, hence they remained on the political margins until the First World War.

The most detailed information on the situation in France came out of the famous affair, pertaining to Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish officer accused, in 1894, of spying for Germany. Although his cause was championed by many prominent cultural figures, such as Marcel Proust, Anatole France and Émile Zola, who published the famous open letter, "J'Accuse!", Dreyfus was sentenced to life in prison in French Guyana. Clearly this outcome was the result of public attitudes about Jews, spurred by anti-Semitic newspapers which attempted to impose the idea of a lack of loyalty among citizens of Jewish descent. Dreyfus was only freed in 1906, and the French army only acknowledged his innocence in 1995. This affair, widely publicized by anti-Semitic pressures, divided French society in a profound and enduring way and provoked anti-Jewish riots in some parts of France. Nevertheless the public and uniform rejection of anti-Semitism by most French intellectuals and the public showed that Democratic societies are capable of changing their attitudes about Jews.

The rise in anti-Semitism in Russia was spurred by the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. The animosity toward the Jews living in Russia after the division of Poland and the Russian annexation of parts of the Polish kingdom where Jews comprised a large part of the population meant they were blamed for the emperor's murder. Along with the passive or active participation of

the government, three-year pogroms began in which many people were killed and their property destroyed, and new laws restricted Jews' rights. Minister Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonoshchev announced that the government's goal was for one third of Jews to die off, one third to emigrate, and one third to assimilate. This statement is strikingly similar to the rhetoric used later in the Independent State of Croatia, but in reference to Serbs instead of Jews. For Jews, as far as the Ustasha government was concerned, there was only one solution. In the early 20th century there were new pogroms in Moldovan Kishinev, and the Russian imperial secret police produced an infamous fabrication, entitled *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, which was intended to serve as proof of a vast Jewish conspiracy to take control of the entire world. This forgery has been re-issued since then as anti-Semitic propaganda.

The difficult position of Russian and other Eastern European Jews (the Ashkenazim)—caused not only by political pressures and violence but also by the difficult economic position—resulted in their massive emigration to the United States of America. There are estimates of some three million Ashkenazim crossing the ocean between 1881 and 1920 in search of a better life. Although the United States is a land of immigrants, the robust Christian tradition there also caused a widespread mistrust of the Jewish newcomers. This was aggravated by the economic crisis of the 1880s which had an impact on the falling cost of agricultural products, for which some blamed capitalism and the Jews as the alleged bearers of all that was bad in capitalism. This was used to explain their inclination to financial exploitation, an accusation with roots in the distant Middle Ages, and the fact that most of the other occupations in pre-modern Europe were off limits for Jews. Although rich Jewish bankers, such as Rothschild, managed only a small portion of the total banking capital in the United States, it was easy to blame them for all

the financial woes of the non-Jews, because the accusations, as usual, were founded not on rational arguments but on enduring, deeply rooted prejudices. For many Americans, Wall Street became a symbol of international Jewish capital and its bad influence on the national economy.

The Russian October Revolution, in which, in some places, Jewish revolutionaries played key roles, provoked additional distrust toward Jews in the United States, and in other countries as well. This new situation was absurd: the Jews were accused of personifying unscrupulous capitalism yet also of tearing it down. This was not entirely new, because already in pre-war Austria the anti-Semites, including prominent Viennese mayor Karl Lueger (for whom one of the most beautiful streets in Vienna is named), attacked with equal ferocity the liberal press, major capital, and social democrats as Jewish threats to traditional Christian values.

Defeat in the First World War offered those who lost fresh motives for disseminating hatred of Jews, but the situation in some of the victorious countries was no better. Anti-Semitism was equally present in Germany and Hungary, as well as in Poland and Romania. The Fascist movement in several countries, Nazism in Germany, and conservative Catholicism and Protestantism, the nationalisms, and the Soviet/Russian dictatorship—all of these created an atmosphere in the years leading up to the Second World War that brought about the tragic fate of several million European Jews.

The horrors of the camps, the massive liquidations, starvation and slave labor transformed the attitudes about Jews not only in Europe but worldwide. Although anti-Semitic outbursts never completely disappeared, and although anti-Semitism remained rooted in the general culture of the West and Europe, the attitudes about Jews changed. Their integration into society became better (in part because Jews relinquished their religious and cultural traditions), and public airing of anti-Semitic viewpoints became socially unacceptable.

Unfortunately, we have recently been able to see the radical rightwing and extreme conservative political options stirring again in recent years, and the Israel-Arab conflict has spilled over into Europe as a conflict between Judaism and Islam. All this shows that two thousand and more years cannot be erased so easily from the awareness of individuals and communities.

The first Jews to settle on the Croatian lands have been authenticated by archeological findings in ancient Salona, but after that we have no news of Jewish colonies for centuries in this area. Only in the late Middle Ages, particularly from the 16th century on, archival data indicate Jews in Zagreb, Dubrovnik, Split and Zadar. Sephardim settled in the cities of Dalmatia which, with the exception of Dubrovnik, were under Venetian dominion. This was thanks to a relatively tolerant policy in Venice and the Dubrovnik Republic, both of which were interested in their finance and trade networks. There were ghettos in Dubrovnik and Split which are extant to this day in the spatial memory of these cities. Zagreb Jews were expelled from the city in 1456, sharing the fate of many of their compatriots across Europe.

Although we have no data that has been preserved about larger instances of the persecution of Jews in Dalmatia, there are details that reflect the negative views citizens harbored toward them. For instance the character of Sadi, a Roman Jewish merchant, in the *Dundo Maroje* Renaissance comedy by Marin Držić, though he is incidental and characterized directly only by a single sentence, this sentence conveys the image of Jews that prevailed everywhere at the time: a person greedy for gold. The Dubrovnik authorities, themselves, issued a decision in 1514 and 1515 to expel Jews from the city, but in 1536 they allowed Jews re-settle because their trade connections in the Balkans and the Levant were vital for them. This was preceded by a verdict against a group

of Jews, headed by a doctor, for the alleged ritual murder of an old woman, which the accused admitted under torture. Seven men were condemned to death in 1502. A similar trial was held in 1622 for the alleged murder of a little girl. The main instigator of the anti-Jewish atmosphere was the Dubrovnik archbishopric which repeatedly called for repressive measures against Jews, but the Dubrovnik authorities were reluctant to put them into effect. During the 18th century Dubrovnik Jews were even allowed to become citizens much earlier than in other parts of the Croatian lands.

In the territory of Croatia and Slavonia governed by the Ban,² swept by the counter-Reformation and restoration of Catholicism, apparently there were no Jews during the 16th century. When King and Emperor Rudolf Habsburg confirmed the religious law in 1608 according to which only the Catholic faith was allowed in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, the authors of this law were thinking not of the Jews, but of the Protestants whose spread through Croatia needed to be stopped, especially in the context of taking over lucrative posts along the Military Frontier. The implementation of this law did result, however, in the prohibiting of settlement of Jews on the territory of the kingdom. Although Joseph II's Patent of Toleration (1781-1783) helped to improve the status of Jews in the monarchy, in Croatia, thanks to its autonomy, various constraints remained in force. The Croatian Assembly denied Jews the right to permanent residence and possession of property, leaving them only the option of working in trade. At almost the same time they were excluded from public office, a measure also applying to Protestants.

² The largest part of the Croatian lands that lay within the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom were governed by a Ban (a Viceroy). Part of the territory lying along the border with the Ottoman Empire was governed by military authorities. This region was known as the Military Frontier.

The military authorities did grant Jewish merchants the right to settle in the area of the Military Frontier in order to improve supply lines for the army.

A step toward repairing the circumstances of Jews occurred through a decision of the Hungarian assembly which gave them the right, in 1840, to work in the trades, stipulating that Jewish tradesmen could employ only Jewish apprentices and journeymen, rather than Christian ones. The consequences were twofold: on the one hand this provided an impetus for Jews to move to the region, as they were the only ones who could be hired by other Jews, but also the new competition coming from Jewish tradesmen stoked resentment, occasionally, among Christian tradesmen. In 1838 there was unrest in Zagreb when a group of some three hundred townspeople obstructed the arrest of several members of the tailors' guild who had forcibly seized the guild seal so they could send a petition to the Royal Council in Buda, Hungary, demanding that the decision be overturned, which had granted Jews the right to live in the city.

Most of the Jewish immigrants to Croatia came at first from western Hungary, from what is Burgenland today (lying mainly in Austria with a smaller part in Hungary). In the late 18th century the first Jewish community was established in Varaždin, and the Zagreb community was founded in 1806. Similar communities were gradually organized in other towns, especially in Slavonia and Srijem. In some places Jews were allowed to settle in cities, while other local authorities only allowed them to reside in suburbs.

In the revolutionary year of 1848, some Jews began to hope that if the liberal Hungarians were to prevail, the rights of Jews might also benefit, so they stood on the side of the revolution. Because of this their shops were attacked in some cities (Varaždin, Zagreb, Osijek and Požega) and there were attempts to drive them out of the local community. In such situations the

Croatian liberals stood on their side, as did Ban Josip Jelačić,³ who enjoyed the support of a portion of the Jewish citizenry.

In the era of Absolutism which was ushered in after the 1848 revolution was suppressed, Jews were granted their formal rights as citizens, but they were still not allowed to own property, and various legal constraints remained in place that had been introduced over the last century. Only after the fall of Absolutism in 1860 were the rest of these discriminations nullified, and they were permitted to own property. Based on the Hungarian law of 1867, all restrictions were abolished, but the Assembly in Croatia only accorded Jews civil rights equal to those of the members of the other permitted religions in 1873.

The possibility of engaging in new professions, and the development of industry, trade and education, attracted new Jewish immigrants. The number of Jewish residents quickly grew. Despite this, their total number was still small, as was their percentage of the total population. According to the population census of 1871, Jews comprised 0.76%. More than half lived in three cities: Zagreb, Osijek, and Zemun, though many had moved to the smaller cities.

The Jews who moved to Croatia continued to work in their traditional disciplines: retail and finance, some of them went into the trades, but a growing number of those with a higher education found careers in medicine, pharmacy and the law. The financial and professional successes of the Jewish elites were obscured from the eyes of the public by the fact that the large majority of Jews belonged to the lower and poorer strata of society.

³ Ban Josip Jelačić (1801-1859) is an important personage in the Croatian national story. As a supporter of the Habsburgs, he fought on their side in 1848-9 against the Hungarian revolutionaries who intended to abolish Croatian autonomy within the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom.

Many of the more affluent Jews in business invested generous funds and effort in creating institutions and associations with the goal of better organizing society or charitable activity. Some of this came out of the Jewish tradition itself, and part was motivated by the donors' and activists' desire to integrate as fully as possible into Croatian society and strip from themselves the stigma of otherness.

Despite this, the entry of Jews into the Croatian economic system provoked occasional violent reactions, mainly in the lower strata of the citizenry, but also among the peasants, who saw the lower-level Jewish merchants—known as 'kramars'—as synonymous with exploiters or usurers. When the incoming Jews spoke German or Hungarian, they could easily be accused of a lack of national loyalty, regardless of their genuine attitudes and actions. This is why it happened that in times of unrest arising from other causes, such as in 1883, Jewish shops were smashed. Also, this was nation-building time for Croatia, when foreign bodies were not tolerated on Croatian territory. Traditional anti-Semitism, which had been directed mainly against imaginary Jews in pre-19th century Croatia, as no Jews were living there, acquired the contours of modern anti-Semitism. Numerous attacks on Jews and their property happened during the unrest of 1903, when they were attacked as Hungarian sympathizers or as Hungarians, regardless of the fact that most of them by then were speaking Croatian as their mother tongue, and many of them had, as students, taken part in the National Movement against Hungarian policies in Croatia. These attacks could be attributed in part to personal animosities harbored by individuals having to do with specific merchants or moneylenders, and, in part, to the political promotion of politicians with an anti-Semitic orientation.

In the years leading up to the First World War, anti-Semitic attitudes among prominent individuals became widespread. Some people expressed these sentiments openly and publicly, while others voiced them only in their closest circles and in diary or epistolary form. Anti-Jewish statements were also made by Josip Frank, president of the Party of Rights, himself of Jewish background. The brothers Antun and Stjepan Radić, founders of the Croatian Peasant Party, took a specific position. As they understood “nation” to mean a community of people who were related to each other by blood, and they did not consider the nobility and bourgeoisie to be part of the Croatian national/peasant corpus, they also could not accept Jews as a constituent part of the nation. They rejected anti-Semitism, but espoused a-Semitism, the building up a nation from which Jews would be excluded.

The situation after the Great War gradually deteriorated. In 1918, after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and within it, the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom, the Croatian lands entered the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as of 1929). The electoral law according to which deputies to the Assembly were to be chosen in the new country eliminated the right to vote for Germans, Hungarians, and Jews, with the explanation that they could choose to live elsewhere because of their nationality. The frequent changes of typical Jewish surnames into ones that sounded more Croatian, as well as conversion from the Jewish faith into another—most often either Catholicism or Eastern Orthodoxy—were the ways in which Jews strove to assimilate in the majority community. There were, of course, those who felt it should be enough that their mother tongue was Croatian; in terms of national membership they felt themselves to be Croats and declared themselves as such, but soon realized that none of this would mean their salvation, or shield them from ill-treatment by the Ustasha

regime that came into power in 1941. In fact in the last years of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia they were already being exposed to forms of discrimination, such as the expropriation of wholesale businesses dealing in food stuffs or the imposition of quotas for enrolment in schools and at the university (which was never fully implemented because of the outbreak of war).

The theories about the origins of the Croats may have in part influenced the attitude of the Croatian bourgeoisie toward Jews. They were founded on race theory and anthropology. As Nevenko Bartulin has shown,⁴ authors such as Ćiro Truhelka, Ivo Pilar and Filip Lukas based their work on myths that Croats first lived in White Croatia or in the Ostrogothic Kingdom, on Indo-European comparative linguistics according to which Slavs could be considered Aryan, on racial anthropology that classified the proto-Slavs as a Nordic race and the Croats as Dinaric, and on scientific theories that claimed the Croats were descendants of Indo-Persian or Germanogothic ethnolinguistic groups. German race theory had a powerful influence on interpretations of the origin of Croats. According to the understanding of some racially rightwing ideologists, the Aryan-Croatian racial identity was entirely separate from the Asian-Balkan identity of the Serbs, Jews and Roma. Race theory was not, however, decisive for the animosity Croats bore toward the Jews, in part because there were nationalists who never accepted them, but also because anti-Semitism of the majority illiterate population was rooted in traditional Christian anti-Judaism, not on academic discussions.

The race-based ideology of the Ustasha movement,⁵ leading the Holocaust in the Independent State of Croatia, developed out of an interwar

⁴ Nevenko Bartulin, *The Racial Idea in the Independent State of Croatia. Origins and Theory*, Brill : Leiden Boston, 2014. My overview of the ideological attitudes toward Jews in Croatia in the period between the two world wars is based on this book.

⁵ The Ustasha movement was organized after the dictatorship was imposed in the Kingdom of

anti-Yugoslav ethnolinguistic and race-based discourse along with the influences of German, and especially Nazi, race theory that left its trace everywhere in Middle and Eastern Europe. For the Ustashas, the Croats were defined by blood and origin. The “foreign bodies” in Croatia were Balkan-Asian Serbs and Jews. The purity of the nation and national spirit were to be protected from foreign elements. In the eyes of the ideologues close to the Ustasha movement, the poison—pan-Slavism, Yugoslavism and Marxism—that were undermining Croatian spiritual values were being spread by communists and foreigners such as the Serbs, Jews, Slovenes and Czechs.

The radicalization of Ustasha attitudes toward the Jews happened gradually during the prewar years. The politics of the Ustasha movement was initially focused on the Belgrade regime, while the negative attitude toward Jews as capitalist exploiters and collaborators with that regime began gaining momentum as the war approached and the influence of the German Nazi movement increased.

On the Croatian prewar political and public stage there were also figures, however, who did not espouse anti-Semitic views, indeed they condemned them. The leading Croatian politician, Vladko Maček⁶ was one. Several daily

Yugoslavia in 1929. The word “ustasha” means “rebel.” The Ustashas were extreme Croatian nationalists, most of whom lived abroad, because they were exposed in Yugoslavia to violent suppression, even murder. When they emigrated they found themselves in countries harboring animosity toward Yugoslavia and/or had territorial pretensions, such as was the case with Italy, Hungary, Austria and Germany. The leader of the Ustasha movement was attorney Ante Pavelić (1889-1959). In 1941, after the German and Italian invasion of Yugoslavia, he seized control, anointing himself the ‘poglavnik’ or ‘supreme leader,’ in the newly founded Independent State of Croatia, encompassing Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. When that state collapsed in May 1945, Pavelić fled to Argentina, where an assassination attempt was made against his life in 1957; he died in 1959 in Madrid from the injuries he had sustained.

⁶ Vladko Maček (1879-1964) became head of the Croatian Peasants Party after the previous head, Stjepan Radić, was assassinated. Maček showed himself to be a leader of the Croatian people in his resistance to the Belgrade government and the ruling Serbian dynasty of the Karadorđevićs. In 1939 he reached an agreement with Dragiša Cvetković, Prime Minister of

papers took up the same positions. Alojzije Stepinac, the Zagreb Archbishop, condemned racism in his sermons (though he privately held a poor opinion of the Jews and in them saw a threat to the world order.)

Through history, Croats and their attitude toward Jews have not differed essentially from other European peoples. As there had been no Jews living in Croatia at all before the beginning of the 19th century except in Dalmatia and the Dubrovnik Republic, there couldn't be the kinds of persecution found elsewhere across the old continent. The influence of the Church, however, had been spurring and keeping anti-Judaism alive. The positive changes resulting from the Enlightenment and the French Revolution that allowed Jews to settle in Croatia, coincided with the unfolding of the national-integration process and the formation of the modern Croatian nation. Modern anti-Semitism built on the anti-Judaism that had already existed in the Croatian population and race theory fueled this further by influencing the understanding of the origin and essence of the nation. Despite the liberal views of one part of the Croatian intelligentsia and political elite, and what had been mainly peaceful coexistence with their majority Catholic neighbors, anti-Semitism on the foundation of anti-Judaism would bring about a catastrophe that would almost entirely eradicate the Jewish community in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

the Yugoslav government, giving Croatia broad autonomy in the Banovina of Croatia which also included parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The agreement had opponents from the start, among them several Serbian parties, the Ustasha movement acting from abroad at the time, and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. During the Independent State of Croatia (1941-1945), Maček refused collaboration with the Ustasas, and in 1945 he emigrated in order to avoid the newly founded *Communist* government. He died in Washington D.C.

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Anti-Judaism and Anti-Semitism before the Second World War



After quelling the Jewish rebellion in Jerusalem, Titus pillaged and razed the Temple. His triumph is portrayed on a triumphal arch that stands to this day in Rome, and this detail shows the menorah—a large seven-branched candelabrum— being carried off, and the trumpet that sent the walls of Jericho tumbling down.





German etching from 1439 depicts Jews drinking the blood of a Christian child.

Until the 20th century there were widespread accusations that Jews killed Christian children to drink their blood in secret religious rituals. Jews were often blamed for unresolved murders of children. One of the first known cases happened in England, in Norwich, in 1144. The murdered boy became a saint, which also happened elsewhere. One such case of "blood libel" was the reason for expelling Jews from France in 1182. Simon of Trent, a three-year old boy killed in 1475, was also revered as a saint until Pope Paul VI removed him from Roman martyrology. Despite this, in March 2020, an Italian painter called his painting: "The Martyrdom of St. Simon of Trento in Accordance with Jewish Ritual Murder."



The shock caused by the plague epidemic of 1348-49 led the superstitious population to blame the spread of the disease on Jews who had supposedly poisoned wells. The consequence was horrific persecution, especially in the Rhineland. This is a depiction of the suffering of Jews in Strasbourg in 1439; several hundred of them were burned at the stake, while the rest were expelled.



Jews were not the only victims of the massive hysteria provoked by the bubonic plague. Women were persecuted for the same reason and accused of being witches. As the Jews in the Middle Ages sometimes had to wear pointed hats to show their identity, these became the symbol, in time, for witches. Today they are an almost obligatory part of children's Halloween costumes.

Ein grawfamlích geichicht Geschehen zu passaw Von den Juden als hernach volgt:

Bye styt Cristoff acht parrichel ocs sacrament auff der kirche. legt das in sein eichle. hadt darinn drei tag betet.

Bye schuet er die sacrament den juden auff den nlich die vnuermaylig gewel ten sein. darumb sy im ein gulde geben

Bye erugen die iude vñ sich klopffer. die sacrament yn ir synagog. vno yber antwurden oye den Juden.

Bye stycht pferl Jud das sacrament auff irem altar. alt plut darauß gangen das er vñ ander iuden gescheit haben.



Bye teylsch sy auff oye sacrament schick ten ywen parrichel gen Diag. ywe gen salcpurg. ywen yn die Biewenstat

Bye verpoeten sy die sacrament ver suchten ob vnser glaub gerecht wer siogt auß dem offen ywen engel. vñ. i. taubé

Bye vedt man all Juden zu passaw die oye sacrament gekaufft verichich ge stelen vno verpiant haben.

Bye furt mñ sy fur gericht. verurteilt die vier gekaufft. facht man. holman vno walich. ion gekopft worden.



Bye jeryst man den pferl vno vmet die ocs sacrament beteyit. o. darnach gestochen vno verpiant haben.

Bye verpoent man sy mit sampt de ju den. die yn frem glauben blyben. vno vmb das sacrament gewyrt haben.

Bye wirt der Cristoff ocs sacrament verkaufft. auff einem wage jeryst mit gluenen jangen.

Bye hebt man an yw pawen. vnsern herren zu lob cñ gorybauf. Auf der juden synagog etc.





Abb. 16. Eine Juden-Verfeuerung. Holzschnitt von Wohlgemuth aus: Schedel, Weltchronik. Nürnberg, 1493.

The enmity toward Jews was heightened by the Crusades, after which the attitude toward Jews came to resemble the attitude toward Muslims. Aside from superstition and deeply rooted hatred toward the Jews, these persecutions were motivated by economic reasons, for they offered the possibility of confiscating Jewish property, expunging debts to Jewish bankers, or eliminating mercantile competition. The reasons may have been different from one place to another, but the stakes on which Jews were massively burned were the same everywhere. This depiction is from *World Chronicles* by Hartmann Schedel from Nuremberg (1493).

Desecration of the host was yet another accusation customarily leveled against the Jews. This German etching from 1477 depicts it. The first mention of this crimination was recorded in Germany in 1243, when all the Jewish residents of the city of Berlitz were burned alive. The accusation averred that Jews had stolen wafers to pierce and burn them, thereby renewing the ritual of Christ's murder. The last such recorded case took place in Romania in the mid-19th century.



After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal, there were Jews who remained in both kingdoms by converting to the Christian faith. The inquisition's doubts in the sincerity of their faith brought about a division of Christians into "old" and "new." The "new" were accused of continuing with their old Jewish rituals in secret (this also applied to Christianized Muslims), and the best indication of their social status comes from their Spanish name, the "marranos" (swines). Those who were believed to be covert Jews were also burned in public, as shown in this late-16th century picture, depicting the burning of Jews in Portugal in the late 15th century.



**„Was kann mer doch alles machen mit die Goyim! Ihren Christen
haben unsre Zeit gehenkt am Kreuz und aus seinem Geburtstag
machen wir a Niesen-Geschäft“**

In the late 19th century and all the way until the Second World War, caricature was a key means for spreading anti-Jewish views. This caricature, like those that follow, from a German newspaper, with the text in Yiddish (the language spoken by the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe, based on German), says: “So many things can be done to the goyim (non-believers): our folk crucified their Christ, but for his birthday we do excellent business...” The caricature is based on the stereotypes of Jewish guilt over Jesus’s death, Jews as corrupt wealthy merchants, and their appearance with the supposedly characteristic nose.



The caricature on the title page of the French edition of the infamous fabrication, the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, which aimed at accusing all Jews of a worldwide conspiracy against humankind.

Anti-Judaism and Anti-Semitism before the Second World War



Der Gott der Juden

Der Gott, der Wechsel platzen ließ
Und Völker ins Verderben stieß,
Wird trotz des Betens nicht lebendig.
Des Geldes Macht ist unbeständig.

The God of the Jews

God who allowed promissory notes to fail
and who pushes whole nations into ruin
will not come alive no matter how much one prays.
The power of money is fleeting.

This caricature offers the stereotype of greedy and corrupt Jews who care about nothing but money, which applies as well to their God; in so saying, the authors neglect that the same applies to the Christian God. The symbol for dollars and pounds sends the message that the allies in the war against Germany are under the sway of Jewish capital. The caricature was published in 1941.

Hrvoje Klasić

JEWS IN THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA Repression

Oh, people of Croatia!

Divine providence and the will of our allies and too the Croatian peoples' tortuous battle of many centuries and the great sacrifices made by our Poglavnik¹, Dr. Ante Pavelić, as well as the Ustasha movement at home and abroad, have brought us to this day, on the eve of the very day God's son was resurrected, to the day our independent state of Croatia has arisen.

This excerpt is from a speech broadcast over Zagreb radio on 10 April 1941, in the late afternoon, proclaiming the founding of a new state formation called the Independent State of Croatia (often referred to by using the

¹ The official title of the head of state of the NDH.

Croatian-language acronym: the NDH). In the absence of Ante Pavelić, the Poglavnik of the newly established state, Slavko Kvaternik was the one who actually made the proclamation. He had been a senior officer in the army of Austro-Hungary and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and now had become a high-ranking official in the Ustasha movement. Although all those who heard this speech or read it the next day in the newspapers knew that the Croatian people and members of the other nationalities were being faced with a new political and state-building experience, it is highly unlikely that most of them could imagine how costly this would be. What happened over the next four years will remain forever recorded as the darkest era of Croatian history. The fact that the Croatian state was born of an agreement between Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini would already merit this qualification, or that the NDH had no political, economic or military independence to speak of, or that the leadership agreed to cede to Italy a large portion of the Dalmatian coast. But the reason that the existence of the NDH represents a blemish not only on Croatian history but on the history of the human race lies primarily in the degree of terror, massive murders, genocide and the Holocaust which the government of this state waged against its own citizens.

The objective of the Ustasha movement, which in the late 1920s was founded by Croatian nationalists, was to establish an independent national state. Because at this moment the Croats were one of the constitutive nations of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and any form of separatism was strictly prohibited, supporters of Croatian independence had to limit their activities to action abroad. Except for the assassination of King Aleksandar Karađorđević in Marseilles in 1934, their engagement did not create major problems for the Yugoslav regime. Indeed, to the contrary, along with killing the king, one of the consequences of the assassination was the arrest of Ante Pavelić, founder

and leader of the Ustasha movement. After he was sent to jail in Turin, the activities of the Ustashes were kept to a minimum over the next few years. Only a decision from Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler to attack Yugoslavia as part of their campaign to conquer Europe in early April 1941 paved the way for the Ustasha movement to step into the middle of political events. On the eve of the outbreak of hostilities, Duce's Fascist Italy and the Führer of the Third Reich decided to manipulate existing antagonisms between Croats and Serbs in order to take over the country under attack with greater ease. In keeping with a policy of "divide and conquer" they decided the Serbian people would be punished, while the Croats would be "awarded." Several days after the savage devastation of Belgrade (April 6), Nazi troops marched into Zagreb (April 10), so that with their Italian allies they could bring about the realization of the "centuries-old dream" of an independent Croatian state. Because the largest and most respected political party, the Croatian Peasant Party, and its leader Vladko Maček were not prepared to accept the leadership of the new state, Hitler and Mussolini settled on the Ustasha movement. In terms of troops the Ustashes were numerically weak, in terms of influence, utterly peripheral, but as to "collaboration" they were ready and waiting.

While they were still abroad in emigration, the Ustasha leaders in their documents and statements let it be known what an independent Croatian state arranged according to their principles should look like. In one of the first political documents published in 1933, known as "Principles of the Ustasha Movement," they state, among other things, that "No person who is not of the Croat race and Croat blood may participate in the Croat state and national leadership. Similarly, no foreign state or foreign nation may decide the fate of

the Croat nation and Croat state.”² From this, as well as from the other articles of the “Principles,” there is a clear preference expressed for ethnic exclusion and Croatian exceptionalism, but still no suggestion of what the fate would be of those living in Croatia who were not members of the Croatian ethnic group. The development, however, of the political situation in Yugoslavia and the increasingly powerful influence of new extremist nationalist ideologies in Europe would mean that these ideas would soon be given more substance. “Die kroatische Frage” [The Croatian Question], a document written in German by Ante Pavelić and published in 1936, makes this clear.³ That the text was written in German demonstrates whom the Ustashas were counting on as their main allies in realizing their state-building plans, as does the subject matter. Unlike “Principles,” the main enemies of Croatian independence are enumerated here as the Serbs, Jews, Communists and Free Masons. And while anti-Serbian views could be heard earlier, “The Croatian Question” manifests for the first time the overt anti-Semitism of the Ustasha movement. In the “spirit of the times,” Jews were accused of holding a monopoly over financial dealings and trade, as well as having a close tie and a client-focused relationship with the government in Belgrade: “...as the Jews had foreseen, Yugoslavia became, in consequence of the corruption of official life in Serbia, a true Eldorado for Jewry,” as Ante Pavelić puts it. As one of the main weapons in the struggle against Croatian national interests, Pavelić speaks of the press which is in “Jewish-Masonic hands.” Aside from lies about Croats, the press, in his words, also employs “brazen falsehoods against Germany.” These words from the head of the Ustasha movement offer an unambiguous warning and

² Mario Jareb, *Ustaško-domobranski pokret: od nastanka do travnja 1941*, Hrvatski institut za povijest and Školska knjiga: Zagreb, 2006, 126-127.

³ Bogdan Krizman, *Ante Pavelić i ustaše*, Globus: Zagreb, 1986, 235 and on.

what would prove to be an ominous prophecy, penned three years before the war broke out in Europe and five years before the attack on Yugoslavia, saying that in the event of a war, “the side the Croatian people chooses to align with is not unimportant—and, no doubt, they would naturally side with Serbia’s enemies.”

The examples mentioned here and many more indicate that in the years after its founding, along with its insistence on state independence, the Usta-sha movement was gradually building up hostility toward those who, for a number of reasons, were thought to be responsible for the fact that Croatia was not yet independent. Yet despite the often harsh language, verbal insults and accusations, there still was no inkling of what this confrontation with the “enemies” of the Croatian national interest would be like. All that changed in the very first days after the Independent State of Croatia was established.

Although in the case of the Ustasha reign of terror it is essentially impossible to speak in isolation of only one of the ethnic, confessional, racial or political groups while ignoring the rest, for the needs of this publication we will be providing a brief overview of the suffering of Jews in the NDH, with particular attention to the final phase, the Holocaust, how it unfolded and what the consequences were.

As was the case with many other European nations, through their history the Croats have not been immune to anti-Semitism. In comparison, however, with the situation in other countries, Jews living in the Croatian lands were never subjected to massive expulsions, nor did anti-Judaism represent a key element in the programs of Croatian political parties. Even in the founding documents of the Ustasha movement and the statements issued by its officials in the first years after it was founded, Jews did not represent a special topic nor were they listed among the main enemies standing in the way of

the realization of the Croatian state-building project. The main enemies were always first the Serbs and then the Communists. For the purposes of comparison, Adolf Hitler spent years before he rose to power focusing on the Jews as the greatest culprits for all the misfortunes which had beset the German people. One of the reasons why the Croatian nationalists and the Ustasas did not experience the Jews as a significant threat is that there were quite a few members of the Jewish community serving as active fighters for the “Croatian cause.” One of the most prominent was Josip Frank, Croatian politician and founder of the Pure Party of Rights. Quite a few people of Jewish origin were members of the Ustasha movement and there were Ustasas who were married to Jewish or half-Jewish women. One of the most infamous officials of the Ustasha regime and surely one of the individuals most responsible for implementing genocide and the Holocaust in the NDH was Eugen Dido Kvaternik. He was Jewish—his mother was Josip Frank’s daughter (and his father was Slavko Kvaternik, mentioned earlier). Taking this into consideration, as well as the fact that within the Ustasha movement a more pronounced anti-Semitism arose only in the second half of the 1930s, it would seem that the main reason for this “new” phenomenon should be sought in external influences, concretely, the desire to court the endorsement of Nazi Germany, which, along with Fascist Italy, would represent a powerful new political ally. Since the Ustasha movement at that moment did not represent any sort of force either in the country or abroad, and therefore was not a threat, there was no cause yet for alarm among the Croatian Jews. On the other hand, it wasn’t just the Croatian nationalists who chose to adapt to the new European political reality. The Yugoslav government soon did so as well. The rapprochement with Germany, along with new agreements on economic and trade, would have as their consequence new legislative measures

with which Yugoslavia showed its support for the policy of treating Jews as a “foreign body” in society. Hence in late 1940, the governments of Dragiša Cvetković in Serbia and Vladko Maček in Croatia issued anti-Semitic decrees, one banning Jews from trading in food stuffs and the other imposing a quota on the enrolment of Jews in secondary schools, and two-year and four-year higher education. Despite a series of inconsistencies in their application, these decrees legally made members of the Jewish community second-class citizens. Unfortunately this was only the beginning of a time during which the various prohibitions would quickly advance to physical annihilation.

Once the Independent State of Croatia was established, things regarding the “undesirables” began developing with dramatic speed. In the violence that broke out as soon they came into office there were elements, no doubt, of anarchy, chaos, and individuals taking the law into their own hands, but the new regime was a reign of terror that was well organized from day one, systematic and government-run.

Although at the time when “Principles of the Ustasha Movement” was written it did not arouse public concern, the foundational idea in this document that with Croatian national and state affairs in a stand-alone, independent state of Croatia, “no person who is not of the Croat race and Croat blood may participate in Croat state and national leadership,” no longer sounded, in April 1941, like nationalist verbiage or a “Utopian” vision voiced by a marginal political movement. Now this was one of the central guidelines in organizing the socio-political life in the newly created state. The first step that the Ustasha government was to take in this sense was to define who the “Croatian people” were. The *Decree on citizenship* was adopted for this purpose on 30 April 1941, stating, among other things, that a citizen of the NDH was a “state member of Aryan descent.” The law sought additional

clarification for the concept of “Aryan descent,” so that same day the *Decree on racial membership* was adopted in which it stands that “the Aryan descent of a person flows from ancestors who are members of the European racial community or who come from descendants of this community outside of Europe.” Jews were not included in this category because they were considered members of a different (Jewish) race. That same day a third decree was adopted: *On protection of the Aryan blood and honor of the Croatian people*, which prohibited marriage between Jews and Croats, as well as “extra-marital sexual relations of a Jewish male.... with a female person of Aryan descent.”⁴ With these three decrees Jews (and Roma) as citizens of Croatia were not only legally discriminated against in terms of the “Aryans,” but this would have far more tragic ramifications, “marking” them as a people (race) to be considered a threat to the “blood and honor” of the Croatian people. The logic of a threat is that it leads to a confrontation and the confrontation unfolded in several phases.

In early June 1941, Jews were faced by a new wave of restrictions. In order to protect the “national and Aryan culture of the Croatian people” a decree was adopted banning Jews from “every involvement in work, organizations and institutions of social, youth, sports and cultural life... and especially in literature, journalism, the fine arts and music, urbanism, theater and film.”⁵ That same day, 4 June 1941, the *Order on changing Jewish names and marking Jews and Jewish firms* was adopted. After the earlier resolutions had established who was a Jew and regulated the position of the Jewish people, this decree called for physically, visually marking Jews, therefore alerting the community

⁴ These decrees were published in *Zakoni, zakonske odredbe, naredbe, itd.* Volume 1, Zagreb, 1941, 107-115.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Volume 2, 40.

to the presence of Jews within Croatian society. All Jews over the age of 14 had to wear special identifying insignia on the left side of their chest when they went out in public—a round yellow tin badge marked with a large letter Ž inscribed in black. A notice was also required for businesses, firms and shops owned by Jews—a sheet of yellow paper was to be posted on a visible site with the words “Jewish firm” in black.⁶ All these anti-Jewish laws inaugurated an avalanche of restrictions and bans that faced Jews everywhere in the NDH and in all segments of life. They no longer dared reside in certain parts of the city, walk through the center of town, use the parks, enter restaurants, hotels, movie theaters and theaters, swim at beaches, join sports clubs, and they had to hand over their radios, cameras, skis, vests, gloves, etc.

The fact that the discrimination against them as members of the community and citizens began essentially overnight, that their existence was under threat, and that they were publicly disgraced and dishonored, must have shocked and appalled Croatian Jews. However if the abuse had stopped there, this would have remained yet another ugly episode, and not the only one, sadly, in the history of the Jewish people. But it did not. Almost immediately after the decrees were adopted, the systematic annihilation of the Jewish people began. Following the end of the Second World War, because of the unthinkable extent of the suffering and the character of the crimes, this entire tragedy would be given a special name—the Holocaust, or Shoah. It can freely be said that the Holocaust, with the genocide of the Serbian and Roma peoples, represents one of the central tenets of the Ustasha “revolution.” The objective was to create a new state, a new society, a new person. In the Croatian state and society, imagined in this way, founded on Ustasha

⁶ Ibid, 54-59.

principles, there was no place for those who did not fit in terms of ethnicity, race, religion or ideology into the model of the “true” Croatian citizen.

After the confiscation of property, which was done, for this purpose, in keeping with specially designed legislation, but which often was no more than outright robbery, the Ustashas began the physical “eradication” of the Jewish population. A small number managed to save themselves by fleeing abroad or joining the Partisans, but most, regardless of age and gender, met their end at one of the Ustasha camps in the NDH or in Nazi camps in Germany and Eastern Europe. Unlike the terror perpetrated against the Serbian population which was designed from start to finish by the Ustashas, the confrontation with the Jews was largely copied from Nazi practice in terms of the question of (race) legislation and extermination. This was confirmed, among other things, by statements of two of the highest-level NDH political officials, Ante Pavelić, Poglavnik, and Andrija Artuković, Minister of Internal Affairs. The *Hrvatski narod* newspaper was the first to publish Artuković’s statement that they would soon “solve the Jewish question in the same way it has been solved by the German government,” and then Pavelić’s, that the “Jewish question will be radically solved according to racial and economic views.”⁷ In fact the first arrests of roughly fifty (Zagreb) Jews were made by the Gestapo only a few days after the entry of the German army into Zagreb, showing, among other things, who held the real power in the newly formed state. After this action, the Germans did not continue to be directly involved in solving the “Jewish question” until the spring of 1942.

In the NDH, repression was the responsibility of the Security Service (the RAVSIGUR), with Eugen Dido Kvaternik at its head. The RAVSIGUR

⁷ *Hrvatski narod*, 22 April 1941 and 6 May 1941.

officials were tasked with scrutiny of the Jewish population, arresting them, and sending them to the camps. In mid-August 1941, Dido Kvaternik founded the Ustasha Surveillance Service (the UNS), which also was tasked with repression of the “enemies” of the state. The Third Department (Ustasha Defense) worked on setting up the camp system. The head of this office, the person, in other words, who wielded the real authority in all the camps on the territory of the NDH, was Vjekoslav Maks Luburić. Just as the German legislative model was followed when issuing the anti-Jewish race laws, the Ustashes followed the same model when founding and organizing their camps. Regarding this, Eugen Dido Kvaternik’s visit to the central SS office in Berlin in mid-1941 seems particularly relevant, as does Maks Luburić’s visit at the end of that year to Sachsenhausen–Oranienburg, the German concentration camp. On their return to the NDH, the Ustasha officials put the experiences they’d had in the Third Reich to immediate use, but they also “improved” on them.

That the treatment of Jews would not merely be limited to public humiliation, theft of property and persecution could be read between the lines of the *Decree on defence of the nation and state*, proclaimed by Pavelić the same day as the other the race laws (17 April 1941). It states explicitly that “whosoever harms or has harmed the vital interests of the Croatian people or in any way threatens the survival of the NDH thereby commits a crime of high treason... even should such act be merely an unsuccessful attempt,” and the death sentence is envisioned for such an accused.⁸ Extraordinary national courts and then summary court-martials were set up to implement these laws, which condemned thousands of people to death by firing squad through their

⁸ *Zakoni, zakonske odredbe, naredbe itd.* Volume 1, Zagreb, 1941, 15.

arbitrary interpretation of the term “high treason.” A further step taken to legalize the genocide of the Jews was the Poglavnik’s *Extraordinary decree and Command* of 26 June 1941, stating “whosoever spreads rumors about the alleged persecution of one segment of the population will be brought up before a court-martial. The Jews are considered collectively responsible for disseminating false news... and therefore action will be taken against them and in addition to their criminal responsibility they will be placed in detention centers under the open sky.”⁹

The setting up of camps on the NDH territory already began in April 1941, immediately after the Ustasha movement came into power. Over the next few years, while the state functioned, there were about thirty camps on its territory under Croatian (Ustasha), German and Italian administration. They differed in character and purpose; often the same camps were used for several purposes. The first ones to be established were concentration centers that served as a place to assemble those who they were planning to deport out of the NDH. The second group are camps in which the prisoners were brought to perform a work obligation (“work camps”). In them people died from the grueling conditions of life and exhaustion from hard labor, but the camp guards also murdered them directly. The third group were what are referred to as “death camps,” the only purpose of which was, as the name suggests, physical annihilation.

The first camp was set up by the Ustasha regime on 15 April 1941 on the premises of the former Danica factory near Koprivnica. Although the prisoners held there were mistreated in various ways, such as physical abuse, forced labor, poor nutrition, there was not massive killing at Danica. However

⁹ *Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske*, 1941, Zagreb, 1942, 212-213.

after the camps had “filled” to capacity by the end of June, they began taking internees to Gospić as the center of the new camp system. Unlike Danica, the Gospić camp system functioned exclusively with the objective of physical annihilation. For this purpose there were camps, or rather execution grounds, set up in Jadovno on Velebit and Slana and Metajna on the island of Pag. After Serbs, Jews, Roma, and Communists from all over the NDH were delivered in livestock wagons to Gospić, they were transported to the killing fields where they didn’t stay long. Most of them were put to death in Jadovno and thrown into one of the many caves in the area. One group of the prisoners were moved to Karlobag, and then transported by ship to the island of Pag. Here the men were separated from the women and sent to the camp in Slana or Metajna. Along with the massive murders, every day the Ustashes raped the imprisoned Serbian and Jewish women. The Gospić camp system stops functioning in late August, 1941, when the Italians occupied this part of the NDH. The surviving camp internees were transported first to Jastrebarsko, a temporary station, and on 23 August 1941 they were transferred to the newly founded camp at Jasenovac. Until the regime ended in late April 1945, Jasenovac served as the central, largest camp on the territory of the NDH. In terms of its purpose, it was dual-purposed, both as a work camp and a death camp. The internees performed various forms of hard labor, but there were also massive liquidations. The Ustashes slaughtered the prisoners at the Jasenovac camp by slashing their throats, hanging, beating to death, starving, and heavy physical labor. A large number of Croatian (and Bosnia-Herzegovinian) Jews, men and women, were held at Loborgrad (Northern Croatia), Kruščica near Travnik (Bosnia), Đakovo, and Tenja near Osijek (both in eastern Croatia). Those who were not slaughtered in these camps were deported to Jasenovac, and many were sent to Auschwitz.

The precise number of Jews who were killed as victims of Ustasha terror is difficult to know, and, as time passes, almost impossible to ascertain. The lack of reliable documentation, the unresearched and inaccessible graves and killing fields, but also the way the bodies of the murdered were disposed of (thrown, for example into the Adriatic Sea and Sava River, burned in the furnace at Jasenovac, and so forth) means that when numbers are cited, these can only be estimates. For the same reason it is impossible to arrive at a precise number of those killed in any one of the Ustasha camps. The Jasenovac concentration camp can serve as the best example of this. During the questioning after the war of Ljubo Miloš, one of the camp commanders, he stated that “Luburić determined that in Jasenovac the number of those being held stood at around 3000, because this number was mainly sufficient to meet all the needs of the labor service,” and he went on to say that, “there were cases when there were 5000 internees at the camp, but this number couldn’t be sustained for a longer period; in these cases the surplus was liquidated.”¹⁰ A document issued by the Main Staff of the Poglavnik on 27 April 1942 suggests the impossibility of ascertaining the precise number of prisoners, and also implies that the capacity of the camp could be increased by eliminating inmates. It states, among other things, “the concentration and work camp at Jasenovac is able to receive an unlimited number of prisoners.”¹¹

Aside from the Ustasha camps, Jews living in the NDH perished in large numbers in Nazi death camps in Eastern Europe, especially in Auschwitz. The deportations already began in 1941, but increased in intensity during 1942 and 1943. These were joint actions run by the Ustasha government and the Zagreb representative of the Third Reich. Among the last to be deported

¹⁰ HDA, RSUP SRH SDS, Ljubo Miloš dossier.

¹¹ <http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr/Default.aspx?sid=5400>.

were Miroslav Freiburger, Zagreb Chief Rabbi, and Hugo Kon, the president of the Zagreb Jewish community.

According to the available data, about 39,000 Jews were living on the territory of the NDH in 1941. Only 9,000 survived the war. Aside from several hundred who were shot at the very beginning of the war, most of them died in one of the Ustasha or Nazi camps. Most of them, 13,000, were killed at the Jasenovac concentration camp. Along with the decrees and statements of Ustasha officials, it is the very large number of those killed and the small number of survivors that indicates that their intention was to utterly destroy a people. Without a doubt this was a case of genocide against the Jews.

What happened to European Jews from the mid-1930s to 1945 is incomparable with the vastest atrocities that have happened through the history of mankind, including the times when people lived under far more primitive conditions, and when human life was not “protected” by various laws and humanist and moral principles, as was the case in the 20th century. Although the numbers are appalling (about six million were killed), the key problem when speaking about the Holocaust should not be seeking an answer to the question of “How many?” but, instead, to the questions of “Why?” and “How?” what happened happened. Because numbers over time become abstract statistics, it is difficult for some to feel empathy for those who were killed. The question each person should give thought to is how utterly innocent people—children, women, the elderly, people who only yesterday were neighbors, friends, work colleagues—could possibly be proclaimed enemies of the state and nation by someone for no reason whatsoever who then decided to kill them, while justifying this by explaining that it will make the world a better place. Because, to speak about numbers means to deal with something that has already

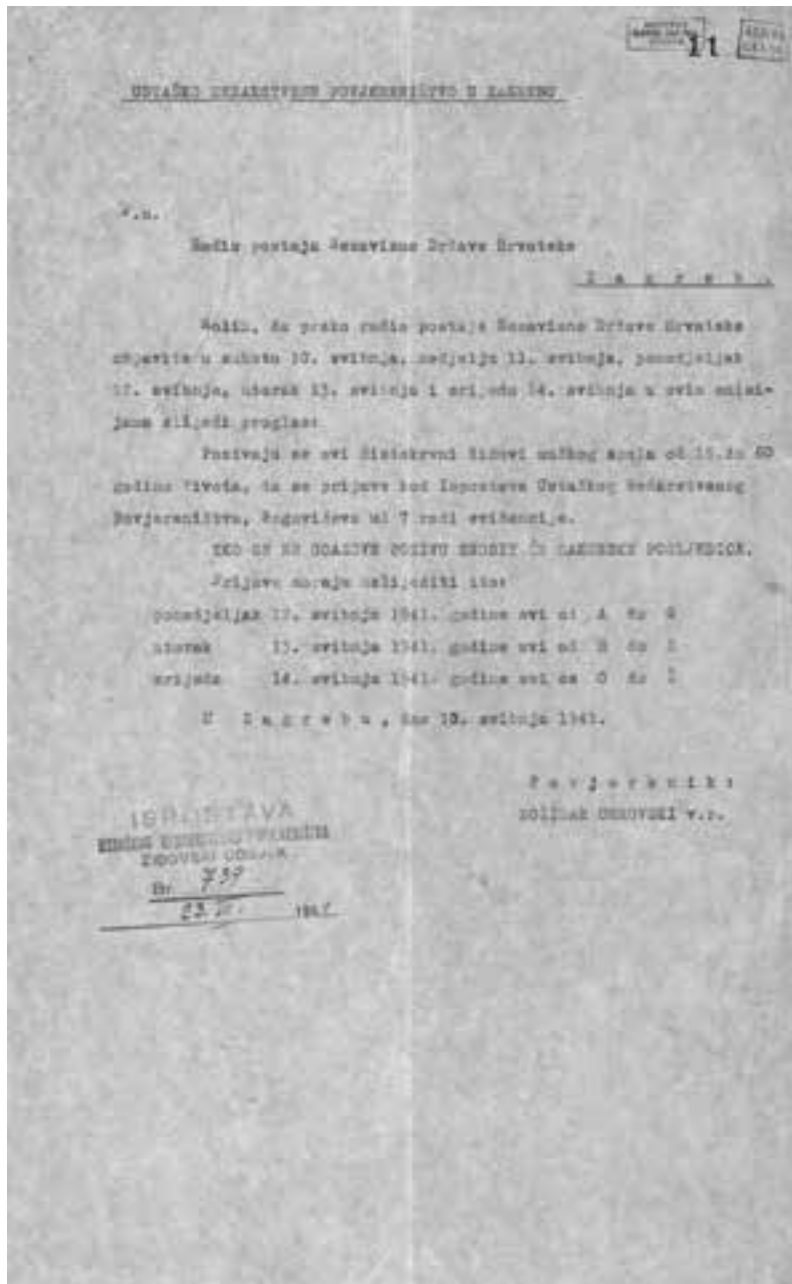
happened, but to give thought to the reasons for the suffering means to think about the (im)possibility of such things happening again.

This is the framework within which to consider the progressing historical revisionism and denial in Croatian society today. We cannot change the path or substance of history, but we can learn a great deal from what happened. The genocide of the Jews who lived in the NDH is a well-researched historical fact. Also indisputable is the fact that the Ustasha movement and administrative apparatus of the NDH are responsible for what was done. If we consider the problems already set out for ascertaining the precise number of victims, the many archival materials, the scholarship, as well as personal memory give us more than enough material to determine the character and purpose of the concentration camps set up across the NDH. Taking all this into consideration, the question arises of how it could be possible that in Croatia today there are people who deny or relativize the criminal policy of the Ustasha movement and the suffering of innocent people? How is it possible that movies are filmed and screened publicly, books are written and “scientific” conferences are held that deny the criminal character of Jasenovac and the other Ustasha camps? How is it possible that the state and society have not taken a clear and unambiguous position condemning the flaunting of Ustasha symbols and greetings? How is it possible that streets are named after the political and military officials of the Ustasha movement and monuments raised to them in Croatia, a democratic state governed by the rule of law?

Though it sounds unthinkable that such things do happen, the most serious problem is not whether all this is done out of ignorance or with sympathy for a political option from Croatia’s past. A much more serious problem is

that those who are denying the atrocities and defending the perpetrators are, themselves, prepared to become, repeat, or at the very least endorse the same thing.

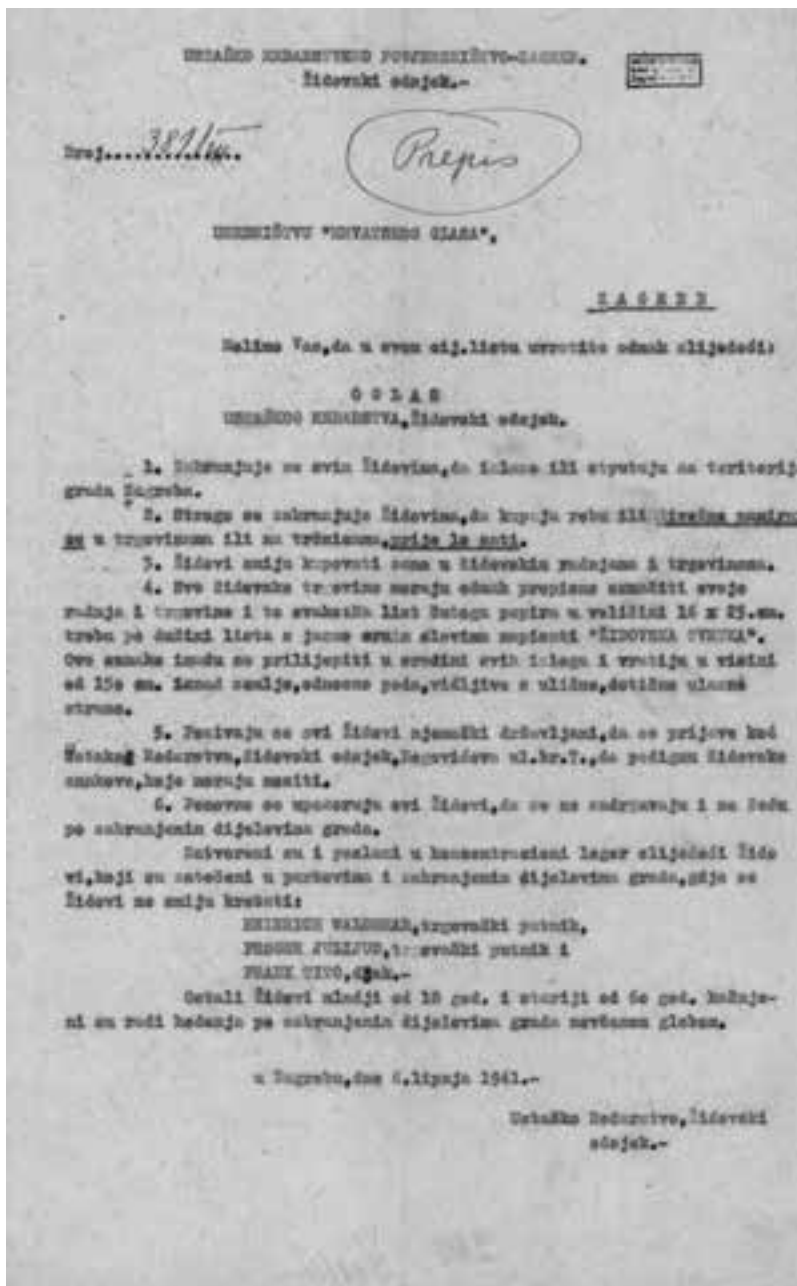
The proclamation of the race laws just when the NDH was first established was laying the groundwork for persecution and annihilation of the Jews on the territory of the entire newly created state. The speed with which the laws were enacted confirms that the Ustasha movement had a plan prepared in advance and that the persecution of Jews was not only a response to pressure from Germany. The racial laws proclaimed Jews and Roma to be different from other NDH citizens in terms of their civil and human rights. Among other things marriages between Aryans ("purebred" Croats and members of the "Aryan" minorities such as Germans or Italian) and Jews were banned, and the law defined who the Jews were. People were not given the option of declaring whether or not they considered themselves to be Jews, although among them there were surely those who saw themselves primarily as Croats.



On the basis of the race laws, the registration of “purebred” Jews began a month after the NDH was established as the first step in preparation for their eradication.

HR-HDA 252, RUR ŽO,
739/1941., k. 1

Jews in the Independent State of Croatia – Repression

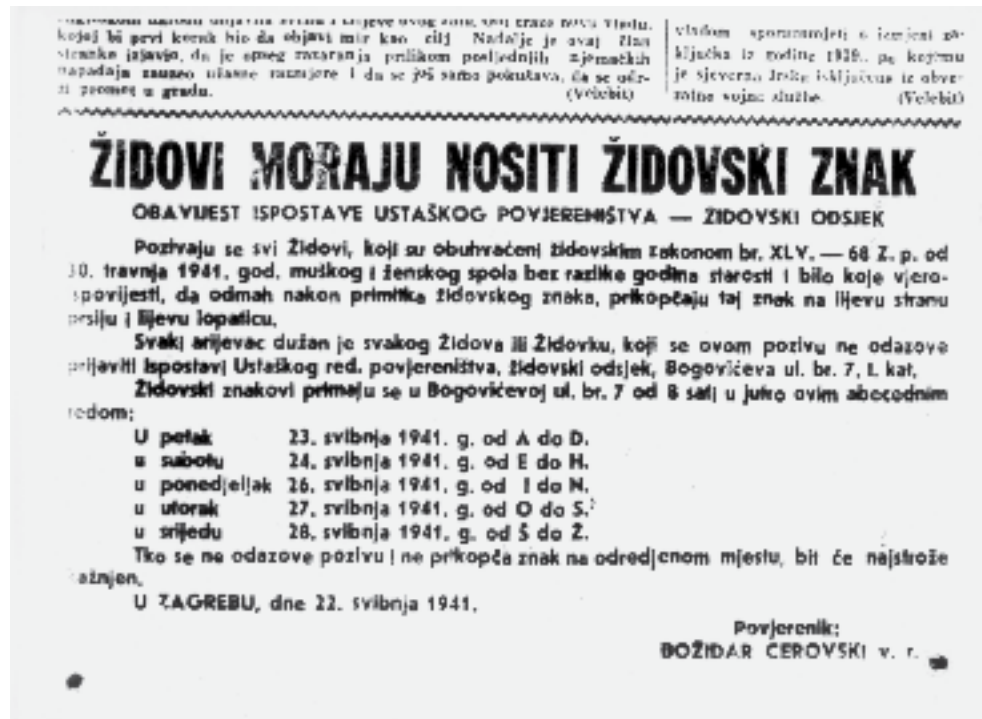


Certain sections of the center of Zagreb were deemed off limits for Jews. Then new regulations were adopted in early June, banning Zagreb Jews from shopping at non-Jewish shops, and they were not allowed to buy anything before 10 am, even in Jewish shops. Those who transgressed these rules were sent to camps. And finally, they were no longer allowed to leave Zagreb.

HR-HDA 252, RUR ŽO,
382-381-1941., k. 1

OBAVIJEST

Sedlar, v. r.



On 4 June, the *Official Gazette* published a decree according to which all Jews had to wear a badge for identification: a round yellow tin badge, and inscribed on it, the letter Ž. In fact they wore several different insignia, and all included the letter Ž. Jewish firms and shops had to be marked in the same way. That this was not merely a response to pressure from Germany is indicated by the fact that the earlier government of the Banovina of Croatia had already compiled lists of Jewish businesses and shops but had not required that they be marked.

HR-HDA 907, Zbirka stampata, 39/119

Although the decree requiring the wearing of identifying insignia was published only in early June, the Ustasha authorities in Zagreb already began handing out the insignia in late May. Refusal to wear the badge was punishable by the “strictest punishment,” i.e. being sent to the camps and death.

HPM/MRNH - T. P./1683



The official form of the Jewish badge.

HPM/MRNH V-1685

Jews in the Independent State of Croatia – Repression



Aside from the official mandated insignia, there were other forms, such as this cloth version with a star of David. The girl is wearing it correctly, on the left side of her chest and on her left shoulder blade.

HPM/MRNH - A- 8974/32/11 i HPM/MRNH - A- 8974/32/12



Even the smallest children were not exempted from the requirement to wear the badge.

HPM/MRNH-A-8974/32/19



The notice used for marking Jewish businesses.

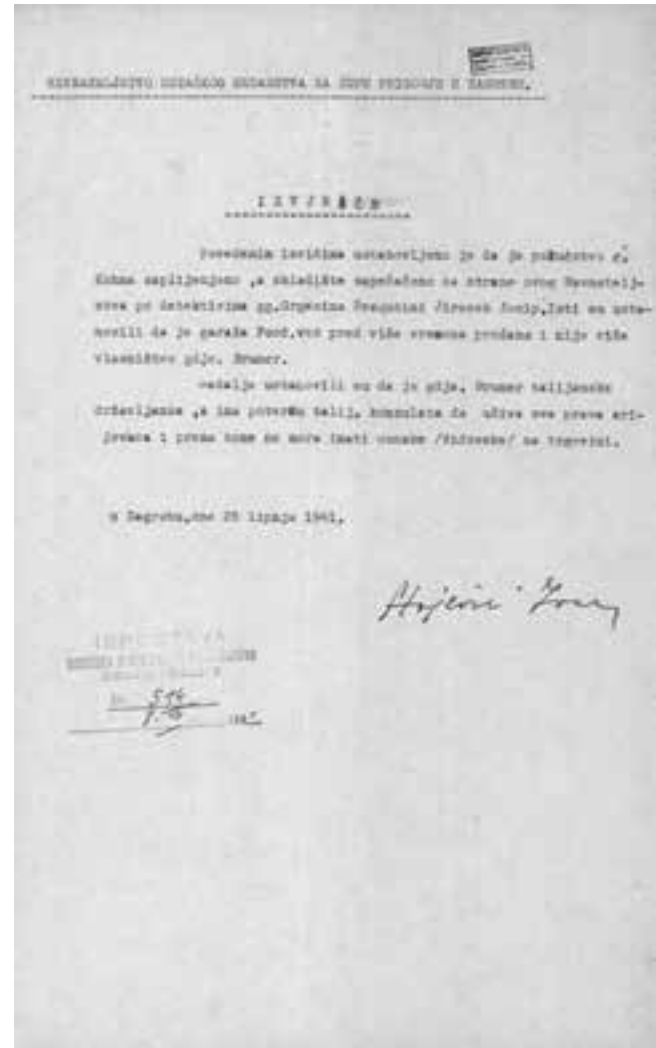
MGKC 7989



Among the measures used to humiliate and rob Jews (and Serbs) was the one of 8 May 1941 about forced relocation within Zagreb. People from both these groups had to leave their homes if they were located in the northern, residential part of the city. This is where the villas of the more affluent residents stood, and Ustasha and German officials moved into the ones which were vacated, as did Poglavnik Ante Pavelić.

HDA 907, Zbirka stampata, 104/19

Jews in the Independent State of Croatia – Repression



How Jews were forcibly relocated to parts of the city south of the “demarcation line” can be seen on the example of a Mr. Kohn, who had nowhere to put his furniture so he stored it at the Narodni Magazin department store. At first the Ustasha regime treated this furniture as his property, but nine days later his furniture was expropriated. This document also suggests that some Jews were saved if they held foreign citizenship, while yet others were shielded by diplomatic immunity as honorable consuls representing countries with which the NDH was not at war, but there were very few such individuals.

HR-HDA 252, RUR ŽO, 514/1941., kut. 2



Among the many prohibitions imposed on Jews only for the purpose of humiliating them there was the one which forbade them from going to the movies. There were similar restrictions regarding attending the theater and other places for entertainment and public gatherings.

HR-HDA 252, RUR ŽO, 581/1941., k. 2

Jews in the Independent State of Croatia – Repression

GLAVNI STOŽER VOJSKOVODJE
u Zagrebu, dan 27 1941. g. *del 63-64*
Broj 544

PROPAGANDNI ODJEL

POVJERLJIVOST ZA ŽIDOVE pri Izopštavi Ustaškog Redarstva
Bogovičićeva ulica, Zagreb.-

Molim da se od svih Židova vlasnika Fotografskih kamera, kina
kamera i kina projektora ovi odnosi a potom obavijesti Propagandni odjel
Ureda Vojškovođe/Ručkoga ul.6/III/radi preuzimanja.

Prilikom odnosa molim da se obrasci pošalju vlasnicima da
ne pokušavaju predati nečvrstog kamera u ožaste kamere Contax i Leica
jer Propagandni odjel ima evidenciju istih.

Preuzimanje kamera vršiti će organi Foto i kina službe Ožje
14.

Pobis
an-pisala foto
phos



Šef propagande
Donagani liji

ISPOSTAVA
IZOPŠTAVA REKREACIJSKOG POVIJESNOG
ŽIDOVSKI ODSJEK
Br. 98
24.8. 1941

Movie cameras, still cameras and movie projectors were confiscated from Jews. Interestingly, the propaganda department of Slavko Kvaternik's Main Staff knew who owned the better quality equipment by Leica and Contax, and the Jews were warned not to try to hand over other, worthless equipment instead. Other property was also taken from Jews, such as automobiles. Ultimately it made no difference because everything they had owned was confiscated.

HR-HDA 252, RUR ŽO,
98/1941., k. 1

1970-1971, 1972-1973, 1974-1975, 1976-1977, 1978-1979, 1980-1981, 1982-1983, 1984-1985, 1986-1987, 1988-1989, 1990-1991, 1992-1993, 1994-1995, 1996-1997, 1998-1999, 2000-2001, 2002-2003, 2004-2005, 2006-2007, 2008-2009, 2010-2011, 2012-2013, 2014-2015, 2016-2017, 2018-2019, 2020-2021, 2022-2023, 2024-2025, 2026-2027, 2028-2029, 2030-2031, 2032-2033, 2034-2035, 2036-2037, 2038-2039, 2040-2041, 2042-2043, 2044-2045, 2046-2047, 2048-2049, 2050-2051, 2052-2053, 2054-2055, 2056-2057, 2058-2059, 2060-2061, 2062-2063, 2064-2065, 2066-2067, 2068-2069, 2070-2071, 2072-2073, 2074-2075, 2076-2077, 2078-2079, 2080-2081, 2082-2083, 2084-2085, 2086-2087, 2088-2089, 2090-2091, 2092-2093, 2094-2095, 2096-2097, 2098-2099, 2100-2101, 2102-2103, 2104-2105, 2106-2107, 2108-2109, 2110-2111, 2112-2113, 2114-2115, 2116-2117, 2118-2119, 2120-2121, 2122-2123, 2124-2125, 2126-2127, 2128-2129, 2130-2131, 2132-2133, 2134-2135, 2136-2137, 2138-2139, 2140-2141, 2142-2143, 2144-2145, 2146-2147, 2148-2149, 2150-2151, 2152-2153, 2154-2155, 2156-2157, 2158-2159, 2160-2161, 2162-2163, 2164-2165, 2166-2167, 2168-2169, 2170-2171, 2172-2173, 2174-2175, 2176-2177, 2178-2179, 2180-2181, 2182-2183, 2184-2185, 2186-2187, 2188-2189, 2190-2191, 2192-2193, 2194-2195, 2196-2197, 2198-2199, 2200-2201, 2202-2203, 2204-2205, 2206-2207, 2208-2209, 2210-2211, 2212-2213, 2214-2215, 2216-2217, 2218-2219, 2220-2221, 2222-2223, 2224-2225, 2226-2227, 2228-2229, 2230-2231, 2232-2233, 2234-2235, 2236-2237, 2238-2239, 2240-2241, 2242-2243, 2244-2245, 2246-2247, 2248-2249, 2250-2251, 2252-2253, 2254-2255, 2256-2257, 2258-2259, 2260-2261, 2262-2263, 2264-2265, 2266-2267, 2268-2269, 2270-2271, 2272-2273, 2274-2275, 2276-2277, 2278-2279, 2280-2281, 2282-2283, 2284-2285, 2286-2287, 2288-2289, 2290-2291, 2292-2293, 2294-2295, 2296-2297, 2298-2299, 2300-2301, 2302-2303, 2304-2305, 2306-2307, 2308-2309, 2310-2311, 2312-2313, 2314-2315, 2316-2317, 2318-2319, 2320-2321, 2322-2323, 2324-2325, 2326-2327, 2328-2329, 2330-2331, 2332-2333, 2334-2335, 2336-2337, 2338-2339, 2340-2341, 2342-2343, 2344-2345, 2346-2347, 2348-2349, 2350-2351, 2352-2353, 2354-2355, 2356-2357, 2358-2359, 2360-2361, 2362-2363, 2364-2365, 2366-2367, 2368-2369, 2370-2371, 2372-2373, 2374-2375, 2376-2377, 2378-2379, 2380-2381, 2382-2383, 2384-2385, 2386-2387, 2388-2389, 2390-2391, 2392-2393, 2394-2395, 2396-2397, 2398-2399, 2400-2401, 2402-2403, 2404-2405, 2406-2407, 2408-2409, 2410-2411, 2412-2413, 2414-2415, 2416-2417, 2418-2419, 2420-2421, 2422-2423, 2424-2425, 2426-2427, 2428-2429, 2430-2431, 2432-2433, 2434-2435, 2436-2437, 2438-2439, 2440-2441, 2442-2443, 2444-2445, 2446-2447, 2448-2449, 2450-2451, 2452-2453, 2454-2455, 2456-2457, 2458-2459, 2460-2461, 2462-2463, 2464-2465, 2466-2467, 2468-2469, 2470-2471, 2472-2473, 2474-2475, 2476-2477, 2478-2479, 2480-2481, 2482-2483, 2484-2485, 2486-2487, 2488-2489, 2490-2491, 2492-2493, 2494-2495, 2496-2497, 2498-2499, 2500-2501, 2502-2503, 2504-2505, 2506-2507, 2508-2509, 2510-2511, 2512-2513, 2514-2515, 2516-2517, 2518-2519, 2520-2521, 2522-2523, 2524-2525, 2526-2527, 2528-2529, 2530-2531, 2532-2533, 2534-2535, 2536-2537, 2538-2539, 2540-2541, 2542-2543, 2544-2545, 2546-2547, 2548-2549, 2550-2551, 2552-2553, 2554-2555, 2556-2557, 2558-2559, 2560-2561, 2562-2563, 2564-2565, 2566-2567, 2568-2569, 2570-2571, 2572-2573, 2574-2575, 2576-2577, 2578-2579, 2580-2581, 2582-2583, 2584-2585, 2586-2587, 2588-2589, 2590-2591, 2592-2593, 2594-2595, 2596-2597, 2598-2599, 2600-2601, 2602-2603, 2604-2605, 2606-2607, 2608-2609, 2610-2611, 2612-2613, 2614-2615, 2616-2617, 2618-2619, 2620-2621, 2622-2623, 2624-2625, 2626-2627, 2628-2629, 2630-2631, 2632-2633, 2634-2635, 2636-2637, 2638-2639, 2640-2641, 2642-2643, 2644-2645, 2646-2647, 2648-2649, 2650-2651, 2652-2653, 2654-2655, 2656-2657, 2658-2659, 2660-2661, 2662-2663, 2664-2665, 2666-2667, 2668-2669, 2670-2671, 2672-2673, 2674-2675, 2676-2677, 2678-2679, 2680-2681, 2682-2683, 2684-2685, 2686-2687, 2688-2689, 2690-2691, 2692-2693, 2694-2695, 2696-2697, 2698-2699, 2700-2701, 2702-2703, 2704-2705, 2706-2707, 2708-2709, 2710-2711, 2712-2713, 27

Sve pokretnine židova moraju se predati državi

Kako je najopćenitije već poznato, usvajanje su nedavno dvije zakonske odredbe, kojima se konačno i na način, kako najbolje odgovara državnim i narodnim potrebama, rješuje pitanje imovine osoba, koje se prema propisima našeg novog zakonodavstva imaju smatrati židovima. Te su zakonske odredbe: u područnjima židovske imovine, kojim su sve imovine i imovinska prava židova postala vlasništvoom Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, te zakonska odredba o produljenju roka iz § 6. zakonske odredbe u područnjima židovske imovine, kojim je, kako se to vidi iz samog sadržaja odredbe, bio produljen rok prodaje pokretnosti, koje su se do produljenja obli zakonskih odredaba nalazile kod židova, ili bile čuvane kod drugih osoba, a pripadale su vlasnicima na vlasništvo židovima.

Pravni i stvarni posjedak domaćinje spomenutih zakonskih odredaba je taj, da u našoj državi više ne može postojati niti koja imovinska stvar, koja bi se mogla smatrati židovskim vlasništvom. Židovske imovine kod nas više nema; jer što je do sada vlasništvo kod židovske, postalo je vlasništvoom države. To vrijedi za imovinu svih židova bez iznimke, osim, naravno, onih, kojima su određena Poglavlja primata arijska prava.

Dodjelom ovim područnjima nekačadije židovske imovine, propisane su narodne zakonske odredbe prodaje državi svih pokretnosti, koje su

do sada držali kod sebe židovi, odnosno, koje su se pokretnosti nalazile na čuvanju kod drugih osoba, posjednici čiji sadržaji od strane židova, ili pak koje su sticajom prišla dole su nezakonski način u posjed ovim osobama.

Kako se vidi, razlikuju zakonske odredbe članom na prodaju pokretnosti dvije skupine osoba: židove i sve druge osobe, koje imo s kojim razloga drže kod sebe predmete, koji su židovsko vlasništvo. I jedna i drugi obvezani su na prodaju pokretnosti državi u predloženom roku t. j. dokleka mjera sadržaja n. g.

Kao pokretnosti, koje se moraju predati, smatraju se prije svega sve vrste dragocjenosti (zlatna, srebrna, predmeti od plemenitih metala, nakit, staklo, zlatni vreničasti papiri (dionice, police osiguranja), uvozne knjige, slike, filozofske stvari, stvari i dr.

Svi oni predmeti nekačadije židovske imovine moraju se predati državi do 30. a. maj. Osimna na ovu prodaju treba posebno upozoriti, da se ne čini od primjenjivanja ovih propisa nikoga iznimati.

Svi, koji posjeduju bilo kakav predmet, koji je nekada pripadao židovu, a doli se do tog predmeta putem prodaje na čuvanje ili bilo na koji drugi način, bez obzira na poludaj, koji razmatraju, obvezani su do kraja a. maj. predati tu pokretnost Uredu za područnjima imetak, koji postoji u svim

Ministarstva državne simice, jer židovske imovine u našoj državi više nema, te bi se stalo, da područnjima imovine ne bi našle državi, smatraju krivom za protjerivanje pristojne državne imovine, i kao takvi bi odgovarali pred zakonom.

Od prodaje prema ovim propisima oslobođene su samo osobe, koje su koji dio židovske imovine stekle putem zakonske prodaje po Uredu za područnjima imetak odnosno biranim državnim zastupateljstvu za poslove, ili pak drugim ustanovama i obiteljima, koje su djelovale u ime Državne simice (Zadruga Hrvatskog Badija, Savez Naprednih i dr.).

Nastaje pitanje, kakav odnos treba prema ovim navedenim osobama, koje su se našle u židovske stvari (u pokretnosti i ostalim predmetima, koji spadaju u središnj stani, te da li se takve osobe smatraju kao posjednici židovske imovine, obvezani na prodaju te imovine državi?

Savemo s ovim obavješteni s izvještajem najista, možemo reći, da se prema zakonskim propisima u židovskoj imovini, i iznimke nekačadije židovske stvari s pokretnost smatra isto tako posjednici židovske imovine, kao i držanje pokretnosti.

Međutim, razumljivo je, da li prodavanje predmeta pokretnosti imalo stvarite posve tehničke poteškoće, a s druge strane bi osobe, koje su pro-

uzele židovske stvari, morale učestvovati u prodaji ostali stvaritima bez najpodjednijeg stambenog smisla.

Ovaj toga se takvi pojedinici do 30. a. maj. predati Uredu za područnjima imetak samo točnu popis pokretnosti, koje se našle u stvari, što su ga oni razmatrili.

Imajući, da se ovaj popis nije samo pokretnosti, da se ostali predmeti, nadjani u nekačadije židovske stvari moraju predati, a nikako nije dovoljan samo ih popisati.

I popis pokretnosti i prodaje pokretnosti ima se obaviti najbržim putem, ne ostavljajući kod toga ni najmanji premet. Naglašavamo posebno, da nikakav poludaj i njezina im se ne može biti razlog, da se neprimaju ne postupi s popisivanjem, koji taj dužnost prema državi i njenim potrebama ne bi zadovoljili.

Država je našla sve iznimke jednake, ljudski slasti i druge razloge, pa nije do sada u našoj državi postalo pitanje za djelovanje nekačadije stvari takve imovine. Sada je međutim za imovinu područnjima, ona je stala vlasništvo Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, i država traži, da joj se ta imovina u određenoj roku vrati. Ovak, što se le bilo kojih poteškoća ne bi odavao ovom poslu države, smatrat će se, da je neravno povrediti njene potrebe, te da se kamni najbrže prema propisima, koji su u tom smislu dana.

With the decree on the nationalization of Jewish property, all Jewish ownership, all their movable and immovable property and businesses were transferred to the NDH. According to the decree, all non-Jews were also required to hand over any Jewish property that was stored with them. The exception were the furnishings in Jewish apartments into which Ustasas and other users moved, because handing over this furniture would “create certain technical difficulties” for the new owners of the apartments.

After the Jews’ businesses and shops were expropriated, they were auctioned off. By the time this Osijek auction was scheduled to be held, most of the true owners had probably already been sent to camps or murdered.

Prilazno dne 23.lipnja 1943 broj 2699/Z.
O D L U K A

Na temelju Zakonske odredbe od 30.X.1942 broj CGXGII-2505-1942-44.1 i 3 dozvoljuje se uknjižba prava vlasništva na nekretnine T.t.Union tvornica kandića i čokolade Deutsch i König iz Zagreba u gruntovnom aločku broj 5.255.k.o.grad Zagreb sastojede se iz čestica kat.broji:
2333/1 Kuće pop.broj 3923 gosp.sgrada i dvorište u Branimirovoj ulici 29 sa 1126.7.5.hvati ili 4042.8.metara
2334/5 Granice / građilišta/ u Branimirovoj ulici sa 111.2.5.hvati ili 1400.5.m. na korist:
NEZAVISNE DRŽAVE HRVATSKE/Istikom upravlja Državna riz.-ured sa podrž.inetak/ zati
Na temelju darovnog ugovora od 18.lipnja 1943 broj T-1088-1943 dozvoljuje se uknjižba prava vlasništva na nekretnine Nezavisne Države Hrvatske upisane u grunt.aločku broj 5.255.k.o.grad Zagreb sastojede se iz napred navedenih čestica na korist:
"UDRUGA POGLAVNIKOVE TJELOSNE BOJNE" usajamno-pripomoćna udruga s.o.j. u Zagrebu.
Moiba ostaje u upisima.
Darovni ugovor stavlja se u zbirku isprava.
O tom se obavještujui:
1/ Ministarstvo Državne riznice-ured sa podržavljeni inetak u Zagrebu
2/ " Udruga Poglavnikove Tjelosne Bojne" usajamno -pripomoćna udruga s.o.j. u Zagrebu
3/ Katastralni ured u Zagrebu radi ispravke katastra
4/ Porezni ured II u Zagrebu
5/ Tt.Union tvornica kandića i čokolade Deutsch i König iz Zagreba prema §.4. gore navedene zakonske odredbe izvješćivanjem na oglasnoj ploči ovoga suda.
Kotarski kao zemljišnoknjižni sud I
U Zagrebu, dne 23.lipnja 1943
6/ Hrvatska zemljiška banka d.d. u Zagrebu

The property taken from Jews included the König and Deutsch Union Candy and Chocolate Factory, known today as Kraš. The government decreed that the factory be turned over to the Association of the Poglavnik's Bodyguard Battalion, a mutual aid society.

HR-HDA 1076, T 1088/1943.



In Rijeka, which at that time was part of Italy, the Italian race laws were entered into effect earlier than they were in the NDH. This proclamation in 1938 set forth the laws determining who was a Jew, and who was not. The Italian regulations were the same as those in Croatia, but the treatment of the Jews under the Italian Fascist government was better, principally because their lives were not under threat. This is why Jews fled to the areas occupied by Italy after the NDH was established. After Italy capitulated in 1943, they fled to the part of Italy that was under the control of the Allies or they joined the Yugoslav partisans.

HR-DARI-541, L-8-38

Tvrtko Jakovina

THE ANNIHILATION OF THE JEWS IN THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA

In one of his many statements about the “minorities” in the Independent State of Croatia not long after its founding—on 25 May 1941 in Požega—Mladen Lorković, later to become Minister of Internal Affairs, declared: “All of life in our state is beginning anew, for in Croatian cities and throughout Croatia, Croats will rule, and not the Serbs and Jews who used to enjoy the labors produced by the callouses of Croatian peasants and workers. Now that time has passed.” Whoever stands in the way of such a plan “will feel the Ustasha’s right fist.”¹ With Hitler’s Germany and Mussolini’s Italy, “Western European democracy in civil states” has crumbled, and the same has happened in Croatia, as wrote intellectuals supportive of the new regime. Democracy is an “alien ideology, imported from without into the Croatian people, which

¹ Alen Budaj, *Vallis Judaea. Povijest požeške židovske zajednice*, Zagreb: D-Graf, 337-338.

developed in civil Croatia, brought about and, with mathematical precision, was bound, sooner or later, to result in the superior position of Jews in almost all areas.” So it was that “Judeo-Masonic democracy” and the three evils that comprised it—the Jewery, Anglosaxons and Americans—must be uprooted like the “children of Satan and daughters of Israel.”²

The Independent State of Croatia would never have existed at all had Hitler not overrun a large portion of Europe by 1941 and then destroyed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in twelve days that April. Then the Ustashas, followers of Ante Pavelić, came into power. Without the war they never could have done this, for they were not numerous and they were an insignificant factor, as extremists, in the political life of the Banovina of Croatia. The NDH was not a sovereign state and the Ustashas had no way of defying the Germans or the Italians.³ The Hungarians, also allies, occupied part of what had been Croatian lands, so clearly the NDH could not defy even Hitler’s lesser allies. They could, however, confront their own citizens, primarily Serbs, Jews and Romas, and a good number of Croats as well. There were about 39,400 Jews (out of a total population of 6.5 million) on the territories of the Independent State of Croatia in 1939, including all those covered by the race laws, both those who had converted to Christianity and those who did not consider themselves Jews but were treated as such. Of these, 9,000 survived to the end of the war.⁴ The percentage of survivors was the same in Croatia as it was in those countries at the eastern end of Europe where the Holocaust was more powerful, the Germans were in charge, and there were many more Jews.

² Ivo Goldstein, *Židovi u Zagrebu 1918-1941*, Zagreb: Židovska općina Zagreb and Novi Liber, 530.

³ Ivo Banac, “Fašizam u teoriji i hrvatskoj praksi,” in: *Antisemitizam, holokaust, antifašizam*. Ed. Ognjen Kraus. *Studia Iudaico-Croatica* 1, Zagreb: Židovska općina Zagreb, 1996, 304-305.

⁴ Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, Zagreb: Novi Liber: 636.

The new state created on 10 April 1941 was supposed to be a “national... folk-, or peasant-based... future social state... which will... have a grand and noble task—to realize the centuries-old ideals of the Croatian people.”⁵ The Jews, all, without exception, as a race, were described by the intellectuals and priests who were closely aligned with the new regime as a people who now hated Croats “with the same hatred, with which they had sought the condemnation of Jesus, screaming: crucify him, crucify.” The Jews rule over everyone, they hate and plunder, they mean to conquer the world. Their periodicals and films have no “noble goal, moral, educational, national or social,” instead all they want to do is “disrupt human society and drain its capital.”⁶ The Jews and Serbs were “alien and foreign peoples,” said Lorković, they were the main enemies of the Croats and the new Croatian state. The Roma were as well, but they were not considered worthy even of mention, they were not counted as people in the transports to the concentration camps and death, but were measured by the freight car, with no first and last name. There were also Croats who were enemies, who were not “patriotic” enough, insufficiently dedicated to the Ustasha goal, whether they were Communists, leftists, left-leaning members of the Croatian Peasant Party, anglophiles, or free masons.

At the editorial board of *Novosti*, a Zagreb journal, on the very day that the NDH was proclaimed, a journalist, a sports columnist, expelled from their office at gunpoint his colleagues, fellow journalists, ones who were considered undesirable.⁷ Some of them were already under arrest by May. Zagreb students

⁵ Vladimir Čičak., *Zadnji dani zapadno-evropske demokracije*, Zagreb, 1941 (qtd. in: Gordogan 11-14, 2007: 209-210., theme editor Branko Matan).

⁶ Fra Vencel Kosir, “Antisemitizam,” *Nova revija – Vjeri i nauci*, Makarska, 1934. (qtd. in: Gordogan 11-14, 2007: 207, theme editor Branko Matan).

⁷ Aleksandar Vojinović, *Andrija Maurović. Biografija. Prorok apokalipse*, Zagreb: Profil: 115.

were summoned to the local Svetice soccer stadium and assembled there for the new government to address them. They picked yellow flowers and wore them on their lapels in solidarity with their fellow students who were being told to wear Jewish stars. “Serbian and Jewish students step away now from the rest of your class and gather there to the left!” was the sudden order. The students were puzzled at first, but the young people of Zagreb chose to join those who had been ordered to step away. The guards swore, “You’ll piss blood,” but nobody flinched, wrote Aleksandar Flaker, one of students who had been called to Svetice, and later went on to become a professor of Slavic Studies at the Zagreb Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences.⁸ The stadium where the authorities were trying to press home their point of Aryan purity was later set on fire by the Communist youth in what was called Operation Stadium. Everything showed that a large portion of the people of Zagreb did not wish the “Aryan youth” to be separated from their Jewish fellows or any others considered to be undesirable. The burning of the stadium shamed the new authorities and infuriated them because this showed that the people of Zagreb were still not on board, they were not prepared to hate their Serbian and Jewish neighbors all of a sudden to the point of the death.

Many were arrested then, in August 1941, including Ivan Meštrović, the world famous sculptor. Others were jailed, questioned and then released. “The worst times were the interminable, precarious, sleepless summer nights. Sleep wouldn’t come for fear of possible denunciation. Those who were denounced were taken off for interrogation, beatings, torture, and they would return mutilated, bloody, or they would be sent off on a trip from which there was no return, to one of the killing fields,” as sculptor Vojin Bakić said about

⁸ Aleksandar Flaker, *Autotopografija*, Vol. I., 1924-1946, Zagreb: Durieux, 160.

what the atmosphere was like when he was a young man.⁹ Killings went on throughout the war. Death could strike anywhere, in small towns, large cities, in Zagreb and Požega, in Đakovo and Bjelovar, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the island of Pag. The people who were the most responsible were those wearing uniforms, bearing weapons, but also, indirectly, the bystanders who stayed silent, watched, looked away, who refused to get involved. Jews who had better connections and acquaintances, were married to “Aryans,” worked in sorely needed professions, who joined the Partisans or fled to Italy, were able to save themselves and survive. The new state, however, was a total dictatorship, a state with no parliament, no justice, a place where the most uneducated and worst suddenly rose to leading positions. The Germans were appalled by these allies, they ridiculed them, but the chaos the Ustasas stoked also suited the Germans. This way they could always intervene, arbitrate, and impose whatever they wanted to impose on the inexperienced politicians who were in power in a state that had declared war on nearly half its subjects.

Milivoj Aschner (or the Croatian spelling: Ašner) was the head of the local police force in Požega from the founding of the NDH in 1941 until 21 September 1942 when he was let go. He died in 2011 in Klagenfurt, Austria as a very old man, having never been summoned to answer before Croatian or any other jurisdictions for the suspicion that he might have committed war crimes. In March 2005, the County State Attorney’s office in Požega called for an investigation of the man who claimed he had earned a law degree, under suspicion that as the Požega police chief he was responsible for arresting Serbs and Jews and having them transported to camps, for arresting Croatian leftists, for theft and torture. Ašner was accused of signing off on having Jewish

⁹ Darko Bekić, *Vojin Bakić, Biografija ili kratka povijest kiposlavije*, Zagreb: Profil, 48.

families moved out of their houses and apartments, and of waging a reign of terror with Stjepan Grgić, commissioner for the municipal government, and Krešimir Kišpatić, Ustasha camp commander, and with the support of Fric Hegediš, at the head of *Kulturbund*, the German ethnic community in Požega, as soon as the Independent State of Croatia was established.

When the Second World War began, Požega was a small town of no great significance. The town had shone for a brief moment in earlier years, it could boast of a notable number of its townspeople who had gone on to achieve renown, it had a venerable Gymnasium founded in 1699, but all this was inadequate to spur economic growth and uplift the town after the main railway lines passed Požega by. A decade before the Second World War the town had scarcely more than 7000 inhabitants. Three years after the war, in 1948, it had a population of 8544.¹⁰ The fate of the Jewish community there is much like the fate of most of the Jewish communities throughout Croatia. There were about 300 Jews—men, women and children—living in the area. It defies belief that such a small handful of people, anywhere, would be able to impose their will and control a far more numerous local population. After all, the district numbered 48,000 inhabitants. But then again if the myth of Jewish domination was believed by so many people in Germany, the most affluent and successful European state, it was likely to be believed in a small Slavic backwater. The first murders after the NDH took control in this provincial town—of Serbs—happened only a few days after the new state was established.¹¹ The first murdered Jewish person in Požega was Edo Mosković, director of a factory known as Stock (today's Zvečevo). Mosković was defiant

¹⁰ *Konačni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 15. marta 1948*, Vol. II, *Stanovništvo po starosti i polu*, Belgrade: Savezni zavod za statistiku 1951, 53.

¹¹ Budaj, *Vallis Judaea*, 318.

when his apartment was searched, he was arrested and then probably taken to Jadovno. As was written in a circular issued by the Directorate of the Ustasha Police on 23 July 1941, “Communists of the Catholic or Muslim faith will be held in remand, while Serbs and Jews must immediately be transported to the Gospić collection point.”

“The Croatian government will solve the Jewish question in the same way it has been solved by the German government,” announced Andrija Artuković, new Minister of Interior Affairs of the NDH on 22 April 1941, and already by 30 April 1941 the decree on race laws had been adopted. The Jews of Požega, the Jews living in the NDH, much like the Jews of Europe under German rule, were first systematically humiliated. Their movements were restricted before 10 am and after 6 pm. After 16 May 1941 they had to wear Jewish insignia: a yellow ribbon with the Star of David and the words “Židov – Jude.” To go out without wearing the insignia was a punishable offense. To wear the insignia and attempt to go to the movies, theater, or a restaurant, was prohibited. Riding on a train was no longer possible. Serbs and Jews had to relinquish all their weapons. Then on 23 April 1941 all radios were confiscated that had been owned by Jews, Serbs, and those Croats who were considered to be undesirable. These same things went on everywhere; attorney Vladimir Velebit, who later served in Tito’s government as a preeminent diplomat, hid, as a Communist and a Serb, in the apartment of an army buddy of his father’s. He wrote that Home Guard General Marić had “a whole room filled with radios” in his office on Zvonimir Street.”¹² According to Ustasha government documents, Milivoj Ašner, chief of the

¹² Vladimir Velebit, *Moj život*, Zaprešić: Fraktura, 257-258.

Požega police, took some of the “confiscated Jewish radios and gave several to his good friends, keeping one of the best ones for himself.”¹³

The first public book-burning in Požega was held on 15 May 1941. Then various organizations were shut down, all of the Jewish ones but also others that were known for “anti-Croatian activity.” As of 4 June 1941, Jews were banned from “any participation in the work, organizations, and institutions of social, youth, sports and cultural life of the Croatian people in general, and particularly in literature, journalism, art and music, urbanism, theater and film.”¹⁴ Jews were not allowed to serve as expert witnesses: “Jews by race, even if converted, cannot serve as expert witnesses in matters pertaining to Aryans.”¹⁵ Jews, “pursuant to new NDH law” could not avail themselves of what was known as their “homeland right” on the territory of Croatia.¹⁶ School-age Jewish children were expunged from the roster of school-children so they could no longer attend school. The school year ended for everyone in April of 1941. When schools opened again five months later, there were no longer any Jewish pupils in attendance. Paul Schreiner was expelled from school in Bedekovčina in Zagorje by the principal. “He threw me out, telling me I could no longer attend classes because I am a Jew.”¹⁷ The actress, child star Lea Deutsch, along with her schoolmates, had already been issued their “school certificates from the Poglavnik” in April, because the German army took over the building of their school, the Third Girl’s Real-Gymnasium in

¹³ HDA, 1549, ZIG-NDH, I-33, kut. 27, Str. 377-399; Ustaška nadzorna služba, Ured II, Odjel 1, Dnevni izvještaj broj 14, Dana 14. siječnja 1943, Pregled političkih događaja u Požegi od 10.4.1941. - 15.1.1943., Broj 659.

¹⁴ Budaj, *Vallis Judaea*, 343.

¹⁵ *Vihor*, 30 August 1941 (qtd. in Budaj, *Vallis Judaea*, 359).

¹⁶ Budaj, *Vallis Judaea*, 373.

¹⁷ Paul Schreiner, *Spašeni iz Zagreba. Sjećanja troje preživjelih srodnika na hrvatski Holokaust*. Zaporešić: Fraktura, 43.

Zagreb.” She thought she would continue her studies at home, and then pass her matriculation exam privately, but that did not happen.¹⁸

The Jewish shops were marked with red signs, “Jewish Shop—Jüdisches Geschäft.” And finally, as early as 18 April 1941, a regulation preserving Croatian national property declared null and void all legal transactions conducted by Jewish entrepreneurs. From that moment on, Jews could no longer sell their own property. They were not allowed to access their savings at the bank. And then on 19 April 1941, an Ustasha commissioner was put in charge of transactions, wholesale trade, companies, “for the purposes of oversight and the normal conduct of business.” Normal conduct of business meant that what had been Jewish (or Serbian, as their shops and workshops met with the same fate), were either bought at a very low price or taken over without compensation and entered in the registry as the property of more suitable Croats. Milivoj Ašner took “for his police headquarters a large amount of expensive Jewish furniture—several sofas, a dozen comfortable armchairs, several desks, fancy lampshades, bookshelves, cabinetry...” Then he would have more things brought in and store elsewhere the things he had already taken, until he heard that the Poglavnik did not tolerate expensive furniture, so then he would have the most recent additions taken away as well,” as his collaborators later wrote. Ašner “just happened” to lose the list of the belongings he had expropriated, as written in a report from 1943. “It is impossible to say how many more such valuables, furnishings, expensive overcoats, Persian rugs he took, or to find out whom he gave them to, because he was exceedingly generous... (...).When the Jews were moved out of their homes, he broke into all the homes of the wealthy Jews and took whatever pleased him... .”¹⁹ Evidence remains of the

¹⁸ Pavao Cindrić, *Lea Deutsch – zagrebačka Anne Frank. Biografija*, Zagreb: Profil, 162.

¹⁹ HDA, 1549, ZIG-NDH, I-33, kut.27, Str.377-399; Ustaška nadzorna služba, Ured II, Odjel 1, Dnevni

behavior of the Ustasha chief of police in Požega because this produced a rift within the Ustasha hierarchy. The same or similar must have been the case in all the other cities.

So it was that the “kamataši” (usurers), “korupcionaši” (shysters), and “pljačkaši” (swindlers)—as Jews were called by the NDH newspapers—finally had nothing at all left to own. Some of those who were left without income, the elderly, pleaded with the authorities to permit them to access their savings. “My wife and I are older people, both around seventy years of age, and we possess no other property from which to live, except our little house. We may be Jews, but we have always felt ourselves to be sons of the Croatian people, this is how we were when we were born and how we will die (...). Throughout our lives we have always worked hard, never treating anyone differently, which, when we submitted our petition addressed to the County Prefect, was confirmed by our local County office and various charitable and social boards.” Jakob Neumann’s only son was a doctor, but he was in German captivity at the time.²⁰ Jakob’s wife did survive, but there was nothing that could save Jakob. He vanished in Jasenovac.

Whatever happened in Germany, happened in the NDH as well. A show was put on Zagreb on 1 May 1942: “The Jews: An exhibition on the rise of the Jewry, their destructive efforts before 10 April 1941. The solution to the Jewish question in the NDH.” “The impact of the Jews is devastating,” because even the presence of a single Jew poses a serious “threat to the community,” states the catalogue. All those who converted to Christianity, whoever gave their businesses “Aryan” names, now had to undo the changes, restore the

izvještaj broj 14, Dana 14. siečnja 1943., Pregled političkih događaja u Požegi od 10.4.1941. - 15.1.1943., Broj 659.

²⁰ Budaj, *Vallis Judaea*, 337.

names. On the territory of the Independent State of Croatia there were 64 organized Jewish communities in 57 municipalities. Propaganda before the war, and especially after the outbreak of hostilities, regularly listed how many non-Croatian (meaning Serbian) properties and how many Jewish shops, movie theaters, holdings there were. “So we are watching the movies the Jews intend for us to watch,” said a local Požega magazine, following Pavelić’s guidance.²¹ Nearly all the synagogues were destroyed, the cemeteries vandalized. The Orthodox churches were also destroyed. The Požega synagogue was smashed over four days following 31 May 1941. After the war it was torn down in a city where there were no longer any Jews.

A decree regulating the confiscation of all Jewish residential buildings and property was issued on 27 August 1941. “This pertains to all mobile property, such as cash, bedroom and dining room furnishings, kitchen furniture, clothing, footwear, bedding, cutlery... It also pertains to surplus food and mobile live property.” Jews were compelled to state how many members there were in their families, how they earned a living, to state when and to whom they gifted what objects, and tell when they were baptized. “All sale or gifts of mobile property are not allowed, but should one go through, it must be separately publicized, with notice of the precise information.”²²

On 9 December 1941, Požega City Council requested an inventory of Jewish mobile property be drawn up within four days, and this facilitated the “acquisition” of their property, which was, in fact, theft. Frida Geršković wrote to one of her former female employees: “Each day brings new agitations. Again we have to make a list of everything down to the smallest detail. I know nothing belongs to us any more, but what is the point of tormenting us with

²¹ Ibid, 214.

²² Ibid, 375.

this, too? Yesterday I was at our shop after a month, maybe even longer. I was so appalled that I couldn't sleep a wink all night."²³

Pursuant to the Decree on the protection of the Aryan blood and honor of the Croatian people, 30 April 1941, and the Decree on racial affiliation, Chief of Police Milivoj Ašner ordered the eviction of twenty-eight Jewish families: the Kohns, Pollaks, Krauszes, Popers, Roths, Steiners, Spitzers, Ungars, Binefelds, Bacharachs, Brauns, Hasses, Dajčes, Štarks, Šoršes, Minzes, Bauers... from their homes to the northern, poorer part of town. When the order for their eviction came, Frida Geršković wrote: "... I have an unspoken concern about the apartment. We must... move out, yet we have nowhere to go. I have already cried my eyes out, I lie there all night long, delirious, where will I put my things? How will I manage with the animals? (...) We are freshly back from searching for an apartment but we haven't found anything. God only knows how we'll manage. I doubt I'll survive this. My nights are horrible."²⁴ The Jews, however, were nothing at this point. They were no longer citizens, so "for reasons of public law, order and security" they were moved to hovels "with no regard for social standing, age and gender." They had to pay rent for the rooms where they were placed. Into their former homes moved people who were close to the regime, often from other parts of the country.²⁵ Evictions like these were going on everywhere. Five hundred Jews were deported to Gospić from Osijek in the summer of 1941. From Zagreb, by September 1941, 3000 Jews were deported to the Danica camp, then Jadovno,

²³ Marin Geršković, a Yugoslav diplomat, son of Leon Geršković, was in possession of Frida Geršković's letter. (qtd. in: *Kazneni predmet protiv okrivljenika Milivoja Ašnera*, Arhiv suda u Požegi).

²⁴ Letter from Frida Geršković to Pepica, 20 October 1941, Arhiv suda u Požegi.

²⁵ Budaj, *Vallis Judaea*, 367-368.

and after the summer of 1941, to Jasenovac.²⁶ Those who evaded this first wave of arrests were picked up in the summer of 1942.

Then on 20 December 1941, Ašner arrested nineteen people, accusing them of being Communists. They were brought down to the police station, “where most of them were tortured in the most bestial manner... They were beaten with rods and bullwhips, nailed to tables, hung from swings, and some were even forced to dig the graves for people who had been court-martialed and executed by firing squad.”²⁷ No one from this group of Communists or leftists were ultimately convicted. Jews, brought in only a few days later, were less fortunate. On Christmas day, 25 December 1941, most of the Jews of Požega were assembled at Ustasha headquarters. Those who were unable to walk were wheeled in, in wheelbarrows. They were advised to dress warmly and bring as much of their property as possible. Then whatever they had brought with them of value was taken. “When they came to the Ustasha headquarters they were forced to strip naked, and all the things they had brought with them were taken. Then they were searched while naked. The women and men were searched separately,” as stated in the report by the District Commission for Establishing War Crimes, October 1945. Once they’d been dressed in rags, the Požega Jews were transferred to the firehouse building,²⁸ and from there they went to the railway station where they were put on “cattle” wagons with no heat. Half-frozen—as the rags they had been given in place of the better clothing they had worn earlier did not protect them from the cold—the men

²⁶ Stephane Bruchfeld and Paul A. Levine, *Pričajte to svojoj djeci... O Holokaustu u Europi 1933-1945*, Zagreb: Srednja Europa (Supplement: Snježana Koren and Loranda Miletić, “Holokaust u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj,” 99).

²⁷ HDA, 306. ZKRZ Zh kut.173.; Zemaljska komisija, tekući broj 4221, 21.3.1945. (Podaci o zločinima okupatora i njihovih pomagača).

²⁸ “Milivoj Asner sent Jews and Serbs to the Camps. But will he escape justice?” *Guardian*, 25 November 2005.

were taken to Jasenovac, and the women and children to Đakovo. There, “every trace of them was lost,” as stated in a court document. Those who had been killed in Đakovo were transported to the cemetery along a road that ran by Darko Asperger’s house. He watched how crude carts passed by laden with corpses every day. “The crudest of carts,” “Jewish feet stuck out from under the tarpaulin,” usually three to ten, every day. A doctor at the camp, Čeleta, died of a heart attack, because he could not bear the agony.²⁹

Ida and Hugo Breyer ran a hardware shop in Bjelovar. When it became clear that the Ustashas were rounding up Jews, they called their son Karl, a doctor, a gynecologist in Zagreb. “They are coming for us,” said Ida and hung up. Karlo, who lived on Jurišić St. in the center of Zagreb with his wife Ružica and son Branko, knew that if the train from Bjelovar went straight to Jasenovac, none of them would have any chance for survival. He put on his best suit, went to the Zagreb train station, walked into the command center and in his flawless German with a strong Austrian accent (he had completed his gynecology residency in Graz) he “ordered” the entire train from Bjelovar to be diverted to the Zagreb Trade Fair (Zagrebački zbor). He managed to pull out his parents, but he himself almost ended up in Jasenovac. He was released as a doctor because he was needed for treating endemic syphilis and other diseases in Bosnia.³⁰

When Branka Akerman—wife of Radoslav Akerman, a Zagreb gynecologist who had been serving as a physician for the Supreme Command of the Army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia—saw that her husband was not returning from Germany where he had been held at a camp for ex-Yugoslav Army officers at the end of the April War of 1941, she went to the Field Command

²⁹ *Antisemitizam, holokaust, antifašizam*, 229 (from the discussion).

³⁰ Conversation with Brak Breyer, 27 March 2019.

on Gaj St. in Zagreb. Branka was fluent in German, in fact she later became a translator. She spoke with the German officer who received her, explaining in her fluent German why she had come, adding that her husband's expertise would prove invaluable to the nascent state, and she was in Zagreb, alone. The German officer listened closely. Clearly he was no Nazi. He drew her over to the window where they couldn't be heard. "Junge Frau, lassen Sie ihm wo er ist. Wenn er zurück kommt geht er direkt nach Jasenovac; er kommt Ihnen nimmer nach Hause," he replied—in Austrian German—and saved Rado Akerman's life. Branka later fled across Velebit on foot to Karlobag and managed to get through the war alive.³¹

Ante Pavelić, Poglavnik of the NDH, issued a decree on 25 December 1941 requiring that undesirable and dangerous persons be sent by force to concentration camps. The Ustasha police were responsible for deciding how long any internment should last, and there was no option of appeal. Others later experienced something similar. The Germans knew what sort of place Jasenovac was; even Glaise von Horstenau, a German general in Zagreb, wrote that Jasenovac was a place of horrors, and Germans could only gain access to it by tank.³² Others also heard of the deportations, kidnappings, humiliations and murders. Jasenovac was one of many killing fields, death camps in occupied Europe. It was, however, the only camp that was not run by Germans, and where the majority of the victims were Serbs. About 100,000 people were killed at Jasenovac, and of these, 17,000 were Jews.

Paul Schreiner's father, Ferdo, owner of a brick factory in Bedekovčina, a small town in northwestern Croatia, was first transported to a near-by camp

³¹ Conversation with Darija Breyer, 27 March 2019. "Young lady, let him stay where he is. If he comes back here, he won't be coming home, but he'll be going straight to Jasenovac."

³² Edmund Glaise von Horstenau, *Zapisi iz NDH*, Zagreb: Disput, 2013, 162.

in Lobar, and then in August of 1942 he wrote to his son, Paul, a boy, who was still at liberty, that Ferdo would be transported to Poland. The whole family was captured in the summer of 1942 and taken to Križanić St. to one of Zagreb's finest secondary schools. Bela and Valy Reich, Berta and Edo... Paul says, "Nothing was there but chairs and school benches." The Jews who had not yet been transported were brought here, to the city center, in the most elite zone of Croatia's capital. "The air breathed there and the spiritual condition of the people... defy description. We knew full well we'd soon all be dead."³³ Paul managed to escape; his aunt Valy gave a policeman she knew some jewelry. "We are done for, but please, save this child." And so it was that the third day, Paul left the school that had been transformed into a collection center, hopped onto a tram, rode it to Zagreb's west train station and off he went into the countryside where he met his father's friends who had ties with Tito's Partisans.³⁴ His father was taken to Auschwitz. Theirs was a "transport of despair," as a woman who witnessed it wrote in a poem:

"The transport pulled into a railway station / cattle cars / packed with people, despairing, / guarded on all sides by strange men armed to the teeth. // Water, water, I heard the cry / in one car / I saw a desperate woman / and her husband waving to me / from a cluster of anguished people / condemned to torment. // Beyond the transport / was their factory / their home / fountains / reservoirs brimming with water / and they were thirsty, they were suffering / people so dear to me / the parents of my dear / friend Paul. // I ran to a fountain / but had no container to scoop the water up with / the transport

³³ Schreiner, *Spašeni iz Zagreba*, 66.

³⁴ Ibid, 66-67.

pulled away / make it stop, with all my strength I shouted / water, Đurđica, water / never have I forgotten their cry.”³⁵

Jasenovac, Jadovno, Đakovo, then Danica, the first camp, then the temporary “emigrant camp” at Požega... the Concentration-Emigration and Immigration camp at Glis, near Požega, began work on 9 July 1941. Ivan Stier was at its head. The camp was a temporary one and by the end of that year it closed. In the summer of 1941 there was an uprising—the “Greek-Eastern-Riters,” Serbs, supposedly rebelled. The outburst was brief because the “Ustashas immediately doubled down, and a machine gun helped in the effort.”³⁶ Rebellion was seldom worthwhile, it usually meant instant death.

“A truck speeds along a muddy Slavonian road. / On it, slaves. Guards surround them. / Rifle butt and dagger. The day autumnal leaden. / Mournful, the bleak monotony of it all. // A strange parade moves ever closer: / Phantasmal, dry, hunched skeletons — / No vigor of step, barely lifting feet, / No shine to the eyes, aimless stares. // Slowly they trudge: a swarm of prisoners / Stubbled beards, faces wan. / On them rags no color or shape. / Around them the guard. And early twilight falling. // From the truck pelts a rain of blows / Moans. And a shout: “Beat them! Knock them down!” / And the slaves silent. Rag slogging mud. / The guard’s song rings through the dusk.”³⁷ Antun Barac, a professor, literary theoretician and poet, was one of the people who was imprisoned at Jasenovac, yet he did manage to escape the camp. He was a free mason and the Ustashas apprehended him as a member of a society the authorities had no control over, whose ranks also included many Jews, the

³⁵ Ibid, 68–69. The poem was written by Lady Đurđa Toldy Barilar.

³⁶ HDA, 1549, ZIG-NDH, II-26, Kut. 113, Str. 1180–1191. (Izveštaj Ravnateljstvu za javni red i sigurnost u Zagrebu o pobuni u iseljeničkom logoru u Požegi, Požega 28 August 1941).

³⁷ Antun Barac, *Bijeg od knjige*, Zagreb: Litteris, 2015, 131.

kind of association all closed societies feared. After the war, Barac served as dean of the Zagreb Faculty of Humanities and Social Science and as rector of Zagreb University.

Jasenovac was one of the main camps within the German camp system. Vanda Novosel—a Partisan woman fighter and student of Economics in Zagreb who had been traded in a prisoner exchange for Germans—upon arrival in Bihać on 16 November 1942, recounted “terrible things... about the camp in Jasenovac,” as Partisan Vladimir Dedijer wrote in his diary. A few days later, he noted that the Partisans were preparing a brochure about Jasenovac, “one of the most horrifying documents of today.” Three Jews worked on the brochure who had escaped from the camp when they were being transported to work at a mill across the Sava River. Solomon Romano set the lead type. “I cannot sleep since I started setting the type. My father, mother, three sisters and two brothers were taken there. I was with them at home in 1941, but I jumped out the window and ran straight to the Partisans...”³⁸

Jewish doctors were the ones who most often made it through the war, as did those officials who could not be replaced. They were permitted an exception to the “duty to wear the badge for the Jews,” because it “humiliated them in front of people.”³⁹ Several of them were allowed to request the status of “honorary Aryan.” A few succeeded in evading capture during the first wave of persecutions, though most of the community perished then, vanishing altogether. Not a single one of the surnames of Požega Jews mentioned above can be found there today. These townspeople no longer live in Požega, just as many names and the people who bore them vanished from Zagreb, Osijek, Križevci, all of Croatia, a large part of Europe.

³⁸ Vladimir Dedijer, *Dnevnik*, Belgrade: Jugoslovenska knjiga, 1951, 281-282.

³⁹ Cindrić, *Lea Deutsch*, 171.

One of the Jews of Požega was Dr. Artur Horvat, though he had converted long before the war. He was a surgeon, father of famous economist Branko Horvat and his wife was a Croat of German descent. At the Požega hospital he treated a German pilot whose plane had gone down on 6 April 1941 on its return from bombing Belgrade. There was also a badly wounded Yugoslav soldier, a Serb, at the hospital. Four days later their circumstances had flipped: the German pilot was being feted as a liberator and visited by townspeople bearing gifts, while the Serb soldier was locked up as a prisoner. Horvat, too, was taken prisoner. A “handful of armed Ustashas” informed him he would be held at the hospital until further notice. “Here I saw how people can become amoral overnight, led by the basest instincts.”⁴⁰ Then Artur Horvat was transferred to the hamlet of Valenovac, and banned from going into Požega for a stroll. “In plain view of the people of Požega I cleaned canals with a pickaxe and shovel. This was at a moment when the bloodiest terror, pillaging and murder were running rampant in Požega,” he wrote when describing his first days. As Horvat’s replacement at the Požega hospital was incompetent, they occasionally summoned him to operate, with his hands covered in blisters and callouses. “In the operating theater I had to operate in the presence of an Ustasha holding his revolver, on the pain of death if the operation failed.” Horvat survived because there were no surgeons in Požega. He had to endure everything else, the interrogation and the beatings. In June he was arrested and interrogated “before a mob of drunken Ustashas; two German soliders were there.” Horvat had to stand facing a wall, “while the Ustashas beat him from behind with rubber truncheons, and both Germans punched him in the face.” Then they stripped him naked, threw him over a chest, and one

⁴⁰ HR HDA 2003 – 18.1. Drugi članovi obitelji Horvat, kutija 109, Artur Horvat (1895-1981), otac (A. Horvat, *Moja sjećanja*).

of the guards “bashed him across the back and legs with a baton.”⁴¹ He was saved by chance, the fact that a few months earlier he had operated on one of the Ustashas and the man arranged for him to be released. He relinquished all claim to his pension and any demands from the authorities of the NDH. Nevertheless Milivoj Ašner and Krešimir Kišpatić came to his apartment at night and “took from his home things for use, and as he had been badly injured and was in a difficult psychological state, his condition worsened significantly as a result of these nocturnal forays.”⁴² Support from his successor at the hospital was not forthcoming. Artur Horvat was finally assigned as a doctor to Bosnia.⁴³ Zagreb epidemiologist Miroslav Šlezinger proposed to the Ustasha authorities that seventy Zagreb doctors should be sent to Bosnia to fight typhus there, and this applied to others as well. Dr. Breyer did the same. He was transferred to Zavidovići with his wife and son, Branko, and from there he escaped to the Partisans in 1945, where he was working as a doctor for the Yugoslav army when the war ended. Many survived by joining the Partisans, as did Dr. Artur Horvat.

Mixed marriage saved Zagreb architect Ignjat Fischer, one of Zagreb’s most prominent architects between the two world wars. Fischer was seventy years old when the war broke out, but nevertheless he was often thrown into jail. “He became seriously ill as a result of the abuses, and died in 1948,” wrote his daughter.⁴⁴

⁴¹ HDA, 306, ZKRZ – Zh kut.334., Zemaljska komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača, Zh. Broj 22287; Gradska komisija za utvrđivanje ratnih zločina, Karlovac, br. 310/45, 12.11.1945., 22287-22293 (Artur Horvat’s statement).

⁴² Ibid, broj 22292.

⁴³ Budaj, *Vallis Judaea*, 333-334.

⁴⁴ Marina Bagarić, *Arhitekt Ignjat Fischer*, Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt and Meandarmedia, 2011, 30.

Jakov Geršković was a shopkeeper from Bučje near Požega. His son, Leon Geršković, went on later to found the Faculty of Political Science of Zagreb University. An attorney and politician, Leon Geršković was author of the first constitution of Ethiopia. Jakov Geršković was killed more savagely in Jasenovac than others were.⁴⁵ Zdenko and Ruža Haas were among the Požega Jews who were killed. They, too, were shopkeepers, selling “manufactured goods and shoes,” and they employed a staff who helped in running their household. Mandica Taborsky tended the garden, and her husband, Emanuel Taborsky, a tailor, helped with other jobs. Before the Haases were taken away, the Taborskies offered to look after Ivica, the Haas’s son. “If, God forbid, we should never return, please tell Ivica about us, tell him where he spent his childhood. And about his background, and when he grows up, he should be told what happened here.”⁴⁶ Ivica Haas survived the war, but his father did not survive Jasenovac, nor did his mother survive Auschwitz. Ivica Haas felt that Ašner was responsible for his parents’ deaths.

So it was that the regime, which supposedly had only been persuaded by the Germans to persecute Jews, managed the “Jewish question” and the Holocaust readily, smoothly, without protest, despite the fact that Ante Pavelić’s and Slavko Kvaternik’s wives were either Jews or of Jewish extraction, and even though there were senior officers of Jewish descent in the NDH armed forces. Those who weren’t picked up by late 1941 were arrested in 1942. Whoever made it through 1942 unharmed, perished in May 1943 when 1700 Jews were arrested in Zagreb and transported to Auschwitz. After that only Jews in mixed marriages were left in Croatia’s capital.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Budaj, *Vallis Judaea*, 379.

⁴⁶ Miriam Steiner-Aviezer, *Hrvatski pravednici*, Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2008, 111-115.

⁴⁷ Cindrić, *Lea Deutsch*, 178.

The terror inflicted by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia gendarmerie in the 1930s provided the excuse for forming an extreme rightwing Fascist group of nationalists, but did that terror justify the camps and the killing of tens of thousands of people? What about the disappearance of the Roma, who had certainly not been the proprietors of industries and movie theaters, or gendarmes for the regime? All of them, along with liberal-leaning Croats, perished at the hands of a state that was a terrorist dictatorship pretending to be an organized state. The NDH was not a state, it did not have the power to stand up to the Nazis, and, in fact, was not inclined to do so.

The Jews of the Požega area, like those living elsewhere, were robbed and then annihilated during the months that the NDH existed. Milivoj Ašner, on the other hand, did not perish. He died at the age of 98 in Klagenfurt on 14 June 2011. After leaving Daruvar, to which he had returned in 1990 and where he was active in politics, and then moving back to Austria, he served as a Croatian television commentator for the Croatian national soccer team in 2008. He appeared at soccer games and wrote about them for the international press. This did stir up a bit of a fuss, but not a word from the government or the courts or most people.⁴⁸ Ašner felt no responsibility for anything. There were no deportations in the NDH, he declared, nor were there any camps. Camps, he explained, would have been expensive, people would have had to be fed by the state there, and the state needed to save, hence there were no camps. Nothing ever happened to anyone who was loyal, he said. It was the disloyal who were expelled. The reporter failed to ask him where Jews and Roma were expelled to. Never was there any mention of the evidence, the

⁴⁸ "Praise for 'treasured' Nazi suspect revives accusations that Austria is sheltering him," *International Herald Tribune*, 20 June 2008; Miljenko Jergović, "Djedica Ašner na glavnom stanu HTV-a," *Jutarnji list*, 24 June 2008.

millions of pages of evidence, the witnesses. During another interview for the press, Ašner said he would have lost his job had he failed to obey the orders coming from above, from those in charge, and there was hardly anything he could have done. Had he, he would have been killed. And besides, there weren't very many Jews anyway. It was mostly Serbs who perished, which, in his opinion, was probably not so bad. "I lived in Daruvar for ten years and then suddenly this Jew comes along and because he is a Jew everyone believes him," said Ašner to a journalist from *The Guardian*.⁴⁹ Lies are too often a centerpiece of the Croatian relationship to the past.

Dinko Šakić, who was in charge of the Jasenovac camp, was tried in the Republic of Croatia and given a long prison sentence. He died in prison. Even after several years Ašner's trial had not begun. Would such a thing be possible in the Croatia of the 2020s, with all the relativization that has gone on about the Ustasha greeting⁵⁰ and certain associations totally negating the Holocaust and the carnage in the NDH but anyway financed by Croatian ministries? The episode with Milivoj Ašner encapsulates everything that describes Croatia after 1990: soccer, public television which fails to ask the right questions, an ineffectual court system, the war and crimes from the Second World War, oblivion, the outrage of the international community, but also the Righteous among Nations, the personal efforts to name crimes as crimes, to investigate them, as Alen Budaj, an associate of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, did... All this is crystalized in this one story, in one provincial town, one fate. There

⁴⁹ "Milivoj Asner sent Jews and Serbs to the Camps. But will he escape justice?," *The Guardian*, November 25, 2005.

⁵⁰ Ustaški pozdrav "Za dom spremni" koristile su neke hrvatske vojne jedinice i u ratu 1991.-1995. Zbog toga ne postoji spremnost današnjih hrvatskih vlasti da taj pozdrav u potpunosti zabrane. The Ustasha greeting, "For the homeland, at the ready" was revived by several Croatian military units during the 1991-1995 war. This is why the Croatian authorities today are unwilling to ban it altogether.

are other examples to be found elsewhere, fates much like those described in this article can be found everywhere, and the way they are hushed up, evaded, tolerated or encouraged will lead only to bitterness and shame.

The largest rightwing weekly in Poland, *Tylko Polska* (Only Poland) published an article in early 2019 with the title “How to Recognize a Jew?”, listing several stereotypical names, anthropological traits, expressions, suggesting how they dissemble, how they behave. The purpose of the article was to defeat them, because, as the article’s author said, “This cannot go on!” The reaction of rightwing newspapers, which are distributed to politicians and members of the Sejm, and handed out within the building of the Parliament, was mainly prompted by criticism of Poland at a conference of Holocaust historians, where, according to the views of sensitive Poles, there was a great deal said that was anti-Polish. On the front page of the paper there was a photograph of Jan Gross, an eminent historian from Princeton, who has long been the focus of Polish rightwing vitriol, primarily because of his research into anti-Semitism among Poles, anti-Semitism that was not German, that was not even introduced by the Germans, instead perhaps they merely tapped into it.⁵¹ Hungary could do the same. There it wasn’t Gross but George Soros and Georg Lukacs, and all who have opposed the current regime. Abuse of the Holocaust is widespread even in Israel. The greater the distance from an event, the more ways its history can be abused. Hitler is no longer responsible for the death of European Jews; instead it’s Amin al Husseini, as Prime Minister Netanyahu announced at the World Zionist Congress in 2015.⁵²

⁵¹ Samuel Osborne, “Polish newspaper runs front page list on ‘how to spot a Jew’,” *The Independent*, 14 March 2019.

⁵² “Netanyahu: Hitler didn’t want to exterminate the Jews,” *Haaretz*, 21 October 2015.

There are ways in which Croatia is somewhat different from many similar states in Central Eastern Europe; the camps there during the Second World War were different. The Ustasha regime had its own mechanisms for killing and Germans weren't involved. The Germans were not the ones to hide behind when speaking about race laws and persecution of the Jews in the NDH. Not only was the NDH not a sovereign country, it was a country of violence, murders, crime, theft, insecurity. The Holocaust happened here, right before the eyes of the rest of the community. Until we are able to face the Holocaust and genocide sincerely, without reaching for excuses, without half-baked solutions, without trotting out one narrative for foreigners while using another for the domestic party machine, we will not be able to explain what happened, we won't understand each other. Europe, and by that same token, Croatia as well, and even the smaller towns in our country, profited a great deal from their creative and hard-working compatriots, the Jews (and Serbs). The Holocaust destroyed the old commercial and intellectual order everywhere.⁵³ Much was lost after 1945. We should at least know to remember and state clearly what happened. The responsibility for this is not abstract, it is ours.

⁵³ Tony Judt, *Postwar. A History of Europe Since 1945*, London: Pimlico, 2005, 5, 24-25 and on.

The destruction of the Zagreb synagogue on Praška St. symbolically meant expunging everything Jewish from the life of the city. The absurd justification for tearing it down was that the synagogue supposedly obstructed the urban regulation of the city. After the Second World War there was a department store on the spot, and ever since it was turned down the site has been a vacant lot. The annihilation of the Zagreb Jewish community left a similar void in the economic and cultural life of Zagreb.

žoz



The Annihilation of Croatian Jews

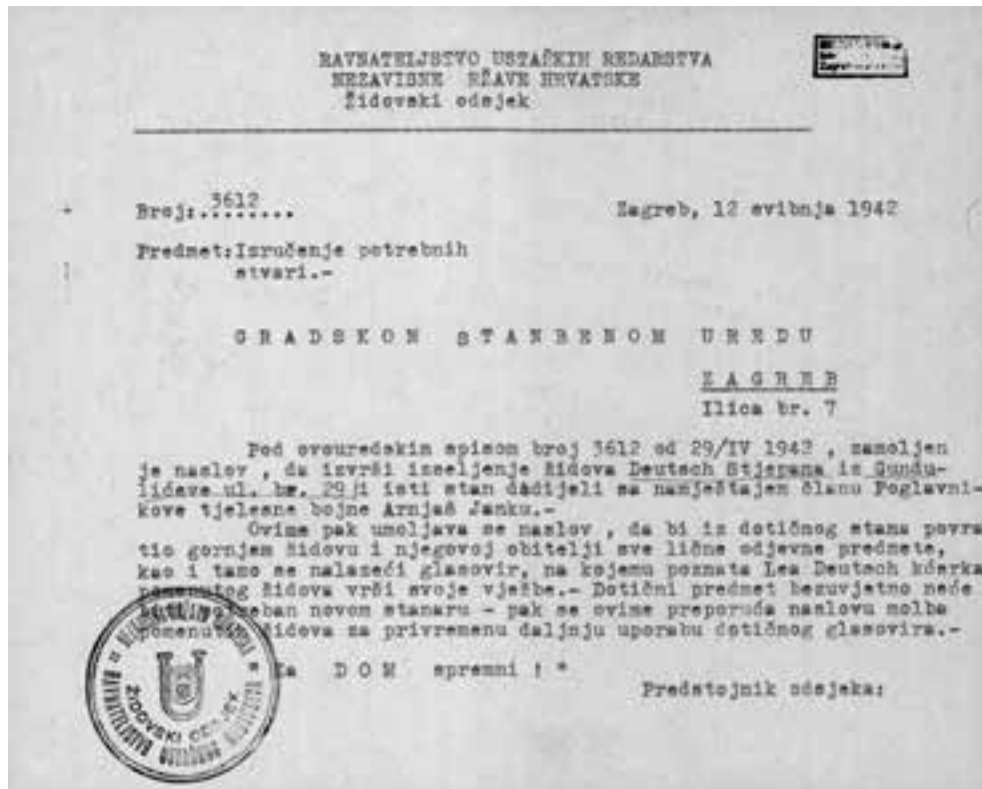




Before they were deported, some Jews were housed in ghettos as temporary stops on the way to the camps. This postcard was sent from the Jewish settlement (ghetto) on Tenja Road in Osijek.

HR-HDA-306, ZKRZ GUZ 2736/1946.

The Ustasha crimes perpetrated against the Serbian population just as the NDH was beginning soon resulted in resistance and equally inhumane retaliation against Catholics and Muslims. Word spread in late June about preparations for a large-scale Ustasha pogrom of Serbs (referred to in the above text as “one part of the population”), and the Poglavnik collectively blamed the Jews for spreading these rumors, thereby adding yet another argument for their total annihilation.



These two documents, pertaining to the family of famous child theater star Lea Deutsch, might seem at first glance to suggest a humane approach from at least one office of the Ustasha government. In the first letter, the president of the Jewish Section of the Ustasha Police Directorate is requesting of the Municipal Housing Authority that the family of “famous Lea Deutsch” be assigned the piano that had been left in the Deutsch’s apartment, as a member of the Poglavnik’s Bodyguard Battalion moved into the apartment and he would “have no need whatsoever” for the piano. The next day an order was issued by the same Section to return to Stjepan Deutsch the keys to the apartment. In other words, the family did not have to move out. This was thanks to efforts made by a series of prominent Croats involved in the theater. A year later, however, Lea died in a cattle wagon on her way to Auschwitz. She was sixteen.

HR-HDA 252, RUR. ŽO, 3612/1942, k. 12

The Annihilation of Croatian Jews

RAVNATELJSTVO USTAJNIH POSREDOVANJA
NARAVNIH POSREDOVANJE
Židovski odsjek

Broj: 3612
Zagreb, 13 svibnja 1942

Predmet: Poništenje preporuke
za stan žid. Stjepana
Deutsch .-

GRADSKOM STANARSKOM UREDU

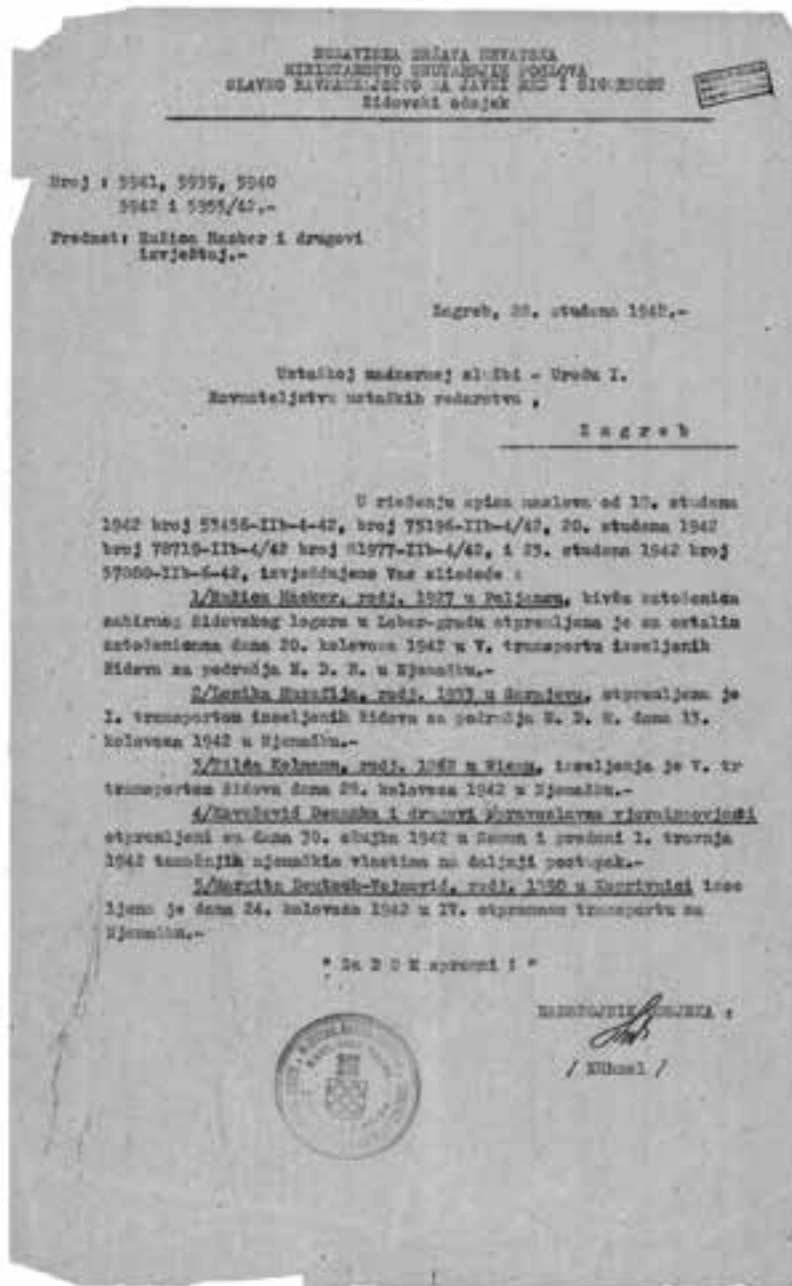
SADRŽAJ

Posiyou sa maš dopis od 29. IV. 1942 broj 3612 po predmetu
preporuke potpisanog odsjeka , sa isprekidanje stana Deutsch Stjepa-
na , moljiva se naslov da gornju preporuku stornira , a ključeve od
stana , koji se nalaze kod naslova , preda vlasniku židovu Deutsch
Stjepanu.-

" Za D O M spremljati ! "

Predsjednik: [Signature]
[Signature]
K

33193-22.00



Although senior Ustasha officials did not endorse efforts to save Jews and others who were persecuted in the NDH, many did, in fact, intervene in hopes of saving family, friends, or acquaintances. This document was produced in response to such efforts. Unfortunately, the request to learn of the fate of these people was provided the answer that they had all been “deported” to Germany, which meant they were transported to the camps.

HR-HDA 222, MUP ŽO,
5939-5942, 5955/1942.

The Annihilation of Croatian Jews



The French pavilion of the Zagreb Trade Fair on Sava Road, today part of the Student Center, was a place in 1941 where Zagreb Jews were brought so they could be transported by train to the camps. After a time the collection point was moved to Zavratinica, in the zone of factories and warehouses, so it would be less visible to Zagreb residents.

HPM/MRHH-N-9774/20



Zagreb resistance fighters conducted a successful diversionary operation at the main post-office building. As the perpetrators were never caught, the Ustasha authorities shot fifty Communists and Jews they had been holding as hostages, claiming the "idea" for the operation had come from them

HR-HDA 907, Zbirka stampata, 96/189

The Annihilation of Croatian Jews

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA
USTAŠKA NADZORNA SLUŽBA

2438

Ured I. _____
Broj: 4039/42-Ith/3. _____
Zagreb, 28. svibnja 1942.

Predmet: Bakotić Ante i dr.,
upušćenje u logor.

NAVRATNJENOSTI USTASHA
Službeni odujok

2438

Upućuje se slijedeći židovi po Japskoj reorganizaciji
obitelji u Sarajevu u sabirni logor u Jasenovcu obično u Staru Gradis-
ku:

- 1.) Blat (Ivan) Oskar, rođ. 1900 u Tuzli subotah-
nišar.
- 2.) Bakotić Ante rođ. 14.VI.1901. u Srijm, vojni
kemičar.
- 3.) Fabilić Benke, rođ. 1898 u Sarajevu, privatni
sinovnik.
- 4.) Kamiljo Jonač, rođ. 1897 u Sarajevu, ličar.
- 5.) Klesar Pape, rođ. 1927 u Sarajevu, forgnidilja.
- 6.) Pape Mihajlo, rođ. 1911 u Sarajevu, subotahnišar.
- 7.) Pape Radiš, rođ. 18.XII.1905 u Sarajevu, ing.
- 8.) Vasevstajna Herman, rođ. 1872 u Sarnidask,
trgovac.
- 9.) Alatarac Terzija, rođ. 1878 u Dugomidici.
- 10.) Kamiljo Kikica, rođ. 1920 u Sarajevu, radnik.
- 11.) Atijas Sekid, rođ. 18.VII.1918 u Bihaću,
kudnik. sa djetetom Safasica.
- 12.) Kruger Janika, rođ. 1907 u Tuzli kodistkinja.
- 13.) Pape Jorika, rođ. 1905 u Sarajevu, domadica.
- 14.) Matilda Pisto, rođ. 1898 u Bos. Petrovac.
- 15.) Mita Lajon, rođ. 1904 u Bijeljini, domadica.
- 16.) Ovarobert Barta, rođ. 1893 u Tuzli, domadica.
- 17.) Vasevstajna Imabela, rođ. 1898 u Tuzli, domadica.
- 18.) Vasevstajna Lajon, rođ. 1914 u Tuzli, domadica.
- 19.) Jorika Salajman, rođ. 1894 u Sarajevu, priv.šim.
- 20.) Atijas Sekid, rođ. 1907 u Sarajevu, biv. advokat.

Dolje se dostavlja radi znanja i odličnosti.

ZA DOK. HRVATSKA I

UPRAVITELJ :

NAVRATNJENOSTI USTASHA
Službeni odujok
Broj: 4039
Zagreb, 28. svibnja 1942.

Mina videntifikacijski
zpc. 9. 11. 42
Rbr

During the NDH it was not only Zagreb Jews who perished, but all Jews within reach of the Ustasha authorities. This list of Sarajevo Jews who were sent to Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška and many other similar documents show that for the Ustashes, enemies of the people included housewives and their children, whose fate was implied so their names weren't even listed. The handwritten note, "Were not registered," added twelve days later, may indicate that they were put to death upon arrival at the camp, but were not entered into the evidentiary lists. Both Sephardic and Ashkenazic names appear on the list, showing the genesis of the Sarajevo Jewish community, comprised of Sephardim who moved there from Spain around 1500, and Ashkenazim who came after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia.

HR-HDA 252, RUR ŽO,
4039/1942., k. 13

[illegible]

In this telegram dated 22 December 1941, written on pre-war forms printed in Serbian, the representative of the Ustasha authorities in Sarajevo, Ivan Tolj, is informing the Jewish Section in Zagreb that 70 Chetniks, male and female Communists and 55 Jews were sent from Sarajevo to the concentration camp Jasenovac and to Gradiška, while 668 Jewish women and children were sent to the prison camp in Đakovo. Most of the latter did not survive; their final destination was Auschwitz.

HR-HDA-252, RUR ŽO, 8351/1941., k-8

The Annihilation of Croatian Jews

PCPIS DIZNE DO 14 DODINE INTERVENIJE U LONON (HADO) 1024

14

1./ Alkalaj Alfons	37./ Feldbauer Vlado	74./ Kaufmann Nado
2./ Alkalaj Estera	38./ Forster Lili	75./ Kavecan Boia J.
3./ Alkalaj Ivo	39./ " Vera	76./ Klein Eva
4./ Alkalaj Ludiša	40./ Finzi Iva Josef	77./ Klein Wanda
5./ Alkalaj Marija	41./ Flinschhaber Mira	78./ Klein Wida
6./ Alkalaj Sora	42./ Fried Blanka	79./ Klein Ivan
7./ Altarnic I Abraham	43./ Friedmann Mirica	80./ Klein Katina
8./ " Jakob	44./ " Nata	81./ Klein Lea Injo
9./ " Ljorica	45./ Friedrich Sada	82./ Klein Sula
10./ " Nina	46./ Frommer Erika	83./ Klein Sami
11./ " Nadeia	47./ Gann Katya	84./ Kohn Leona
12./ Atijas Albert	48./ Glink Milica	85./ Kohn Pauli
13./ " Sarika	49./ Goldberger Mirica	86./ Kohn Tea Nath
14./ " David	50./ Goldgruber Eva	87./ Konforte Ivo
15./ Bachrach Ivica	51./ Gostl Mira	88./ Konforti Salomon
16./ Baruch Mika	52./ Gottmann Tanya	89./ Kozrad Ljilja
17./ Berger Mirjana	53./ Harker Sufica	90./ Krent Iva
18./ " Vera	54./ Haneler Irma	91./ Krentenberg Ljilja
19./ Blahovna Branka	55./ " Miroslava	92./ Krentenberg Samjla
20./ " Tom	56./ Haimov Arica	93./ Langraf Olga
21./ Blumstock Eva	57./ Bernberg Selga	94./ Leitner Nadica
22./ " Hinka	58./ Hirschler Sava	95./ Levi Albert
23./ Buchler Bina	59./ " Elabica	96./ Levi Blanka B.
24./ Berman Hia	60./ Hirschman Vera	97./ Levi Erika
25./ " Mila	61./ Kabiljo R. Jodi	98./ Levi Boris
26./ " Mojica	62./ Kahlifane Alfred	99./ Levi Hia
27./ " Aron	63./ Kajan Leon	100./ Levi Sava
28./ Deutsch Otis	64./ Kajan Mirka	101./ Levi Salomna
29./ Ebenstein Osi	65./ " Jakob	102./ Levi Robert
30./ Eckstein David	66./ " Nina	103./ Levi Sufira
31./ Eisenstatter Branka	67./ Katančević	104./ Levi Sida
32./ " Vera	68./ " Boris	105./ Levi R. Silvio
33./ Engl Mirka	69./ " Stela	106./ Levi Marcel
34./ " Ruti	70./ Katz Boris	107./ Lowenthal Selga
35./ Elkanati Berk	71./ " Georg	108./ Lustig Iva
36./ " Vlado	72./ " Ida	

The first page of a list of children imprisoned at Lobor who were taken there with their mothers. The baroque castle was only one of several camps for women and children in the NDH. Under the very poor conditions of illness, exhaustion and abuse, more than 200 women and children died. The Jewish women and their children were transported in the end to Auschwitz where almost all of them perished.

HR-HDA-1514. Ustaško povjereništvo za grad i kotar Koprivnica. k-1



▲ A report of the Ustasha authorities in Travnik about deporting Jewish men to Jasenovac and women and children to Stara Gradiška. Most of the Jewish families were torn apart, and individual members sent to different prisons and camps, so the few who survived the war did not know for a long time whether anyone from their family was still alive.

HR-HDA-252, RUR ŽO, 2665/1942., k-10

Jasenovac was the largest and most gruesome of the Ustasha camps where the internees were slaughtered in the most brutal way, often bludgeoned to death with a mallet or their throats were cut, sometimes after savage torture. Some of the internees were killed by starvation or the withholding of water. Very few Jews who were interned at Jasenovac were able to save themselves. ►

HPM/MRNIH-F-89980

The Annihilation of Croatian Jews





When they arrived at the camp, everything the prisoners had was taken from them: their rings, watches, money, food, cigarettes, thermos bottles... Aside from theft, the motive for doing this was humiliation and creating a feeling of hopelessness.

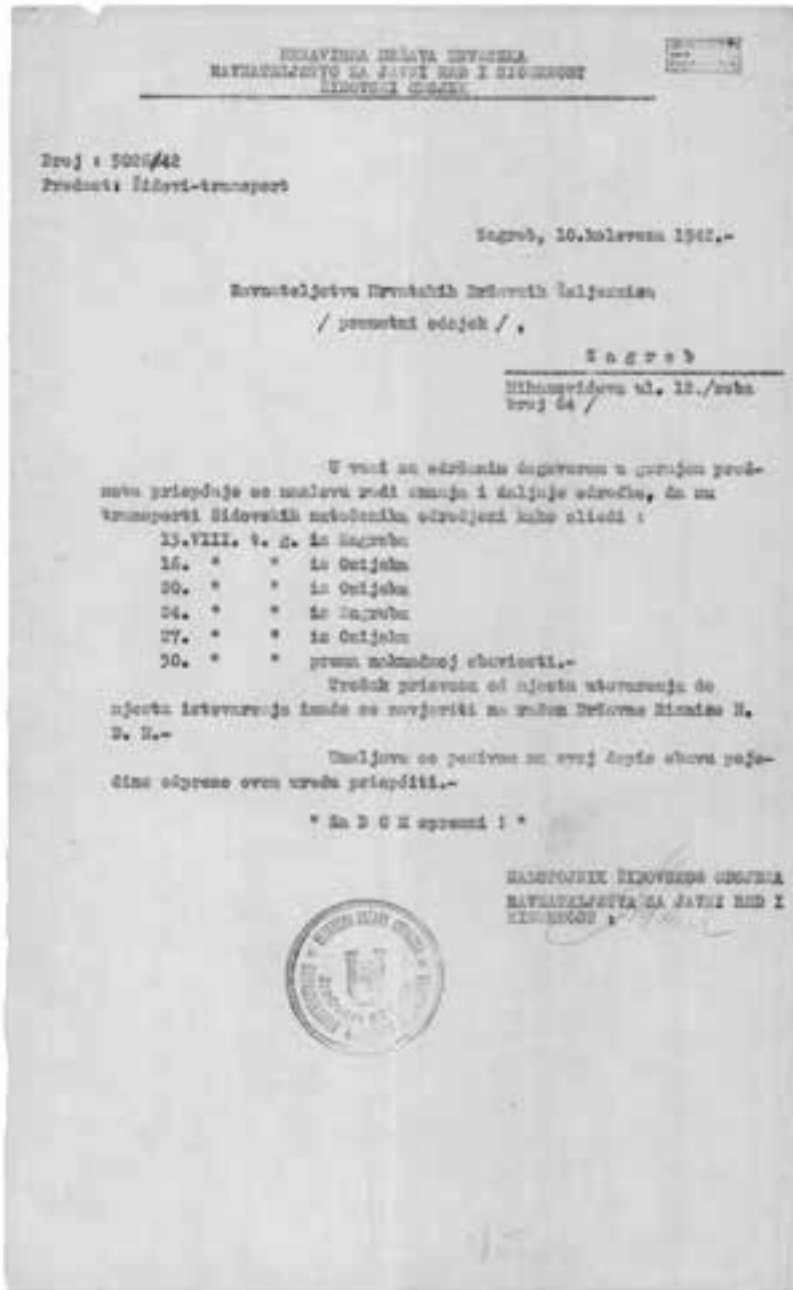
JUSP Jasenovac

The Annihilation of Croatian Jews



The ferry at Jasenovac, which took people across to the other bank of the River Sava. Aside from serving as transportation, the ferry was often a place of executions. The Ustashas would bring the internees to the ferry, slit their throats and throw them into the Sava.

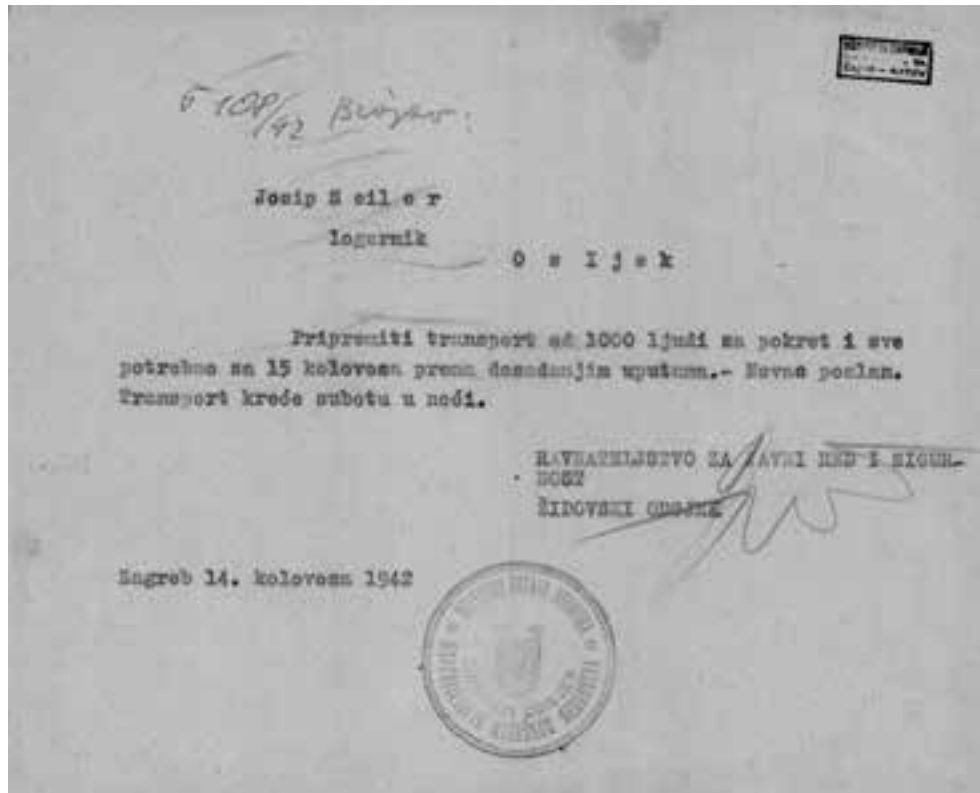
HPM/MRNH-F-104328



A document from the Jewish Section informing the Directorate of the Croatian State Railway about the schedule that should be arranged for the transport of Jews from Zagreb and Osijek. Documents like this broach the question of complicity in the annihilation of the Jewish community in the NDH. What was the role and responsibility borne by all the people who were not part of the Ustasha movement, yet took part in the Holocaust, such as the administration and employees of the Croatian State Railway? Did they have a choice? Could they have opposed or sabotaged the orders from the Ustasha authorities? Did they take part reluctantly and with discomfort at the deportations of Jews, or out of conviction?

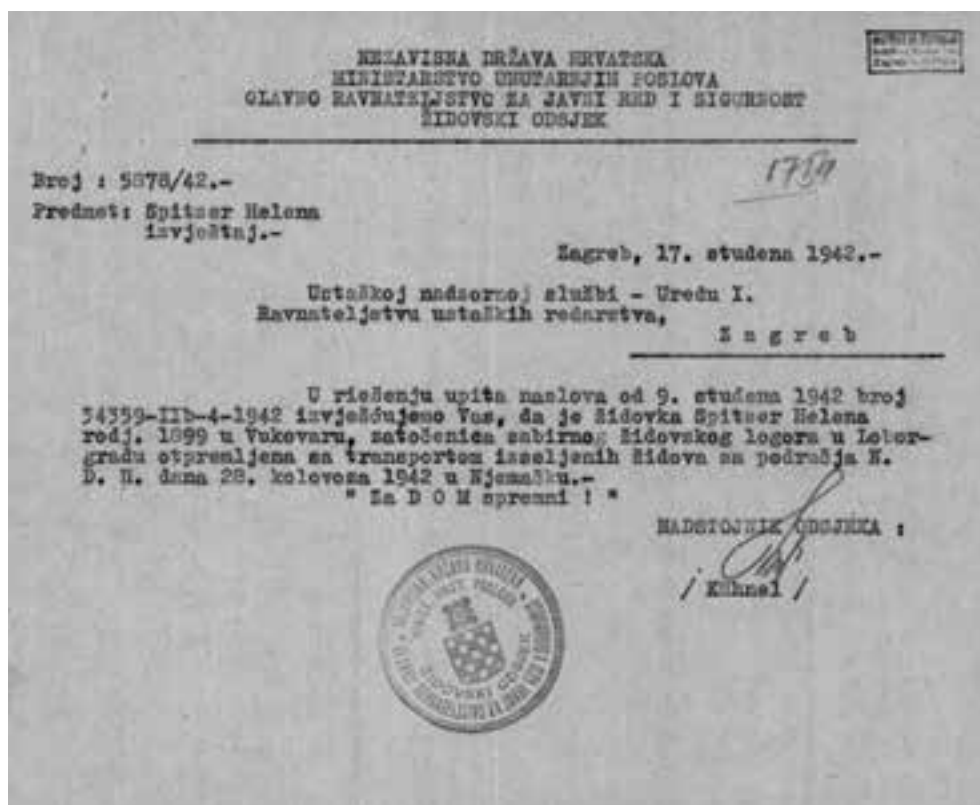
HR-HDA-252, RUR ŽO,
5026/1942., k-15

The Annihilation of Croatian Jews



The Ustasha authorities invested some effort in hiding their deportation of Jews. The collection points were on the outskirts of town, Jews would be brought there in the early morning, and this document shows that transports were organized at night.

HR-HDA-252, RUR ŽO, 5108/1942., k-15



Their crime was also concealed by the use of words which did not correspond to real events. The deportation of Jews to Auschwitz and other camps was referred to as "emigration," although it was known that the people were being sent to death camps from which there could be no return. The Ustashas adopted this practice from the Germans who also told the Jews they would move them to the East, in order to avoid resistance or panic that might encumber the process of liquidation.

HR-HDA, RUR ŽO, 5108/1942., k. 15

The Annihilation of Croatian Jews



Miroslav Šalom Freiburger was the Zagreb rabbi during the NDH, and from 1942 he was chief rabbi. After the onset of Ustasha terror he strove to help members of his community in their attempts to leave the country, or he visited imprisoned Jews and sent them aid packages. Although Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac offered to save him, Freiburger refused to abandon the members of his congregation who were still living in Zagreb by April 1943. In the first days of May he was arrested with the members of his family and deported to Auschwitz. Immediately upon arrival he protested in front of the German officers about the inhumane treatment on the transport. He was hanged immediately, allegedly while they were still on the ramp where the selection was conducted of the newly arrived internees.

HR-HDA, RUR ŽO, 5878/1942., k. 15

The death certificate of Zagreb industrialist Stjepan Španić, produced at Auschwitz, 30 October 1942, eight days after Španić's death. The certificate was part of the documentation maintained at the camp until December 1943, and only a small part of it for about 69,000 of the people killed has been preserved. In all such certificates, the place of death is given as Auschwitz, Kasernenstrasse, a street that does not exist in Auschwitz, but entered as such in order to give the impression that the person died at a "normal" address, not at a camp. The cause of death (digestive disorder) also was fabricated and is one of the three causes of death entered into the death certificates. SS-Oberscharführer Walter Konrad Quakernak, who issued the certificate, led the registrar's office at the camp and Crematorium I. In December 1945 the British military court condemned him to death.

Državni muzej Auschwitz-Birkenau,
Br. 37093/1942.

The Annihilation of Croatian Jews



Oto Konstein, the boy in the photograph, is the only member of his family to survive the Holocaust. The Konstein family lived in Čakovec, which, with all of Međimurje, was annexed to Hungary after the fall of Yugoslavia. Although anti-Jewish laws were enacted in Hungary after 1938, and tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews perished in logistics on the eastern front (or as non-Hungarian citizens they were handed over to the Germans in 1941), the Hungarian authorities did not acquiesce to the demands of the Germans that they hand over all Jews. So a large majority of the Hungarian Jews lived to greet the spring of 1944. Among them was the Konstein family. The Fascist Arrow Cross party grabbed power in Hungary in a coup and immediately began with deportations. Mrs. Konstein and her ten-year-old daughter were killed in the gas chamber immediately upon arrival at Auschwitz; Mr. Konstein was killed in the same camp in early 1945. Oto was saved by saying he was older than he really was; he was assigned to work and was at Bergen-Belsen when the British arrived.

Ustupio Vladimir Kalšan



Many individuals contributed to the crimes against Jews in the NDH, from those at the top, through the medium-rank officials and bureaucrats, to the Ustasas who were personally doing the killing, and all the “ordinary people” who took advantage of the opportunity to help themselves to Jewish property for little or no money. Among those who laid the conceptual groundwork of the Holocaust in the NDH were Andrija Artuković, Minister of Internal Affairs who created the race laws and openly espoused the solution to the Jewish question the same way Germany had. After the NDH collapsed he fled to the United States and from there he was extradited to Yugoslavia in 1986. He was condemned to death in the Zagreb trial, but the death sentence was not carried out. He died in the prison hospital in 1988.

HR-HDA 1561/04972

The Annihilation of Croatian Jews



Among the organizers of the Holocaust, Eugen Dido Kvaternik holds a special position. He was the first director of the Directorate for Public Law, Order and Security and head of the Ustasha Surveillance Service. These services oversaw the organization of the concentration camps.

HR-HDA-1561/02681



While Artuković was a legislator, and Eugen Dido Kvaternik was an organizer, Maks Luburić was an executioner. He organized Jasenovac and other camps by following the German camp model, and ordered mass liquidation of the internees.

JUSP Jasenovac

Križ, 18. VI. 1942

Ministry of Education
Ministry of Culture

Narodno redarstveno porjemenstvo
Lidovski odeljak

Žagreb
Progovorica od 17

Štirnost mi ustavi, da ispostavi
Narodno porjemenstvo u Zagrebu, da dostavi
Lidovi, u općini Križ (na Čakma), po čiji se
zakonu Zakonsko naredba o Lidovima 2/ se
poje drugi, Lidovski odeljak, nije obližen
Lidovskom sudu, nema porjemenstvo u Lidovu,
porjemenstvo gostima 2/ i Pridržaj se kao da su
sui po čiji se a do porjemenstva čiji sudu su
samo engleske radiostanice

Štirnost putu sam, opomenu ostavi
porjemenstvo Zagrebu Antuna Meduna, kao prijatelja,
da se treba čiji se zakonu o Lidovima ali on
riješuje, da će se čiji se zakonu čiji se
dolu je pismu obavijest 12

Molim Narodno porjemenstvo, da ispostavi
porjemenstvo porjemenstva Antuna Meduna, da se
Lidovima putu pismu zakonu pa je rješuje
pismo predavalo što se za rješuje se primjenjuju
Zakonsko naredba

Za dom - spisan!

ISPOSTAVA
NARODNO REDARSTVENO PORJEMENTVO
ŽAGREB
Br. 602
25. VI. 1942

S. Rudolf (Lidovski)
Općinski Lidovski

Those who murdered or ordered the murders were not the only criminals. Other people were also criminals who denounced, such as Dr. Rudolf Mađarević, municipal doctor in Križ near Čazma, who reported to the Jewish Section in Zagreb on his Jewish neighbors who weren't wearing their insignia, their shops weren't marked as Jewish, and there were no government commissioners in charge of the shops, and, "until the last moment" they had been listening to English radio stations. Many Jews who hid with Croats perished because they were denounced by people like Dr. Mađarević.

HR-HDA 602/1942.

The Annihilation of Croatian Jews



Throughout the NDH regime, there were Croats who were ready to protect their Jewish neighbors and friends, whether by standing up for them before the Ustasha authorities or hiding them, thereby risking their own lives. More than a hundred Croats were conferred the title of Righteous among the Nations by the state of Israel in gratitude for saving the life of one or more persons. Among them there are prominent figures, such as Mate Ujević, editor of the Croatian Encyclopedia which came out from 1941 (already during the time of the Banovina of Croatia) to 1945, and collaborator on many post-war encyclopedia publishing projects.

Ustupila Iva Ujević Birtić



Pobudujem da sam u redbu
primila kiliu (perser) kopez sam
kod dr. Joz. Brudaha u junu
1941 g. bila pohranila.

Slava Luter-Leri

Zagreb, dne 15. X. 1945

Potada

Kopins potčinjen da sam vladu
i drugu zadržat pamtenu koputu i pibope
yitopa koputa koje sam ustario u pohani
kod dr. Brudaha, te koje sam u redbu
primio.

12. 5. 1946. -

Hyfopied

Prijepis.
R4 2566/45 U IME NARODA
Kotarski narodni sud za grad Zagreb u predmetu Tee Furman radi povratka
imovine donio je ovaj Zaključak
I. Moliteljici Tee Furman vraćaju se u vlasništvo nje navedene
pokretnosti koje se sada nalaze u stanu dr. Jozu Budaka Jurišićeva ul.16
i to: 4 porcelanske čilime, 1 stropna svjetiljka i 1 kristalna vaza.
II. Moliteljica se upućuje na gradsku upravu narodnih dobara
radi predaje pokretnosti.
Razlozi:
Moliteljica navodi u molbi da je dolaskom okupatora morala
napustiti Zagreb te je gore navedene predmete pohranila kod dr. Jozu
Budaka liječnika u Zagrebu.
Pošto prema tome postoje uvjeti i čl. 1. Zakona od
24.5. 1945., zaključeno je kao gore.
Kotarski narodni sud za grad Zagreb
U Zagrebu dne 26. listopada 1945
Predsjednik suda: Bruno Mandić
Za točnost: /Potpis neizmjern/
Na: 1. Tee Furman Zagreb Boškovićeve ul. 26
2. Javni tužilac Zagreb
3. Gund.

Some Jews, when they escaped from Zagreb, left behind belongings with people they knew which they were unable to take with them, yet felt they were of value. Dr. Jozo Budak, who from 1940, on, was the director of the physical therapy department of the Sisters of Mercy Hospital in Zagreb and later founder of the School for Physical Medicine, was someone several Jews trusted so with him they left clothing, footwear, rugs, vases, bedding and various other things. Although he was sent to prison in 1944 for his ties with the Partisans, the belongings remained in his apartment so he could return them to their owners when the owners returned from exile.

Ustupio Neven Budak

Snježana Koren

THE IMAGES OF THE WORLD IN THE CLASSROOMS OF THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA

The Independent State of Croatia was proclaimed on 10 April 1941, and already by the end of that year the authorities had issued new history textbooks or had revised the existing ones for the classroom. The school system as a whole, including history instruction, was designed to promote educating and raising young people in the spirit of the ideology of the Ustasha movement. This brief analysis responds to the question of how history textbooks portrayed Fascism, Nazism, and the Ustashes and to what degree anti-Semitism was evident in the texts.

Fascism, Nazism and the Ustashes were covered in the modern history textbooks, and chapters devoted to these movements appear in the first such textbook published in 1941 (judging by the events covered, it probably

appeared only at the end of that year). Stjepan Srkulj is the author of these textbooks. He was well known both as a secondary school teacher and as a textbook author. Srkulj was also the two-term mayor of Zagreb (1917-1920 and 1928-1932), and had previously published textbooks in Austro-Hungary and inter-war Yugoslavia. At the end of Srkulj's textbook *Povijest novoga vijeka* [History of the Modern Age], 1941, he covers Fascism and Nazism in the inter-war period but also mentions relatively recent events, such as the attacks on Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, the proclamation of the NDH and the Japanese conquests on the Pacific before the end of 1941. This treatment sketches an image of the contemporary world in which Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and their allies are championing the struggle for a "new, more just and happier order" (Srkulj, 303), and the frontispiece of the textbook gives the Ustasha greeting "Za dom— spremni" [For the homeland—at the ready]. While the textbook otherwise offers scant illustrative material, there are large photographs included of Mussolini, Hitler and Pavelić (Srkulj 298, 301, 309).

Fascism is described in Srkulj's textbook as a "great social movement," while Mussolini is depicted as the savior who brought Italy out of the crisis which had "undermined all social authority." The textbook praises Mussolini for "abandoning all the principles of 1789 related to democratism, liberalism and parliamentarism, which paved the way for Communism and favored Communism." Instead, "a state must be led by a single leader (the duce) with a party that espouses the same principles and has the sole right to existence in the state." Srkulj also praises the system in which a state and people form "a single organic whole." The individual must subordinate their interests to the national entity, "the worker and capital are brought into mutual harmony." The textbook delineates an idyllic picture of the political life in Italy after parliamentarism was abolished: since there is no more opposition, the "bloody

party and class struggles” are gone from public life. He says that Mussolini dedicated special attention to the upbringing of young people who, from their earliest years “are instilled with militancy, a fighting spirit and discipline. The Fascist system of Italy has “made it, once again, one of the mightiest states.” Mussolini is depicted as a hero—the “sanctions imposed by the League of Nations didn’t frighten him,” he conquered Abyssinia, expanded the Italian colonial kingdom, annexed Albania and, as an ally of the Third Reich, joined in the war against England and France. (Srkulj, 298-300)

The review of Fascism and the Fascist Party is followed by a review of the history of the Nazi Party, Nazi Germany and their first conquests. As with Mussolini, Srkulj presents Hitler as the man who “saved the German people and state” from the “havoc and downfall” of the Weimar Republic. Although he already showed Mussolini in a markedly positive light, his description of Hitler provides even more ardent attention to Hitler’s qualities and, indeed, he could be said to be fomenting the Hitler cult. Hitler is described as a man of the “front lines and work,” who, early on, while still a worker, “came to know the ruinous influence” of Marxists and Jews (Srkulj, 300-301). He details and praises the platform of the Nazi Party and Hitler’s plans, including those directed against the Jews:

[...] the abrogation of the unjust Versailles and Saint-Germain treaties, to allow the German state to revive. Jews and those who endorse capitalism and Communism should be excluded from public, social and economic life [the textbook gives the word *Jew* with a lower-case “j”], and to allow the fostering of a pure national state and culture. Furthermore, a powerful national government should be introduced with a national army, which will then resolve all crucial social and

political questions, Roman law should be replaced by German law and a national journalism that is German, as the newspapers have until now been in Jewish hands. In this state no one may enjoy the benefits of the country without working, the state comes first, and only then come individuals and the classes and their interest. (Srkulj 301-302)

The textbook depicts the rise of the Nazis to power as a “long and fierce struggle” after which the “majority of the German people” embraced Hitler, so first he became the “state chancellor” and, after Hindenburg’s death, he rose to “Führer (national leader), president of the republic.” All this, claims the author, was “confirmed by the peoples’ votes” (although the Nazis never won a majority of votes in free elections, and the totalitarian Nazi state was forged through violence, by forcing aside the opposition and through special powers accorded to Hitler). Following this is a brief review of the recent history of Nazi Germany: after he came into power, Hitler’s first goals were to “resolve the social question and free the German people of the burden of the unjust Treaty of Versailles.” He put a stop to the “pernicious payment of reparations,” introduced universal military conscription, and took possession of the Rhineland. Two years later, Hitler began, as the textbook puts this, “the job of national unification by annexing” Austria, the Sudetenland and eastern Prussia to Germany. Hitler placed the Czech part of Czechoslovakia under a protectorate of the Reich because it had “obstructed the efforts of the German people in their renewal,” while Slovakia was granted “freedom and independence.” Poland was to be blamed for the outbreak of the new war, according to the textbook, which, relying on France and England, refused the “rightful and very moderate demands” placed upon them by Germany. Moreover, Polish troops were troubling matters at the German border, so

Germany was compelled “to protect its kindred countrymen and border with weapons.” Although it was merely protecting its “rightful demands,” England and France declared war on Germany. (Srkulj 302, 303).

The chapter in Srkulj’s textbook about the Second World War begins by jumping directly from England’s and France’s declaration of war in early September 1939 to 1941, when “Communist Russia” joined forces with England and France. This allows him to skip the awkward episode of the Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement and the German-Soviet division of Poland (the same was done in the post-war textbooks in Communist Yugoslavia until the early 1950s, after the break with the Soviet Union), which would allow him to present this event later in an essentially different light. Germany had been joined by many other countries, among which, the author boasted, was Croatia:

The main ally for Germany and Hitler in Europe has been Italy, and in Asia, Japan. Aside from these, many other states have joined Germany in this decisive battle against an unjust plutocracy and barbaric Communism, which have mired the European nations in distress and chaos, for the sake of a new, more just and happier world order in which all nations, including us Croats, will be equally assured peaceful development and progress. Germany has been joined in Europe by Croatia, Slovakia, Finland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, and Spain. (Srkulj 303)

Next comes a description of the German occupation of Europe before 1941: “In this grand wrestling match the courageous and excellently equipped German army vanquished its opponents with never-before-seen speed (‘the lightning war’ or blitzkrieg).” In two brief sentences Srkulj lists the countries

Germany occupied (Poland, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Denmark and Norway). France “was not even helped by its famous ‘Maginot line,’ all of concrete and iron.” (Srkuļj 303)

Srkuļj moves on to a review of events on the eastern and southeastern fronts in 1940 and 1941. Here he must touch on the Soviet-German agreement of August 1939, although he attempts to obfuscate its true nature with a sentence in which the second part does not follow logically from the first: “Soviet Russia had a pact with Germany on non-aggression, hence in the war with Poland it occupied the eastern part of Poland.” Then Russia “took up arms against the Finnish republic, which, after a heroic battle with the Russian colossus was forced to relinquish parts of its territory.” This is followed by a brief review of the occupation of Yugoslavia and Greece, in which the claim is made that Hitler “signed a non-aggression pact with Yugoslavia, but then Yugoslavia traitorously trampled upon it.” And now, says the textbook, “Russia’s turn has come (21 June 1941)”:

The German army pushes its way through the powerful fortifications of “Stalin’s line” deep in the rear, and is beating the Communist army. In the war against the Communist world threat there are volunteer companies of young Croatian troops, on land, in the air, and on the Black Sea. (Srkuļj 304)

At the same time, as the textbook states, “war is being waged against England,” in which “German and Italian submarines and aircraft have sunk a large part of the English fleet, and London and the other more important English cities have been bombed countless times.” In Srkuļj’s survey, Hitler is presented as a peacemaker who is doing all he can to end the war, while

England is the country that started the war and refuses his offers, thereby prolonging the conflict:

The great leader of the German people, Hitler, has striven to shorten this terrible war as quickly as possible, and already he has twice offered England peace and an amicable settlement to the dispute, the first time at the very outset of hostilities in 1939, immediately after the end of the war with Poland, but each time England coldly refused the noble offer from the Leader. And so the bloody world war has continued, with England and the Communist Soviet state to blame. (Srkulj 304)

And this, in Srkulj's interpretation which, by all accounts, was the official NDH interpretation of the war, was how the battle appeared "for a newer, more just, and happier order in the world, in which all nations, and that includes us Croats, will be equally assured a peaceful development and progress."

In closing, the textbook describes the "birth and downfall of Yugoslavia," and the beginnings of the NDH. The review of the 1920s focuses on the activity of Stjepan Radić (including Radić's photograph on p. 306) and the "catastrophe of 20 June 1928" (the assassination of two deputies of the Croatian Peasant Party and the fatal wounding of Radić by a Serbian politician). Ante Pavelić, future leader of the Ustasha movement and Poglavnik of the Independent State of Croatia, is first mentioned in connection with the proclamation of the January 6th dictatorship in 1929, after which the review focuses on his activity and builds his cult. In order to highlight the merits of Pavelić and the Ustasha movement, the textbook first delineates the period of the "Serbian dictatorship" of King Alexander in the darkest colors, after which comes the "Croatian risorgimento" under Pavelić's decisive leadership:

[...] In order to utterly vanquish Croatia, Alexander I proclaimed a dictatorship on 6 January 1929 and continued to persecute Croats. He divided the state into nine banovinas, and imposed the title of the Savska Banovina on Croatia (without Srijem) [note that mention of the Primorska Banovina has been left out; on 18 May 1941 Pavelić ceded a good portion of the Adriatic Coast and islands to Italy through the Roman Protocols]. The Croatian name, flag, coat of arms, and everything that recalled our glorious past, all this was banned. Thousands of Croatian sons were beaten and thrown into prison, and hundreds were condemned to death in Serbian courts and shot. But Croatia and Croats could not be broken.

This is primarily thanks to the efforts of our Poglavnik, Dr. Ante Pavelić, leader of the Rightists, who was an attorney in Zagreb at the time and a Croatian member of Parliament. He resolved to wage a decisive battle against the Serbian dictatorship and Yugoslavia for the liberation of the Croatian people and to found their own Independent State of Croatia. (Srkuļ 307)

Thereafter the textbook provides a brief description of how Pavelić abandoned the previous form of pursuing political conflict and left the country (no mention of where he went; Pavelić went to Italy), and from there he led an “armed Ustasha struggle for the liberation of Croats from Serbian servitude” and “organized the Ustasha movement for liberation of Croatia.” The “Lika uprising” of 1932 is mentioned (a smaller sabotage operation which the Ustashas attempted to carry out in the Croatian city of Gospić), and of it says that the “Serbs quelled it savagely, perpetrating the worst atrocities.” In one sentence there is mention of the “death” of King Aleksandar in Marseilles

in 1934, without giving any further information about who organized the assassination.¹ The Ustashas are not linked in any way to the assassination, nor is the term “assassination” used. The founding of the Banovina of Croatia is seen as a negative development: by signing the agreement with Prince Pavle, Vladko Maček “betrayed the national trust,” thereby “ceasing to be the national leader of the Croats.”

The very end of chapter is dedicated to the downfall of Yugoslavia (“the last creation of the Treaty of Versailles that was still intact”) and the “resurrection of the Independent State of Croatia”:

With an armed rebellion of a small group of Serbian officers on 27 March 1941, King Petar² was declared to be of age, the regency was pushed aside, thereby violating the treaty that the Führer of the German people had drawn up with Prime Minister Dragiša Cvetković and Minister of Foreign Affairs Cincar Marković. Germany declared war and invaded the country, meanwhile the Croats began a national uprising under the leadership of Dr. Ante Pavelić and with the support of their allies, Germany and Italy, they threw off their twenty-three-year-long shackles, Yugoslavia, and resurrected their independent state.

¹ Yugoslav King Aleksandar Karađorđević (1921-1934) was assassinated in Marseilles in 1934 while on a state visit to France, together with Louis Barthou, French Minister of Foreign Affairs. The assassin was a Macedonian nationalist, with the support of the Ustashas, and probably also of Italy and Hungary.

² Petar II Karađorđević (1923-1970) was the last Yugoslav king. The eldest son of King Aleksandar I Karađorđević, Petar was still a minor when his father was assassinated in 1934. Royal authority was assumed by the Regency, with a cousin of Petar's, Prince Pavle Karađorđević, at its head. When Yugoslavia joined the Tripartite Pact in 1941, a group of pro-British oriented officers staged a coup in late March, overthrew the Regency and proclaimed Petar the king. Ten days later the Axis powers attacked Yugoslavia, and King Petar II went into exile with the Yugoslav government; they spent most of the war thereafter in London. In November 1945 the Yugoslav constitutional assembly formally ousted Petar II and declared Yugoslavia a republic.

[...] On 10 April, at the behest of Ustasha Poglavnik Dr. Ante Pavelić, Slavko Kvaternik proclaimed [...] the rupture with Serbia and resurrection of an independent State of Croatia. On 15 April Croatia's greatest son and her liberator, Dr. Ante Pavelić, returned after twelve years abroad to assume the helm of Croatia; his deed was greater than any done by a Croat before him. (Srkulj 308-309)

Since the historical review offered by the textbook ends with these quotes, there is no specific mention of how this "great deed" was performed, even in later editions of the textbook (such as, for example, S. Srkulj *Poviest novoga veka* [History of the Modern Age], Zagreb, 1943). It could almost be said that the textbooks published during the NDH describe the ideal of today's Croatia set forth by those Croats who sing the praises of today's state: in it the presentation of NDH history begins and ends with the proclamation establishing the NDH, and this allows them to consign the subsequent tragic events to oblivion, or to obscure them with euphemisms such as "condemnation of all totalitarianisms."

Unlike the praises sung to Fascism, Nazism, the Ustashas and their leaders, which can only be found in the modern history textbooks, anti-Semitism can be found in all the history textbooks published during the NDH—those covering general ancient, medieval and modern history, as well as those specializing in Croatian history. Živko Jakić was the author of the ancient and medieval history textbooks, like Srkulj he also published earlier textbooks in Austro-Hungary and inter-war Yugoslavia. There are striking differences between his textbook *Povijest staroga vijeka za V. razred srednjih škola* [Ancient History for the 5th Grade of Middle School] published in 1942 in the way Jewish history is described as compared to his previous textbook, *Povijest*

staroga vijeka za niže razrede srednjih i sličnih škola sa čitankom [Ancient History for the Lower Grades of Middle and Similar Schools with Reader] published in 1940, that had been used in the Banovina of Croatia (a reprint of which was again in use in 1992 in elementary schools in the Republic of Croatia). In the pre-war textbook, the Jewish belief in one God was described as “more perfect than any faith in the ancient world,” hence “Palestine became the cradle of Christianity.” Middle-school students were taught that there was not a single “ancient people” that had “such splendid books, in which the faith in a single and perfect God was manifest,” and that the Bible was a “collection of marvelous stories,” translated into “all the cultural languages” and “belonging to all centuries.” (Jakić, 1940: 17-19) For the textbook published in the NDH, the text about ancient Jewish history is shorter, based on dry factographic information and occasionally spiced with remarks that indicate how Jews should be perceived under the new circumstances. The students are instructed that “Hebrew political history in Antiquity was in no way exemplary,” and the faith of the Jews is no longer shown as the wellspring of Christianity, nor as something belonging to all of mankind. Instead, the Jews are depicted as aloof, holding themselves apart at the time of their Babylonian captivity: “They spent 70 years in captivity, and during that time, thanks to the prophets, their faith was strengthened and they kept themselves strictly separate from other nations.” (Jakić, 1942: 30-32)

The separateness of Jews from other nations is emphasized in Jakić’s textbook *Poviest srednjega veka za VI. razred srednjih škola* [History of the Middle Ages for the 6th Grade of Middle School], 1943. In it, for instance, there is a description of the London ghetto as the section of the medieval city that was set apart for Jews: “a special door led to the ghetto that was shut at night, to keep people from attacking the Jews and killing them.” (Jakić 1943:

144) In several places there are statements in this textbook that only Jews worked as moneylenders because Christians were prohibited from charging interest, implying that Christians were more morally upright than Jews (Jakić, 1943: 144, 151, 179). Usury, along with “religious opposition,” is shown as one of the key reasons for the “frequent persecution of Jews”: “Jews in their ghettos accrued vast wealth through their financial dealings, prohibited for Christians, and often stooped to soulless usury.” The persecution of Jews is mentioned then in the context of the accusations of poisoning wells during the time of the Great Plague. Their flight from persecution in the West to Poland and Russia is used in order to state yet again that there, as well, they “grasped all the financial and retail jobs in their own hands.” At the end, the textbook describes the expulsion of Jews from England and Spain. (Jakić 1943: 179-180)

Anti-Semitism can also be found in a textbook of Croatian medieval history by authors Miho Barada, Lovre Katić and Jaroslav Šidak (*Hrvatska povijest za VIII. razred srednjih škola* [Croatian History for the 8th Grade of Middle School] 1941), mainly in the section signed by Lovre Katić, a Catholic priest and historian; the other two authors, unlike Srkulj and Jakić, were university teachers. The point of studying Croatian history, as the authors explain in their foreword, is to inspire patriotism because “love of the homeland cannot exist in a person who knows nothing of the history of their people. A nomad, a gypsy, has no homeland, no family lore reaching back farther than two generations.” The authors summon “dear Croatian youth” to study Croatian history with “pride and joy,” and they close their foreword with the message: “And so, with this book of Croatian history—Be at the ready for the homeland!” (Barada and others, 3-4) In the section on the rule of Hungarian-Croatian king Andrew II (signed by Katić), he is described as a king

who was in debt after waging wars and poor administration, and “fell into the clutches of soulless Jews, to whom he sold his taxes, and they, while collecting them, skinned the people alive” [emphasis as in original]. This statement is further reinforced by the chapter title—*Jews Collected Taxes*. As in Srkulj’s textbook, the ethnic name “Jew” in this textbook is systematically printed with a lowercase “j” (though not in Jakić’s textbooks). In the textbook review of the charter of Hungarian King Andrew II, which speaks of the freedoms of the nobility, there is visual emphasis placed on the articles directed against the Jews. For example, Article 24 of the Golden Bull of 1222 is cited, stating that “those administering the mintage, the selling of salt and those collecting taxes must not be jews” (Barada and others 94). A few pages later (p. 96), there is an explanation of the 1233 charter for the nobility, and a separate section with the heading *The Jewish Question* (sic!) refers to the following four articles:

1. Jews must not collect taxes, nor may they be employed in royal administration.
2. Jews must also wear on their person a badge to indicate their difference from Christians.
3. Palatine and other officials must keep an eye on the jews.
4. Marriage is prohibited between Christians and jews.

Srkulj’s textbook *Povijest novoga vijeka* [History of the Modern Age] of 1941 covers a long period from the late 15th century to the end of 1941. One notices that in most of this textbook there is total silence about Jews and their history, which is all the more noticeable if one compares this with Srkulj’s pre-war textbook, 1939, in which though there is not a great deal of information about the Jews, there is some. No longer, for instance, in the 1941 edition is there mention of Jewish scientists and philosophers (such as Baruch Spinoza), the Dreyfus affair, the pogroms in the Russian Empire. In

the detailed description of Maria Theresa's reign, there is no mention of the expulsion of Jews from the Czech lands, nor—among the reforms of Joseph II—is there mention of his Edict of Tolerance,³ but it does say that Joseph II removed all who were extraneous from his court and transformed it into what Srkulj refers to as Joseph II's "*glavni stan*" (headquarters)⁴ (Srkulj 1941: 144-148). Anti-Semitic remarks can be found in the chapters that deal with current events, especially in the description of the rise of Nazis to power. The text states that Hitler "became aware, early on, of the devastating impact of Marxists, and saw that there was a disproportionate number of jews involved." They cast in a positive light Hitler's intentions to build "a pure national state and culture" by excluding the Jews from public, social and economic life, and especially from journalism (Srkulj 301-302) as "bearers of capitalism and Communism." So NDH history textbooks promote the image of Jews as userers, oppressors and Communists, identical to the one put forth by the Nazi regime, for instance when the anti-Semitic exhibition *Der ewige Jude* [The Eternal Jew] was organized in 1937. In it, as expected, there is not a word about the Nuremberg laws, Kristallnacht, deportations of Jews, or, ultimately, about the genocide that was ongoing in occupied Poland, the Soviet Union, or the NDH, at the same time as the textbooks were being published.

These anti-Semitic remarks which appear from time to time in the NDH textbooks must be contextualized within what was going on in the NDH. The books arrived in classrooms at a time when the Holocaust was in full swing. Jews were being deported en masse in 1941 and 1942 to death camps

³ Josip II published the Edict of Tolerance in 1782 which granted the Jews in the Habsburg Monarchy certain religious and civil liberties.

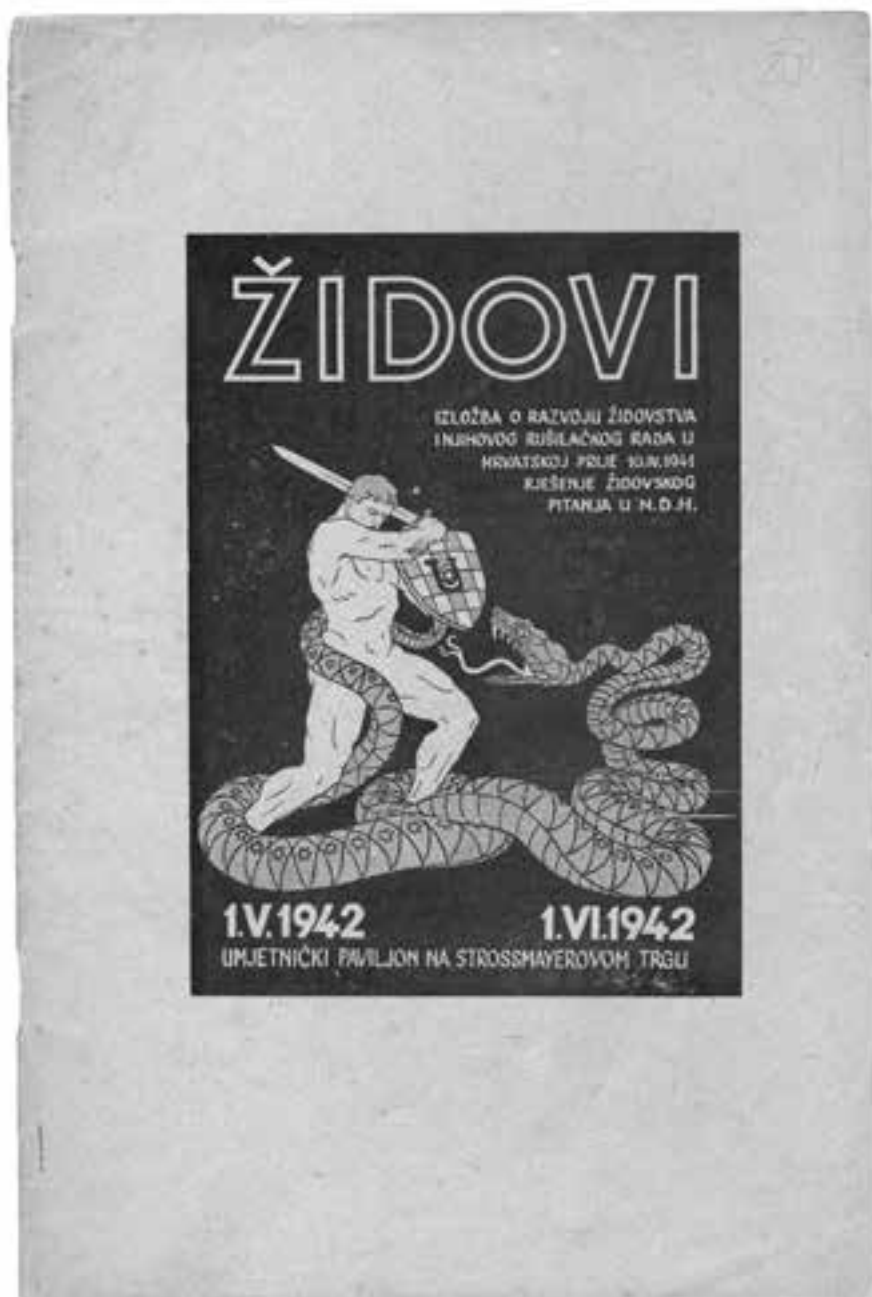
⁴ With his use of the term "stan," already anachronistic at the time of Joseph II, Srkulj is reinforcing the link to the "Glavni ustaški stan" [Main Ustasha Headquarters]—the supreme organ of the Ustasha movement.

and concentration camps on the territory of the NDH run by the Ustasha authorities, and from August 1942 to May 1943, to Nazi death camps, especially to Auschwitz. Between the spring of 1941 and May 1943, just when the textbooks were published, the Ustasha regime and the Nazis, putting their genocidal intentions into effect, eradicated most of the Jewish communities on the territory of the NDH. This is why the question arises of the responsibility of the authors of these textbooks for the written word. In studying and teaching the Holocaust, the people involved in these events have been largely grouped into four categories: victims, perpetrators, rescuers and (passive) bystanders. To which of these four categories do the authors of the textbooks analysed here belong?

The NDH history textbooks, with all their anti-Semitism, the praise of Fascism and Nazism, the cults of Mussolini, Hitler and Pavelić, and the denial of the values of democracy and parliamentarism, ought to be instructive material for all those who think of the existence of the NDH today as a positive historical fact and claim that the act of creating the state should be separated from the Ustasha regime. States are not phenomena that come about independently from human effort, nor can they be isolated from the time in which they arose or from the people who led them. The Ustasha regime was a collaboration, and NDH is a quisling creation, allied to Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany (which the NDH textbooks openly promote and praise). NDH embraced and promoted their ideology in the school books, but, even more crucially and fatally, they put it into practice every day with their actions.

With the goal of stoking anti-Jewish sentiment among the Croats, especially the people of Zagreb, the authorities held an exhibition in May 1942 in order to convey the threat coming from the Jews, both those living locally and others living elsewhere in the world, especially in the countries at war with the Axis Powers.

HPM/MRHH-T-9730





Aside from offering the standard stereotypes of Jews as rich, egoistical perverts and the one about their supposed appearance, the exhibition was designed to portray the Jewry as a threat to peace on earth.

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Jews in Croatia were accused of not knowing Croatian, which is depicted in a caricature on which nothing is amusing. Under the text that runs across the top, which says that there is no longer any place in Croatia for Jews, there stands the question: Where to, Moritz? At the time of the exhibition, most of the Jews were already in concentration camps, many had already been slaughtered, and all of them had been robbed. "Moritz" is shown barefoot, holding a bundle, seeking new protectors, and his protectors are shown as Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin. To this, "Moritz" says: "Me chooses me a Moses all new!" The poster ends with the statement that milk and honey are on tap for Jews with these three men, but that is why Axis bombs are dropping on them.

HPM/MRNH-F-11725



▲ The exhibition was also held in Osijek after all the Jews had already been deported to camps or killed. People from outlying villages, as the photograph shows, were brought to see the exhibition, but it is difficult to say what impact this might have had, just as it is difficult to evaluate the degree to which Croatian peasants were of an anti-Semitic frame of mind.

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Aside from striving to instill in Croatian young people as great an animosity toward Jews as possible through the classroom and textbooks, the regime organized visits for schoolchildren to the anti-Jewish exhibitions. Since the plan was to eradicate the Jews throughout the territory of the NDH, and by May 1942 this had largely been accomplished, one must ask about the motivation behind these propaganda efforts. Aside from toadying to the Germans, perhaps the idea was to spur the young Croats in the struggle against the Allies who are shown as protectors of the Jews, but also as promoters of Jewish world power. ►

MSO



Žarko Puhovski

SO WHAT'S WRONG WITH JEWISH MEN/ JEWISH WOMEN? Victimology or Noseology?

It is perfectly reasonable to conclude that something isn't quite right with a person about whom five unrelated acquaintances have bad things to say. One shouldn't trust a shepherd who, perhaps out of sheer boredom, starts shouting "Wolf, wolf!" Or that the Croatian diplomatic corps—which contends that the state has poor relations with every single one of its neighbors, and that in each individual case, the fault lies with those neighbors—is not doing their job properly (even at the elementary, analytical level). So then why—after several thousand years of repeated experience and the widespread conviction that the Jewish people are guilty of numerous evils in numerous eras, in various parts of the world, to the detriment of various groups—should this be any different?

The anti-Jewish "arguments" are based primarily, in a formative sense, on a unidimensional interpretation of the text of the Bible (although examples can be found as well in Antiquity), claiming the collective guilt of the Jewish

people for the death of Jesus Christ (though without said death, the entire construction of the resurrection would not be conceptually feasible). In order to reinforce the Jewish loss of their position as the chosen people, stories have circulated—since the mid-12th century (Norwich)—about the ritual sacrifice of Catholic children (“blood libel”), desecration of the host, and so forth.

In other words, long before social psychology arrived at the concept of the “fundamental attribution error” (Lee Ross, 1977), the Jewish existence was externally determined by the very assumption that the members of this community are acting on the basis of special, intrinsic, transgenerational, inherited, rather than situational, motives. That what is special (in religion and otherwise) about Jewish men and women is due to their perversion, their radical deviation from social normality.

In order to facilitate the identification of this group, defined as it was by prejudice, the external features of the members of the Jewish community (largely fabricated) have been used for centuries. Johann Schudt published *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten* (Jewish Peculiarities) in Frankfurt in 1714, describing, in detail, first the “hooked Jewish nose” (taken up in 1764 by Johann Joachim Winckelmann, the founder of aesthetics, to serve as contrast to the symmetry of the Greek nose). Numerous caricatures and literary descriptions, phrenological “findings,” that follow this “ideal Jewish figure,” have been published over the centuries, but the reality of Jewishness has been lost under the alluvium of the image. The paradox arising from this still holds true today—the real attitude of the social majority (in an assortment of eras and places) is established in terms of the image of the minority (created by the majority), and not of the minority in the reality of its being.

The reality is, therefore, anti-Semitism, with all its constitutive lack of reality. The term itself is, after all, completely unusual in commonplace usage

for the broader application of negation of the term “Semitism,” used only rarely (there is hardly a single encyclopedia left that offers an entry on it) as a label for what are mainly the linguistic features of the “peoples of the Middle East” (in contrast, for instance, to the use of concepts such as anti-Communism or anti-Fascism).

This tradition is roughly two thousand years old—and is tied to religious, social, economic, political, ideological and other contexts. It leads to a broadened conviction in the (mainly negatively perceived) peculiarities of Jews. They are marked, or so the thinking goes, by their culture, education and money. They have been uprooted from everyday life (prohibited from owning land, and, in some parts of the world, from farming). As a consequence, they are alienated from nature (hence: unnatural, uprooted), and traditionally there are no images or literary descriptions of Jews (regarding the later, wealthier and largely integrated families) that involve hunting or playing sports. The assumption of perversion leads to social perversions—economic, religious, cultural, and, last but not least, sexual (Reich’s early analysis of National Socialism and its ideological predecessors provides a convincing indication of this).

Jews are therefore alienated, even self-alienated—in the work of Hegel and the young Hegelians (including Marx). This image changes somewhat after the Second World War. However, anti-Semitism does not cease to exist, and today there are, actually, three existing types:

- continuation of classic anti-Semitism
- metaphysical anti-Semitism
- postmodern, oblique anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism is on the rise in contemporary Europe, as a research project showed in which 6000 Jews from different countries were surveyed about the discrimination they had experienced. The survey was published in *The Guardian* in November 2013. As many as two thirds of the respondents said that they feel they have problems because of anti-Semitism, 76% of them stated that the situation is worsening and that over the last five years anti-Semitism has escalated, while 46% said they fear they might be attacked or harassed in public because they are Jews. A third of them said that they fear being physically attacked, while 57% said that over the last few years they have heard someone say that the Holocaust is a “myth” and the number of its victims has been “exaggerated.” The research was conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, which cautioned that 75% of those surveyed felt that anti-Semitism is rising on the internet.

Organizations for protecting human rights (December 2013) fiercely censured an anti-Semitic attack in Romania when a state television channel broadcast a Christmas song that calls for burning Jews. *Spiegel Online* reported that the song was broadcast by TVR3 on Thursday, 5 December. On a television channel intended for rural communities they broadcast a recording of a choir singing a song that explicitly celebrates the “Holocaust” and uses a word which is considered pejorative (like, for instance, the word ‘čifut’ in Croatian or “kike” in English). The unnamed choir sings, “only when they are smoke in a smokestack is a Jew a good Jew.”

In a train on the Namur–Brussels line in May 2012, there was an announcement broadcast to the passengers: “Welcome to the train for Auschwitz. All Jews please get off the train at Buchenwald.” Felix Klein, Germany’s Commissioner for Jewish Life and the Fight against Anti-Semitism, urged

Jews in late May 2019 not to wear kippahs in certain parts of Germany, and the reason given was the “rise in anti-Semitism.”

Theodor W. Adorno identifies the problem, in short, in his famous dictum from 1949: to write poetry after Auschwitz is barbarian. Surely this holds true as well for theorizing in the post-war era, and especially for theorizing that deals directly with Auschwitz (as a symbol of that which is wrongly termed the Holocaust—a term popularized by the Americans—but ought to be referred to as the Shoah or Churban). For, classical anti-Semitism in its many forms does continue to appear, while not becoming the ruling ideology—though in some European communities it is not far from this (in Hungary, for instance).

Metaphysical anti-Semitism is a particularly perverse phenomenon—anti-Semitism in societies that have been left without (almost) any Jewish inhabitants. These are clearly cases of a systematically immutable interpolation of anti-Semitism into a series of what were also contemporarily active world-view fabrications. In places like, for instance, Poland or Croatia, where the Jewish population in the Second World War was essentially annihilated, the age-old anti-Semitic patterns are still quite often in use. If nothing else, there is the constant quest for the percentage of Jewish blood in public figures who “don’t admit it,” or the insistence on “local agents of the larger conspiracy led by Jews” (In this Soros, is, of course, the primary figure).

Postmodern anti-Semitism views the many givens of the modern condition in a largely negative light, especially in the realm of politics and world view. Alongside all the caveats arising from the complexity of social processes, it is nevertheless indicative, precisely in this context, that the political participation of the radical rightwing (expressed in percentages of votes in elections, even despite the growth over recent years) in the western sections of today’s Germany is many times smaller than it is in the eastern sections, in Austria,

and in the parts of Switzerland that are predominantly German. Because only (former) West Germany went through the process known as *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, or “facing the past”—in large part thanks to the efforts of the group known as the 68-ers—while such processes were completely absent in Austria (which spent decades persuading itself and others that it was the first victim of Hitler’s aggression), East Germany (where the ruling ideology interpreted the past as if its members had always sided with the anti-Fascists), and in Switzerland (where controversial concessions to the Third Reich to protect the country’s neutrality were not discussed until very recently). The strengthening of the radical rightwing (which cannot, of course, be reduced only to this factor) provoked a response—politically logical—from the other side, and the result is a continual swinging of significant segments of the political scene between these undemocratic poles.

Croatia is therefore by no means unusual. At the very least this is a Europe-wide problem. The degree, however, to which Croatian society is entrenched in classic anti-Semitic patterns is unusual, hence the un-surprising scarcity of public voices prepared to react to revisionist phantasms, and even the open invocation of totalitarian ideological sets, and the bloody clashes that inevitably follow. Anti-Semitism in the 1990s was more or less a constituent part of the mainstream. It was the social normality. After 2000 the situation changed for the better, but in the last years we have begun to discern the contours of a revival (so far, luckily, only piecemeal) of socially acceptable anti-Semitism.

This is largely because anti-Semitism developed as an inevitable offshoot of western civilization and as a clear warning signal for intolerance and violence, permanently present in outbursts from the collective unconscious that

codetermines the ever shrinking, yet still not negligible, numbers of members of the civilizations that originated in Europe.

Contemporary anti-Semitism does not need (as it did not so long ago) the political power of Israel as an excuse—moreover during this time of frequent wars in the Middle East one often notes a certain reluctance to censure the frequent violations of international humanitarian law perpetrated by the Israeli army (this has come up in Croatia and elsewhere now and then). Anti-Semites are not as interested in the state of Israel (for which, in any case, they could even feel some sympathy as they are always susceptible to power and authority), as much as in the fact that there still are Jews in “their” communities (no matter how few), that the Jewish contribution to world culture cannot be denied, that Jews, as ethnically displaced, are not “sincere patriots.” Indeed in the era of anti-immigration policies (from Orban, on), Israel seems more and more like a natural ally for many governments (and all rightwing sympathizers), and the “local Jewish population” is no longer perceived as the primary source of population-related (and other) threats for “viable nation states.”

A good indicator of the presence of spontaneous, everyday anti-Semitism in Croatia is treating the greatest evil in history more and more often with indifference. This was clearly manifested in an outburst at one point by a popular Croatian woman writer. For years she had been cultivating vulgarity as her formulaic style, only to hand down her verdict on the Jews. Manuevering through this topic like the proverbial bull in the china shop, the writer (stabbing with only a shallow grasp of *The Diary of Anne Frank*—a few years before the question came up of whether the book should be kept on the required curricular reading list) she urged Jews to finally become people, timed to coincide with the anniversary which, despite everything, commemorates

the global memory of the time when Jews were massively murdered, simply because they were designated as non-people. She responded to the outrage she aroused by boasting of how she'd spoken out about Palestinian victims (as opposed to Anne Frank), "feeling a kind of joy," as she put it "right there on Jewish-run television" (with which she was revisiting the old stereotype of the "Jewish plutocracy" that governs from behind, in principle, what would appear to be "our" institutions and businesses).

And the story continues, in proper Croatian fashion—a row of primitivism, a row of ignorance, a row of negligence, then a row of manipulation, etc. It began with a "not-my-problem" approach, to then hurtle (mainly out of ignorance) straight into the classic anti-Semitic paranoid syndrome (outside of which any reference to TV Nova as "Jewish television" is pointless). The fact that the whole show was banned (quite wrongly, of course) says much more about the insecurity of the local media leadership than it does about the global Jewish conspiracy.

The unfortunate reactions piled in one after another. Despite systematic oblivion, apparently what Anne Frank really wrote was: "The day will come when we'll be people again, and not just Jews," and supposedly in its original form the (once) famous Marx formulation from the "Jewish Question" really read: "the social liberation of the Jews is liberating society from the Jewry." Both of them were evidently altogether different from the text in the TV show, but that was to be expected. After the erroneous quote was (partially accurately) corrected in the newspaper, it became clear that the reactions themselves deserved close scrutiny. And when there was something that needed to be said, most people had no idea how to react (or didn't care to).

The women writer in question, of course, is a sort of (latter-day?) farsical patch on the Croatian anti-Semitic kettle that has been percolating for years

now (much like the situation in other Central European nations, if this offers any consolation). For instance, in early 1903, under the influence of politician Grga Tuškan (who has been granted one of Zagreb's nicer streets by all the regimes), a local periodical (*Sisački glas* published in Sisak), as part of their strike against "pro-Magyarites" also turned against the local Jews, then even describing them as "Croatia's central foe." According to the *Sisački glas* of 8 May 1903, Hungarian signs were torn down in riots in Petrinja and Hungarian coats of arms were destroyed. The rioters marched to the train station with shouts of: "Abzug Magyars! Abzug Jews!" [Scram, Hungarians! Scram, Jews!], and so forth. The indictment raised against Đuro Dobranić from Petrinja states that the rioters, after these shouts, began smashing windows on the houses of merchants Leitner and Deutsch. This is merely an episode; the rest is history.

The woman writer, logically, in keeping with tradition (for which she cares nothing), not only adheres to a principled anti-Semitism, but she tweaks it for local application: "Today the Jews, and I mean the Nazi Jewish government that is destroying Gaza, hit the main Gaza hospital with a rocket. Currently they are claiming that this was the Palestinians who smashed it by mistake. In another few hours they'll announce that they were forced to destroy it because 'terrorists' were hiding there. Then we'll read that the patients were given five minutes to evacuate a hospital that was not a hospital at all but a weapons warehouse, and they, the patients, are not patients but 'human shields.'

"Croatia continues to remain silent. Puhovski, or more precisely this man who claims to be a Jew, is on Croatian television three times a week. He knows everything about everything. So why isn't he speaking up now? He spoke once. Why not speak daily? The Nazis are killing children daily. And the

Goldsteins¹? Everyone knows the first and last name of every NDH criminal by heart. Where are the Goldsteins? They earned their doctorates on the Croatian Atrocity. Is it only an atrocity when Ante slit Zimmermann's throat in 1941, or is it also an atrocity when Zimmermann turns a five-year-old child into a mound of flesh in 2014? And then does the same another thousand times over? It occurs to nobody to count the victims of Jewish state terrorism."

The bizarre outbursts of irate (in this case, women) writers are not all this is about, because such celebs live off of sensing what it is that the public is generally asking for (even if this means "charmingly provoking" that same public, within limits of course). On the "Jewish problem," domestic public normality always hedges in their declarations. The *Hrvatska enciklopedija* [Croatian Encyclopedia], for instance, states that according to the population census there were 576 Jews registered, but immediately thereafter (in a totally non-encyclopedic manner), adds: "in fact there are more." It must be that the Jewish community is hiding out to avoid the census, perhaps so they can tarnish the image of Croatia. In the entry dedicated to anti-Semitism, Croatia, indicatively, is not mentioned at all. In a word, if possible, these unpleasant aspects of the past should somehow be shoved aside, ignored, forgotten.

Jewish identity, as everyone knows, appears historically as a result of centuries of social constructs (both internal and external) and is built (more and more obviously over time) as a denial of normality, in which the Jews are every bit as involved as their enemies. This, then, is how the pattern is established of "Jews as the Other," moreover: "Jews as the preeminent (meaning: the most intimate, personal) figure of Otherness."

¹ Slavko Goldstein (1928-2017), editor, writer and historian, and his son, Ivo Goldstein (1958), historian.

Normality is thereby, thought to be what most people do. To proclaim Jewish existence abnormal brings with it vast difficulty because this group cannot be distinguished, simply and consistently, from others in the European (ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and even religious) tradition. They cannot be spotted on the street (except, of course, when they dress “extravagantly,” like Hassids, or wear a yarmulke/kippah as an outward sign of their devotion). From this follows the fundamental premise of the anti-Semitic “defense of normality”: it is precisely because they cannot be readily identified, because at first glance they cannot be distinguished from the majority (of those who are normal)—the way Blacks are seen as different from Whites or women as different from men—that they are even more dangerous. They speak the language of the majority people of the state where they live, their difference isn't visible in the color of their skin, and often not even through religion, because many of them have converted to Catholicism (or Protestantism), but the larger community cannot forget this. Instead as a rule they continue to consider such people to be Jews, but converts.

Jews cannot simply decide of their own accord that they no longer identify as Jewish, because the community will go on identifying them as Other, as different. In Germany, where many members of the Jewish community had been highly integrated and felt themselves to be “German,” Hitler set up special offices for the science of race because it was not known who the “persons of the Jewish race” were (in which the notion of race as applied to a group which does not look different from others is, in principle, entirely meaningless). The day-to-day state apparatus could not draw this distinction, so special offices had to be set up to ascertain who the “foreign bodies” were within the German population.

This was proved by a special procedure, scrutinizing documents that went as far back as two generations. The United Nations after 1945 unambiguously awarded a posthumous triumph (albeit backhanded) to Hitler by proclaiming anti-Semitism a (special) form of racism. In order to somehow define this non-existent race, there was a transition to another genre, and in the second half of the 19th century there began to be talk of culture as what truly defined Jewish identity, and, hence, of the “devastating impact of Jewish culture on the cultures of the European nations.” The problem, however, lies in the fact that there is no such thing as a single, uniform Jewish culture. For instance, in philosophy the conceptual worlds of authors such as Spinoza and Marx cannot be joined, and besides, additional problems of interpretation appear with those who, like Spinoza, were excommunicated from the Jewish community because of their philosophical views.

The particularity of the Jewish fellow citizens (or, earlier, fellow subjects) was not merely in their external similarity with most European nations, but in the fact that (for religious and other reasons) they were forced into an alternative existence. Since ownership of land was not permitted for them, they became, by necessity, pioneers of an urban way of life, the avant-garde bourgeoisie and the modern economy, but also the first proponents of modern education (because other sources of social mobility were even less accessible to them). More successful than many others, they fought for their place this way among the new social elite, which again stoked envy and social animosity—reinforcing old prejudices.

The social powermongers very quickly saw that social protests with various motivations, though not a threat in and of themselves, could be channeled against the “Jewish plutocracy” and because of this would not enter into a conflict with another state. This realization is very important for staying in

power. The killing of a large number of the French in Germany, for instance, would quickly have provoked an outbreak of hostilities with France, while nobody was very exercised about the killing of Jews (first in Russia, then elsewhere). The problem of facing anti-Semitism lies in the fact that it has no real social foundation, it is entirely imaginary, which, however, can be used “elastically,” so it serves almost every real purpose.

The prejudices harbored about the Jewish population acquired a specific form, distinct from the most common form these prejudices take. They were not rooted in the assumed cultural (and other) inferiority of the target group. The problem with the anti-Semitic position turned out to be that “they” had penetrated “our” culture, and, thanks to their pioneering role in urban society, had reached a level of superiority in civilization (achieved, in keeping with the assumption, by not obeying the customary rules).

Jews, therefore, are being seen, both *von oben* [from above] and *von unten* [from below], they were both despised and envied, but none of this eases their predicament. In a slightly more sophisticated version, it is not that Jews are hated, but they are to be eliminated for patriotic reasons, for love for one's own country, not out of hatred (and, as we know, moral constraints don't apply to patriotism). For, Jews are “stateless,” *vaterlandslose Gesellen* (homeless fellows). They not only bring into question majority patriotism, but they negate the very premise of national culture (a bond to local tradition, to the “soil”).

In short, long before Merton, the self-fulfilling prophecy was exercised on the Jewish fate, because their socially acceptable figure was established in a way that “provoked” negative (and violent) reactions. They were burdened with much that was coming from social (but also socially unconscious) reality, independent of the real. Jewish victimology is therefore a reaction to centuries (even millenia) of a permanent reproducing of simple prejudice: they are not

like us, although they look like us (in a once popular nineteenth century German novel, the mother anxiously warns her daughter, “Be careful, dear, Jews look a great deal like people.”) Since “they are not like us,” “they” are simply abnormal (regardless of whether or not they have too much or too little of some traits). Since they are abnormal, they are—socially—diseased; in the end, noseology appears as a necessary condition of Jewish victimology. Everything else, once the described sequence is accepted, becomes “merely” a technical question.

The photographs that follow are of randomly selected people who perished in the Holocaust, some of whom offered resistance. Only a very few survived, burdened by traumas they often passed on, inadvertently, to the next generation. Hence even people born after 1945 became victims of this immense atrocity.

Victims of the Holocaust



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Victims of the Holocaust



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Victims of the Holocaust



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Victims of the Holocaust



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Victims of the Holocaust



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Victims of the Holocaust



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16./17.

Victims of the Holocaust



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Victims of the Holocaust



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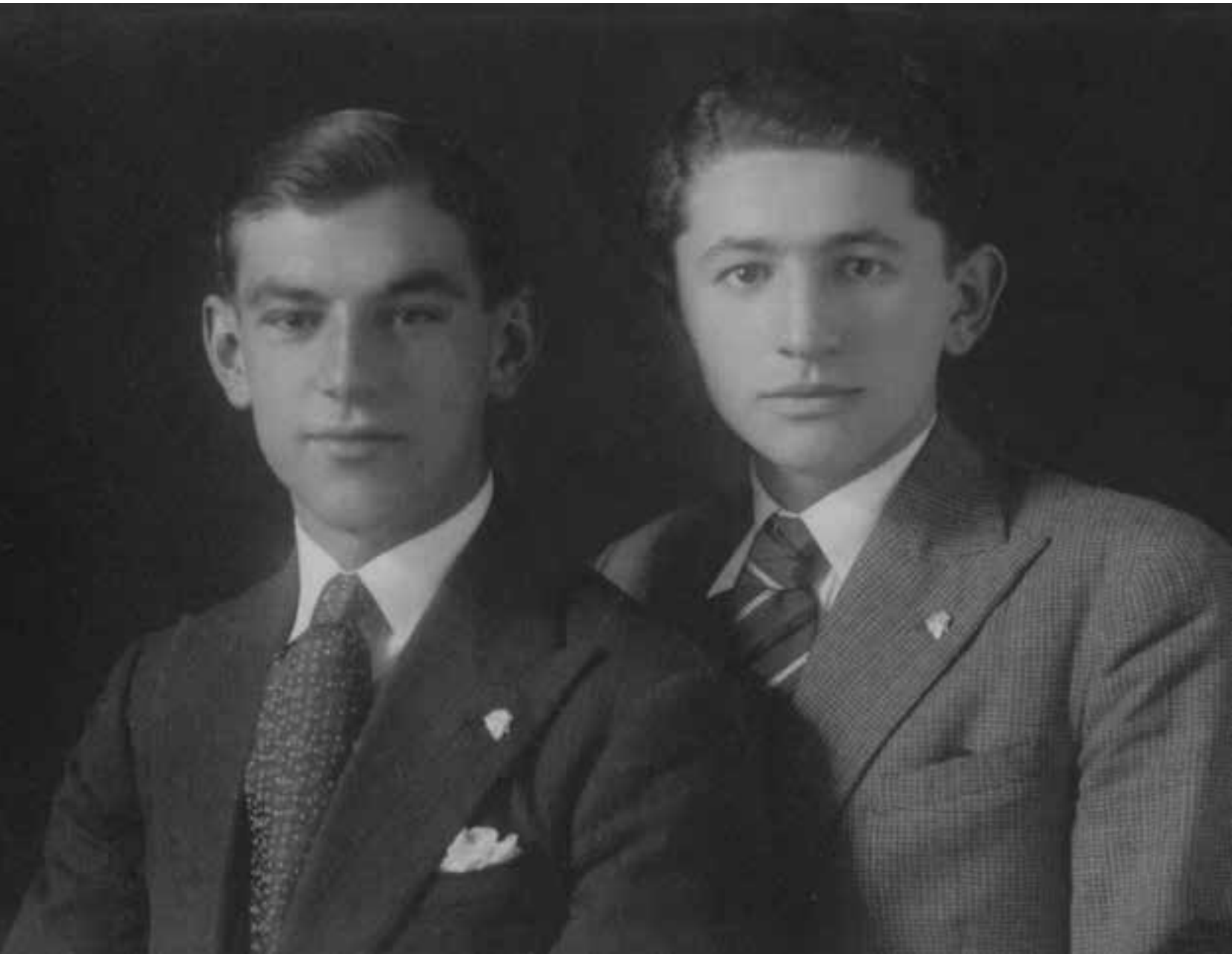
21.

Victims of the Holocaust



22.

Victims of the Holocaust



23.

Victims of the Holocaust

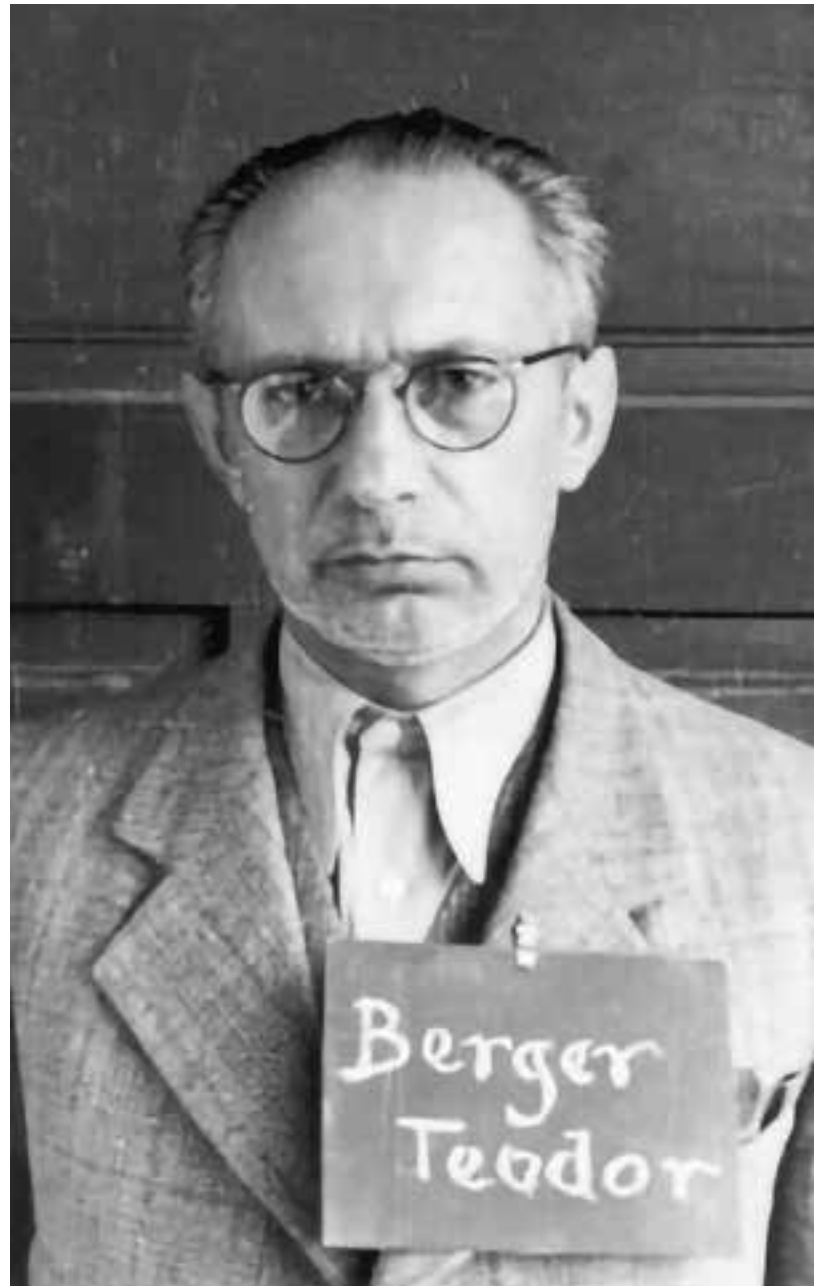


24.

Victims of the Holocaust



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Victims of the Holocaust



27.

Victims of the Holocaust



28.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. Julius Hiršl (Hirschl), perished in the Jasenovac camp.
MGKC-19545
2. Franc Hiršl (Franz Hirschl) a wholesale merchant from Koprivnica, perished in the Jasenovac camp.
MGKC-19542
3. Ivan Hiršl (Hirschl) (1905 – 1941), French language teacher at the Real-Gymnasium in Koprivnica. From 1939 to 1940 he was government commissioner and mayor of Koprivnica. Killed in the Jasenovac camp.
MGKC-19548
4. Zlatko Švarc, chemistry teacher at the Real-Gymnasium in Koprivnica. Perished in the Jasenovac camp.
MGKC-19570
5. Lola Neufeld from Koprivnica, daughter of a shopkeeper. Perished in the Holocaust, place of death unknown.
MGKC-19553

6. Josip Scheyer, shopkeeper from Koprivnica. Perished in the Holocaust, place of death unknown.
MGKC-19554
7. Vilim (Vilmos) Viola (Hungary, 1894 – Auschwitz, 1944), physician, longstanding president of the Čakovec Chevra Kadisha.
Source: Vladimir Kalšan
8. Gizela Vrančić (nee Deutsch), daughter of Rabbi Josef Deutsch, private secretary, with nieces Dorica and Zdravka, 1943. Later that year she was arrested and taken away, allegedly to Auschwitz. The children were saved.
Property of Theodora Klayman, United States, source: Milivoj Dretar
9. Malvina Švarc's three sons from Koprivnica: Žaki (1893), Vlado (1897) and Aurel (1899). Perished in the Jasenovac camp.
MGKC-19575
10. Zora Sonnenschein, daughter of Oskar Sonnenschein from Lepavina, perished in Auschwitz.
MGKC-19594

11. Eugen (Jenni) Sonnenschein from Koprivnica.
Perished in the Jasenovac camp.
MGKC-19595
12. The wedding of Regina and Hugo Heinrich from Koprivnica.
Regina perished in Auschwitz, and Hugo in the Jasenovac camp.
MGKC-19601
13. The family of cantor Leon Wolfensohn from Koprivnica. His son Beno perished in Lepoglava in 1945, his daughter-in-law Klara, nee Schiller, emigrated to Palestine in 1948. Cantor Leon was killed in Jasenovac, and his wife Sofija, nee Rosennkrantz, perished in Auschwitz. His daughters Silva and Enrna survived the war, and his third daughter, Marta (second from the left) perished in Auschwitz.
MGKC 19602
14. The Vajs family, Velika župa Prigorje. Father, Josip, and mother, Ljubica, perished in the Stara Gradiška camp, while their son Jože–Gumbek was killed while a combatant in the partisan Zagreb Brigade, Moslavina.
HPM/MRNH-F-9140
15. Vera Blauhorn, nee Mitzky, circa 1930.
Perished in Auschwitz or Loborgrad.
**Property of the Marija Winter collection,
Ludbreg, source: Milivoj Dretar**

16. Verica and Zdenka Appler, Ludbreg, circa 1935.
Perished in the Jasenovac camp.
**Property of the Marija Winter collection,
Ludbreg, source: Milivoj Dretar**
17. Terezija Lefković, nee Moses, from Varaždin, with children Ognjen and Renata. Terezija and Renata disappeared in a camp in 1942.
GMV-44866
18. Dora Graner (Čakovec 1914 – Auschwitz, 1944), co-owner of the Braća Graner factory. She was taken to a camp on 8 June 1944 with her son Tomislav. Both perished at the camp.
Source: Vladimir Kalšan
19. Jelisava Krajanski, nee Meller (Šopron, 1891 – Auschwitz, 1942), pianist and wife of Dr. Artur Krajanski. Her husband committed suicide in April 1941 to avoid being taken by the Ustashes.
GMV-95501
20. Lucija (Luci) Haberman (Velika Kaniža, Hungary – Jasenovac, 1942), a private language instructor from Vinkovci. Perished in the Jasenovac camp with her mother Elza and her sister Augusta.
GMVI
21. Rebeka Stern-Hofman (Rumunjska, 1887 – ?, 1941), physician, with her husband (Varaždin, 1939). Arrested on 28 July 1941 and interned at the Lobargrad camp. Disappeared in November of the same year.
GMV-88544

22. Three generations of the Heinrich family from Koprivnica. From the left, standing: Branko and Zlatan (perished in Jasenovac), Albert, survived. Seated: unknown woman, Hugo (perished in Jasenovac), Netty, Hugo's mother (no information), Regina (perished in Auschwitz).

MGKC 19610

23. Moses Gottesmann (right) (Brod na Savi, 1912 – Jasenovac, 1942). Perished in the Jasenovac camp.

Source: Stribor Uzelac Schwendemann

24. Ella Shön (Šen) from Vinkovici, president of the Jewish Ladies Charitable Society, was deported in 1942 with her husband Filip (58), a shopkeeper, to the Jasenovac camp where both perished.

GMVI

25. Walter Šparing (Varaždin, 1910 – Jasenovac, April 1945), shopkeeper. Arrested for collaborating with the Movement for National Liberation and taken to Jasenovac. Killed in April 1945.

GMV-PO 48 = GMV PO 1062

26. Teodor Berger, manufacturer and co-owner of the Herman and Berger company. Arrested on 1 January 1945 for supporting the Movement for National Liberation. Died the next day from injuries sustained during torture by the police.

GMV PO

27. Sergio de Simone (Rijeka, 1937 – Hamburg, 1945) was sent to Auschwitz with two female cousins. The two sisters were saved, but the boy was subjected to medical tuberculosis research and was hanged with the other children who were in these experiments.
Source: Sanja Cimper, *Od emancipacije do Holokausta - Židovi u Rijeci i Opatiji 1867. – 1945.*, Muzej grada Rijeke 2013.
28. Stjepan Steiner (Donja Stubica, 1915 – Zagreb, 2006), physician, internal medicine. Earned his medical degree at the Zagreb Medical School. In October 1941 he went to Bosnia with his wife Zora, nee Goldschmidt, to join other Jewish physicians in combatting endemic syphilis. In June 1942 both of them joined the Partisans. Zora worked as a medic in the Tenth Zagreb Corps, while as of November 1943 Stjepan was assigned to serve as medical officer for the Escort Battalion of the Supreme Headquarters, and Josip Broz Tito's personal physician. He was at Tito's side in the battles on the Neretva and Sutjeska, and in the Raid on Drvar. He died in Zagreb in 2006.
Source: Jasminka Domaš, *Glasovi, sjećanja, život*, Zagreb, 2013.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GMV	Gradski muzej Varaždin – <i>Museum of Varaždin</i>
GMVI	Gradski muzej Vinkovci – <i>Museum of Vinkovci</i>
HPM	Hrvatski povijesni muzej – <i>Croatian Historical Museum</i>
HR-DARI	Državni arhiv u Rijeci – <i>State Archive in Rijeka</i>
HR-HDA	Hrvatski državni arhiv – <i>Croatian State Archive</i>
JUSP	Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac – <i>Jasenovac Memorial Site</i>
MGKC	Muzej Grada Koprivnice – <i>Museum of Koprivnica</i>
MRNH	Muzej revolucije naroda Hrvatske – <i>Museum of the Revolution of the People of Croatia</i>
MSO	Muzej Slavonije, Osijek – <i>Museum of Slavonia, Osijek</i>
ŽOZ	Židovska općina Zagreb – <i>Jewish Community Zagreb</i>



This volume is meant for all those who wish to learn more about the annihilation of the Jews throughout the Independent State of Croatia, who want to understand how such an atrocity could possibly happen, who refuse to forget the thousands of innocent victims and who are determined that such horrors must never happen again. It is intended for anyone willing to ask themselves these questions: „What were my family members doing during those terrible times? Were they victims? Were they heroes who helped to save lives? Did they stand up to the evildoers? Were they bystanders who enabled the atrocities by doing nothing? Did they take advantage of the tragedies of others by plundering the property of those who were sent to their deaths? Or were they perpetrators who humiliated, persecuted and murdered?” One of these questions applies to every single person who lived through those years. There was no way to exist outside these categories. It is worth asking each of them: „Why?”